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Government and Elementary Education
in Britain in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

1986

Donald McIndoe Mason

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-8. OCT. 1986

ABSTRACT

Donald McIndoe Mason

Government and Elementary Education in Britain in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

Ph.D 1986

This thesis attempts to describe the growth of the central government's involvement in elementary education, and the corresponding growth of the staffing and expenditure of the Education Department in Whitehall, in terms that have explanatory force. It goes from 1833 to the early 1860s, covering the 1840s and 1850s in most detail.

The first chapter establishes a theoretical framework within which education can take its place beside other examples of government intervention. It reasserts the relevance of A.V. Dicey's analysis of the movements of opinion and the corresponding legislative trends, and concludes that in the mid-nineteenth century a description as far as possible in terms of demand factors is the appropriate one.

The next two chapters describe the structure and growth of the systems of building grants and pupil-teacher grants; and the consequences for the staffing and expenditure of the Education Department. These are traced in detail, allowing an assessment of the Department's efficiency and the adequacy of the staff to the work, and how these changed over the period.

Chapter 4 examines the evidence for Treasury restrictiveness of the Education Department's activities, and finds little, contrary to the assumptions of many accounts of the period.

Chapter 5 traces the development of the views of the Newcastle Commission, and of Gladstone's interventions, and relates them to the Revised Code. These are together interpreted as a reassertion, ultimately unsuccessful, of an individualist approach to government intervention against the increasingly collectivist tendency of the system as it had become.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

ADD	British Library Additional Manuscripts.
Ball, <u>Inspectorate</u>	Nancy Ball, <u>Her Majesty's Inspectorate 1839-1849</u> (1963).
<u>Boase</u>	Frederick Boase, <u>Modern English Biography</u> (six vols. new ed. 1965).
Brebner, 'State Intervention'	J.B. Brebner, 'Laissez Faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth-Century Britain' <u>Journal of Economic History</u> , Supplement VIII(1948), pp.59-73.
Committee of Council	Committee of the Privy Council on Education
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography.</u>
<u>Diary</u>	<u>The Gladstone Diaries</u>
<u>Dicey</u>	A.V. Dicey <u>Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century</u> (second ed. 1914).
ED	Public Record Office, Education Class.
<u>Foster</u>	Joseph Foster <u>Alumni Oxonienses 1715-1886</u> (Oxford, 1888).
<u>Hansard</u>	<u>Hansard's Parliamentary Debates</u> , 3rd Series.
<u>Hurt</u>	J.S. Hurt <u>Education in Evolution</u> (1971).
Johnson, 'Administrators in education'	Richard Johnson, 'Administrators in education before 1870: patronage, social position and role', in Sutherland, <u>Government</u> , pp.110-138.

Lambert, 'Local Government Act Office'	Royston Lambert, 'Central and Local Relations in Mid-Victorian England: the Local Government Act Office, 1858-71', <u>Victorian Studies</u> , VI, no.2(1962), pp.121-50.
Lambert, <u>Simon</u>	Royston Lambert, <u>Sir John Simon 1816-1904 and English Social Administration</u> (1963).
Lewis, <u>Chadwick and Public Health</u>	R.A. Lewis <u>Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement</u> (1952).
MacDonagh, <u>Government Growth</u>	Oliver MacDonagh <u>A Pattern of Government Growth 1800-1860</u> (1977).
Mason, 'Building-grant policy'	D.M. Mason, 'The building-grant policy of the Committee of Council on Education 1839-1853' (Durham University M.A.(Ed.) thesis 1981).
<u>Minutes</u>	<u>Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education</u>
Morris, 'Public Expenditure'	Norman Morris, 'Public Expenditure on Education in the 1860s', <u>Oxford Review of Education</u> , 3(1977), pp.3-19.
Mulhauser, <u>Clough Correspondence</u>	Frederick L. Mulhauser <u>The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough</u> , (Oxford, 1957).
National Society	The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales.
<u>Newcastle</u>	<u>Report of the Newcastle Commission.</u>
NS Report	Annual Report of the National Society.
Parris, 'A Reappraisal Reappraised'	Henry Parris, 'The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government: a Reappraisal Reappraised', <u>The Historical Journal</u> , 3(1960), pp.17-37.
Parris, <u>Railways</u>	Henry Parris <u>Government and the Railways in Nineteenth-Century Britain</u> (1965).
Paz, <u>Working-class education</u>	D.G. Paz <u>The politics of working-class education in Britain 1830-50</u> , (Manchester, 1980).

Paz, 'Kay-Shuttleworth'	D.G. Paz, 'Kay-Shuttleworth: Man and myth', <u>History of Education</u> , 14(1985), pp.185-198.
Perkin, 'A False Antithesis'	Harold Perkin, 'Individualism versus Collectivism in Nineteenth-Century Britain: A False Antithesis', <u>Journal of British Studies</u> , XVII, no.1(1977), pp.105-18.
PC	Public Record Office, Privy Council Class.
PP	<u>House of Commons Parliamentary Papers</u> .
'Present Condition'	'The Present Condition of the Administration of the Parliamentary Grant', memorandum to the Lord President [Dec.1845] Kay-Shuttleworth Papers, 1168 1st.
<u>Report</u>	<u>Report of the Committee of Council on Education</u> .
<u>Shannon</u>	Richard Shannon <u>Gladstone</u> (1982).
Smith, <u>Disraelian Conservatism</u>	Paul Smith <u>Disraelian Conservatism and Social Reform</u> (1967).
<u>Smith</u>	Frank Smith <u>The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth</u> (1923, 1974).
Sutherland, <u>Nineteenth-century government</u>	Gillian Sutherland <u>Studies in the growth of nineteenth-century government</u> (1972).
<u>Sylvester</u>	D.W. Sylvester <u>Robert Lowe and Education</u> , (Cambridge, 1974).
T	Public Record Office, Treasury Class.
Thomas, <u>Factories</u>	M.W. Thomas <u>The Early Factory Legislation</u> , (Leigh-on-Sea, 1948).
<u>Venn</u>	J.A. Venn <u>Alumni Cantabrigienses</u> (Cambridge, 1940-1954).
<u>Wright</u>	Maurice Wright <u>Treasury Control of the Civil Service 1854-1874</u> (Oxford, 1969).

PREFACE

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent, and information derived from it should be acknowledged. The thesis is the work of the author alone, and no part of it has previously been submitted for a degree at any university. Part of Chapter 3 covers similar ground to that of the author's M.A. thesis (see bibliography) but the work has been completely redone, using a larger data base and a more searching analysis. In addition the present work draws at times on results from the earlier, and this is fully acknowledged in the text.

My thanks are due to the staff of the Durham University Computer Centre, and to the staff of the various repositories in which I have worked, for their unfailing helpfulness; to the local librarians of Manchester, Lancashire, Cumbria, Bradford, Somerset, Liverpool, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Bolton, Sheffield, Wiltshire, Kirklees, Stockport, Dyfed, Gwynedd, Clwyd and the Highland Region for sending me information about placenames and their location; to the archivists or local librarians of West Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire, Devon, Hertfordshire and Kerry for sending me information about individuals; to the British Architectural Library for similar information; to Miss I.M. Schofield, Mr R.B. Hutton, Dr David Robertson, the Marquess of Salisbury and the Duke of Buccleuch for permission to

consult and quote from documents in their possession; to the editors of the Journal of Educational Administration and History for permission to use material in Chapter 3 and Appendix I which previously appeared in that journal.

I owe thanks too, or apologies, to the many people whom I have contacted who have turned out not to be related to the individuals I have been trying to identify, or who for some other reason I have troubled in vain.

This thesis does not pretend to give a comprehensive account of elementary education. Important areas, for example the inspectorate and the training colleges, are scarcely mentioned or only touched on. Those areas have been treated in detail which seemed to be most significant in illuminating the activities of the government. Beyond the particular references in the text I owe a general debt to the work of Dr John Hurt, to which I have found myself frequently returning, and to that of Dr Maurice Wright. In a different way I am indebted to Dr Richard Johnson. In the first place I owe personal thanks to him for allowing me to photocopy his thesis. In the second place his work has been a source of considerable stimulus, chiefly however towards disagreement, only the flavour of which is conveyed by such references as are made in the text.

Two points may be made about the numbers which appear at times in such profusion. Apart from those which are the result of some calculation of my own, I have left them unrounded, not as an indication of their supposed degree of accuracy, but simply as an aid to identification. Secondly, many of them are sums of money. It is not possible to give a single comparison of the value of money between, say, 1846 and 1986, if

only because the distribution of both wages and prices changed so much; but the story is more vivid if some sort of conversion can be made. My impression is that a multiplying factor in the range 20-50 is useful, the lower factor being appropriate to the better off and the higher to the worse off.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Before 1870 there was no compulsion on local areas to provide elementary schools, and no compulsion on parents to send their children to such elementary schools as existed. The government simply offered grants for various purposes. Government involvement only grew because generally, though not consistently, the grants were increasingly popular. There are thus two different areas of study: the events leading to the various grant offers; and the pattern of, and consequences of, the demand for them.

In the first area there were effectively only three important events: the original provision for building grants in 1833; the institution of annual grants by the Minutes of 1846; and the Revised Code of 1861-62. These have all been the subject of painstaking, if not perhaps conclusive studies.(1) So far as the growth of government involvement, rather than the development of policy, is concerned, they were localized in time, brief periods when government initiative was dominant. During the years in between, the dominant initiative

(1) J. Alexander and D.G. Paz, 'The Treasury Grants 1833-1839', British Journal of Educational Studies, 22(1974), pp.78-92; J.R.B. Johnson, 'The Education Department 1839-64: A Study in Social Policy and the Growth of Government' (Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis, 1968), chapter IV; D.G. Paz, The politics of working-class education in Britain 1830-50 (Manchester, 1980), pp.11-23, 129-136; A.J. Marcham, 'The Revised Code of Education' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1976).



was that of schools promoters, teachers, and prospective teachers. These years provide the material for the second area of study, an area which has been largely neglected,(1) and which is the concern of this thesis.

There are questions which it is very easy to pose and exceedingly difficult to answer, or even to agree on a precise meaning for, such as, 'Why did the state intervene in elementary education?' and, 'Why did government involvement in elementary education grow?'. It is argued here that a specious but in the end empty answer to questions of this type has been implicit in much work on the period, and has led to concentration on what the government offered to the neglect of what the response to the offer was; in other words to concentration on the supply side alone of what can be regarded as a market situation.

What has been true of education history has been true equally of the history of other areas of government intervention in the nineteenth century. Both to justify a shift of emphasis with regard to education, and to show how after this shift it fits into the socio-political context of the middle decades of the century, it is desirable to consider education in conjunction with other areas. This clears the conceptual ground, but unfortunately offers no more than a vague sketch of what an explanatory answer to the substantial questions would involve. It paves the way, though, for a coherent

(1) In a more general context, the importance of demand factors has been a feature of the work of E.G. West. They have also been stressed by T.W. Laqueur, 'Working-class Demand and the Growth of English Elementary Education, 1750-1850', in Lawrence Stone, ed., Schooling and Society (Baltimore and London, 1976), and Phil Gardner, The Lost Elementary Schools of Victorian England (1984).

account of the grant system in practice, and how the Education Department developed in response.

The first point to establish is that the argument is qualitative, not quantitative. There has intermittently been discussion of how far government activity in the nineteenth century can be measured in financial terms. If it can, it would need considerable research to begin to show how. C.J. Holmes, refuting A.J. Taylor, wrote

From 1820-29 to 1870-79 the 'civil' and 'education' categories increased from 11 per cent to 20.4 per cent of the total net central government expenditure. In money terms the increase from £5.7 millions (annual average for 1820-29) to £16.1 millions (annual average for 1870-79) occurred over a period of time when prices were often stable or falling. In addition, the cost of many interventionist measures was low.
(1)

Three questions are raised by this. In a period when population and national income were rising fast, are raw figures of government expenditure relevant? When education by 1879 was much more expensive than anything else, does lumping it in with other government expenditure give a fair picture of government activity in general? and how exactly is the movement of prices relevant in areas in which the government's costs were primarily in the form of wages?

The ambiguity of the global figures is shown in Figure 1. Two conclusions are unarguable. Education rapidly grew to be the dominant factor in the second half of the century; and there was a sharp increase in non-education expenditure, both per head of

(1) C.J. Holmes, 'Laissez-faire in Theory and Practice: Britain, 1800-1875', Journal of European Economic History, 5(1976), pp.686-87; A.J. Taylor, Laissez-faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth Century Britain (1972), pp.54-62. The significance of the low cost of factory and mines inspection has been considered by P.W.J. Bartrip, 'State Intervention in Mid-Nineteenth Century Britain: Fact or Fiction', Journal of British Studies, XXIII(1983), pp.63-83.

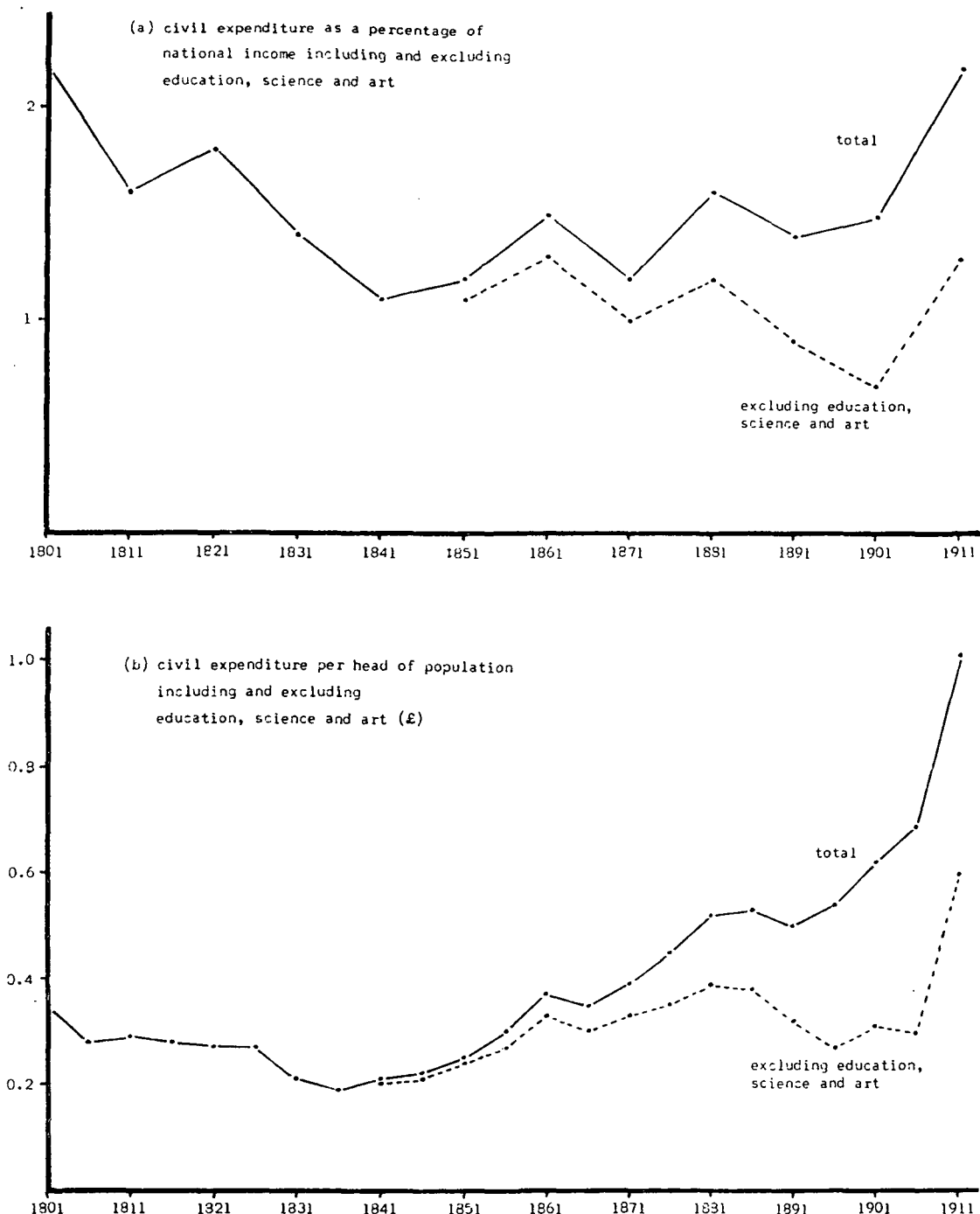


FIGURE 1: U.K. civil government expenditure 1801-1911.

SOURCE: B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962), pp.8-10, 366-67, 396-99. The figures for government expenditure for each year are those for the year ending 5 January (up to 1851) or 31 March (from 1856) of the year following. The figure for 1901, (i.e. year ending 31 March 1902) has been taken exclusive of an extraordinary increase in the item for colonial and consular expenditure for that year, presumably related to the Boer War.

population and as a percentage of national income, after 1900. But otherwise in the pattern of non-education expenditure you can see what you look for: a steady rise from 1835 to 1880; or a low period from 1830 to 1855 followed by a high period from 1860 to 1885; or a steady decline from 1801 to 1901; or, compared with what has happened in the twentieth century, a low and fairly stable level throughout the period. Much closer examination of the nature of the expenditure would be required before even tentative conclusions could be reached. A first step would be to disentangle Ireland, where both expenditure and population changes followed a quite different pattern, from the rest of the United Kingdom. In the end, though, whatever the financial figures showed, the qualitative argument would remain.

1.2 THE FRUSTRATION MODEL OF SOCIAL REFORM

It is a platitude that the increasing involvement of the state with education in the nineteenth century was an aspect of social reform in general. At the time and since, it has been associated with other areas of reform: the poor law, factories, public health, and so on. According to the traditional account, elementary education was a good thing and there should have been more of it. Private schools were unsatisfactory and voluntary exertions could not cope. Public finance and organization was therefore necessary, ideally in the form of a 'national system of education' defined by Act of Parliament. The story of the nineteenth century is the story of the progress of this ideal from its beginning as a radical aspiration to its realization in 1870 and subsequent extension and

consolidation.

Work in the last twenty-five years or so has modified the traditional account in many respects, but has not changed its main lines. For the middle years of the century Nancy Ball and John Hurt (1) have minutely examined the Parliamentary Papers and the education files in the Public Record Office. Richard Johnson and D.G. Paz(2) have brought into view a wide range of manuscript material from the papers of the politicians and civil servants of the time, papers of established usefulness to historians at large but not previously exploited in the history of education. One result of this work has been to correct earlier versions in a mass of detailed matters of fact, their account, that is, of what happened. It has also focussed attention more strongly than in the past on how it happened, producing, on the whole, much more thoughtful and realistic analyses than older authors attempted. But it has left untouched the core of the traditional account, its explanation of why what happened happened, why the state became involved and why that involvement grew.

In its crudest form this explanation is clearly a tautology: the state intervened because state intervention was necessary. Behind it lies the notion that private agencies could not cope. What they could not cope with was the problem of inadequate elementary education. The language of 'problems' and 'coping' with them has the notion built into it that 'something had to be done', if not by

(1) Nancy Ball, Her Majesty's Inspectorate 1839-1849 (1963); J.S. Hurt, Education in Evolution (1971).

(2) See works cited above p.1

private agencies then by the state. In other words the same tautology is at the root of more complex formulations of the explanation.

The result of inquiries in the 1830s 'was to condemn the voluntary system and call for measures of State control'. This is an example of the 'something had to be done' form of explanation from a text of the old style chosen at random.(1) More recent authors, perhaps from a sense of unease, perhaps simply from their emphasis on how events took place, have not tended to put the matter so obviously. But nor have they offered an alternative, as indeed would not have been expected, their not having explicitly posed the question; and it can be shown on the whole that the same sort of assumptions lie behind their work - the assumption that there were 'problems' which, in the end, the state had to solve: the findings of the statistical societies '... necessarily reflected on the achievements of the religious societies and indicated the need for new agencies ... there was a growing demand that government should play a greater part in the education of the independent poor'; 'the discrepancy between the Department's powers and resources and the problems which even a limited inspection revealed'.(2) 'At first it had seemed that the need to solve the social problems of the day was so pressing that the rival denominations would be prepared to sink their differences'; 'It was clear that the state needed to do more than just distribute

(1)S.J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, (seventh edition 1967) p.233.

(2)Johnson, 'Education Department', pp.6,504.

grants to [lucky areas]';(1)'Industrialization ... brought a dimension of urgency which ultimately transformed [attitudes] making education a central concern of government social policy'; '... neither the regularity nor the length of this attendance, nor the quality of the teaching the children received when they did come, were satisfactory'; 'The failure of these first efforts to establish the State's responsibility for the provision of elementary education meant that in the mid-nineteenth century, such provision remained patchy...';(2) 'Still, voluntary donations were never enough to fund all the schools that were needed'; 'The conjunction of the school societies' financial weakness and the new problems of the industrial revolution led the State to take an interest in working-class education'; 'The industrial revolution and the growth of population created new social problems and exacerbated old ones ... As with other social problems, the raising of the education question led to the creation of a new branch of government...';(3)'The churches' inability to finance their growing educational ambitions led to government grants, ... and also led to the foundation in 1839 of the Education Committee of the Privy Council Office'; 'It was generally agreed that some sort of increased State intervention was necessary to "fill the gaps";(4)and so on.

Such a necklace of quotations is tedious, but is necessary to show that the bulk even of modern historians of education, who have

(1)Hurt, pp.14,31.

(2)G. Sutherland, Elementary Education in the Nineteenth Century (1971), pp.4,11,17-18.

(3)Paz, Working-class education, pp.5,7.

(4)A. Digby and P. Searby, Children, school and society in nineteenth-century England (1981), pp.6,8.

critically examined accepted versions of what happened and how, have been content with the traditional view of why there was state intervention in elementary education at all; and perhaps for the very reason that they have left this question unexamined, they have expressed the answer in repetitively similar terms. In using the language of needs and social problems, detached from individuals who felt compelled, or who sought to change their own or others' lives, historians of education have adopted the same stance as historians of other aspects of nineteenth-century reform. This language, and the explanation of why there was reform associated with it, are the framework within which education, factory legislation, and the rest are linked.

One finds, for example, in relation to factories, 'It was this indifference to the needs of the operative classes that made State intervention necessary...'; and '[steam power] transformed the character of the factories, and in doing so threw into high relief a new social problem of much greater extent and of unprecedented gravity'.(1) One of Chadwick's biographers tells us about the Poor Law that 'After 1838 the inadequacy of the Board's powers became increasingly obvious and the need for coercive powers to supplement persuasion and control became pressing', and, '... there was no easier way to be found; and even the bitterest opponents of the new measure, when pressed to the point, could suggest as an alternative only a return to allowances and the labour rate. No salvation lay

(1) M.W. Thomas, The Early Factory Legislation (1948), pp.5,13.

that way'.(1) The other describes the public health movement: 'The first phase, to expose the evil, had been the primary task of the Sanitary Report ... Now the technical and administrative possibilities had been explored ... The third phase, to translate these recommendations into legislation, was now opened', and, 'it was a great step forward that a central Board should have been established, an embryo Ministry of Health, with aggressive powers, however slight at first, to make head against sanitary evils...'(2)

With writers on individual areas of reform having so often stated the reason for reform in similar terms, it is not surprising that the same sort of explanation has been espoused by historians who have sought to generalize. Thus Kitson Clark: '... if [the Industrial Revolution] were to be made safe for humanity its propensities for evil must be brought under control or compensated'; and again, 'Power and knowledge to discipline and to direct and utilize these forces was needed if life was to be lived in tolerable conditions, let alone to improve in quality. That power could only be developed and directed to the right ends by the public authority.' (3) More recently Oliver MacDonagh expressed himself similarly: '... the irreducible brute matter of the new and unprecedented social problems. Whatever was said and done individual exertion and private enterprise did not and could not resolve them - and resolved they had to be.' (4) Likewise Jill Pellew has summarized the inspectorates under the aegis of the Home Office: '... inspectors in the

(1) S.E. Finer, The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick (1952), pp.92,95.

(2) R.A. Lewis, Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement 1832-1854 (1952), pp.105,176.

(3) G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England (1965), pp.93,97.

(4) Early Victorian Government (1977), p.20.

mid-nineteenth century were the new aid to central government in its attempt to solve problems caused by comparatively rapidly changing social, economic and scientific conditions.'(1)

An approach in which the refrain is that 'something had to be done' or 'there was a need for reform' or 'the State had to take action' leads to certain consequences. In education, because calls for comprehensive legislation were repeated throughout the period it is easy to see each step that was taken not positively but negatively, not in terms of what it achieved but in terms of what it failed to achieve. The emphasis tends to be on what obstacles there were in the way of legislation. The story becomes one of obstruction, delay and frustration. The initial building grant of 1833 was an almost insignificant alternative to legislation; jealousy of state action frustrated the ambitions of the Committee of Council on Education in 1839; the Minutes of 1843-44 and of 1846 were only the best that could be achieved after the failure of the Factory Bill of 1843; a narrowly bureaucratic attitude dominated the Department in the 1850s and prevented legislative advance; the Revised Code blighted such system as had by then developed.

This 'frustration model' of social reform has not been more prevalent in education history than elsewhere. The literature is packed with the enemies of progress, from indifferent cabinet ministers and un-zealous civil servants, through callous mill-owners, unscrupulous water companies, self-serving local authorities, lethargic Boards of Guardians, to petty minded farmers and parents

(1) The Home Office 1848-1914 (1982), p.144.

blind to their children's welfare. It is easy to see how this has come about. Once a line is established following the direction in which it is desirable or necessary for events to move, the obstacles in the way of individual reformers and individual reforms become the natural focus of attention, because they mark the movement along the line, forwards or backwards. The study of reform becomes, characteristically, the study of conflict. As such it has produced illuminating studies of how those conflicts were conducted, and of the protagonists. But in the end it has left us none the wiser as to why.

If the notions of 'social problems' and 'the need for reform' offer only a tautology as an explanation of why reforms came about, how is it that they have been so popular? As a matter of psychology, no doubt if a question has not been examined the answer will tend to be given in the form not so much of an answer but of a background assumption, an organizing attitude, and one, moreover, easily adopted unthinkingly from previous authors. Beyond that, the idea of 'a need for reform' seems to be plausible because it combines two different ideas, each of which on its own is perfectly sound.

The first idea is that individuals in the nineteenth century thought there ought to be reforms. Most obviously these were politicians, civil servants, philanthropists, educationists and the like, who sought reform not on their own behalf but on behalf of those whom they saw as suffering from the conditions they wished to see changed. The second idea is that we have our social standards now and expect them to be maintained. We take for granted that

children go to school, that cities are properly drained, that factories are safe, that water is pure, and so on. If something like this turns out not to be the case we are inclined to say, 'Something should be done about it', and if enough people say that, or the right people say it, then something is done about it. Without getting involved in theories of democracy or moral philosophy, a common-sense chain of events can be seen.

Neither of the two ideas on its own amounts to 'something had to be done'. The weakness of the first is that individuals differed in what they saw as being social problems and, when they agreed on what the problems were, differed on their solutions. An account which refers beliefs simply to the nineteenth-century individuals who held them carries no weight because the flow of events seems to be unfocussed and directionless. Given statements of the form 'Chadwick believed that outdoor relief should be completely prohibited' we cannot disagree with the author, but it is open to us to disagree with Chadwick. In the absence of any other theoretical framework, an account in which all the statements are of this form leaves the question 'Why did things happen the way they did?' so resolutely unanswered as to be obtrusive.

The historian can get round this difficulty by selecting the views he approves of for a different form of words. He says 'Chadwick saw that outdoor relief should be completely prohibited'. In this form we are being told not only what Chadwick believed, but that he was right to believe it. We are not at liberty to disagree with either the author or Chadwick. The account gains authority because it seems

to appeal to an objective standard. But this implicit appeal is not to something that existed then. There was not a fixed metaphysical structure visible, or partly visible, to the discerning reformer. There was not an agreed system of right and wrong from which, applied to any case, right action could be deduced. The appeal is to the standards of today. It was right for Chadwick to believe whatever it was because we believe it to be right now; and if (as may be the case with the example chosen) the second form of words or an equivalent is harnessed to something we do not particularly believe now, it loses its force.

Once the appeal is made explicit its irrelevance becomes apparent. It is not on the face of it absurd to make moral judgements about the long dead. But it is a different matter for appeals to contemporary standards to be a factor in determining causation in the past, for that is what we have come to. If the state intervened because intervention was necessary, and if the criterion of that necessity is in the last analysis what we now feel to be right, our explanation of why things happened in the past is at the mercy of our changing views about what is right about the present.

It may be objected that the connection between the present and the past is different, that there is an objective standard not of right but of knowledge. Science and technology and socio-political institutions have progressed so that we now in fact know what the answer to their problems was. As far as it goes this is true, certainly in science and engineering. There are many statements of the form 'pure water prevents epidemic cholera', or 'cast iron

bridges cannot withstand certain kinds of vibration' of which the truth is clear to us and was not to them. The problem again is one of relevance. Of the numberless possible statements of fact which ones do we select? There is no point, for example, in making remarks about emission reduction in engines - there is a criterion of technical relevance. But even if in principle relevant a piece of technical knowledge is only interesting if it was a matter of discussion at the time, in which case when we say that 'so-and-so saw that such-and-such had to be done' we mean that the reformer in question glimpsed a scientific or technical truth his contemporaries missed. But even in the minority of areas anywhere near the frontiers of scientific knowledge what counts is not who saw the scientific truth but who had his heart in the right place.

This is illustrated well in the history of public health. The story of reform is, in the first instance, the story of Chadwick. As is well known he adhered, like many of his contemporaries, to the pythogenic theory of disease: you would get rid of cholera and typhoid by getting rid of the rubbish and ordure in the streets, the slaughterhouses, the cess pits, and the like. It is arguable that the sewer flushing Chadwick advocated actually made the epidemics of these diseases worse. The scientific point is interesting, but its interest is secondary to that of Chadwick as a reformer. There is no suggestion that someone like John Snow, who did glimpse the truth, was a more important figure.

What it amounts to is that the beliefs of the reformers were of their time, an intimate part of the fabric we are studying, but lack

objectivity and universality. On the other hand our knowledge and standards of today have some claim to objectivity and universality but in themselves lack relevance to the events of the past. But the two ideas cannot be combined into a single one having the force of both. They remain like one of those ambiguous figures which can be seen as one thing or another but not the two simultaneously. So long as the ambiguity is left unexamined phrases such as 'something had to be done' or 'the State had to intervene' can seem, quite misleadingly, to offer an explanation for the course of events.

1.3 'THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY REVOLUTION IN GOVERNMENT' AND AFTER

If such pseudo-explanation is to be eschewed, what can be put in its place? One answer is to put nothing in its place, to operate entirely on the level of what and how and avoid all suggestion of deeper causation. Amongst educational historians this approach has been adopted by, for example, Ball. On a wider field it characterizes the work of W.L. Burn.⁽¹⁾ But if we want to go beyond this, what then?

We are faced first of all with a problem of definition. Traditionally discussion has been in terms of 'reform' and 'state intervention', the vocabulary of the frustration model and the line of progress. In the discussion so far the same terms have been used because they are conveniently vague. But if the frustration model and the line of progress are to be abandoned, the term 'reform' becomes misleading because, like 'social problem', it implies the

(1) Ball, Inspectorate; W.L. Burn, The Age of Equipoise (1964).

tautologous explanation of events; and 'state intervention' must at least be used with care.

Abandoning the notion that 'something had to be done' means not just finding a new answer, but finding new questions. In the process of formulating new questions many different concepts have been used: laissez-faire, individualism, state intervention, collectivism, growth of government, revolution in government; and the broad area in which the Poor Law, the Factory Acts, education and the like recur as examples has been variously treated as part of legal history, of social history, and of administrative history, with a corresponding variation in the meaning of the terms used. To clarify the situation it remains necessary to start with A.V. Dicey.

Dicey wrote mostly about collectivism and individualism; a lot about laissez-faire; and a little about state intervention. He defined what he meant by collectivism quite precisely:

... The school of opinion often termed (and generally by more or less hostile critics) socialism, which favours the intervention of the State, even at some sacrifice of individual freedom, for the purpose of conferring benefit upon the mass of the people.(1)

This definition shows that collectivism was just one kind of state intervention, a point underlined by the at least partial identification of collectivism with socialism. Subsequently Dicey sometimes used 'state intervention' as a synonym for 'collectivism'; but if this was unfortunate in encouraging later authors to use the two terms interchangeably, it did not introduce any real confusion into Dicey's own work, where the focus remained clearly on

(1)A.V. Dicey, Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion ... (1898, 1914), p.64.

collectivism as he had defined it.

One of the questions Dicey posed in Law and Opinion, and arguably the central question of the book, was why collectivism superseded individualism, identified with Benthamite liberalism, as the dominant current of legislative opinion. He sought

to explain a revolution of social and political belief which forms a remarkable phenomenon in the annals of opinion. This explanation in reality is nothing else than an attempted analysis of the conditions or which have favoured the growth of collectivism, or, if the matter be looked at from the other side, have undermined the authority of Benthamite liberalism.

At this stage the important feature of Dicey's question is that it is of the same order as 'why was there social reform?' - it seeks an explanation for the growth of legislation of a specified kind - not the mechanics of how legislation came about, but why it came about.

Sixty years after Dicey first composed Law and Opinion his question was put again, by Oliver MacDonagh. Explicitly following in Dicey's footsteps, MacDonagh sought to explain

the transformation, scarcely glimpsed till it was well secured, of the operations and functions of the state within society, which destroyed belief in the possibility that society did or should consist, essentially or for the most part, of a mere accumulation of contractual relationships between persons, albeit enforced so far as need be by the sovereign power.(1)

His work on the transatlantic emigrant trade had led MacDonagh to concentrate on the state's interference with freedom of contract, and while this was only a part of Dicey's expansion of what he meant by collectivism, it was an important part. MacDonagh coincided more exactly with Dicey in claiming later in the paper to have provided

(1) Oliver MacDonagh, 'The Nineteenth-century Revolution in Government: a Reappraisal', The Historical Journal, 1(1958), p.57.

an explanation, or rather a vital part of the explanation, of the catastrophic and very general collapse of political individualism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.
(1)

It must again be stressed that we are still at the level of causation, of socio-political questions and socio-political explanations.

Unfortunately, at the same time as MacDonagh reopened the question Dicey had asked, he confused the issue by asking another one. He referred to 'an administrative and governmental revolution in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century' in which 'the function and structure of executive government changed profoundly'. The change was 'revolutionary both in kind and "quantity"'. What was its 'cause or nature'? (2) Now this question, though obviously related to Dicey's, either in its original formulation or in MacDonagh's version, is equally obviously not the same question. It is a much narrower one, a question about government rather than a question about society; and it is at root, despite the reference to causation, a question about how something happened rather than a question about why something happened.

This becomes clear from an examination of MacDonagh's treatment of it. In the first place, as well as casting doubt on whether Dicey had actually put the question explicitly, (3) MacDonagh did not say what his answer had been nor to what extent he agreed with it. Instead he stated, quite correctly, that it had been framed in terms of 'political doctrine, trends in articulate opinion, specific

(1) Ibidem, p.62.

(2) Ibidem, pp.52-53.

(3) Ibidem, p.57n.

statutes marking changes in principle, and the corresponding decisions of the law courts'.(1) For MacDonagh this amounted to a criticism, because Dicey had left out the administrative and social dimensions:

No public servant is mentioned from beginning to end, unless he were also a political economist or 'thinker' ... a few generalized paragraphs provide the only description of the changes in the size and distribution of the population, and in the domestic and occupational conditions of life.

What was necessary therefore was to supplement Dicey's thesis (whatever it had been) 'by concentrating attention upon the last and more neglected factors, the pressures working within society and the "spontaneous" developments in administration'.(2)

The treatment which followed deserves the closest attention. The first cause was 'a peculiar concatenation of circumstances'; and the first link in that concatenation 'the unprecedented scale and intensity and the other novelties of the social problems arising from steam-powered industrialization, and from the vast increase, and the new concentrations and mobility, of the population'; or again, in a particular instance it began 'with the exposure of a social evil'. It will be recognized that we are right back with the traditional language of social reform and 'something had to be done'.(3) What in effect MacDonagh did was to forget Dicey's question. Collectivism, defined objectively by relationships between people or between people and government was replaced in the question by social reform defined circularly by its being the solution to social problems.

(1) Ibidem, p.56.

(2) Ibidem, pp.55-56, 57.

(3) Ibidem, pp.57,58.

MacDonagh then went on to answer his own second question, as to how the structure and function of government changed. The 'concatenation of circumstances' 'set in motion' a 'legislative-cum-administrative process', (1) this process being his famous model of government growth, a model certainly of how 'administrative and governmental revolution' progressed and of the mechanics of social reform; but by no stretch of the imagination an explanation for the collapse of political liberalism or the growth of collectivism.

When Henry Parris came to criticize MacDonagh's paper, he followed the latter's lead in placing the debate in 'the field of administrative history'. He still gave considerable attention to Dicey, but, 'Dicey's purpose was not only to describe the consequences of radical Liberalism, but also, as a whiggish exponent of the true Liberal faith, to denounce them' (2) - to describe and to denounce, not to explain. On the other hand in his own exposition Parris did seem to be trying to account for the developments he was describing.

He agreed with Dicey that Benthamism had been an important influence on legislation, but thought he was wrong about the pattern of this legislation. There had not been a period of individualism or Benthamism from 1825 to 1865 or 1870, followed by a period of collectivism. On the contrary, collectivism had been important from at least 1830. The reason Dicey was wrong about this was that he was

(1) *Ibidem*, p.58.

(2) Henry Parris, 'The Nineteenth-century Revolution in Government: a Reappraisal Reappraised', *The Historical Journal*, 3(1960), pp.17,18.

also wrong about Benthamism, of which the legislative tendency was as much collectivist as it was individualist.

On the face of it this was an alternative explanation for the growth of collectivism (supposing an earlier explanation to have been offered for this to be an alternative to). In fact it achieved rather less. Parris criticized MacDonagh's model of 'administrative growth' (Parris's phrase) on the grounds that its stages did not fit administrative and legislative development in areas other than the transatlantic emigrant trade in the study of which it had originated. Absence of fit could be explained by the influence of Benthamite ideas: the persuasiveness of individual Benthamites that centralized solutions were necessary (in the cases of the Metropolitan Police, the Poor Law and prison inspection); their introduction of Benthamite administrative agencies, especially inspectorates (in the case of factory legislation); and the spread of these by virtue of a demonstration effect so that they were incorporated from the beginning into legislation in the 1840s and 1850s. In short, the exposure of a social evil was not enough to ensure action, or not necessarily enough. There needed to be Benthamites around who could show that collectivist intervention was necessary, and what the appropriate administrative agencies would be.(1)

The weakness of Parris's argument lay in his use of the principle of utility. He stressed its ambivalence, which allowed Benthamism to lead equally to individualist or collectivist solutions:

When, therefore, existing institutions were subjected to the test of utility the result might be either more free

(1) Ibidem, pp.27.29,30.

enterprise or less. When it was asked 'Do the Corn Laws tend to the greatest happiness of the greatest number?' the answer (in 1846) was 'No'. When it was asked 'Since free competition does not work in the field of railway enterprise, would public regulation tend to the greatest happiness of the greatest number?' the answer (in 1840) was 'Yes'. The question was then, as indeed it is today, not laissez-faire or State intervention, but where, in the light of constantly changing circumstances, the line between them should be drawn.(1)

Quite so. But unfortunately that question is the one which Benthamism, as least as portrayed by Parris, does not answer. The more the ambivalence of the principle of utility is stressed, the more clearly Benthamism can be shown to have both collectivist and individualist tendencies; but at the same time the less effectively can it explain why one tendency or the other dominated at a particular time or in a particular field. Some other input is necessary, an auxiliary assertion which states what constitutes happiness, and how, under any given set of circumstances, it may be achieved.

Parris supplied this in effect by starting at the same point as MacDonagh, with the existence of a social evil, a problem the definition of which implied the need for state intervention, which set the mechanism, Benthamite or non-Benthamite, in motion. The first stage of MacDonagh's model, 'the exposure of a social evil', was the only one Parris accepted without comment, and he summarized MacDonagh's 'concatenation of circumstances' which set in motion a 'legislative-cum-administrative process' by saying that the nineteenth-century revolution in government was a 'response to social

(1) Ibidem, pp.36,37.

and economic change'.(1) Where he differed from MacDonagh was in the mechanics of the legislative-cum-administrative process. The underlying identity of attitude emerged in a few remarks: 'The situation in 1832, with the Poor Rate standing at over £7 million, was indeed intolerable'; 'The evils of the existing [penal] system had been recognized since the days of John Howard'; 'It is generally agreed that the main obstacle to greater progress [in education] had been sectarian tensions'.(2) It was emphasized by the quotation Parris used with apparent approval some years later:

The growth of industry, of banking, of joint-stock enterprise, of maritime transport, of inland communications, especially railways, of town life and the consequent need for police, sanitation, water supply, education, and poor-relief created problems which, whatever the theoretical merits of laissez-faire, could not be disregarded. In response to these demands a vast system of administration, central and local, had to be improvised.(3)

In other words the state intervened because the state had to intervene.

After the articles by MacDonagh and Parris three different directions of the argument can be traced. In the first place MacDonagh's depreciation of Benthamite influence provoked Jenifer Hart to a self-consciously reactionary rejoinder. The subject matter was no longer collectivism or a revolution in government but 'social reform' as such. The task was to explain 'progress in nineteenth-century England'.(4) Hart repeated and enlarged on many of the points Parris had made, but her article had a broader purpose: to

(1)Ibidem, p.35.

(2)Ibidem, pp.22, 32.

(3)Henry Parris, Constitutional Bureaucracy (1969), p.16.

(4)Jenifer Hart, 'Nineteenth-century Social Reform: a Tory Interpretation of History', Past and Present, no.31(1965), p.39.

reassert the value of a Whig interpretation of reform legislation. Her language was that in which a tautology, obvious or concealed, has generally been offered in the guise of an explanation. On the other hand she herself levelled this very accusation against the historians she was criticizing.

Unlike Parris, she examined the first stage in MacDonagh's model, the exposure of a social evil and its being shown to be intolerable. Applied without reference to individuals, 'intolerability' simply meant that something had to be done. Subsequently you knew whether something had been intolerable by whether something had in fact been done. The tautology was clear, and Hart cited an undisguised example from the work of David Roberts: 'Roberts in one of his articles stresses that social legislation was a necessity, and "explains" it its enactment by in effect saying "it had to be passed"'. Alternatively, if it was a matter of particular individuals thinking something intolerable the trouble was that there was no agreement. In itself intolerability then ceased to imply any need for action and the notion lost even the appearance of explanatory force.(1)

With these arguments we are on familiar ground. What then did Hart offer instead? She stressed that reform was the work of individuals, above all Benthamites. Progress in the nineteenth century was not the result of impersonal forces like, say, the expansion of the universe. It was the result of human decisions and human actions. So far, so good. Her summary of her own position and that which she was disputing must be quoted in full:

(1) Ibidem, pp.49,58.

Social progress, it is implied, will take place in the future as in the past without human effort as a result of 'the historical process' ... The only way of testing the validity of this advice is empirically by examining the evidence offered by the past. And in so far as social reform in nineteenth-century England is concerned, the evidence seems to suggest that most social evils were not removed without fierce battles against absurd arguments, vested interests, obscurantism and timidity, and that their removal required considerable effort and determination on the part of men (even if only obscure men) who realized that it was worth while making a conscious effort to control events.(1)

Taking the language in which this written on its own terms, there is nothing in it with which one can disagree. However it does not do the job it was set. It is not, in other words an explanation of anything. It is simply a version of the frustration model. For if we ask, 'These men, why did they apply their effort and determination in those directions and not in others? and why, in the long term (since the premise is that there was "progress"), were their efforts successful?', within the framework of 'social evils' and 'social reform' the answers can only be circular: they saw what had to be done and their efforts were successful because it was what had to be done, answers of which the ambiguity has already been discussed. The key word in the account is 'realized'; and it expresses what Hart had put more explicitly earlier in her article. As regards the Poor Law, 'who saw clearly what was necessary, except the Benthamites?'; and more generally, some Victorians did want the central government to manage local affairs 'in the sense that they saw it was necessary if they were to get certain other things which they wanted, such as better public health or adequate policing'.(2)

(1) Ibidem, p.61.

(2) Ibidem, pp.43, 59.

Hart's article did not mention Dicey, and it effectively closed the question MacDonagh had reopened - perhaps because of being such a forceful restatement of the Whig interpretation and yet making no advance in explanation, it seemed to suggest that no advance in explanation was possible. Discussion proceeded however in a second direction, which derived from the question of mechanism to which MacDonagh's model had in fact been the answer, and the consequent shift of ground, contributed to by Parris, into the field of administrative history. While a 'revolution in government' continued to be referred to, the main topic became the 'growth of government', meaning not the growth of government in relation to the governed but growth of the civil service, of individual departments, the character of individual civil servants and their changing role. Where MacDonagh, seeking (in some sense) an explanation for a pattern of legislation, focussed on the contribution made by certain civil servants, the tendency of the more narrowly administrative historians was to focus on civil servants and ask if and how they had contributed to legislation, as an aid to understanding not legislation but government departments and their growth.(1)

(1)For example Gillian Sutherland (ed.),
Studies in the growth of nineteenth-century government (1972).

1.4 COLLECTIVISM, STATE INTERVENTION AND INDIVIDUALISM

Only the third direction of argument stimulated, or restimulated, by MacDonagh retained a real connection with Dicey. Interest has continued to be shown in whether the period from 1825 to 1870 or so was in some sense a period of individualism which preceded a period of collectivism, according to Dicey's scheme; or whether collectivism had already begun to flourish in the middle years of the century. Was the mid-nineteenth century an age of laissez-faire, or an age of state intervention? Parris argued against Dicey, as earlier had J.B. Brebner.⁽¹⁾ Not the least interesting point to emerge from a study of their work and subsequent contributions is that the substitution of the phrase 'state intervention' for 'collectivism', unimportant as it had been in Dicey's own argument, was of great importance in the usage of those who criticized him.

Brebner made the two points later made by Parris. It was wrong to identify Benthamism with individualism; and the amount of interventionist legislation in the middle decades of the century was inconsistent with its being labelled an age of laissez-faire. The application of the argument about the nature of Benthamism is indirect because it relies on its being established that Benthamism was in fact influential, a matter itself of debate; and because it requires a rather subtle analysis of the paths of influence and the degree to which the Benthamism which finally affected legislation

(1) J.B. Brebner, 'Laissez Faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth-Century Britain', Journal of Economic History (1948), pp.59-73.

represented what had come from Bentham's pen.(1)

In principle, examination of the actual legislation of the period should be more straightforward, and should show how far Dicey was justified. Brebner's conclusion, based on a wide range of legislative and administrative developments, was unequivocal. But Brebner only made the occasional mention of collectivism, and only in direct reference to Dicey or Bentham. In one phrase, 'state intervention for collectivist ends',(2) he seemed to follow Dicey in implying that collectivism was one kind of state intervention, and that there could be others. However his examples gave a different picture. They ranged from the abolition of the slave trade and grants for church building, through the familiar territory of the Factory Acts and the Poor Law, to the reform of the civil service and of the criminal law. Many of the examples he cited in refutation of Dicey had been cited by Dicey as examples of individualist legislation.

On the other side he only mentioned the repeal of the Corn Laws and Peel's budget of 1841. Other examples were too well known to be listed. The impression that emerges is that for Brebner intervention, not distinguished from collectivism, meant any government activity or legislation, which did not simply remove previous impositions.(3)

(1)S.E. Finer, 'The transmission of Benthamite ideas 1820 -1850', in Sutherland, Nineteenth-century government, especially pp.12-13.

(2)Brebner, 'State Intervention', p.60.

(3)Ibidem, pp.64, 70-73.

Dicey, surveying the field of legislation, had thought he could distinguish between what had been influenced by an individualist current of opinion and what had been influenced by a collectivist current. If all positive legislation was to be identified with state intervention, and of course all positive intervention does intervene somewhere, and if, further, state intervention was to be identified with collectivism, then Dicey was indisputably shown to be wrong, but by a purely semantic argument which left the empirical case untouched. Including the identification of collectivism with socialism, it would lead to the arid conclusion that all positive legislation was socialism.

Parris followed Brebner in apparently identifying collectivism with state intervention. He used the former term more frequently than Brebner had, but his criticism of Dicey was largely to the effect that Dicey had contradicted himself. This meant that when Parris wrote about collectivism he was speaking in Dicey's voice rather than his own. When he did write his own view directly the term gave him some uneasiness. A change in the tone of legislation after about 1870 did not result from 'the adoption of a hypothetical philosophy of collectivism'.⁽¹⁾ He clearly preferred 'state intervention', but even then was equivocal. Dicey's view had helped to perpetuate 'the myth that between 1830 and 1870 or thereabouts, central control in Great Britain was stationary, if not actually diminishing'. In the corresponding sentence in his book 'central

(1)Parris, 'A Reappraisal Reappraised', p.36.

control' became 'central administration'.(1) Thus the opposite of individualism moved from Dicey's 'collectivism' to 'state intervention' to 'central control' to 'central administration', a shift which seems to mirror MacDonagh's from a question about the socio-political origins of legislation to a question about the mechanics of the growth of government.

Parris selected for major criticism Dicey's treatment of factory legislation, of education, and of the Poor Law. Dicey could write that there was nothing 'in the early factory movement which was opposed either to Benthamism or to the doctrines of the most rigid political economy'; but also that here 'Benthamite liberalism suffered its earliest and severest defeat'; and '... the success of the Factory Acts gave authority ... to beliefs which, if not exactly socialistic, yet certainly tended towards socialism or collectivism'. Again in the case of education he could describe the system as 'a monument to the increasing predominance of collectivism' while admitting that it originated in 1833, towards the beginning of the period individualism. At about the same time the Poor Law 'placed poor relief under the supervision of the State' and 'under the control of the central government', thus limiting 'the area of individual freedom'.(2)

What weakens this criticism in the first place is that it counts all state intervention, all state expenditure and all state control as aspects of collectivism. Dicey's own view seems to have been that

(1)Parris, 'A Reappraisal Reappraised', p.26; Constitutional Bureaucracy, p.266.

(2)Parris, 'A Reappraisal Reappraised', pp.21, 24.

factory legislation, insofar as it dealt only with children or safety, should be regarded in a different light from the Ten Hours Act of 1847, which was definitely a collectivist measure. Again in education it was the Act of 1870 which first introduced collectivism. The grant of 1833 had started the process, and since then state intervention had increased; but in 1870 it had crucially changed its character. Even as regards the Poor Law, state control and some restriction of freedom could be compatible with the philosophy of individualism. In general, individualist intervention could be the forerunner of collectivist intervention.

In the second place, although Dicey divided the nineteenth century into periods, his emphasis was on the dominance of a particular current of opinion in each period. If at times he made the transition between them seem abrupt, and their characters homogeneous, his prevailing tendency was to talk of the growth of one current of opinion, sufficient even to have some legislative effect, while the earlier current retained its dominant effect. If his varying emphasis led him into self-contradiction, it was of a more superficial nature than Parris argued.

In effect then, the criticism by Brebner and Parris left open the two questions Dicey had raised. Could something called collectivism be distinguished in principle as characterizing some but not all state intervention? And did the actual legislation of the nineteenth century show a pattern in time with respect to it? It was only Dicey's affirmative answer to both of these which made it necessary to ask the reason why.

The question of definition was taken up by Harold Perkin, who again did not distinguish between state intervention and collectivism. Starting with Dicey, he gave what by now had become a conventional account of subsequent work, in which intervention seemed to be the result of the need to solve social problems. Benthamism could be more or less important, but, 'Either way, laissez-faire individualism was eroded and collectivism progressively took its place.' He then went on to ask why so many 'reformers and administrators' changed sides 'so radically, from individualism to its supposed opposite, collectivism, in the course of their careers'. (1) Answering this led Perkin to make two logically distinct and incompatible theoretical suggestions and present them as though they were part of a single structure.

One was that the notion of individualism embodied the notion of state intervention, since action by the state was often necessary to preserve individual liberty. In its stronger form it assumed 'that state intervention was a continuing necessity, that indeed the state could not continue to exist and to guarantee the free pursuit of individual self-interest except by intervening'. (2) Perkin went on to explore the idea of 'positive freedom', but logically this did not go further than what was inherent in the original notion of individualism. What the exploration brought out was that when the state intervened to increase or preserve the freedom of one group it could be at the expense of the freedom of some other group, i.e. the

(1) Harold Perkin, 'Individualism Versus Collectivism in Nineteenth-Century Britain: A False Antithesis', Journal of British Studies, XVII, no.1 (Fall 1977), p.110.

(2) Ibidem, p.112.

effect could be redistributive.

On this argument individualists and collectivists could not be distinguished, since all individualists were simultaneously collectivists when looked at from another angle. On this argument too, Dicey's quest would be foredoomed to failure. But Perkin introduced another proposal, that individualism and collectivism are as points on a continuum: 'They were not opposites but adjacent steps in a progression'.(1) There is of course an ambiguity here. The colours of the rainbow lie on a continuum, and red is not the 'opposite' of green; and yet if an object is red it is certainly not green at the same time. The advantage of the idea of a progression to Perkin was that it enabled him to focus on what he thought in practice had been a much more important distinction than the transition, real or supposed, from individualism to collectivism, namely the distinction, relevant at the end of the century, between 'the nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange' and all other, less comprehensive, forms of collectivism.(2)

As steps in the progression, or points on the continuum, Perkin distinguished seven such forms, which he claimed were in logical progression. However that may be, and despite Perkin's own alternating use of the terms collectivism and state intervention, the concept of a continuum, or even of the categorization of different kinds of state intervention, suggests the desirability of separating the two terms. Different degree of collectivist character is the

(1) Ibidem, pp.110, 112.

(2) Ibidem, pp.116-17.

implied basis of Perkin's progression.

The argument thus comes back to Dicey. What, finally, of his own categorization? Seeing that the principle of utility on its own was compatible with individualism, collectivism, or indeed benevolent despotism, he explicitly added a 'dogma of laissez-faire':

Every person is in the main and as a general rule the best judge of his own happiness. Hence legislation should aim at the removal of all restrictions on the free action of an individual which are not necessary for securing the like freedom on the part of his neighbours.(1)

It is all very well aiming at legislation for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. But you have to have a notion of what happiness consists of. The divide Dicey saw was between collectivism, whereby the content of happiness was laid down for some or all of the population by Act of Parliament; and individualism, whereby as far as possible each individual was allowed to pursue his own idea of happiness. It can hardly be doubted that a genuine distinction was being made; nor, as has been repeatedly noted, most explicitly by Perkin, that individualism so defined requires government intervention. There remains the question as to whether the actual government intervention in the nineteenth century shows a pattern over time with respect to Dicey's distinction.

(1)Dicey, p.146.

1.5 DICEY'S PERIOD OF INDIVIDUALISM

1.5.1 Introduction

What is most notable about Dicey's account is that it concentrated on areas which have been largely neglected by later commentators.

His age of individualism was characterized by legislative developments in four main areas: transference of political power to the middle classes; humanitarianism; extension of individual liberty; and the adequate protection of rights. Under the first head he put the Reform Act of 1832 and the Municipal Reform Act of 1836.

Humanitarianism included the mitigation of the criminal law, with the abolition of punishments such as hanging in chains and the severe restriction of the death penalty; laws regarding cruelty to animals; and the abolition of slavery. The extension of individual liberty concerned dominantly freedom of contract and the laws on combination; the progress of religious toleration; and, somewhat incongruously, the Poor Law of 1834. The adequate protection of rights meant in effect reform of the courts and legal procedures so that remedies which were in theory open to all became more so in practice.

Apart from Brebner, who cited most of Dicey's examples of individualistic legislation as intervention and therefore collectivism, Dicey's critics have implicitly said, 'Against the tendency of the legislation you have mentioned must be set the tendency of all the legislation, or intervention, you have not mentioned, Factory Acts, Railway Acts, Emigration Acts, Public Health Acts, education, and so on.' And the critics' case was apparently

strengthened by Dicey's own inclusion of factory legislation and education under 'The Growth of Collectivism'.

It is possible that even if the identification of intervention with collectivism in the area of social and industrialization were accepted, Dicey's general characterization would remain valid, in terms of the number of people affected or the extent to which the behaviour of those affected was changed: critics of Dicey have not on the whole tackled the question of whether what they were putting in on one side of the scales in fact outweighed what Dicey had put in on the other. The nearest to an attempt at this was that of W.L. Burn. His detailed and extensive survey of legislation in the 1850s and 1860s came to depressingly little in the way of a conclusion. In his words,

What, if anything, does the evidence prove? Or, more modestly, what can safely be inferred from it? The answer could be, nothing. Or it might be argued that the several inferences which the several parts of the evidence point to are so diverse that they cannot be fitted together into any coherent conclusion.(1)

What Burn did show was how considerable a task a general survey of nineteenth-century legislation would be; why, indeed, what Dicey attempted has been attempted so little since.

It has however been argued that intervention and collectivism are not the same, and that the distinction between them is important in any analysis of legislation. So a second possibility is that social and industrial intervention can itself be shown to follow a pattern in which an individualist tendency was replaced by a collectivist tendency within Dicey's usage of the terms. Dicey wrote of opinion

(1)W.L. Burn, The Age of Equipoise (1964), p.217.

and legislation. But legislation in itself is a crude measure of intervention, since some laws were ineffective, and some effective interference had no legislative basis. It is more illuminating to look at what seems to have been possible, to have worked, and what impossible, whatever the law actually stated.

Three forms of intervention will be considered. The first is the regulation by the government of an area of economic activity on a national basis. The second is legislation for the provision of a social service of some kind. The third is the financing and operation by the government of a social or economic venture. It is not suggested that these three categories are exhaustive; but they are clearly distinguishable from each other and between them cover a lot of ground. Consideration of some examples establishes at least a prima facie case that intervention in the middle years of the century was consistent with Diceyan individualism, that as far as possible the state's role was to establish the context in which individuals could seek happiness according to their own notions of it. More and more after 1865 or so the state could regulate, could ensure provision of services, and could operate its own enterprises. Earlier it could do the first; the second only under certain conditions; and the third not at all; judged, that is, not just by what was proposed or legislated for, but what was also established and allowed to survive.

1.5.2 Regulatory intervention

The first form of intervention, regulation of an area of economic activity on a national basis, corresponds approximately to Perkin's first type of collectivism, 'intervention to prevent obvious moral nuisances or physical dangers not previously considered criminal, because not hitherto known to the public or though immoral or dangerous'; and also to the first category more recently proposed by P.W.J. Bartrip, intervention 'to safeguard victims of beneficial activities that produce harmful side effects'.⁽¹⁾ Leaving aside the moral load carried in both these descriptions, there is included in each case regulation of factories, mines, railways and so forth. Bartrip, dealing only with intervention that involved an inspectorate of some kind, lumped everything else into a second category, intervention to 'safeguard and preserve society as a whole (especially its physical, moral and mental health)'. Perkin described a further six forms of collectivism, but these are unsatisfactory because they do not involve a clear distinction between action by the central government and action by the localities. That distinction is crucial because, in the broad view, the government either sought to restrict the activities of individuals or local bodies, activities which those concerned in any case wanted to pursue; or sought to bring into being activities which, in the absence of state action, would not have been undertaken. In the second case the government could encourage local

(1) Perkin, 'A False Antithesis', p.114; P.W.J. Bartrip, 'British Government Inspection, 1832-75. Some Observations', The Historical Journal, 25(1982), p.609.

bodies to take action; or force them to take action; or take action itself. Whichever path it chose, the relationship between the centre and the localities was of enormous importance. What can be seen in the middle decades of the century is a process of trial and error in the course of which only certain forms of the relationship were found to be sustainable.

Examples of regulation by the government of an area of economic activity on a national basis are legislation on factories; mines; railways; emigration; and, comparable though not on a national basis, London's water supply. In all cases intervention affected commercial, profit-making enterprises. The inspectorate, where there was one, was in the last resort punitive in character. There was in all cases an element of protection, either of the enterprise's employees (factories, mines) or of its customers (railways, emigration, water supply); and corresponding to this element of protection there was some restriction on freedom of contract. Juveniles and women could not contract to work in certain places, or at night, or for longer than a certain period. No-one could contract to take certain risks of, for example, injury from unfenced shafts. Similarly passengers could not contract to travel, for the sake say of lower fares, on less safe trains or emigrant ships. At home they could not contract to buy impure water.

Dicey believed both that protection was consistent with individualism, i.e. his notion of individualism did not exclude protection, and also that all protection implied restriction of freedom. 'Extension of the idea of protection' was one of the main

features of the growth of collectivism. No-one doubted that infants or the insane needed protection, or that citizens at large should be protected from physical injury by their fellow citizens, their employers, or those from whom they purchased goods or services. On the other hand there was considerable resistance to the idea that adult males at least should not otherwise be free to make whatever contracts they saw to be in their best interest. It was consistent with these ideas that Dicey only mentioned factory legislation, and even then ignored the Act of 1833 which regulated the hours of children and young people, and that of 1844 which introduced safety regulation and restricted the hours of women, and concentrated on the Ten Hours Act of 1847, the first, at least by implication, to affect the hours of adult males.

1.5.3 Exhortatory intervention

When the government sought to restrict what people were doing anyway the pattern of intervention was conceptually simple: a set of rules, individuals on the spot to see that they were obeyed, and individuals in London to exercise more or less general supervision. The horse was already galloping, there was no doubt about the direction in which it wanted to go, and all the government had to do was to set up gates on the way. But when the government sought to encourage people to do what of their own accord they would not have done, or have done less of, the structure of the situation was quite different. The government could set up gates, but it had no effect if the horse was standing still, or plodding doggedly in some other

direction. So although apparently the same administrative pattern could be established in, for example, the Poor Law or public health or education, it had in reality a very different character.

In the absence of a very large centrally controlled bureaucracy, new action in the localities which would be for the benefit of the localities needed local initiative. The experience of the middle years of the century was that that initiative could be encouraged, it could not be compelled. The law affected not commercial undertakings, but voluntary local bodies of some kind. The inspectorate, where there was one, was advisory and exhortatory. The local bodies could at any stage ignore the advice; or, in the last resort, get up and go home.

The first example of this second type of state intervention, the new Poor Law of 1834, shows most clearly the failure of a central authority to impose its will on the localities. In area after area the new theory had to be trimmed or abandoned in the face of Local Boards of Guardians' unwillingness to go to more expense or more trouble, or undertake a wider role than they thought necessary. Very early on the scheme for separate institutions for different categories of pauper gave way to the general mixed workhouse. Even within the single institution the Poor Law Commissioners' rules for separation of different categories went for little. The prohibition of outdoor relief to the able bodied was not comprehensive in theory, and in practice full of exceptions beyond those allowed in theory, even to the extent of allowing some relief to those in work, the

supposed evil beyond all evils of the pre-1834 system.(1)

The Webbs made two general points about this failure of central control. The first illuminated the perspective of the Boards of Guardians:

Now the original and dominant obligation, cast upon the parish officers and the Justices of the Peace by Parliament, was not the education of the children, or the treatment of the sick, or the confinement of the lunatic, or the profitable employment of all who were able-bodied, but the mere relief of the necessities of the whole body of the poor within a particular area; in short, the abatement or removal of the public nuisance of destitution. Now and again, owing to the presence of enthusiastic reformers of one kind or another among the parish officers, Justices of the Peace, or Incorporated Guardians of the Poor, some more recondite purpose would be imposed on the primary object of the institution. But the exceptional reformers would pass away; and under the direction of the common type of Overseer, Justice of the Peace or apathetic governor or Guardian of the Poor, the secondary purpose would be given up, and the General Mixed Workhouse, with all its horrors of promiscuity, oppression and idleness, would again emerge as the localised dumpheap for all kinds of destitute persons.(2)

So why could the government or the Poor Law Commission not enforce the attainment of the objects of the 1834 Act?

... no one in the nineteenth century was prepared to face, for the service of the relief of destitution, the serious dangers that seemed involved in a 'Nationalization of the Poor Rate'; the very smallest use was made, in the sphere of this great service, of the Device of the Grant in Aid; and the consequent retention of local responsibility for all branches of the expenditure has made impracticable any national uniformity of policy and administration in any part of the Poor Law.(3)

In other words, not only as had been noted by the Poor Law Commission of 1909, did the central authority have no real power over the

Guardians 'to force them to do any thing they were determined not to

(1) Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Poor Law History, Part II, The Last Hundred Years (1929), pp.122-33, 140-42, 136-37, 142-51, 203-05, 146.

(2) Ibidem, pp.141-42.

(3) Ibidem, pp.243-44.

do', it had no means of encouraging them either, the sort of means which, above all, a grant in aid would have been.(1) It is scarcely surprising that this should have been so, since the object of the 1834 Act was to so large an extent to save money. It would not have seemed congruous with that object to have created a new and open-ended charge on the Exchequer.

A second example of exhortatory intervention is that into the field of public health. As with the Poor Law Commission of 1834, the General Board of Health of 1848 was on paper armed with considerable compulsory powers. The Act could be brought into force at the request of a locality, with the consequent setting up of a local board of health with powers over drainage and water supply. On the other hand it could be brought into force by the General Board directly, in the face of local apathy or against local opposition, if mortality rose above a prescribed level; or at least it could in theory. In practice the work of the General Board and the creation of the local boards proceeded to a very large extent on a voluntary basis, increasingly under the second General Board, of 1854, and exclusively under the Local Government Act of 1858. The change on paper in 1858 was less significant than it appeared:

... the compulsory powers of the old Board which were now being so demonstratively abolished had rarely been used even in Chadwick's day ... The Act of 1858 thus repealed provisions which the administrators had long since discarded in practice.(2)

(1) Ibidem, p.242.

(2) Royston Lambert, 'Central and Local Relations in Mid-Victorian England: the Local Government Act Office, 1858-71', Victorian Studies, VI, no.2(Dec.1962), p.124.

Unlike the directing authority of the Poor Law, which kept its formal powers but was decreasingly effective over time, the directing authority of public health flourished despite losing its formal powers. If there was apathy or opposition it was not in the localities but, according to Lambert, from the officials, whose tone was 'negative and timid'. But the Office 'was compelled by the nature of its work, its expert authority, and above all, the demands from the localities, to exercise an influence far beyond its desire, right, or capacity'.(1)

The difference between the development of the poor law and the development of public health could be left at that. In one case the pressure of local opinion ensured a service that was minimal in scope and expense, against the wishes of the central authority. In the other local opinion became local initiative which itself sustained and fostered activity by the central authority. But whatever the springs of local opinion, there was an important difference between the two cases in the relationship between the centre and the localities. The General Boards of Health and the Local Government Act Office did not, it is true, offer grants in aid of local works. However they did offer services of considerable value.

Drainage works involved two areas of technical complexity which small authorities in particular were not equipped to deal with. The alternative to invoking the aid of the Board or its successor was the traditional procedure of promoting a private bill in Parliament. This needed legal and engineering skills which few local bodies

(1) Ibidem, pp.128,133.

possessed, and which to buy could be very expensive. The inspectors under the Public Acts were sympathetic and, as time went on more and more experienced, engineers who could advise on appropriate schemes and methods. Procedure under the Public Health Act or later the Local Government Act was cheap. It meant in the end that, apart from the actual cost of the works for which, in any case, a mortgage could be authorized under the Acts, a locality could set a scheme up for a matter of one or two hundred pounds which might otherwise have cost as many thousands.(1)

The third example of exhortatory intervention, that into elementary education, differs superficially from the other two. It had no legislative basis, being administered from 1833 to 1839 by Treasury Minute and thereafter by Minute of the Committee of Council on Education; it did not involve elected local authorities; and the central authority had no formal powers over the localities at any stage. However the pattern of relationships was in fact very similar to that in public health, and the comparison is illuminating because the Education Department had what the Poor Law Commission had not at all and what the Local Government Act Office had only a rough equivalent to, namely the power to give grants in aid. As in public health, intervention in education grew as a result of demand from the localities, irrespective of the wishes (or indeed at times the perceptions) of those who administered the system.

While restriction or regulation on the grounds of health or safety usually applied to commercial undertakings, and encouragement to

(1) Ibidem, pp.134-36, 145-47.

provide a social service usually applied to voluntary local bodies, hybrid examples can be found which show the same characteristics. The first comes from the field of railway regulation which was dominantly a matter of safety, but which had some curious byways. One was the provision of the so-called 'Parliamentary trains' under Gladstone's Act of 1844: 'Companies which derived one-third or more of their revenue from passengers, as the great majority of companies did, were to run one such train on each week-day. These trains were to stop at every station, were to run at a speed of not less than twelve miles per hour, and the fare was not to exceed one penny per mile.' Clearly by this provision the companies were being required to provide a social service, and they could be prosecuted for failure to comply. Whether the government could have insisted was not in practice put to the test, because the Act offered the companies the considerable inducement of remission of duty on Parliamentary trains and, 'In enforcing the law relating to Parliamentary trains, the [Railway] Department relied on the carrot of remission of duty rather than on the stick of legal action'.(1)

Suitably rewarded therefore, a commercial undertaking as much as a local voluntary body would go out of its way at the law's behest. Unrewarded it would not, as shown by the Metropolitan Water Act of 1852. This Act gets a bad press, being portrayed as an anti-Chadwickian sop to the water companies, foisted on the General Board of Health by Lord Seymour. If its context is ignored, though, it becomes a fairly straightforward regulatory Act which was, in the

(1) Henry Parris, Government and the Railways in Nineteenth Century Britain (1965), pp.57,143.

event, reasonably well observed as far as it concerned public health. The companies had to take their supplies from above Teddington Lock, cover their reservoirs, and filter the water. However the Act also required that the companies provided a continuous supply; and this object was not finally achieved until late in the century, perhaps because it had much more of the nature of a social service, for the provision of which the companies were offered no extra inducement.(1)

1.5.4 State enterprise

If regulation seemed likely to be ineffective, or the prospect of encouraging local initiative dim, the government could be moved to set up on its own account. By the nineteenth century it had become accepted that enterprises which were closely related to national security, such as the armed services and the Post Office, which could in principle have been or had actually once been in private hands, should be run by the government. As Perkin argued strenuously, further extension of state management was for long almost out of the question, but where he put the divide, between 'state monopoly of an essential service or public utility for the whole population' and 'the nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange' did not make very clear what he meant, since he gave the Post Office as an example in both cases, and as a second, and as he argued the only other, case of nationalization reaching the statute book in the nineteenth century, the provision for state takeover in

(1)Royston Lambert, Sir John Simon 1816-1904 and English Social Administration (1963), pp.177, 187-88, 247; Lewis, Chadwick and Public Health, p.327.

the Railway Act of 1844.(1) Now this provision put possible takeover 21 years after the Act came into force; and contemplated the takeover of individual companies or lines - a very partial matter. But other partial examples of state-run enterprises reached the statute book, or approached or actually came to fruition long before the time came for the takeover provisions of the 1844 Railway Act to become adoptive.

The first, embryonic, example comes from another part of the regulation of the railways. A company seeking to build a line had to promote a private bill for the purpose in Parliament. The Railway Board, as existed from 1844 to 1845, reported as a matter of course on each bill and their report was considered by the Select Committee in question in conjunction with the bill. The Board recommended acceptance or rejection of plans according to a developing policy of what the railway system should be like, using the doctrine of 'equivalents': a company would reduce fares in exchange for a monopoly position. Subsequently there was a reversion to unsystematic reporting, concentrating on constructional and safety features - bridges versus level crossings and so on.(2) Automatic reports were abandoned because of 'Peel's lack of support for Dalhousie', Dalhousie being Gladstone's Vice President at the Board of Trade. The growing and potentially great power of the Railway Board, tending to supersede that of Parliament, could not be encouraged.(3) The immediate consequence 'was to remove a curb to speculation that might have prevented the Railway Mania from growing

(1)Perkin, 'A False Antithesis', p.116.

(2)Parris, Railways, pp.72-78.

(3)Ibidem, pp.83-86.

to such serious proportions; and the long-term one, the abandonment of the attempt to regulate companies' charges and the extension of the railway network.'(1) Company opposition prevented Strutt's bill of 1847 becoming law, which would have given Railway Commissioners (successors of the Board) formal power to report on railway bills. Parris argued that this did not make much difference, since reports had been prepared anyway and continued to be so. But he also made clear that the effect of subsequent reports was not fundamental: a matter of ad hoc improvements without control over the pattern of development of the system as a whole, how they should do what they wanted to do, rather than what they should do ab initio.(2) This episode in railway history was far from nationalization, and involved of course no financial stake on the part of the government. It is interesting because it is an example of a very natural growth of bureaucratic power, which could rapidly have led to the railways, without any Act of Parliament, being nationalized in all but name. It is easy enough to understand Peel's fears.

The other examples are all on a smaller scale, more self-contained, and to a much smaller extent the product of any natural growth of functions. The first actually came to fruition as Kneller Hall, the government training college for teachers in workhouse schools mooted in 1846 and opened in 1850. A product to a large extent of Kay Shuttleworth's(3)

(1)Ibidem, p.88.

(2)Ibidem, pp.125-26.

(3)The form 'Kay-Shuttleworth' is normally adopted by historians, but is anachronistic. After being allowed to add his wife's name to his own in 1842, Kay Shuttleworth signed his name 'J.P. Kay Shuttleworth' without any hyphen for the rest of his life. To others he was most frequently known simply as 'Shuttleworth'. The hyphen seems to have been used first

semi-official enthusiasms, it may be seen as a reincarnation of his normal school plan of 1839 which had come to grief amidst great controversy. The Kneller Hall scheme, under the aegis of a stronger and educationally more benevolent whig ministry somehow escaped serious attack, and got underway. It proved inordinately expensive. For five years its principal, Frederick Temple, struggled to keep it going; but his prescriptions for success all amounted to yet more money being spent, and it fizzled out in 1855 having trained relatively few teachers, many of whom did not finish up in workhouse schools (see below pp.255-9).

At about the same time as work on Kneller Hall was going ahead a comparable scheme was being seriously urged in Liverpool. Liverpool was the main port of embarkation for Irish emigrants to North America. Having come from Ireland, emigrants had to spend some nights, or even some weeks, at private lodging houses. To reduce their vulnerability to being cheated, it was argued that the government should set up a 'central depot complete with wharves, refectories, dormitories, baths, retail shops and brokers' offices'.
(1) The scheme emanated from the Liverpool emigration officers and was seriously considered by the colonial land and emigration commissioners to the extent of costings and the identification of possible sites, before being rejected more or less explicitly on the grounds that it was not the sort of venture the government should get involved in and would be better run by Liverpool corporation who, in

(3)(cont'd)by the printer on the title pages of his published works.
(1)Oliver MacDonagh, A Pattern of Government Growth (1961), p.206.

the event, were unwilling.(1)

The next case was directly comparable to the distant provision of the 1844 Railway Act in that it got as far as the statute book and involved the direct expropriation of private interests. This was Chadwick's Metropolitan Interments Act of 1850 whereby all the private burial grounds in London were to be taken over, most were to be closed, and new grounds were to be opened on more distant sites. London burial was to become a state monopoly. With Chadwick still at the helm the General Board of Health made moves towards putting the Act into effect, identifying two burial grounds which should be taken over in the first instance. But negotiations with the cemetery companies and the Treasury over the proper figure for compensation made little progress and the Act was repealed in 1852.(2) In the same year the Metropolitan Water Supply Act killed off what may serve as a final example of a proposed state enterprise, one which made little headway of any kind, Chadwick's further scheme for the takeover of the London water companies.(3)

1.5.5 The factor of real demand

All three of the proposed categories of intervention show, either by their success or by their failure, consistency with Dicey's notion of an age of individualism. Most obviously, what has been termed intervention for the provision of a social service, or exhortatory intervention, operated directly on something analogous to Dicey's

(1)Ibidem, pp.207-10.

(2)Lewis, Chadwick and Public Health, pp.247ff.

(3)Ibidem, pp.258ff.

dogma of laissez-faire - analogous only, because it operated not on individuals as such but on local bodies of one kind or another. Legislation did not force such bodies to do what they did not want to do according to some imposed prescription, or if it attempted that it failed. In practice local bodies were as free after intervention as before it to further or not further the objects embodied in the legislation or regulation. What intervention did was to ease the achievement by local bodies of ends of which they already approved in principle.

The key element in this was a real local demand - not individuals in London who said that the country was crying out for schools or sanitation, but individuals on the spot who said, 'We want to build a sewage system' or, 'We want to build a school'. This element of real local demand is the common factor whose presence or absence illuminates the other two types of intervention.

Where partial nationalization was proposed or put into effect, the proposals were characterized by obfuscation as to whether a real local demand existed. A suggestion that the state should spend money on and run an enterprise which nobody wanted could not be expected to find favour. It had to be shown that the enterprise was needed. Somewhere in the shifting vocabulary of needs and wants and demands the actual situation could be obscured. In the case of Kneller Hall the starting point was that workhouse schools needed better teachers. But it was never demonstrated that Poor Law Guardians wanted better teachers in their schools; or that they were prepared to pay for better teachers; or that the products of a government training school

would want to take a lower paid job under poorer conditions in a workhouse school when they could get a better paid job in an ordinary school; or that those aiming at a job in a workhouse school wanted to be trained; or that those seeking a job in an ordinary school wanted to be trained in a government training school rather than in one of the others available. If these questions had ever been explicitly raised and honestly answered, the scheme for Kneiller Hall would have come to nothing long before it reached the stage of bricks and mortar.

In relation to the Liverpool depot scheme comparable questions were faced, and as a result an overtly collectivist provision was included. It was plausible that the emigrants, cheated and maltreated by the private interests of dockside society, would welcome such a haven as was proposed. However the scale of the venture and the financial calculations were based on its being a statutory monopoly:

... the commissioners also insisted that the scheme be universal and compulsory. They confessed frankly that, if it were not, very few emigrants would enter the depot voluntarily, while the lodging keepers and runners would do their utmost to destroy it.(1)

Need in the sense of a real local demand was put forward vigorously and ultimately successfully by Chadwick to justify the Metropolitan Interments Act of 1850. He consistently promoted the idea not just on sanitary grounds but on economic grounds: it would make money. Following the 1843 Report on Interment in Towns Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, feared that to prohibit burial

(1) MacDonagh, Government Growth, p.207.

within the walls of a city 'would not be in harmony with the feelings of a great body of the people'. In reaction, 'Chadwick exploded into protest. Who were these people who were so attached to the practice' - not the poor whose dead suffered, nor the middle classes who paid high fees at Kensal Green and elsewhere, not the consumers at all, but only the clergy and other vested interests.(1) It was consistent with such a belief that Chadwick could foresee a real and strong demand for a state-run alternative. But when it was suggested after the Act that the Board of Health should take over (and close) only one or two of the joint-stock grounds immediately, and the others by degrees, and so in the meantime operate in a competitive situation, Chadwick protested on quite different grounds, firstly, 'If only one district were selected for the introduction of the new scheme, bodies might be taken outside its boundaries to other grounds in just as bad a condition'; and secondly, that while the Board would be handicapped by the annual burden of compensation its competitors 'would enjoy two advantages - their sites would be closer to the capital; and they would feel no scruple about using such insanitary but profitable practices as pit burial'.(2) In other words, in spite of his earlier rhetoric, he did not think the services of the state would be preferred, or even that its charges would necessarily be lower than those of private companies. The view was shared by the, we must suppose, disinterested directors of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company who refused a loan to the Board because 'the Act did not stipulate that all burials should be conducted by the Board; bodies might be taken to new and unconsecrated grounds outside the

(1)Lewis; Chadwick and Public Health, p.125.

(2)Ibidem, pp.248, 250.

jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Interments Act, and, in consequence, no guarantee existed that the Board would have power over the whole of the burial fees.'(1)

In all three of these cases of the failure of state takeover, the venture could only have flourished if, far from facilitating the achievement of the aims of the real local demand, it had been statutorily empowered to oppose that demand. The opponents of the schemes were not just the vested interests whose expropriation was overtly sought, but the very consumers for whose benefit the expropriation would supposedly act. It was this element of coercion, whether or not necessarily associated with state takeover, which was the collectivist antithesis to the 'dogma of laissez-faire'.

At first sight it may appear that regulatory legislation for commercial undertakings was in essence a matter of coercion, of imposition. Undoubtedly compulsion existed, and in the context of the enforcement of some degree of protection, was consistent with individualism. Just how much compulsion there was is hard to glean from histories written according to the frustration model, whose bread and butter is conflict, defeat and victory, with the power to compel being the fruit of victory. Two general questions tend not to be considered. First, to what extent did regulation operate at the margin of current practice? A rule that forced a change on one per cent or ten per cent of operators could much more easily be seen as legitimate protection than one which affected eighty per cent or ninety per cent. Second, with the real demand of what interests were

(1)Ibidem, p.251.

regulations consistent or inconsistent? The history of factory legislation offers hints: the early exclusion of silkworks and lacemaking from regulation; the fixing of nine, later lowered to eight, as the minimum age for children; the relative ease of passage of the 1844 Act at a time when trade was bad; the decreasing usefulness of child labour as a result of improved machinery. But more extensive material is available from the history of the transatlantic emigrant trade.

In his standard work on the subject MacDonagh gave prominence to three variables: the condition under which emigrants travelled, including ill-treatment of them before and after the actual voyage; the reaction of emigration officers, other government employees, members of Parliament, and certain other individuals to these conditions, to their results, or to accounts of them; and the resistance of those financially interested in the trade to being regulated, and to attempts to enforce those regulations once made. The pattern is of the frustration model. Initially the aims of legislation are frustrated by the absence of any mechanism of enforcement. The emigration officers once appointed are frustrated not just by the commercial interests but by unsympathetic superiors. Each successive Act falls short of what it should be. All along the Treasury acts as a break on progress.

MacDonagh hinted, however, at other factors. The first was the demand from the emigrants themselves. So long as they are being defrauded by brokers and runners and lodging-house keepers, abused by ships' masters, and beaten down by overcrowding, dirt and disease,

they appear as entirely passive victims of the system. Paradoxically they only appear in an active role when themselves frustrating the emigration officers' efforts: they helped the masters to mislead the officers on the amount of food being carried; despite the state of the private lodging houses they could be expected to use a government or municipal one only if compelled to by law; they joined ships downstream, after inspection, so frustrating the regulations against overcrowding; and, in general, their desire not to be delayed prevented the emigration officers' carrying out proper inspections.(1)

A recurrent theme of MacDonagh's account was that the development of regulation of the emigrant trade represented a progressive interference by the state with freedom of contract. These were not children or lunatics, but free, sane adults. But the fact that the law increasingly ascribed to emigrants a dependent, helpless status does not mean that the historian has to follow suit. At one point indeed MacDonagh made the contrast clear. Children and lunatics can be and have been subjected to daily discipline. Unfit to be free parties to contract, they are not allowed either the freedom to run their own lives. An Order in Council of April 1848 applied this logic to emigrants, laying down a strict code of discipline at sea. MacDonagh's comment on what he called 'this extraordinary manifesto' was that 'its subjects were not the inmates of a workhouse or of a convict hulk or of a military transport, but civilians freely undertaking a journey for which they had paid themselves', and 'Not

(1) MacDonagh, Government Growth, pp.155,207,218.

the slightest attempt was ever made to put it into practice'.(1)

If it was so unrealistic to consider regulating emigrants' life on board ship, it is not unreasonable to bring their general perception of advantage into consideration. As was pointed out at the time, requirements imposed on the shipping firms tended to raise the price of the passage, and their enforcement could cause delays in sailing. In return the emigrant got greater security that a passage part or fully paid for would in fact be provided, and, presumably, a more comfortable voyage. Possibly too he got a decreased risk of dying, although MacDonagh made it clear that the major determinant of shipboard mortality was the incidence of epidemic diseases such as typhus and cholera. Framed in ignorance of the vectors of these, government regulations could have little effect.

The second factor which MacDonagh noticed in passing but did not give attention to was the eagerness or otherwise of the United States and British North America to accept immigrants, or the extent to which that eagerness varied with the immigrants' condition. For example in the calamitous year of 1847 when typhus was rife, ships were turned away at Boston and New York, and diverted to New Brunswick. Thirdly there was the demand from the shipping firms themselves for emigrant business. At some level of fares or of regulation ballast would be preferred to emigrants; and there was a tendency for cargo vessels to be supplanted by those built for passengers alone. In 1853 three-quarters of the emigrants were

(1)Ibidem, p.205.

carried in United States ships.(1) Why? The answer must surely involve some consideration of commercial rivalry, desire to capture the market and so of course the demand structure of the market to be captured.

No doubt regulatory Acts of Parliament and the efforts made to enforce them contributed to improvements in the conditions on emigrant ships; but how important the contribution was cannot be assessed without bringing in the full range of demand factors. MacDonagh showed that conditions varied inversely with numbers of emigrants and argued, no doubt correctly, that with large numbers regulation became more difficult to enforce because, if for no other reason, the emigration officers' time was limited. When numbers declined, as in the early 1840s, enforcement was stricter, and conditions improved. But equally it could be argued that as numbers increased the balance of advantage moved to the shipping firms who could offer less, and from whom the emigrants could demand less. As numbers fell emigrants could be more choosy and firms had to raise standards. At least it has to be shown that such simple economic theory did not apply. There is evidence that it did apply as far as fares were concerned: these rose when demand rose during the Irish famine, and fell again after it.

To summarize: in Dicey's period of individualism state intervention flourished if it aided the satisfaction of real local demand. The regulation of commercial undertakings was tolerated if it operated at the margin of current practice and did not seriously

(1) Ibidem, p.187.

obstruct such real demand as there was. If intervention was in direct opposition to the real demand it failed: it did not get off the ground, or having got off the ground, soon collapsed. The second of these conclusions is not much more than speculative and need not be stressed. It is the first that is relevant to education.

1.6 THE GROWTH OF COLLECTIVISM

There has been a tendency for those who have written in terms of social problems and the frustration model, including those on both sides and in the middle of the debate on 'the nineteenth-century revolution in government', to have seen only a steady growth of state intervention. They have either found little significance in the notion of a period of individualism or laissez-faire, for example MacDonagh, Hart, Kitson Clark; or have explicitly argued against there having been such a period, for example Parris and Perkin. Conversely, those who have seen something like a Diceyan succession have tended to avoid the vocabulary of social reform.(1)

These tendencies are quite natural. If you believe that there was a period of individualism followed by a period of collectivism, whatever the nature of the transition from one to the other, then like Dicey you are going to seek to explain this transition. Both before Dicey wrote and since, explanations have focussed on the growing social importance and political influence of the urban working classes. More and more, legislation had to take their

(1) To the first category may be added W.C. Lubenow, The Politics of Government Growth (1971) and C.J. Holmes, op.cit.

interests and beliefs into account - 'had to' not in the sense of a metaphysical imperative but in the sense that more and more, governments could only survive on these terms. The result was collectivist legislation, legislation as Dicey defined it 'even at some sacrifice of individual freedom, for the purpose of conferring benefit upon the mass of the people'. There was a clash of interests which was resolved by the political process, issue by issue and occasion by occasion. If there was conflict, it was not between history and the rest, but between interested parties all of whom had, to a greater or lesser extent, feet of clay.

The counterpart of an explanation in terms of interests of the growth of collectivism is a similar explanation for the growth of individualism, the weapon of the rising middle classes against the aristocracy in an earlier generation. These explanations of individualism and collectivism become in effect an answer to why there was state intervention and merge into a general (and common) view of history in which economic and industrial change produced new people who successively made new demands on the political system, pressing it to act in their various interests.

Such an approach does not necessarily exclude moral judgements, but is characteristically sceptical; so if on the other hand you see the nineteenth century through the eyes of a Chadwick or a Shaftesbury or a Kay Shuttleworth it is not going to be attractive. Much more appealing will be a single line of progress defined by the solution of social problems, problems raised above the plane of the selfish interests of individual groups within society. The price of

such an approach is an explanation which instead of moving the description of events into a new conceptual framework, simply bounces backwards and forwards inside that with which you start to, in the end, no effect.

Dicey identified five factors leading to the growth of collectivism: Tory philanthropy and the factory movement; the changed attitude of the working classes; modification in economic and social beliefs; characteristics of modern commerce; introduction of household suffrage. Only the second and last of these directly related to the increased influence of working-class aspirations, but two others did so in fact. As Thomas's account emphasized, the Ten Hours movement reflected what adult male workers wanted for themselves.(1) For Dicey, Shaftesbury's influence was the greater because 'The artisans were glad to follow a leader who shared their faith in the benefits to be derived from extending the authority of the State ...'(2) Secondly, what Dicey meant by the 'modification in economic and social beliefs' was their movement towards consistency with those of the working classes:

From somewhere about the middle of the nineteenth century (1840-1854) the unsystematic socialism of the artisans began, though it must be admitted in the most indirect way, to mingle with, and to influence and be influenced by, the opinions of thinkers or writers ...(3)

The last of Dicey's factors, the 'characteristics of modern commerce', the replacement of individuals by corporations, was a separate matter. But all the other four expressed in one way or another the increasing importance of the working-class interest.

(1) Thomas, Factories, e.g. p.35.

(2) Dicey, p.231.

(3) Dicey, pp.243-44.

A similar diagnosis has been offered many times since. For example Sir John Clapham quoting Jevons in 1883, 'the hostility of "influential artisans to the traditional political economy" had not diminished; it had "only changed somewhat from sullen distrust to confident contempt"'; J. Donald Kingsley, writing about government, '... the abandonment of laissez-faire was itself a reflection of major changes in the social structure of the nation and in the pyramid of power'; and Paul Smith on the fortunes of the Conservative Party, 'Both parties [after 1867] had to compete for working-class votes, and working-class interests, aspirations, and needs took on a novel importance, becoming increasingly part of the staple of the political contest, instead of one of its peripheral inconveniences.'

(1) Even those who have rejected the notion of a period of individualism have found it hard not to find something different about the last third or quarter of the century, for example Parris:

Nevertheless it is worth bearing in mind that the railway legislation of 1867-1914 took place against a changing political background, and that the government was increasingly expected to intervene on behalf of public at large, and was increasingly able to do so even in restraint of powerful sectional interests ...(2)

If we replace 'the public at large' in this by 'the mass of the people', and 'even in restraint of powerful sectional interests' by 'even at some sacrifice of individual freedom', we have, more or less, Dicey's definition of collectivism.

(1) J.H. Clapham, An Economic History of Modern Britain (1932), 2, p.396; J. Donald Kingsley, Representative Bureaucracy (1944), p.101; Paul Smith, Disraelian Conservatism and Social Reform (1967), p.98. Smith quotes much contemporary comment on the changes in legislation, e.g. pp.162, 259.

(2) Parris, Railways, p.214.

Dicey's examples of collectivist legislation were in part the converse of his earlier examples of individualist legislation - extension of the idea of protection with corresponding restrictions on freedom of contract as expressed for example in the Workmen's Compensation Acts and Agricultural Holdings Acts, and laws to facilitate collective rather than individual action, for example the Combination Act of 1875. A fourth element was 'the equalization of advantages' as expressed in the Education Act of 1870 and the growth of municipal trading. Incorporating all of these elements the Factory Acts and the Public Health Acts had been enormously extended in scope.

Dicey did not stress the transition from permissive to compulsory legislation which many writers have commented on. But the introduction of compulsion was repeatedly noted in passing in his account: compulsory school attendance, compulsory purchase, compulsory arbitration, and so on. It is reasonable to see compulsion as an implication of the 'sacrifice of individual freedom': it is not an extraneous addition to Dicey's scheme, and is certainly the clearest feature marking the change in the relation between the central government and local authorities, the change from exhortatory to coercive legislation.

The Education Act of 1870 was coercive in two ways. In the first place, if the Education Department's survey had shown a need for schools, if no voluntary promoters came forward, and if the inhabitants were unwilling to form a school board, the Education Department would form it for them. One way or another, with or

without the consent of the localities, schools were going to be built. Secondly, school boards were given the power to compel attendance. The first kind of coercion was exactly paralleled in the field of public health. The Acts of 1866-69 empowered the Local Government Act Office to supersede local authorities it regarded as negligent, and in the last resort to carry out works itself and charge the ratepayers, a power used in seven areas by 1871.(1)

Similar developments were underway elsewhere. After more than sixty years of state action in the field of vaccination against smallpox, the Act of 1871 compelled Poor Law Guardians to appoint (and pay for) vaccination officers. The Sale of Food and Drugs Acts of 1875 and 1879 compelled local authorities to appoint public analysts. The Metropolitan Poor Act of 1867 similarly gave the central board power over appointments, and at the same time, well in line with the Diceyan pattern, introduced what was in effect a principle of more eligibility for the London sick poor, who could from then on expect better treatment than their non-pauper counterparts.(2) The last three examples taken together are interesting because in fields in which state action was of widely differing recency, vaccination since 1808, the Poor Law since 1834 (or the sixteenth century depending on how you look at it), and the adulteration of food since 1863, a similar sort of compulsion was introduced in the same period of less than fifteen years.

(1)Lambert, 'Local Government Act Office', p.147; R.M. Gutchen, 'Local Improvements and Centralization in Nineteenth Century England', Historical Journal, 4(1961), pp.91ff.; Lambert, Simon, p.547.

(2)Smith, Disraelian Conservatism, pp.61-63.

Where legislation was coercive, the interesting feature is effectiveness. But where, as in education before 1870, people remained free to do or not to do, what illuminates events is the cumulative effect of their individual decisions and the reasons for them.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LOGIC OF THE GRANT SYSTEM

2.1 COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL BUILDING GRANTS

2.1.1 The view from the parsonage

The Education Department needed more money to pay more grants. It needed more staff to supervise the award and payment of the grants, and to check that the attached conditions were observed. If no schools had applied for grants the Department would have withered away. So the underlying factor which determined the Department's growth, and the progressive irrevocability of its involvement with the country's schools was the eagerness of school promoters or managers to apply for grants.

The earliest grant was that for school building, dating from 1833. In the 1850s it remained the second most important contributor to the growth of expenditure (Appendix I, Table XXXIII). In England and Wales between 1839 and 1853 less than 10% of building grants were awarded to schools not connected with the Church of England. On the other hand, at least 75% of grants were awarded to schools affiliated to the National Society (Appendix C, Table XIV). Thus to all intents and purposes the pattern of grant applications was the pattern of applications from Church schools and to a large extent that of those from the National Society. The crucial agents were the parochial Anglican clergy who, most frequently, were the promoters of Church

schools. What did they see?

Near at hand were the children who did not go to school, or who attended schools which did not seem worthy of the name, from their poor accommodation, their poor teaching, or their irreligion. Beyond them were the landowners, farmers, manufacturers or tradesmen, who might subscribe to a school. In the distance were the grants of the National Society and the government. The cause, the promotion of sound education in an Anglican mould, had to seem sufficiently important, and the prospect of enough money being raised sufficiently likely, for the effort involved to be worth making. The more important the cause seemed, the more enthusiastic the parson could be, the more vigorously could he press for contributions and the more urgently could he petition the national bodies for aid. The clergyman, the potential subscribers, and the administrators of the National Society and the Committee of Council were part of the same broad constituency. Their enthusiasm waxed and waned to a large degree concordantly. An enthusiastic parson could expect to encounter subscribers affected by the very factors by which he himself had been inspired, and correspondingly greater generosity from London.

The actual condition of the children was a constant of the situation. Whatever transfers were made from streets and factories to schools, from private schools to public, or from uninspected to inspected, the rate of increase of the child population, if nothing else, ensured that the task could continue to seem largely undone. The extent to which this actual situation was translated into calls

for action depended on other factors: the level of the grants and the extent and intensity of religious controversy.

2.1.2 The government offer

'Many [schools] had received building grants, made on a pound for pound basis, on condition that the school should be open to inspection.'(1) This is just a recent example of the conventional statement of the financial basis on which building grants were made. It was the basis on which they began in 1833, but was abandoned for England and Wales in less than a year because it was too expensive, and for Scotland in the early 1840s. Offered a maximum of half their costs, where the National Society had previously offered little more than 10%, promoters did not bother to raise more than half and were keen to apply. To conserve its funds the Treasury switched rapidly to a flat rate, nominally of 10s per pupil. But this had to be linked to a restriction on the number of pupils in a given area, without which promoters could have boosted their grant by exaggerating the number of pupils their school would hold. The Treasury took over the National Society's rate of six square feet per pupil, making the effective rate of grant 1s 8d per square foot of school area. In Scotland, where the grants initially came out of a separate parliamentary vote, the pressure was much less and the original formula was retained much longer.(2)

(1) Nancy Ball, Educating the People (1983), p.78.

(2) This paragraph is based on D.M. Mason, 'The school building-grant policy of the Committee of Council on Education 1839-1853' (Durham University M.A. thesis, 1981). Paz, Working-class education, pp.34-35 gives a misleading account of the early development of the grant system.

After the early Treasury Minutes no information was published either by the Treasury or by the Committee of Council from which conclusions can be drawn as to the general basis on which grants were awarded. In practice as much as half the cost was only awarded very exceptionally - the average was about a quarter - and after 1838 both the proportion and the equivalent rate per square foot varied greatly from grant to grant. However a large proportion of grants represented a rate which was a 'round number': 1s 8d, 2s 6d, or 3s 4d per square foot. It seems that the rate, rather than a connection with local contributions or the total cost of the school, remained the focus of the grant awarding procedure. The average rate for all grants is an index of the general level of the government's offer at any particular time, and is shown in Figure 2, together with the pattern of distribution of rates.

In the first year or so of the system the average rate was about 2s 3d per square foot, resulting from the earliest pound for pound grants and the start of the 1s 8d flat rate. For the rest of the period of Treasury administration the flat rate was rigidly observed. The average rate fell to below 1s 8d in these years because some promoters raised enough from other sources for the remaining deficit to be less than the equivalent of a 1s 8d rate. The Scottish rate remained much higher.

When the Committee of Council on Education took over in 1839 one of its first acts was to announce larger grants for specially needy

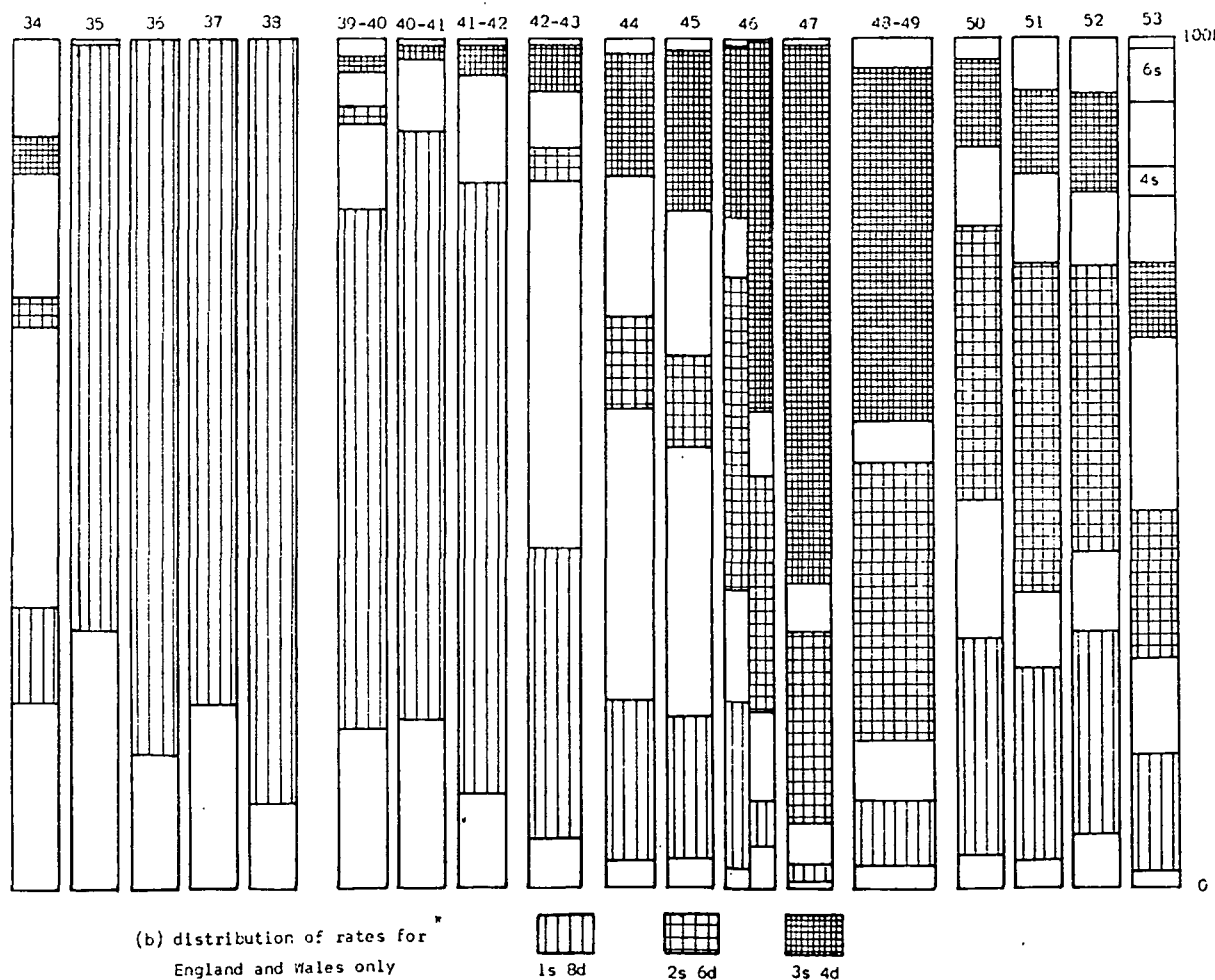
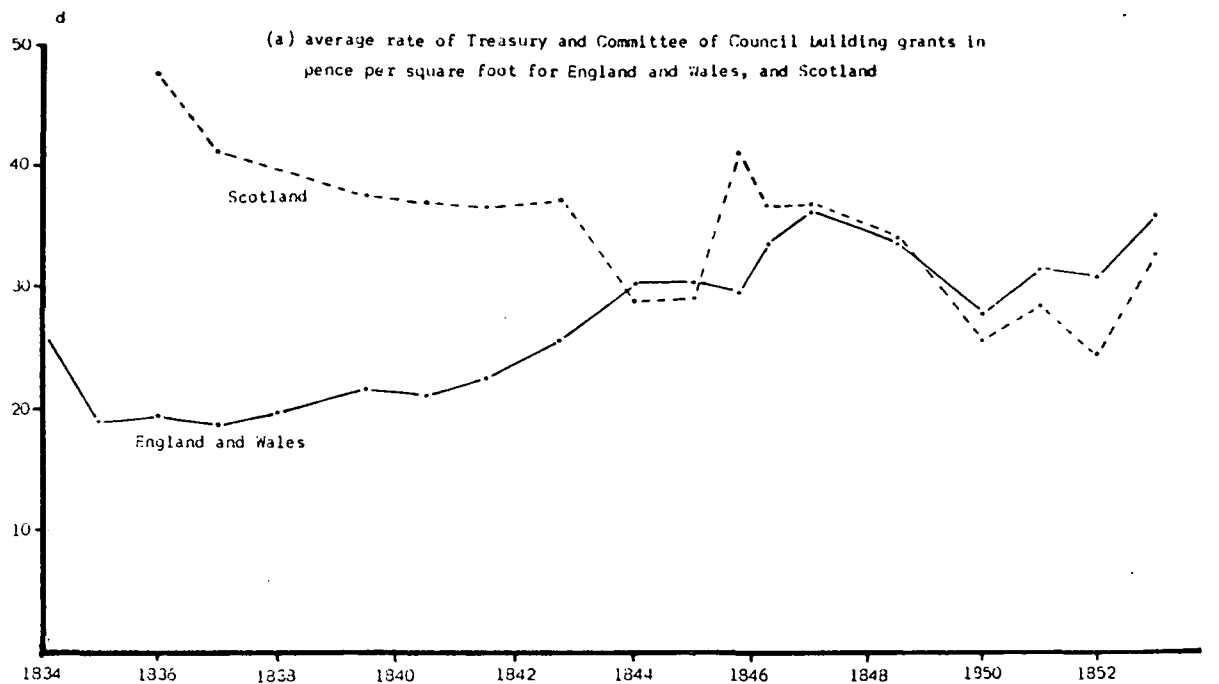


FIGURE 2: Committee of Council building-grant rates 1834-1853.

SOURCE: (a) Appendix C, Table XIV; (b) Appendix C, Table XV.

areas.(1) There was some deception in this, since the larger grants were still to be within and in fact seldom approached half the total cost, the proportion which had always been the theoretical maximum. What the grants were larger than was the prevailing and unannounced 1s 8d rate. They show up clearly on the distribution chart, Figure 2(b), for the years 1839-40 to 1841-42, and had the natural effect of increasing the average rate to 1s 10d or so. Still the Scottish rate was unchanged.

In the autumn of 1841 Peel replaced Melbourne as Prime Minister, and Lord Wharncliffe took over from Lord Lansdowne as Lord President of the Council. Initially the change made little difference; but sometime after the middle of 1842 the tories began to take an interest. It is clear from the distribution of rates in 1842-43, 1844 and 1845 that they relied much less on a standard rate as a rule of thumb, but treated each case more on its merits; far more places were given higher grants; and the result was a considerable increase in the average rate to 2s 6d or so. At the same time the tories brought Scotland into line with England and Wales.

Part of the rise in the average rate in these years was the result of the Minute of November 1843 which offered grants for the schoolteacher's house as well as for the school itself.(2) But the rise started before the extra grants came into effect, which was only in 1844. Thereafter the nature of the extra grant for residences was not clear cut - the distributions of rates for projects with and without a residence overlapped considerably, and it was only on

(1) Minutes 1839-40, p.vii.

(2) Minutes 1844, 1, p.5.

average that those with a residence did better.(1) In 1844 for example they attracted on average about 2s 10d per square foot while those without attracted about 2s 3d. Because of the large overlap in rates in the two cases, and because the pattern over time after 1844 remained very similar, there is no advantage in treating them separately.

Wharncliffe died in December 1845 and was succeeded as Lord President by the duke of Buccleuch, who held the job until the fall of Peel's ministry at the end of June 1846. The change in government in mid-year combined with some prior indications that both Buccleuch and the whigs made distinctive changes in the grant policy has made it worthwhile treating 1846 in two halves. The division is on a crude basis (see Appendix C, pp.307-8), but if a more accurate division could be made it seems likely that the same pattern would simply be revealed more clearly.

Buccleuch left the basic lines of the policy unchanged, but gave much larger grants to Scottish schools. The number of grants is small, but the difference in rate between Scotland and England is highly significant statistically (Appendix C, Table XVI). In the second half of the year the whigs brought the Scottish rate back into line with the English and considerably raised the latter, the average reaching a high point in 1847 of 3s. At the same time they relied much more on a standard rate, more than half of all schools in 1847 being awarded 3s 4d per square foot. Over the next few years the average rate declined to around its 1844 level of 2s 6d. The

(1)Mason, 'Building-grant policy', e.g. pp.75-77.

distribution became less rigid again, and remained very similar from 1850 to 1852, notwithstanding the intervention of the Derby ministry. In the coalition under Lord Aberdeen which took office at the end of 1852 Lord Granville became Lord President for the first time. The Minute of 2 April 1853 introduced higher rates for rural schools, 4s or 6s depending on whether there was a residence.(1) These rates show up in the 1853 distribution and help to produce a sharp increase in the average rate. The Scottish rate in the early fifties stayed below the English. Each year on its own is not statistically significant, but the pattern is. It cannot easily be explained by, for example, attachment to an individual, particularly as it spans three ministries. In 1855 the higher rates were extended to urban schools,(2) and in 1859 in Derby's second ministry, when Lord Salisbury was Lord President and Charles Adderley Vice President, the basis was changed slightly. Instead of a 6s rate, a school with a residence was paid 4s with a lump sum of £100 for the residence. In 1860, under Granville and Robert Lowe these amounts were reduced to 2s 6d and £65 respectively.(3)

2.1.3 A price mechanism?

The natural question is how much variations in the rate of grant affected the demand from school promoters. There is an initial difficulty about how a clergyman knew in advance what grant he could expect when there was no uniform published rule. Various mechanisms

(1)Minutes 1853-54, p.9.

(2)Minutes 1853-54, p.9, 14 July 1855.

(3)Report 1858-59, p.xv, 4 May 1859; Report 1859-60, p.xxv, 21 Jan. 1860.

can plausibly be suggested, in order of immediacy. From 1840 until 1853 the same information was available to him in the printed Minutes as has formed the basis for much of the analysis in this chapter. However as a guide to current policy the information would be a year or more out of date; and in any case the effort of first locating it and then making sense of it would have been very great. It would be much simpler to glean information from neighbours or friends to whom grants had recently been made. Following on this line would be an inquiry to the National Society, which was closely in touch with what the Committee of Council was doing. lastly and most directly, the inspectors could be expected to have up-to-date advice and information on the current policy. All in all it seems reasonable to suppose that a prospective school promoter could without great difficulty get beyond the formal and opaque public statements of the Committee of Council.

The only series which reflects the demand for building grants and is continuous from the earliest Treasury grants up until 1860 is the record of payments made to schools published in the Minutes and Reports, first in 1850 and then cumulatively from 1853 until, in full form, 1865. As a record of year-by-year demand for grants it is very blurred, because of the interval, varying from a few months to a few years, between the award of a grant and its payment. It is also only to a varying degree a record of payments for actual building. It includes payments for furnishings, fittings, playgrounds and the like; and, perhaps more misleadingly, payments which were for building, but which were additional to the original grant. The number of these varied greatly from time to time and affects the

general pattern as well as the apparent absolute number of grants. The series is shown for England and Wales in Figure 3(a). The continuing high level in the years 1846-48 is chiefly due to a large number of additional payments for previous projects.

The best and most direct measure of the demand for grants is the annual number of awards made for new building projects, either completely new schools or enlargements to or replacements for existing schools. It is available from 1839-40 to 1853 and is shown for England and Wales in Figure 3(b). These are the same awards as were used to calculate the rate in Figure 2(a). It may be objected that grants awarded reflect only that portion of the demand which the Committee of Council was prepared to meet; but though discretion was shown as to the level of grant, the offer was otherwise unconstrained. So long as a project fulfilled the published conditions a grant was awarded. Although once and possibly twice the award of grants was temporarily suspended (see pp.242-3) this meant at most a few months delay for the promoters. In general the number of grants awarded was in effect the number of realistic applications.

Closely related to the number of grants for actual building is the total school area aided in each year. This was published starting with the Minutes for 1848-50, and continued to be published, as the only information strictly related to building, much longer than details of individual awards. There are thus two overlapping series, shown in Figure 3(c). For the earlier years the total area has been calculated for the individual awards; for the later it is simply the figure given in the successive volumes of Minutes. The good

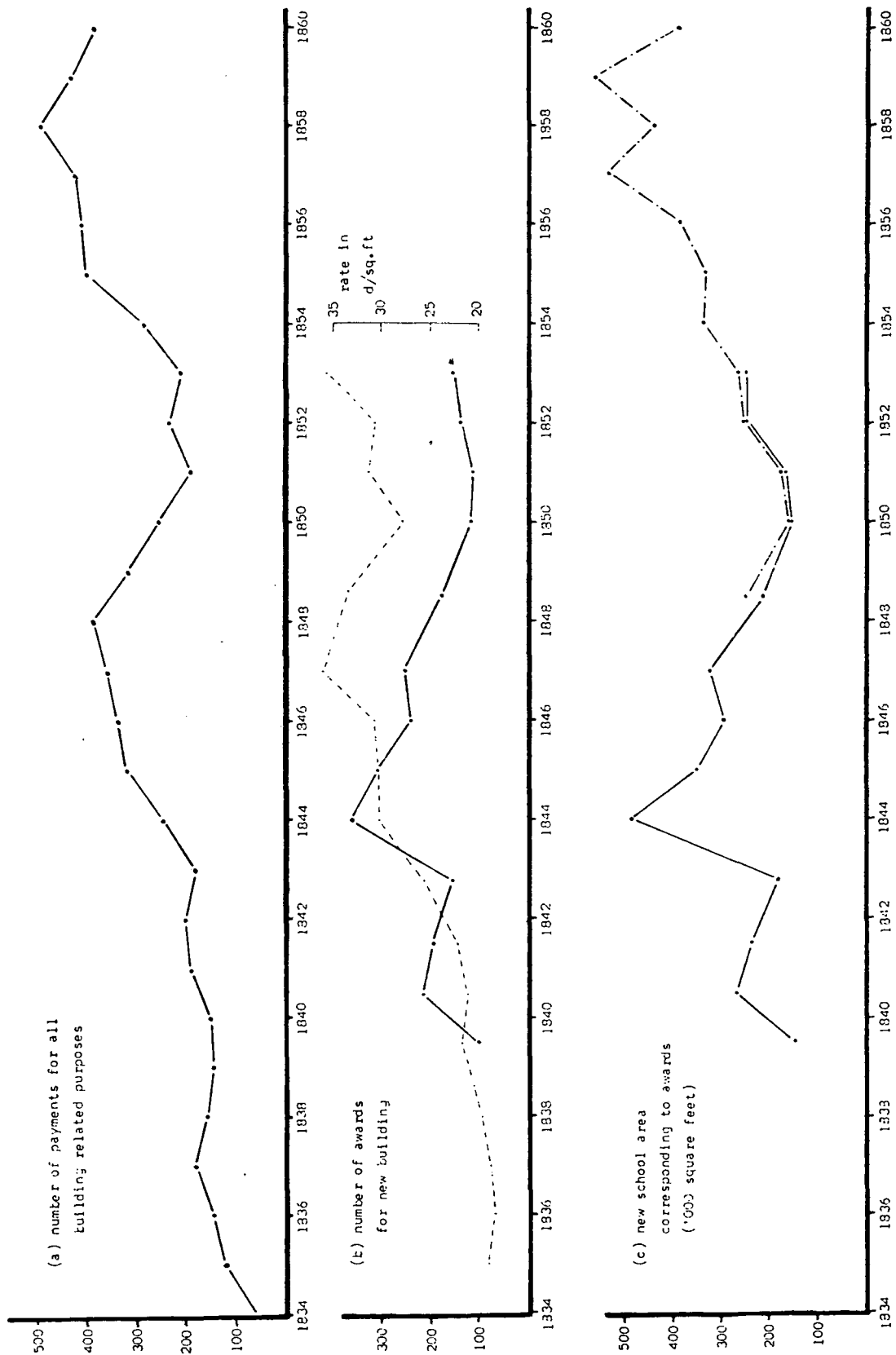


FIGURE 3: Committee of Council building-grant volume 1834-1860, England and Wales.

SOURCE: Appendix C, Tables XV, XVII, XVIII.

agreement where the series overlap suggests that they can be treated as a single series from 1840 to 1860.

The exact relationship between the number of building awards and the total area aided depended of course on the average size of schools. While this was certainly not constant, the great similarity between the patterns in Figures 3(b) and 3(c) justifies taking the right-hand portion of Figure 3(c) as a reliable index of the number of awards for building in the 1850s.

If the two series for awards are now compared with the series for payments it can be seen that the latter, despite its imperfections, does consistently, if palely, reflect the former, with the average sort of time lag of about a year which might be expected. Discounting the distortion in 1846-48, rises and falls in the pattern of awards are followed after a year or so by rises and falls in the pattern of payments. They tell a similar story in the 1850s; and the pattern of payments may therefore serve as an indicator of what was happening in the 1830s when other information is patchy.

If the rate of award was a significant factor in the variation of demand for building grants, changes in the rate would be expected either to coincide with or to precede corresponding changes in the number of awards. Figure 3 does not seem to reveal an association of either kind in the 1840s. There was a sharp rise in awards between 1839 and 1840 (probably exaggerated by the hiatus produced by the religious deadlock of those years) while the average rate remained about constant. Then for the next two years as the rate rose a bit the number of awards fell. If the rise in awards to 1844 was to be

linked with the rise in the rate in the previous year, the continuing rise in the rate could not then explain the fall in awards from 1844 to 1845.

The only feature which suggests a cause and effect is the interruption in 1847 of the fairly rapid fall in the number of awards, and its replacement by a slight rise, coinciding with the large increase in the rate in this year. But a close examination of what was happening makes it seem that the rise in awards was the product of factors that had nothing to do with the demand from promoters. Most applicants for grants from the Committee of Council had already been awarded a grant from the National Society, and the two awards were made in fairly quick succession. In 1845 the Committee of Council dealt with 69% of that year's National Society applicants. Again in 1847 it dealt with 73% of the current year's National Society applicants. But in 1846 it dealt with only 59%. In other words the fall in awards in 1846 was intensified by the unusual slowness on the part of the Committee of Council, and the apparent upturn in 1847 reflected its dealing with the backlog.

There are two possible explanations. Most simply, grant processing may have been interrupted by the change of government and discussions on the 1846 Minutes. More speculatively, living in anticipation of the whigs' return to office, and in expectation of a more congenial atmosphere, Kay Shuttleworth may have deliberately kept the work passing through Buccleuch's hands to a minimum, saving it up for his successors. In any event, if the figures are adjusted to what they would have been had the normal rate of processing

National Society applications been maintained, the fall in the number of awards becomes perfectly smooth from 1844 to 1850, as it in fact was in the pattern of the National Society's grants themselves (see below p.86).

In the 1850s the story becomes rather different. The growth in the area aided, and by inference in the number of awards, shows a pattern which strongly suggests a connection with the increases in the rate of grants in the 1850s. There was a sharp rise in 1854, the year after higher rates were introduced for rural schools, little change in 1855, the year the rates were extended to all areas, but an increasingly steep rise in the following two years. This is just the sort of pattern which would be expected if the promoters responded directly to the increased rates in initially small but then rapidly increasing numbers. The pattern is reflected, with a lag of a year or two, in the pattern of payments.

What happened to awards in 1858 is a puzzle, since there was no corresponding fall in Scotland, and the English fall was converted to a rise in the following year. Factors related to the office, such as the change in government or Adderley's reputation as an incompetent administrator,(1) which might otherwise have been adduced, do not seem appropriate. Perhaps the least unconvincing possibility is that the serious dispute between Adderley and the inspectorate in 1858, which was most vigorously pursued by some of the English inspectors, had repercussions for the award of grants. In a period of ill-will

(1)Lambert, Simon, pp.269,274.

it easy to imagine that less beyond routine duties would get done.(1) But whatever the reason for the fall in 1858, and to whatever extent it should be discounted as not relating to a change in the demand from school promoters, the general pattern after 1857 or 1858 remains one of decline, well before the modification of 1859 or the cut in the rate of 1860.

The conclusions drawn from the patterns of awards and payments in England and Wales are given support by the corresponding patterns for Scotland, where, like the pattern of the rate of grant, they were different. They are shown in Figure 4. The lack of any clear relationship between changes in the average rate and changes in the number of awards in the 1840s corresponds to the similar lack in the English case. Conversely, with the greater irregularity resulting from the numbers being much smaller, the pattern for the 1850s is broadly similar to that in England, and can likewise be related to the increases in the grant rate: a rise to 1854, followed by a decline; then a rise to 1856, sustained in Scotland until 1859. Finally there was, as in England, a decline to 1860. Since this decline was from a peak in 1859 it is more plausible that it was a result of the 1860 cut. However, the number of payments also declined in 1860, which could scarcely be attributed to the 1860 change, given the ordinary lag between an award and its payment after a school was built. The decline in payments in 1860 was due to a decline in awards for building which had in fact started in 1859, and would only be revealed by part-year figures; or was a result of a

(1) D.M. Mason, 'Inspectors' Reports and the Select Committee of 1864', History of Education, 11(1982), pp.199-200.

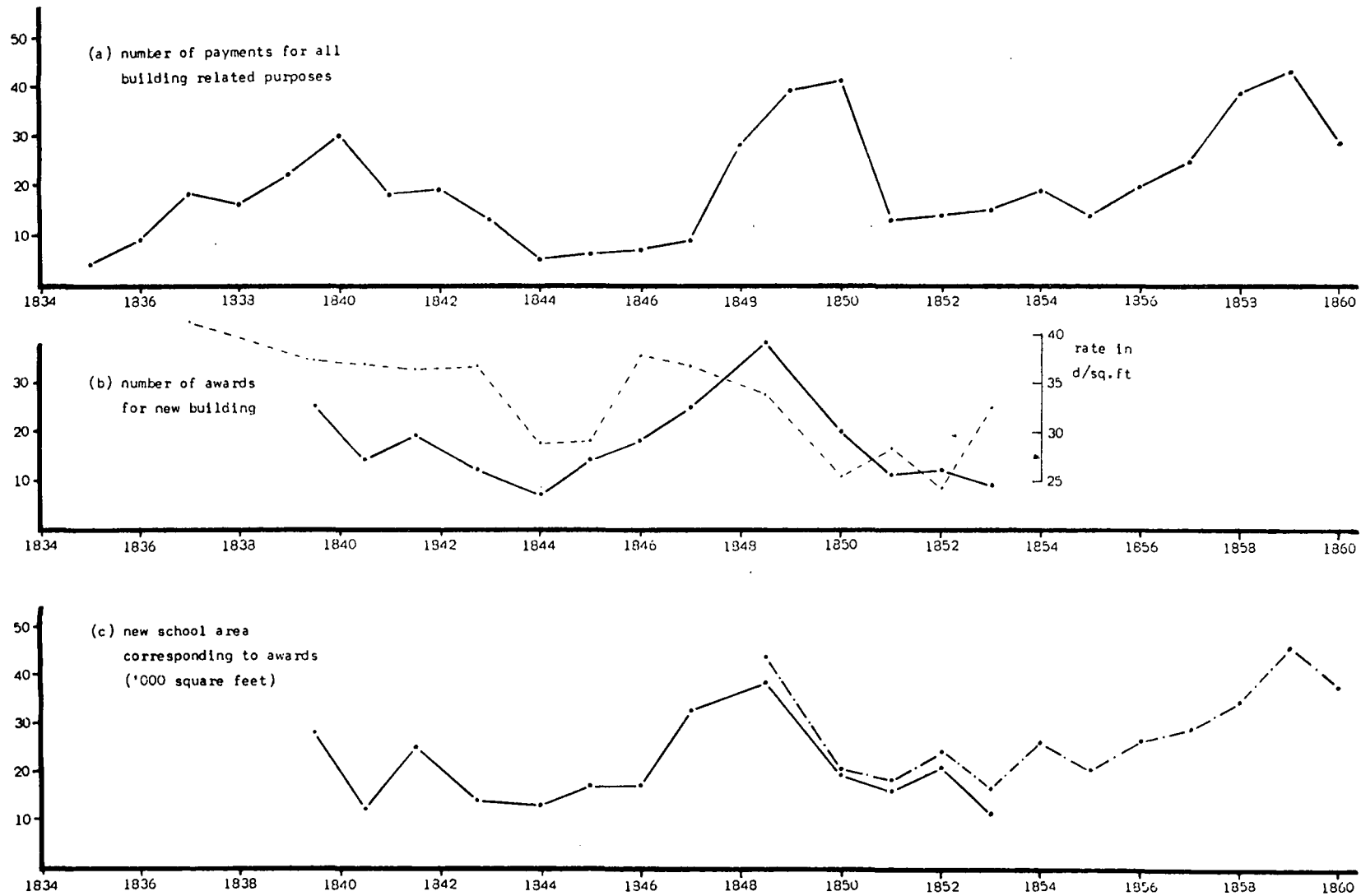


FIGURE 4: Committee of Council building-grant volume 1834-1860, Scotland.
 SOURCE: Appendix C, Tables XV, XVII, XVIII.

decline in the demand for grants for fittings and the like where the payment was much quicker. It is also of course possible that the decline in both payments and awards to 1860, and in England too, reflected a more restrictive policy in the office which, without formally changing the regulations, in practice reduced the number of grants. The possibility of economies was mentioned at the end of 1858: the timing would fit the Scottish pattern but not the English.

(1)

Why should changes in the rate of grant affect demand in the 1850s but not in the 1840s? In the first places the increases were considerable, much greater than any previous changes; and in the second case they were made public. But a full answer to the question requires consideration of the role religion played in school-building activity.

2.2 THE ROLE OF RELIGION

2.2.1 Religious controversy and the National Society

Since three-quarters or so of building grants awarded by the Committee of Council were to schools which already had a grant from the National Society, the activities of the two bodies were closely linked. There can be little doubt that the most important factor in the 1840s affecting demand for National Society grants, and so for Committee of Council grants too, was religious controversy, not just because it made parsons enthusiasts for schools, but because it

(1) Cecil Papers, Adderley to Salisbury, 25 November 1858.

stimulated contributions from the faithful. The events of 1839 surrounding the creation of the Committee of Council, when Church education seemed to be threatened by the state, and of 1843 following Graham's Factory Bill when the aggressor was non-conformity, both produced large rises in the amount contributed locally and nationally to the Anglican cause. Then at the end of the decade the dispute over the management clauses led to an increased rate of building on the part of those who disdained state aid, sufficient to arrest the overall decline in grants to national schools which had begun in 1844. In contrast, the state measures passed in 1847 with, by and large, Church approval, and in the face of inconsequential non-conformist opposition, left the rate of voluntary contributions unaffected.

The National Society was not simply the dispassionate vehicle for the conveyance of contributions to schools and colleges, it was the very creature of those contributions and the forces which affected them. The Society was busier when the flow of money was greater; but more than that its whole organization and attitude were determined simultaneously by the religious feelings which controlled the flow and the size of the flow itself. The story of its grants to schools is summarized in Figure 5. What is immediately striking is how the line in (a) for the average rate of grant and that in (b) for the total number of building grants awarded follow such a similar pattern: a decline to 1842, a sharp rise to 1844, followed by a more or less uninterrupted decline. There is little question here of the demand for grants being determined by the level at which they were being given if for no other reason than that promoters would have had

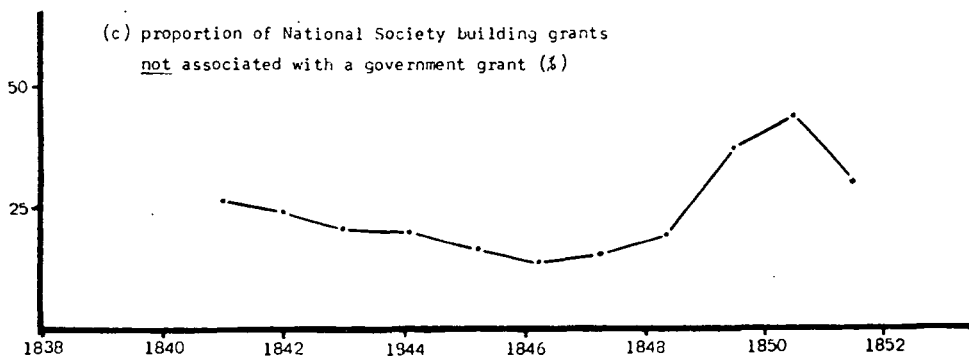
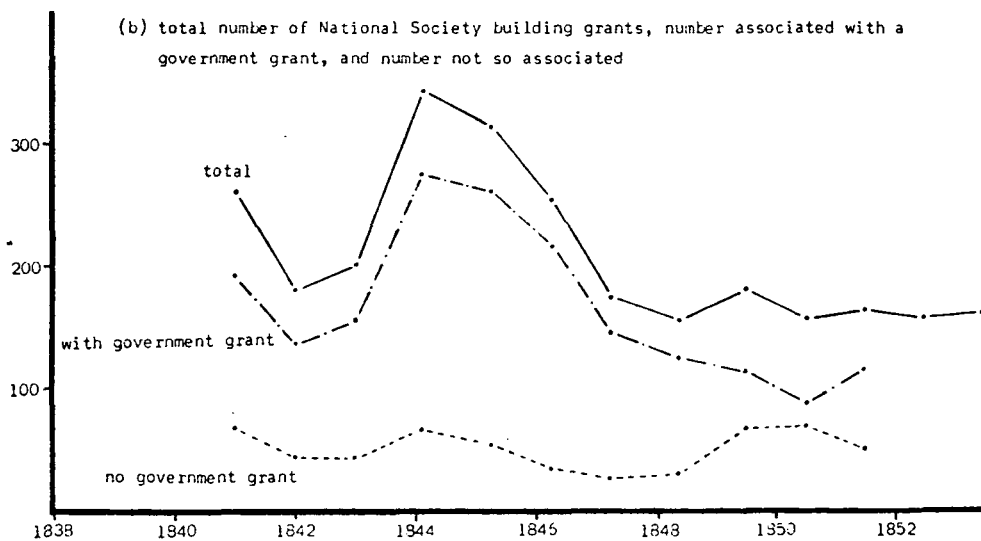
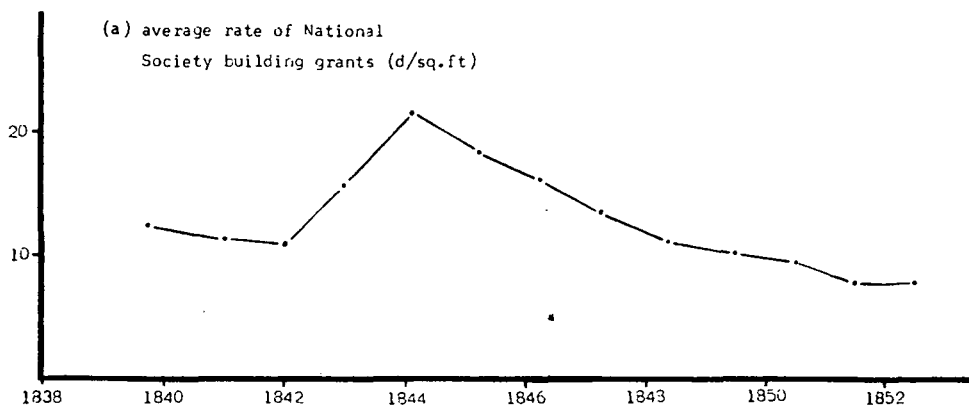


FIGURE 5: National Society building grants 1840-1853.

SOURCE: Appendix C, Table XXI.

their eye on the considerably larger Committee of Council grants if interest, information, or timing had allowed such an approach in either case.

It is more convincing to interpret the association the other way round. Heightened religious feeling led to increased local contributions, increased national contributions, and increased enthusiasm among clergymen for the business of school promotion. The administrators of the Society were moved directly by the same religious feeling and in addition by the increased number of applications, evidence of increased local contributions, and the money flowing into the Society's own funds. Their reaction was to make grants at a more generous level; and the same factors worked equally in the opposite direction.

The Society's reports repeatedly referred to the importance of local contributions as the foundation of the endeavour. That for 1843 described the excitement of 1839 and 1840 and the subsequent fall in the number of grants in terms which emphasized the role of religious controversy and educational enthusiasm:

Large funds were collected; schools in every corner of the kingdom were simultaneously raised; the claims of the Church to be the teacher of the people were energetically maintained ... After [the Concordat of 1840] when exciting questions were no longer under discussion, it was to be expected that a calmer state of things would follow. There was every reason to apprehend, that not tranquillity only but indifference might in certain cases ensue, and more particularly, that the pecuniary sacrifices, which under other circumstances were cheerfully offered, might gradually be withheld.(1)

The 1846 report, not long after decline had again set in, urged 'all members of the Church, laity and clergy, not to relax their efforts',

(1)NS Report, 1843, p.1.

and that of 1848 appealed for 'further pecuniary sacrifices' especially in poor districts 'in which there is no school, and no likelihood of a school being built and duly maintained, unless the respectable and educated persons of the neighbourhood are stirred up by some special impulse ...'(1)

These appeals, at times when the number of grants awarded was declining, were for more local subscriptions which would enable more successful applications to be made, not for increased subscriptions to the National Society itself which would enable it to meet the existing demands more easily. Because the proportion of the building cost which the Society's grant contributed was small, about 10% in 1848,(2) it could conserve its funds by a reduction in its rate without significantly affecting the amount the promoter had to raise elsewhere. Conversely it could by no means afford a substantial increase in the rate of aid to meet the needs of a poor district in which local contributions amounted to little. It was the amount of these local contributions that was crucial.

Unfortunately the records of the National Society grants for the period 1838 to 1840 are too confused to give a general picture (see Appendix B). In view of the grants awarded then withdrawn, refused then accepted, and the loans which became grants, or were repaid, it could scarcely have been otherwise. It seems most probable, and certainly consistent with clearly documented events, that the dispute between the Church and the government in 1839 over the creation of the Committee of Council, its early acts, and the status of the

(1)NS Report, 1846, p.24; 1848, p.35.

(2)NS Report, 1848, p.19.

inspectorate, led to a large increase in the number of building grants the National Society awarded.

This attempt by the state in 1839 'to assert the claims of the civil power to the control of the education of the country'(1) thus had the unlooked-for consequence of giving the National Society a new lease of life. The enthusiasm engendered by the controversy put financial flesh on the theoretical bones devised by the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence.(2) The Society acquired a paid secretary for the first time, and enlarged and improved premises.(3) Ordinary expenditure rose from about £3000 in 1839 to over £12 000 in 1842, and stayed over £10 000 for the next dozen years.

By 1841 the number of grants was falling, and continued to fall through 1842. Who can say what would have happened without the attempt of the non-conformists in 1843 to limit the state-aided extension of Church education, an attempt which was as ironic in its outcome? It led directly to the establishment of at least 600 extra National schools with a corresponding investment of at least half a million pounds, a quarter of it or so contributed by the state.

In 1839 the National Society's finances were organized into two funds. The General Fund received subscriptions, donations and legacies, and was spent on the administration of the Society and the support of the central schools and organizing masters. The Queen's

(1)F. Smith, The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth(1923), p.148.

(2)c.f. Paz, Working-class education, p.64.

(3)NS Report, 1840, p.15. Except as otherwise noted what follows is based on the financial accounts of the National Society published in its annual reports.

Letter Fund received the proceeds from the periodic Queen's Letter collections, and was the sole source of money for school-building grants. In 1839 an appeal was launched for funds to build a training college, what was to become St Mark's, and at the same time a subscriptions committee set about raising the Society's regular income. The appeal brought in between £15 000 and £20 000, and subscriptions were raised from about £1500 to perhaps £6000 per annum. Stanley Grove, site of the new college, was bought in 1841.(1) A Queen's Letter was granted in 1840, only three years after the previous one, thus establishing a triennial pattern which lasted until 1852.(2) It brought in £30 000, £5000 more than that of 1837.

In July 1843, three weeks after the withdrawal of the Factory Bill, a third fund was opened, the 'Special Fund for Schools in the Manufacturing and Mining Districts'. This quickly attracted more than £100 000.(3) The Queen's Letter of 1843 showed a further increase, to £33 000. All in all there seemed good grounds for optimism that the great task of educating the nation's children was within the Society's capability. As Figure 5 shows, the number of grants increased rapidly again, and the rate of grant with it.

The mining and manufacturing districts to which the Special Fund was directed were quite closely defined: above all Lancashire and West Yorkshire, London and the West Midlands. These areas between them took the bulk of the Special Fund money. Smaller concentrations of aid went to mining areas of Wales, the Potteries, the Durham

(1)NS Report, 1842, pp.18-19.

(2)Paz, Working-class education, p.5, gives too early a date for this triennial pattern.

(3)NS Report, 1843, p.22; 1844, p.12.

coalfield, South Yorkshire, and parts of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Then there were isolated outposts of, especially, mining activity: coal in West Cumberland and Somerset, copper and tin in Cornwall, salt in North Cheshire. The distribution of the Special Fund money is shown in Figure 6.

The professed aim was to aid these areas, but indirectly at least comparable assistance was given to the rest of England and Wales. For the six years during which the Special Fund was disbursed, the enlarged Queen's Letter Fund was restricted to the other areas, what the 1845 report described as 'agricultural, commercial and seafaring localities'.(1) There was about the same number of grants to these alone in both 1844 and 1845 as there had been in 1842 to the whole of England and Wales. Enthusiasm was not confined to the areas for which the Society had first felt concern and the money was allocated accordingly. From both funds the grants were made much more generously. In 1844 the level of the Special Fund grants reached 2s and those from the Queen's Letter Fund 1s 5d.

The annual report in 1845 touched a high point of optimism:

If these operations could be sustained for a few years to come, there would be a reasonable hope of overtaking the wants of the country in this respect. The Society would then perhaps be able to devote itself more to the support and improvement of schools.(2)

But from then on the Society in fact found itself in an increasingly precarious financial position, with a sustained fall in the amount of local contributions and so of grant applications, and the prospect of

(1)NS Report, 1845, p.6.

(2)NS Report, 1845, p.8

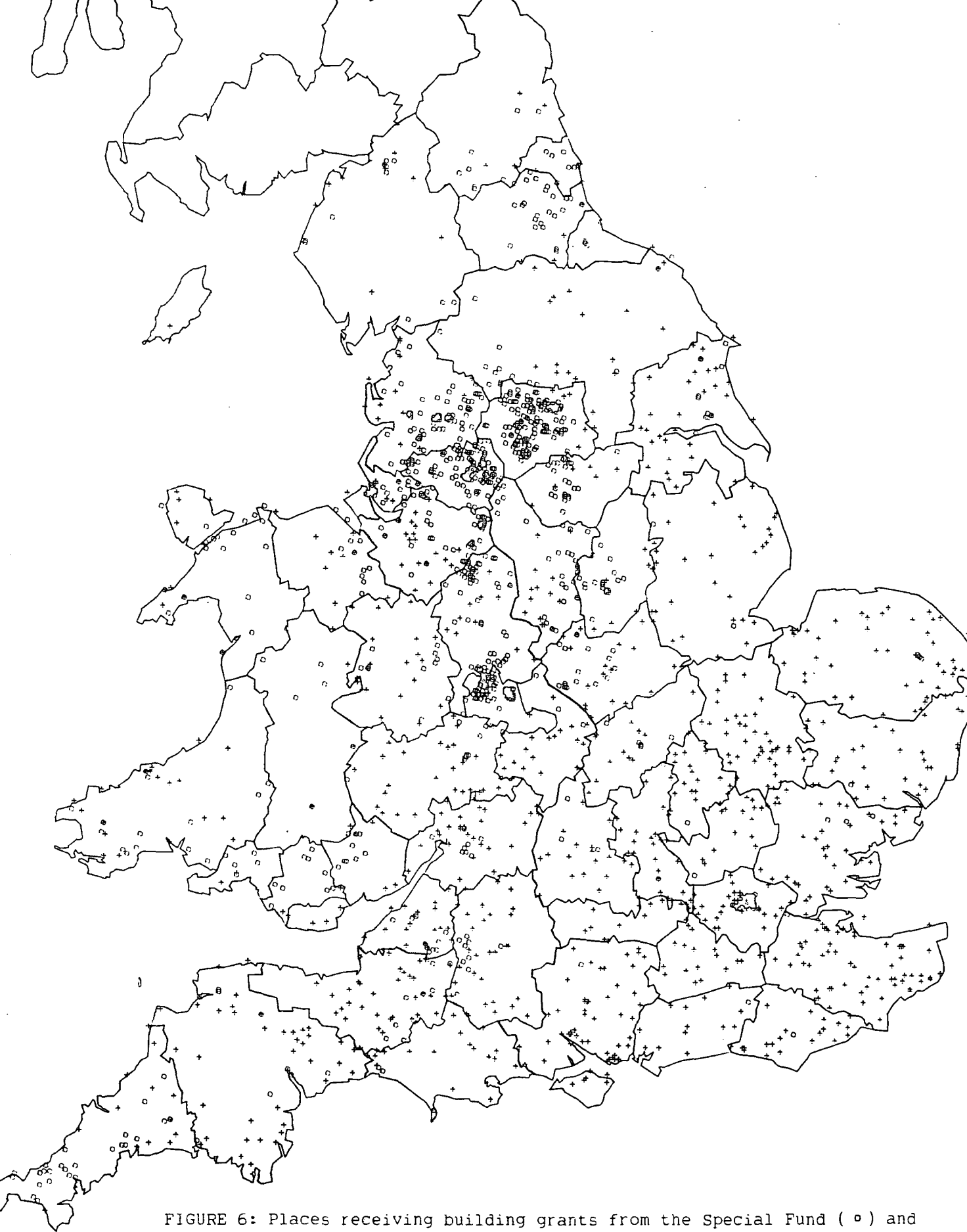


FIGURE 6: Places receiving building grants from the Special Fund (o) and the Queen's Letter Fund (+) 1843-1849.

SOURCE: Computer data. Some places appear to be in the sea because of inaccuracies in the base map.

the 'wants of the country' being 'overtaken' once more receding into the indefinite future.

In 1844 both St Mark's and Whitelands, the women's training college, had been opened. The central schools at Westminster had been enlarged and boarding facilities added. But these operations had absorbed the reserve of £5000 or so which the General Fund had had in 1839, all the proceeds of the 1839 appeal, all the extra subscriptions, £5000 from the government, and £5000 from the S.P.C.K. The account presented in 1844 showed a cash balance of £466; and this was at that moment all the General Fund amounted too.

The first move the Society made to secure the situation was to transfer to the Queen's Letter and Special Funds their respective administrative costs, at a rate which seems to suggest a regular subsidy to the General Fund. The costs were backdated to 1842, but even so a balance was only just achieved in 1845, and in 1846 £1800 was borrowed from the Queen's Letter Fund. The loan was increased in 1847 and again in 1848, when it reached £10 700.

Between 1844 and 1848 all the signals pointed the same way. Contributions to the Special Fund rapidly shrank to insignificance; the amount raised by the Queen's Letter of 1846 fell back to £27 000, well below the level of that of 1840; and each year the amount of local contributions and so the amount of remotely grantable applications fell, most rapidly in the mining and manufacturing districts to which supposedly most stimulus had been given. At the same time the Society had become committed to an annual expenditure from the General Fund of £15 000 or so, and could rely on an income,

even after the reallocation of administrative costs, of not much more than £12 000.

The training college at Battersea, taken over from Kay Shuttleworth in 1843-44, was from the first made a charge on the Special Fund. After 1844 it must have seemed increasingly likely that more money would need to be diverted permanently from either the Special Fund or the Queen's Letter Fund to relieve the General Fund of some of the burden of maintaining the other training establishments. The progressive reduction in the rate of aid to schools which started in 1845 was thus the result of an increasingly cautious, or pessimistic, view of the future, of which the decline in grant applications was one determinant.

Caution was shown in other ways too. In both 1843 and 1846 the Society had not hesitated to make grants beyond its current reserves in anticipation of the next Queen's Letter. It was, said the 1846 report, the Committee's 'duty' so to do,(1) and the account for that year showed that £14 109 of grants promised but not paid, as against £9800 of reserves. But in 1849 the award of grants was temporarily stopped to ensure that the reserves figure was not exceeded(2) (although the pattern of the number of grants awarded does not suggest that the effect of the stoppage was very great). This was the low point of the Society's finances. Nothing thereafter happened to renew its confidence, and only caution, steadfastness and ingenuity kept it going.

(1)NS Report, 1846, p.7.

(2)NS Report, 1849, p.38.

Although by 1849 aid from the government under the 1846 Minutes reduced the net cost of the three training colleges, they remained a heavy source of expense. By considerably reducing expenditure on the Westminster schools and cutting out everything else completely, the Committee could keep the total call on the General Fund to between £10 000 and £11 000. Even so, the situation remained precarious and it was only really sustained by something like luck in the form of periodic large legacies. The Queen's Letter Fund gave no cause for comfort. The Letters of 1849 and 1852 produced progressively less, £25 000 and £23 000 respectively, and the Society's application for a letter in 1855 was refused altogether.(1) From then on it had to make do with a succession of ad hoc appeals.

The religious interpretation of the changes in rate, and of the large numbers of grants in 1840 and 1844 is also appropriate to the pattern in the late 1840s and early 1850s when the Committee of Council and the Church were in dispute over the management clauses to be inserted in a school trust deed before a grant would be awarded. The section of the National Society led by G.A. Denison would not accept any formal dilution of clerical control. The issue did not really go further than formality since in general the difficulty was to get anyone at all to take an interest in school management - no scheme for the inclusion of laymen would be effective if in practice, as was most often the case, the clergyman was the only person who was prepared to stir himself; conversely, no formal retention of clerical supremacy would mean anything if the parson had no interest and there were laymen who had. Still, it was asserted that the government

(1)NS Report, 1856, p.v.

grant was intolerable on the conditions the Committee of Council was trying to enforce.

Figure 5(b) shows that as the number of awards to schools accepting government aid continued to decline, there was a sharp increase in 1849 in those to schools accepting aid from the National Society only, an increase which shows up strikingly in Figure 5(c), the percentage over time of National Society beneficiaries who did not qualify for, or disdained, government aid. After 1840 the proportion of schools going without government aid fell steadily to less than 15%, not only, presumably, because progressively fewer refused it, but also because progressively more felt it was worthwhile to meet the government conditions. The increase in 1849 in those accepting a National Society grant only, was part of a rise which brought the proportion back to 45% or so. And it is clear that for the last time before 1870 religious controversy acted as a stimulant to school building. The process was not simply one of transfer - there was a net increase in 1849-50 in the total number of grants awarded. As might be expected, the phenomenon was more marked in rural than in urban areas. Still, everywhere it was weak and shortlived.

After 1851 or so religious controversy ceased to be a factor. In the previous decade, beneath the large fluctuations, there had been a general tendency for the rate of aid offered by the Committee of Council to increase and that offered by the National Society to decrease. The ratio of the two contributions had moved from something like 2:1 in 1839 to something like 4:1 in 1851; and the

movement was greatly accelerated by the government increases of 1853 and 1855. The gradual disengagement of the National Society from school building which this implied was highlighted by the unwillingness of the majority of the clergy to forgo the government grant in the early fifties, even if this meant the acceptance of management clauses of which the National Society officially disapproved. The day of the clarion call was over and the clergy, putting their faith in the Committee of Council, responded in kind.

In 1858 the award of grants was once more suspended, and the report of that year showed how modest the ambitions of the Society had become:

The Committee are aware that many friends of the Society entertain the belief that its funds might be more usefully spent in other ways than in aiding school building; both because the grants of the Society are of comparatively small amount, and also because the grants from the Privy Council on Education are on so large a scale and are so very generally accepted by promoters of Church schools, as, in the opinions of the parties referred to, to render the bestowal of assistance from the National Society unnecessary ...

But,

... the introduction of the Clause of Union with the Society into the Trust Deeds of a school is a strong guarantee for the maintenance of Church teaching; and, unless some pecuniary advantage is offered by the Society, it can hardly be accepted that those who undertake the building of schools, generally speaking, will care to have such a union effected.

(1)

How far they had lowered their sights since 1838!

(1) NS Report, 1858, pp.vi,vii.

2.2.2 Religious controversy in Scotland

Scotland was unmoved by the affairs of the Church of England and the National Society, but had in the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 and the formation of the Free Church of Scotland events of as much impact on the pattern of school building. In the year of the Disruption itself the number of awards fell, and again in 1844, as shown in Figure 4(b), when of course in England the number was rising rapidly. As the Free Church got itself organized it set to work to establish schools of its own, an effort which resulted in the large increase in Committee of Council awards from 1844 to 1849. The Church of Scotland itself was to some extent stimulated to fresh activity, but in the nature of the case it had less incentive since its schools were losing pupils to its newly formed rival. The dominance of the Free Church in the increase in awards is shown in Figure 7. As in England, feelings could not be sustained at a high pitch for long, and by 1851 the number of awards was back to what it had been in 1844.

2.3 THE PATTERN OF GROWTH

2.3.1 Influences on school promotion

An earlier study concluded 'The overall pattern by itself suggests that in the absence of encouragement from Whitehall the rate of school building tended to fall; and the general trend over the period

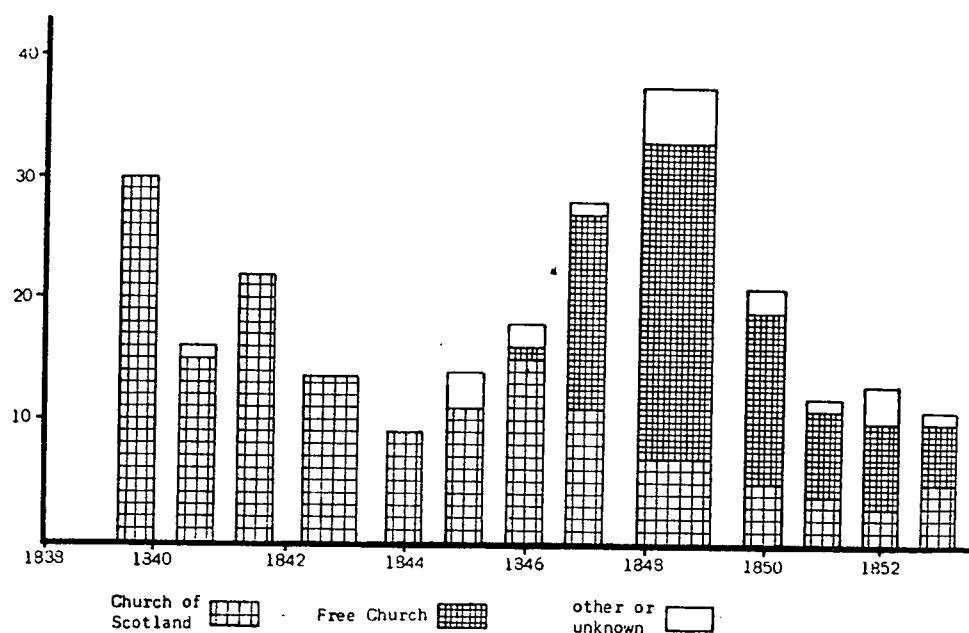


FIGURE 7: Building grants awarded in Scotland, by denomination, 1839-1860.

SOURCE: Appendix C, Table XX.

was downwards'.(1) This should be modified and amplified in various ways, notably by the inclusion of the religious factor, but it remains true in its general sense, and consistent with the framework of exhortatory intervention. The government sought to encourage people to do what in the absence of intervention, they would not have done, or would have done less of.

Figure 3(a) serves as a general illustration (above, p.78). After the introduction of the first grants there was an increase for a few years, which had reached its peak and turned into a decline well before 1839. The events of that year stimulated another increase

(1)Mason, 'Building-grant policy', p.67.

which had in turn been reversed before the much larger increases related to Graham's Factory Bill and the Special Fund. After that had reached its peak there was a steady decline until the early 1850s. An increase stimulated by the large building grants for rural schools lasted a year or two, and was followed by a similar one after their extension to urban schools. In the late 1850s decline once more set in: the simplest interpretation of this decline, and the one consistent with the pattern of the previous 25 years, is that it was a natural relapse similar to those of 1837-39, 1841-43, 1844-50, and 1854-55.

It is clear from Figures 3(b) and 3(c) that after the low point reached in 1850 or 1851 there was a modest increase well before the grant change of 1853. Plausibly it may be linked to the fact that the general trend for the rest of the decade was upwards, whereas the general trend in the 1840s was downwards. This suggests an external factor in the level of local contributions, a factor of general economic confidence. It may be surmised that people were more likely to give money away for school building if they had experience of a good year or two behind them and a stable prospect in the future, conditions which existed much less in the forties than in the fifties. Paradoxically, when times were bad social concern increased and educational enthusiasm to some extent with it. But other things being equal, local contributions could be expected to be inhibited. Certainly the Special Fund attracted £100 000 in a year or so. But

the donors, headed by Peel who gave £1000,(1) were not of the class to whom bad times posed any threat; and doled out in small grants the money collected nationally implied the need for up to ten times as much in local contributions. On the local level farmers, shopkeepers, small manufacturers, could be seriously damaged by a bad harvest or a downturn in trade. Without confidence in the future they would scarcely be keen to dip into their pockets for schools. Further, if prosperity in the early 1850s lay behind the renewed increase in building grants in those years, a reduction in confidence after the crisis of 1857 can be adduced as a factor in the decline at the end of the decade (see also below p.126).

In the 1840s of course other things were not equal, and religious controversy and the Special Fund produced a grant boom. But close examination of what was happening shows that it was a fragile affair, and even while it was underway the level of local contributions did not match parsons' enthusiasm. It has already been remarked that many of the payments in the years 1846 to 1848 or so were of additions to grants previously awarded. In other words promoters found that they could not after all make do with what they had first received. Almost 30% of the building grants awarded in 1845 had subsequently to be added to, compared with less than 5% of those awarded in 1843 or 1850.(2) What this suggests is that clergymen carried away with religious and educational enthusiasm, and spurred on by the National Society, were over-sanguine about how much money could be raised. When it fell short of their initial hopes, all they

(1)NS Report, 1845, p.112.

(2)Mason, 'Building-grant policy', p.86.



could do was to appeal again to the Committee of Council (and, frequently, to the National Society as well).

Another pointer in the same direction is given by the number of awards which were never claimed, the number of projects in other words which fell through without a school being built. These are shown in Figure 8. The proportion was high during the early troubles, but soon fell to about 5%. In the first year of the Special Fund grants it stayed low, but then rose, reaching more than 12% in 1846. In 1847 it came down, perhaps helped by the higher rate of grant, but only returned to 5% in 1851. It was highest in just those years when the number of projects needing additional grants was also at its greatest. The two things can reasonably be attributed to the same cause.

In the most general terms, there was at any time a potential fund of local contributions for school building which varied in proportion to religious controversy and economic confidence. In a particular area the grants from the government and the National Society could make the difference between the available fund being sufficient or not. In every case it needed to be released by a local promoter, usually the clergyman, whose enthusiasm and labour could to some extent enlarge the amount available. How much of these he gave depended on the pitch of his own religious feeling and his estimate of the amount of money needed, bearing in mind whatever could be gleaned of the current level of grants. Each rise in school-building activity quickly exhausted whatever potential fund of contributions had accumulated since the last rise, and so was followed by a

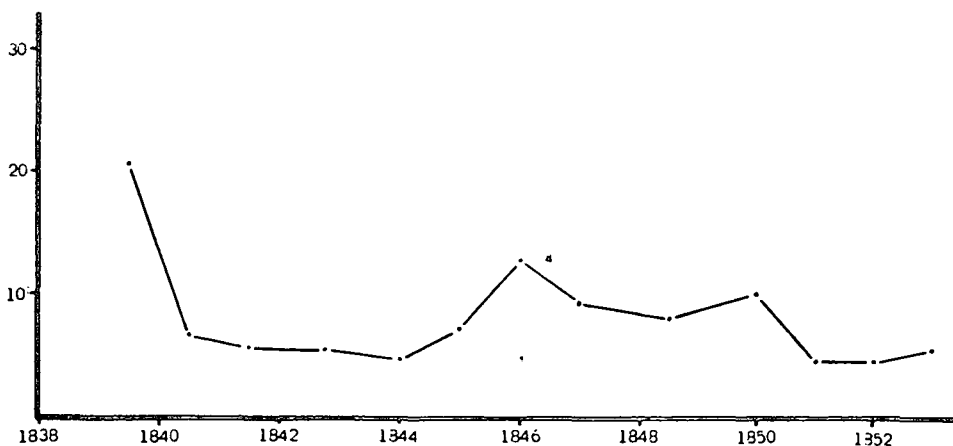


FIGURE 8: Proportion of Committee of Council building grants awarded in England and Wales 1839-1853 which were not paid (%).

SOURCE: Appendix C, Table XIX.

decline. During each phase the more marginal cases were reached later, when the promoter's enthusiasm was more likely to overestimate the potential fund, and the project could fall through without, and even sometimes with, extra grant aid.

In the 1840s times were bad and the government grant was relatively small. Variation in it did not have much effect; but strong religious feeling enabled large amounts of money to be raised and many schools to be built. In the 1850s religious controversy was absent, but times were better and the government grant was much larger. Its variation became a significant factor, and building grants, while remaining cyclical, increased much more consistently.

One element in the situation remained constant. In one view the parson could see the children not in school, or in undesirable schools. But in another he could see schools once built remaining

half-filled. The degree of their emptiness is exaggerated by the notion that they could accommodate a pupil for every six square feet, or even eight as it was changed to in 1851. The original formula was for controlling grants, not the actual density of pupils in schools. However, even allowing for a more realistic amount of accommodation per pupil, the schools were not full.(1) In the face of this it is not surprising that under normal conditions voluntary school building should have remained a minority pursuit.

2.3.2 The 'Religious difficulty'

It is worthwhile having another look at the conventional wisdom about the overall influence of religion: for example, as Parris put it, 'It is generally agreed that the main obstacle to greater progress in education had been sectarian tensions' (see above p.22). In one aspect this describes the undoubted fact that legislative proposals met strong religious opposition, above all in relation to local rate support for education. Non-conformists were unwilling that their rates should contribute to Anglican schools; Anglicans were equally unwilling that theirs should support schools which did not teach the doctrines of the Church of England. This meant that schools were denominational, and supported by the Exchequer rather than by local authorities. Presumably non-conformists' contribution to tax revenue was still out of proportion to their receipt of grant aid for schools, even if the disparity was not so great as it would have been in the case of rates; but perhaps the journey of the money

(1) Nancy Ball, 'Elementary School Attendance and Voluntary Effort before 1870', History of Education, 2(1973), pp.19-34.

to London and back and the initially small proportion of total government expenditure it represented blurred its denominational character. In any event non-conformists did not press their objection to its logical extreme.

It is not therefore in doubt that religious feeling prevented legislation along the lines of the Public Health Act of 1848 or the Local Government Act of ten years later, permitting either ad hoc or existing local authorities to levy a rate for educational purposes. What is less clear is the validity of the conventional view considered in its second, and dominant, aspect, where it asserts in effect that in the absence of a religious question there could and would have been legislation resulting in more schools with more children attending them. The trouble is that it is very hard to imagine a state of religious feeling which would have allowed legislation for rate aid without at the same time drying up the springs of voluntary contributions. The religious objections to legislation and the voluntary promotion of denominational schools were two manifestations of the same feeling, the feeling that adherence to a particular denomination meant that it was worth effort and money to enhance its influence and restrict the influence of rivals.

The realistic context of hypothetical legislation is therefore one in which education was as religiously neutral as drainage, and where in consequence the local authority took over the whole responsibility previously borne by the denominations. Contemporaries were very conscious of how big a responsibility this was and how difficult it

would be to substitute for it. The effect of existing state action on voluntary contributions was one focus of interest of the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure when they questioned Kay Shuttleworth in 1848; and in his well-known memorandum of 1855 Lingen expressed the fear that secular agencies could not be found who would be prepared to take the place of religious ones.(1)

No doubt purely educational concern existed apart from religious feeling, and no doubt there would have been action by local authorities. But it would have met obvious difficulties, levying a rate for a purpose which could not unambiguously be shown to be urgent. How was local authority enthusiasm hypothetically to be sustained in a situation which promoters with the added inspiration of religion in practice found discouraging? Children were not knocking on the doors of overcrowded voluntary schools demanding admittance; and Church schools particularly had in the Church organization and tradition a lever for encouraging school attendance, or the preference of Anglican to other schools, which a local authority would not have. Furthermore, while a voluntary school could compete unashamedly with its private rivals, it would have been a different matter for a local authority school subsidized by rates.

The last point relates once again to the characterization of the period as one in which individual and voluntary action was favoured and collective and coercive action was kept to a minimum. The

suggested obstacles in the path of local authority action in

(1) PP1847-48, XVIII, 1, qq.6135-39, 16 June 1848; ED24/53, quoted in part in Johnson, 'Education Department', pp.419, 422-23 and P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Development of Educational Administration in England and Wales (1966), pp.7,8.

education in the 1840s and 1850s, supposing legislation had been possible, would quickly have been removed by coercive legal provisions at each stage: if the law had stated, as it did after 1870, that there had to be local authorities; that they had to provide schools; and that they could compel attendance at them. The precedents are the other fields of exhortatory intervention where in the end legislation was only effective if it served the perceived interests of the localities. Even though compulsory powers could be written into the law, for example in the Poor Law or public health, they could not be put into effect. It is hard to imagine that the situation in education would have been any different.

The effect the religious question had, then, was on the pattern of public involvement. Normally exhortatory intervention was on the basis of local control and finance. In the face of the religious difficulty only centralized intervention in education was possible. The Education Department which grew in consequence was an oddity amongst the departments of the government because it was doing what 'normally' would have been done by hundreds or thousands of local boards, comparable to the Boards of Guardians or the local boards of health. If the religious question affected the amount of public involvement it can only have been in a positive way. Education was harnessed to a question about which people felt much more strongly. As a result almost certainly more and better schools were built than would otherwise have been, and most probably more children attended them, the exact opposite of what is generally suggested.

2.3.3 The view from Whitehall

Amongst politicians, Lord John Russell clung to the idea of legislation, to the dismay of his more realistic friends and colleagues. The Duke of Argyll wrote to him about the bill he had for Scotland in 1853, drafted by Kay Shuttleworth:

But I do not think it meets the great difficulty viz: the religious one ... We cannot evade this great question ... I will not conceal from you my feeling that the attempt to find a common scheme for Scotland is one full of peril. The chances are against its success. I shd care very little indeed for danger of discredit to the Govt for the failure of such an attempt, if I saw clearly any very great balance of advantage supposing the object to be carried.(1)

The details of this letter showed that the situation in Scotland between the Kirk, the Free Church, and the secularists paralleled that in England. A year or so later, faced with the prospect of Russell's becoming Lord President of the Council, Greville commented,

... I am inclined to agree with Vernon Smith, who said to me the other day it would infallibly end in John's bringing in next year an impracticable Education Bill, and withdrawing it.(2)

Argyll expressed the widely held view that legislation would not only be difficult to pass but was unlikely to create a better situation than the existing one. Politicians from Peel to Granville were content to encourage the activities of the Committee of Council which was, in a general way, 'doing something for education'. In the pattern of encouragement there was a recurrent element of novelty, or political enthusiasm. Each incoming administration tended to take on the task of awarding grants with vigour, and the consequence was a

(1) Russell Papers, PRO30/29/10H, ff.146-148, Argyll to Russell, 25 March 1853.

(2) Lytton Strachey and Roger Fulford (eds.), The Greville Memoirs (1938), VII, pp.41-42, 11 June 1854.

rise in the average rate. At the formation of the Committee of Council and again in 1853 there was a stated decision that some grants should be increased, but in the latter year only some of the increase in the average rate was attributable to the still fairly small number of grants at 4s and 6s. The policy altogether became more flexible and discretionary, and although the major increase was in the rate for rural schools, the average rate for schools in industrial areas also increased, as shown in Figure 9(a). The Tories in 1842-44 and the Whigs in 1847 increased the rate without any statement of intention. The result was simply a matter of the average, the combined effect of a large number of individual decisions. An increase produced in this way could as easily turn into a decline as interest and enthusiasm waned, for example to some extent under Buccleuch in 1846, and more obviously from 1848 to 1850.

Within the context of 'doing something for education', and consistently through the waxing and waning of enthusiasm, urban or industrial areas were on average aided more generously than rural areas, at least until 1853 when the larger grants for the latter were introduced. During the period of the Special Fund, 1843-49, schools aided from it attracted a higher rate both from the National Society and the government than schools aided from the Queen's Letter Fund. The areas defined by the Special Fund excluded some major towns, particularly ports such as Bristol; but they provide a rough and ready basis for the division of the country, which has the advantage that it was the National Society's own, and based on the degree of contemporary concern (see Figure 6, p.92). The average rates of all Committee of Council grants given to the Special Fund areas,

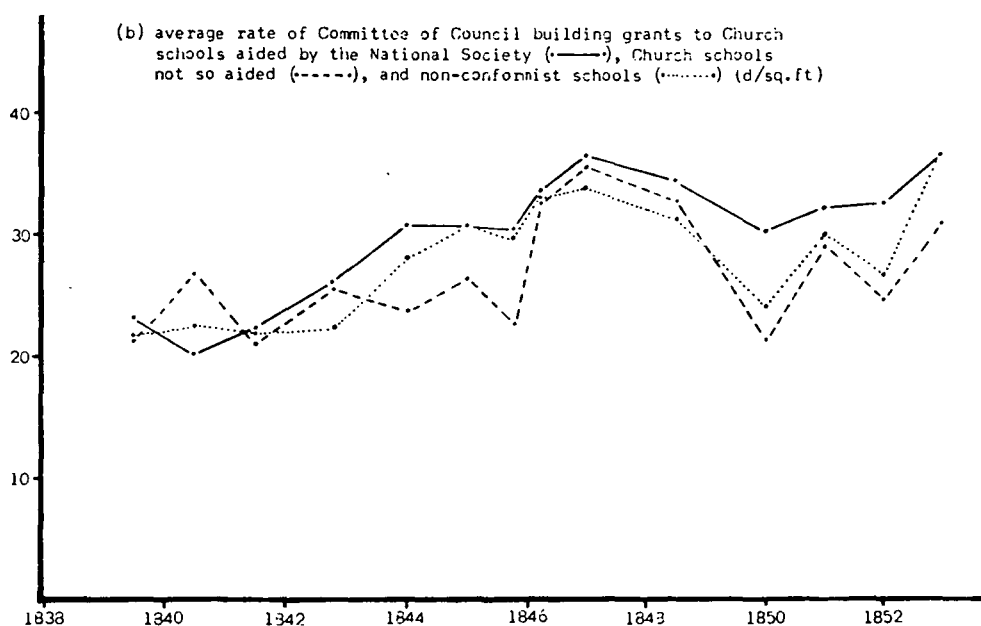
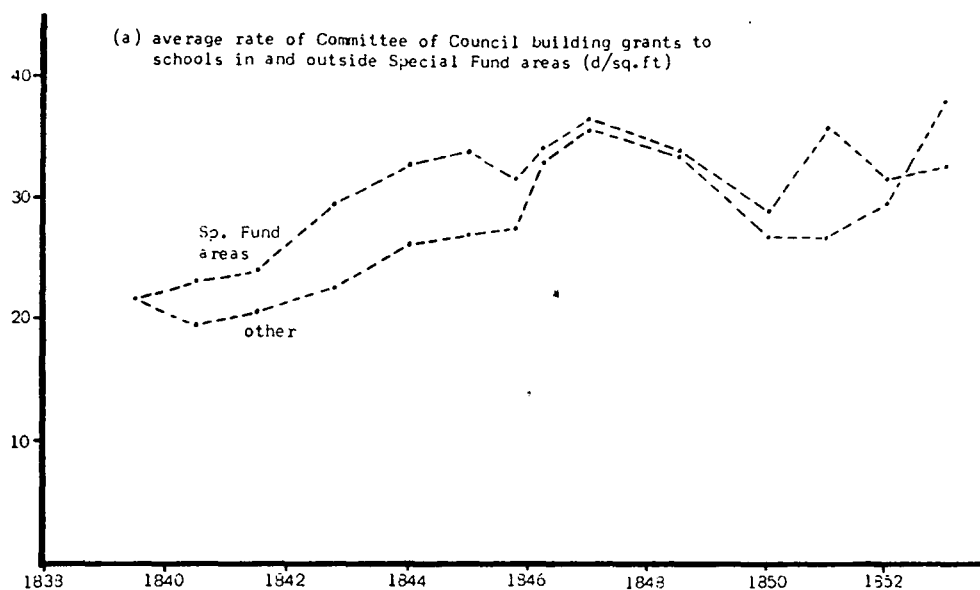


FIGURE 9: Committee of Council building-grant rates 1839-1853, by region and denomination.

SOURCE: Appendix C, Table XIV.

irrespective of what grant, if any, they received from the National Society, are shown in Figure 9(a). Favouritism towards these areas, consistently with the Committee of Council's expressed policy, started well before the inception of the Special Fund. It was almost abandoned in the generally very uniform policy of the early years of Russell's ministry, but became evident once again in the years before 1853.

The grants may similarly be divided up by denomination. A simple division between Church and non-conformist schools would show that the latter generally attracted a lower rate. If however recipients who also received a National Society grant are separated from other Anglican recipients, it is clear that the discrimination was as much against schools not aided by the National Society in general as against non-conformist schools in particular, as shown in Figure 9(b). The situation was obviously complicated. In the 1840s schools not receiving National Society aid, both Church and non-conformist, tended to be rural, and thus the lower rate reflected the general bias in favour of towns. In addition, when government enthusiasm was declining, as in 1846 and 1848-50, it declined most rapidly where not bolstered by National Society activity. In the 1850s the situation was changed by large urban grants for Roman Catholic and Wesleyan schools.

In an evolving situation and without the experience of other departments as a guide, the permanent staff of the Education Department would have found it hard to stand back and see the grant-in-aid as an instrument of government policy. In any case in

the 1840s the domination of school building by religious controversy obscured the effect the grants actually had and thus what effect they might potentially have, beyond, in a rather ill-defined way, giving help to schools. By 1859 their function as an incentive, increasing the amount of school building in proportion to the rate at which they were awarded, was recognized. Lingen quoted to the Newcastle Commission a sentence 'which is always printed for the information of the House of Commons':

'Every time that a more liberal rate of aid is offered, not only does the expenditure become greater upon the same number of applications, but more applications are made.' For instance, as soon as ever the building grant had been raised [in 1853] it was no longer that difference upon the same number of cases, but for several years there was a much larger number of cases.(1)

If this seems elementary and obvious it must be borne in mind that before 1853 increases in the average rate of aid had only resulted from the desire to be more generous in individual cases, not from the desire to increase the number of applications; and no general effect of the rate of aid upon the number of applications would have been discernible.

In 1848 Kay Shuttleworth had claimed that the government grant had increased voluntary contributions, a claim based on the simple calculation that each pound of government money needed three or so from other sources before a school could be built. But this did not imply the sort of view later expressed by Lingen. Kay Shuttleworth was in the process of trying to reassure the Committee that the existence of the government grant did not inhibit voluntary contributions. Earlier in the same evidence he had explained the

(1) Vol. 6, q. 369, 24 Nov. 1859.

recent large expenditure of the Committee of Council by reference to the Special Fund, in this case putting the chain of causation the right way round.(1)

How early the potential operation of the building grant as a flexible instrument was realized is not clear. In February 1851 Lingen told the Bishop of Winchester,

Within the last two years some reduction has been made in the amount of building grants, to counterbalance the large expenditure for the maintenance aided by the Minutes of 1846.
(2)

Since the average rate of aid had been declining from a peak in 1847 and, if the events of 1846 have been interpreted correctly, the number of applications from a peak in 1844, it cannot unambiguously be shown that this stated policy had any effect. Certainly it did not last long and saved very little in comparison with the cost of annual grants. Possibly though as a device to save money it was conceived with the thought that smaller grants would mean fewer applications. Evidently according to Lingen's recollection the relation between the rate of aid and the number of applications after the 1853 increase was seen at the time; that increasing the rate was a stimulant, but a temporary one. Perhaps already a general view of the case had formed, at least in Lingen's mind.

(1) PP1847-48, XVIII, 1, qq.6133-34, 6137-38, 16 June 1848.
(2) Minutes 1850-51, 1, p.lxxiii.

2.4 PUPIL-TEACHER GRANTS

The system of annual grants to schools introduced as a result of the 1846 Minutes differed significantly from the system of building grants, beyond the former being recurrent and the latter, in principle, on a once-and-for-all basis. The rates for annual grants were published and applied uniformly; and for the most part the demand was from, and the payments were to, those who benefited personally from the system, most importantly the pupil teachers. The existence of much of the rest of the system depended on the supply of pupil teachers; and their stipends and the payments to schoolmasters and schoolmistresses for instructing them were together the largest item in the Education Department's expenditure throughout the 1850s.

The Department published figures for the number of pupil teachers in service, annually from 1851. From the same year it published a summary of the results of inspection, which gave the number of schools visited. However not until 1858 did this distinguish schools visited on account of annual grants from those visited on account of building grants, and not until 1864 did it clearly separate Scotland from England. The summaries also included the number of certificated teachers at work with, again, those in Scotland and England not clearly separated. The reason was that before 1864 Roman Catholic schools in England and Scotland were lumped together. On the basis of the subsequent proportions in the two countries it is possible to apportion the earlier Roman Catholic numbers, giving a continuous series for the number of certificated teachers from 1850 and the number of annual grant schools from 1857. These are the numbers seen

by the inspectors, not the absolute numbers. But the example of the pupil teachers, for whom both numbers are available, and are very similar, suggests that in practice the vast bulk of annual grant schools were included in the inspection returns, as was theoretically required. In addition there were isolated figures for the number of annual grant schools in 1849 and 1850.

The number of annual grant schools and the number of certificated teachers agree in showing a steady growth of the system, temporarily slowed somewhat in the early 1860s, but otherwise remarkably uniform for twenty years. Of this steady growth little can be said. The grants continued to attract new customers, and the Committee of Council was prepared to foot the bill. But the pattern of the number of pupil teachers was quite different. Superimposed on a steady upward tendency were large fluctuations as shown, with the other series, in Figure 10. The number in England and Wales began to grow more quickly in the mid-1850s to a peak in 1861 of nearly 14 000. It then fell to less than 9000 in 1866, before once more rising rapidly.

The fall in numbers after 1861 has commonly been attributed to the effect of the Revised Code. The rates of payment had remained unchanged from the beginning, on a scale of £10 for a first-year pupil teacher to £20 for one in his or her fifth year. The Revised Code abolished these direct payments; required schools to employ pupil teachers; but left the amount of payment to be a matter of negotiation between school managers and the pupil teachers themselves, the government contribution supposedly being allowed for in the grants to schools based on the children's examination passes.

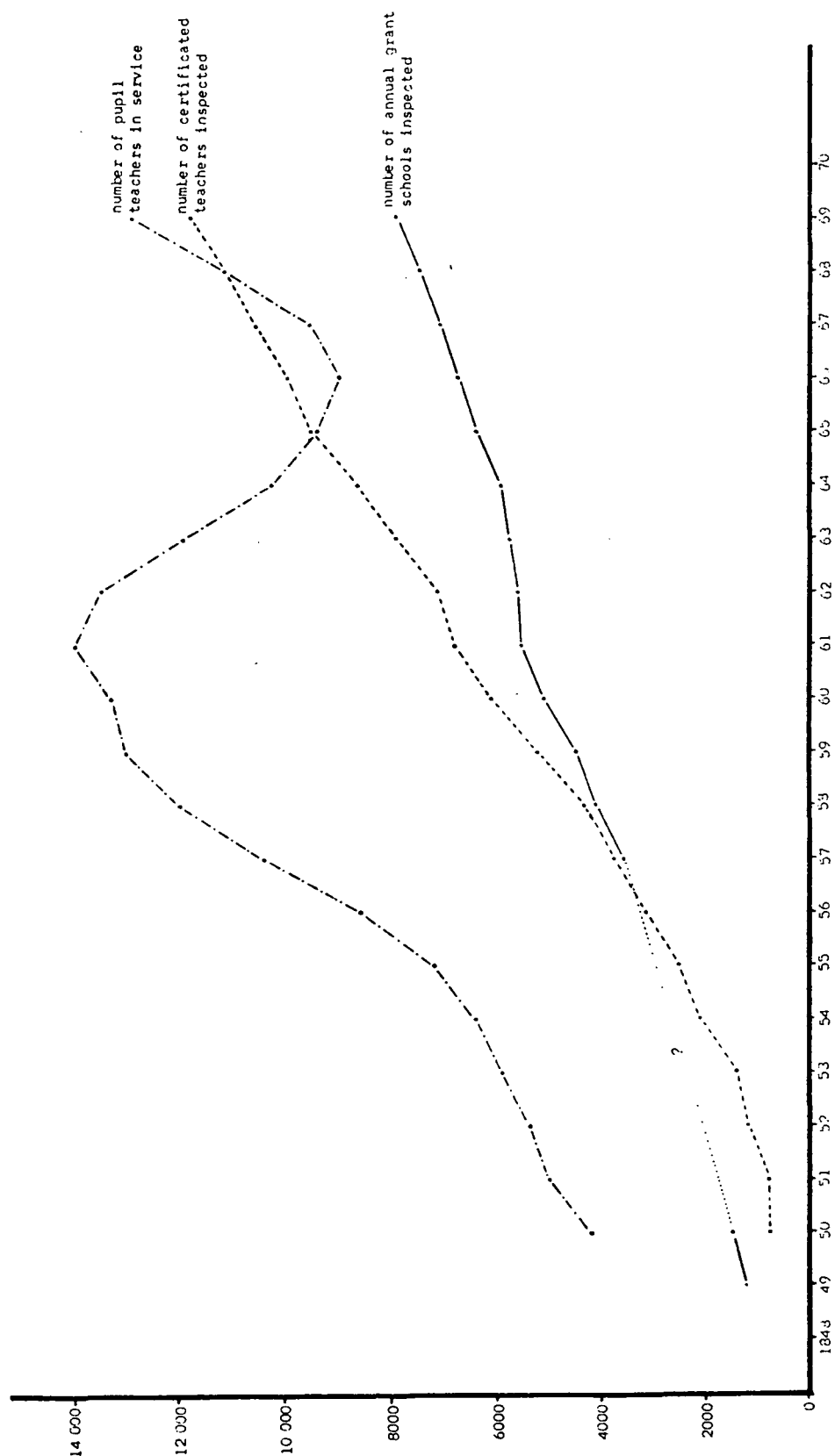


FIGURE 10: Growth of the annual-grant system 1850-1869.

SOURCE: Appendix D, Tables XXII, XXIII.

Managers, either simply from their view of the justice of the case, or in anticipation of a drop in their income as a result of the Revised Code, offered less than the government had; or indeed deliberately employed fewer apprentices. In either case the result was a fall in numbers starting in 1862, from 30 June of which year new apprenticeships came under the Revised Code regulations.(1)

This interpretation was challenged by Norman Morris, who pointed to the restriction imposed in 1859 on the number of pupil teachers who could be employed in any one school or under any one certificated master or mistress. He argued that the fall in 1862 was the effect of this, working through the system, rather than the immediate effect of the Revised Code.(2) The question, as with building grants, is how much did changes in the regulations or the level of grant affect the level of demand? And were there factors external to the Education Department which could have caused the fall in numbers in the early 1860s and the other fluctuations from the pattern of steady growth? There is a prima facie case for the existence of such factors in the inspectors' repeated complaints that it was difficult to attract pupil teachers because of the higher wages available elsewhere. It is certainly in principle possible that variation in the level of wages elsewhere, or the availability of juvenile employment could act directly on the pupil-teacher supply.

The fairly long period of the fluctuations in the pupil-teacher numbers has made it desirable to look well beyond 1860 in the attempt

(1) Report 1861-62, p.xv, Minute of 9 May 1862.

(2) Norman Morris, 'Public Expenditure on Education in the 1870s', Oxford Review of Education, 3(1977), pp.3-19.

to explain them. Of relevance is how far changes were due to a changing number of pupil teachers per school and how far to a changing number of schools having pupil teachers at all. Unfortunately the known number of schools is the number in receipt of any form of annual grant. An unknown and presumably variable proportion of these (of the order of a quarter to a third) had no pupil teachers. Thus nothing can be said on the basis of the inspection summaries on how the changes were articulated - what can be gleaned must be gleaned from the overall number of apprentices.

Further information is in principle available. From the beginning until 1861 details were published either of the actual pupil teachers in individual schools or of the total payment to each school on their behalf. This information has been extracted and put together for the county of Yorkshire, chosen because it comprised 10% or so of the country, was for the whole period under the same inspector, Frederick Watkins, and included substantial urban and rural areas. Thus for Yorkshire, for a rather shorter period and not distinguishing between apprentices by their year of service, some more detailed conclusions can be reached to supplement those derived from the national figures.

Morris's view had the merit that it allowed a time lag between cause and effect. Since apprentices served for five years, a change in the conditions under which they were hired would only take full effect five years later. Furthermore, as was stressed in the Committee of Council reports when the fall became apparent, if for any reason an unusually large number of apprentices was taken on in a particular year, then five years later there would tend to be a drop

in the total number as these passed out of the system and were replaced by a normal intake.(1)

The total number at any time was the sum of the numbers in each of the year groups. On this kind of view the numbers in successive year groups were a reflection of the situation a corresponding number of years previously. It is also conceivable however that if there was real competition between pupil-teacher apprenticeship and other kinds of employment, a change in the balance of advantage could affect all levels of pupil teacher simultaneously, at least in one direction: a favourable employment situation could reduce the first-year intake and also encourage substantial numbers of older apprentices to abandon their positions. Figure 11 shows the total number for England and Wales in terms of its year-by-year make up, and more or less confirms the 'conservative' view, for each year of apprenticeship is seen to follow the first year a year later in time. There was always some loss over the five years, but the rate of loss did not vary much from intake to intake or from year to year. In other words apprentices who started tended to finish despite changes which inhibited new starters, and the pattern over time of the number of fifth-year apprentices is a good reflection of the corresponding pattern of the first-year apprentices five years earlier, to the extent that it is reasonable to extrapolate the first-year number back to 1849 and 1848 as shown by the dotted line.

Evidently the fall in the total number in 1862 resulted from two different events: a two-year fall in the first-year number from 1858

(1)Report 1862-63, p.x; 1863-64, p.xxiii.

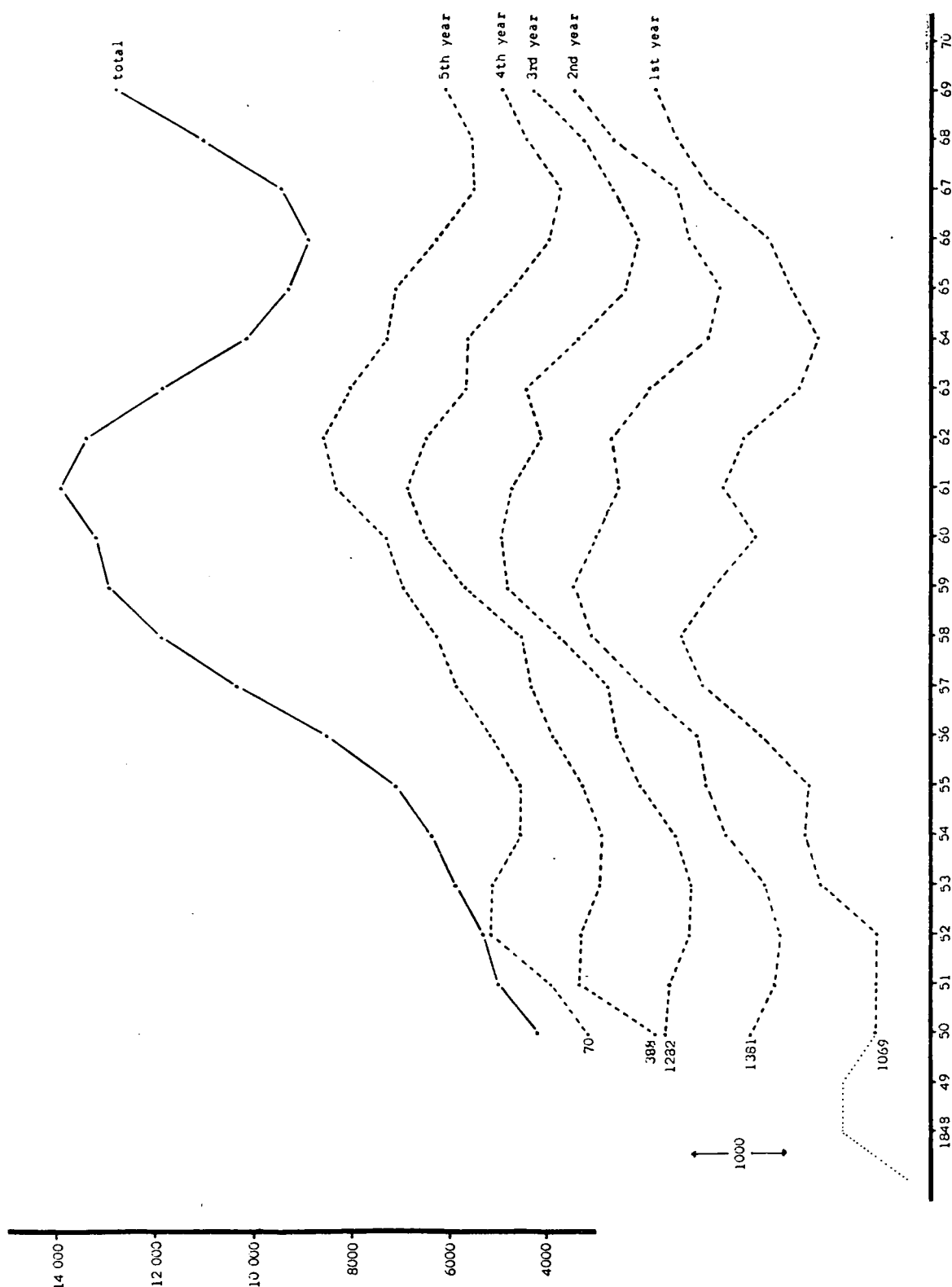


FIGURE 11: Number of pupil teachers in service in England and Wales 1850-1869.

SOURCE: Appendix D, Table XXII.

to 1860 affecting in 1862 the third and fourth years; and a renewed first-year fall from 1861 to 1862. The pattern of the total number can be analysed similarly at each stage. Changes in the total number are therefore misleading as indicators of the influences on recruitment. The pattern to look at is that of the first-year numbers.

The inspectors complained that pupil-teacher stipends were insufficient to compete with employment elsewhere, and periodically quoted wage rates for young people which were always convincingly higher, and had the additional attraction of being payable weekly rather than annually in arrears. No doubt some young people wanted to become pupil teachers more or less irrespective of the stipends, because they wanted to be teachers, or saw in education an avenue for social advancement; or because something in their personal circumstances made other employment impossible or inconvenient. But what happened at the margin? If stipends were consistently lower than wages elsewhere, variation in the latter should be relatively unimportant. Comparison of the average level of money wages (money wages, since until 1862 pupil-teacher stipends were constant in money terms) with the annual number of first-year apprentices shows that this was in fact the case. On the other hand wages in competing employment could be expected to be relevant only when such employment actually existed; and this also seems actually to have been the case, with an apparently close connection between the number of first-year apprentices and the level of unemployment.

The series which have been discussed, with the addition of the number of first-year apprentices in Scotland and the number of apprentices in new Yorkshire schools, are shown in Figure 12. The connection between the level of unemployment and the number of first-year pupil teachers is obvious, but equally obviously is not the whole story.

It is possible for Yorkshire to separate schools having pupil teachers for the first time from the rest, and it is the number of pupil teachers in these that is shown in Figure 12. It may be supposed that they were all in their first year of apprenticeship, unless they had moved from another school. The line is much flatter than that for the national number of first-year apprentices because there is no cumulative element in it. The two measures of year-by-year conditions agree in showing a rise to 1848 followed by a fall to 1850, and a peak in 1858.

Up to 1853 the connection with the level of unemployment is not obvious, and while there are various possible factors involved, the situation remains obscure. The initial rapid rise in the number of pupil teachers when the system was introduced evidently caused alarm. In November 1848 the original minimum allowance of 25 pupils per apprentice was increased to 50 'unless the candidates can pass an unequivocally good examination'. Thereafter, at least according to Hurt, 'Gradually the proportion of one girl pupil-teacher to every forty scholars and one boy to every fifty became the established

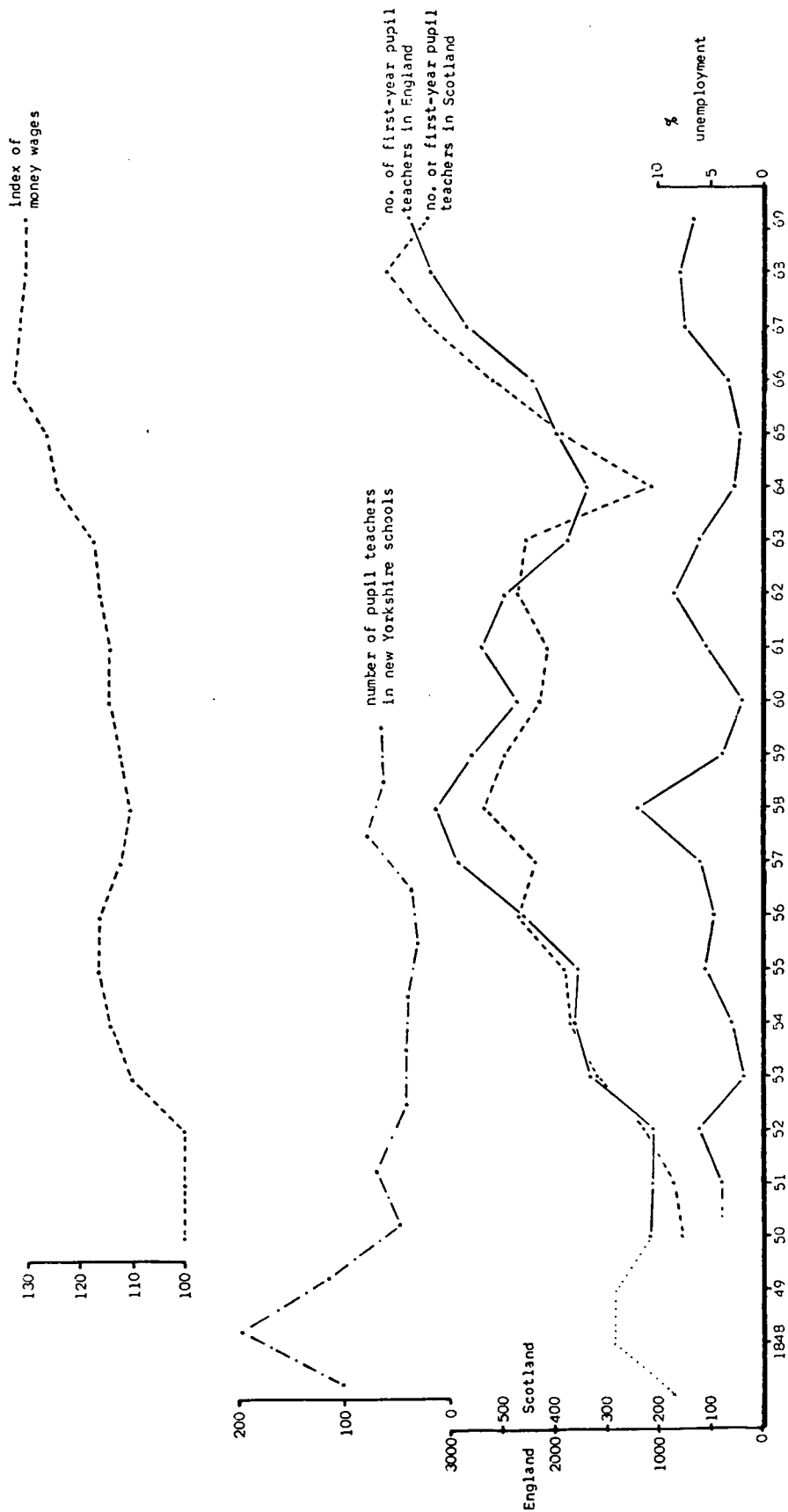


FIGURE 12: Pupil-teacher intake and economic indices 1848-1869.

SOURCE: Appendix D, Tables XXII, XXIV, XXV.

practice'.(1) The Yorkshire figures for the average number of pupil teachers per school are equivocal, but at least consistent with the regulation having had some effect. Subsequently 40 became the ordinary number for boys too.(2)

There is evidence from the beginning of 1852 of another attempt at restrictiveness, a note in the Secretary's Minute Book: 'On no account allow the admissions of new P.T. to exceed 100 per month, or 1200 per an.'(3) It is hard to know what to make of this. Although issued by Lingen, it does not need to have originated with him. The possibility is given credence by the edict having apparently been quite ineffective, consistent with its having been a political move from the dying days of the whig administration. Taking the whole of Great Britain, the average rate of admission of apprentices fell to almost 100 a month in 1851, rose somewhat in 1852, and in 1853 was over 150 a month. On the other hand it is also possible that it was the realization that the numbers were increasing after a year or two of stability that prompted the move. It may have seemed that a rate of something close to 100 a month had been the unexpressed policy of the Office (or of the Committee of Council) which simply needed to be asserted explicitly. But this goes no further to explaining the fall to 1850 and low level of 1851, since the subsequent rise showed that such sensation of control as was felt in the Office was an illusion.

A third possible factor is the pattern of building grants. If the schools that took on apprentices for the first time were dominantly

(1)PP1849, XLII, 194-95, letter to inspectors of 25 November 1848; Hurt, p.94.

(2)Report 1858-59, p.xiii, s.6.

(3)ED9/4, p.17, 13 Feb. 1852.

those which had received building grants, the two systems would be closely linked. Indeed there is a resemblance, the same fall to 1850, rise to 1853 or 1854, fall back in 1855 and subsequent rise. Attractive though the resemblance is, little can be made of it, at least if Yorkshire was typical. The number of schools in which the introduction of pupil teachers can even remotely be associated with a building grant never amounted to more than 25% of new pupil-teacher schools. What proportion of first-year pupil teachers were provided by the new schools in turn is not known with any precision, but is unlikely to have been more than 30% from 1853 on. Thus, although an association with building grants certainly existed, if Yorkshire may be taken to be representative of the rest of the country the association was too weak significantly to affect the national pattern.

Finally, and most simply, is the likelihood of an effect inseparable from the introduction of a new grant, analogous to what happened when there were changes affecting the number of building grants. There was a latent pool of schools easily meeting the various conditions and able to lay their hands on apprentices who were suitable and willing. The result was the initial rapid uptake. After these schools had been dealt with a decline in the rate of uptake was inevitable, as an equilibrium situation became established.

Attribution of the fall to the 1848 change in the ratio of pupil teachers to scholars is apparently made more plausible by the increase to 1853 against what would have been predicted by the

simultaneous rise in money wages and fall in unemployment. In 1853 the ratio was relaxed for deserving schools. Unfortunately the Yorkshire figures offer little support. The number of pupil teachers per school fell from 1852 to 1853, and again to 1854 in both urban and rural areas, and in both new and established schools.

The situation up to 1853 remains uncertain, but thereafter the number of first-year apprentices followed closely the general level of unemployment. The simple association is not of course proof of a causal link; but the intrinsic possibility of there having been such a link, the inspectors' repeated assertions that they observed it, and the certainty that it could only have operated one way round, make a convincing case that the presence of prospective pupil teachers reflected the absence of other employment possibilities. Unemployment rose steadily after 1853, and then sharply to 1858 following the crisis of 1857. During these years apprenticeship was continually popular. In Yorkshire the number of schools taking on pupil-teachers for the first time doubled from the beginning of 1857 to the beginning of 1858. Rapid economic recovery was associated with an immediate fall in the pupil-teacher intake.

It was in 1859, the first year of this fall, that the 1:40 pupil teacher: scholar ratio was again imposed as a uniform standard. Morris made this change seem greater than it was because he described the 1:25 ratio as though it had remained in force since the beginning.⁽¹⁾ How much influence the change had is as hard to determine as in the cases of earlier changes in the ratio. Made in

(1) Report 1858-59, p.xvi, Minute of 4 May 1859; Morris, 'Public Expenditure', pp.13-14.

May 1859, it certainly would not have affected the number in service very much before 1860; and by 1861 the number was already rising again. The evidence from the Yorkshire schools is inconclusive, but consistent with a small effect. Between 1859 and 1860 the average number rose slightly in new schools but fell slightly in established schools, where the restriction could have been expected to have its effect. At the same time as the 1:40 ratio was made standard a maximum of four apprentices per certificated teacher was fixed. This could be expected to reduce the proportion of schools with more than four apprentices. In Yorkshire the proportion did fall, a little, from 22.7% at the beginning of 1859 to 22.0% at the beginning of 1860; but the fall had actually started at the beginning of 1857 (Appendix D, Table XXIV). These are the flimsiest of straws. The 1859 regulations may have temporarily accentuated a fall in the intake largely the result of falling unemployment in the outside world.

The effect of the Revised Code, consistently with the traditional view, can be demonstrated much more unambiguously. Between 1861 and 1862 as unemployment rose, the intake of pupil teachers in Scotland where the Revised Code was not in operation also rose; but in England it fell. The following year, the first full year of the Code's operation in England, the decline steepened. In 1862 the Code was also introduced in Scotland, where there was then also a decline, which turned into a collapse in 1864. In June 1864 the Code was

suspended in Scotland,(1) and in 1865 the number of first-year apprentices there increased almost as rapidly as it had previously fallen.

Apart from the fall in 1862, the pattern of the English pupil teachers could seem explicable solely in terms of the level of unemployment, at least until 1867. The effect of the Revised Code is revealed by the comparison between England and Scotland, where the Code was in operation for only a little more than a year. Over and above the detailed sequence in 1861-65, there was a change in the relative positions of the two countries. Before 1862 the number of Scottish pupil teachers was generally less than 20% of the English number (the proportion at which the lines for the countries in Figure 12 coincide). After 1865 the proportion was for several years well above 20%. It is reasonable to take this as a measure of the Revised Code's effect in depressing the number in England compared to what it would have been under the Code of 1860. But it remains that after 1864 the number of first-year apprentices consistently increased at first in line with and then beyond the level of unemployment. So the depressant effect of the Revised Code was only briefly, if at all, the dominant one.

To the extent that there was steady growth, certainly of the annual grants, more doubtfully of the building grants, the government was helping the extension and improvement of elementary education by providing inducements which were effective in encouraging people to become educational operatives at different levels. But at the same

(1) Report 1862-63, p.xlvii, Minute of 21 March 1863; 1864-65, p.lxxvi, Minute of 11 June 1864.

time the grant systems were vessels launched into the sea of society. They bobbed up and down on the economic waves, and were blown by the winds of religious feeling. Chance, as much as time, or the hand of the Committee of Council, guided their progress.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONSEQUENCES FOR STAFFING AND EXPENDITURE

3.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STAFFING STRUCTURE

Because the Education Department was doing what government departments did not normally do, administering local affairs and giving away money, it was abnormally expensive; and it needed staff in larger numbers and of a different kind from what was traditional in government offices. That staffing on the old pattern would not do was not immediately obvious. It took twenty years for an appropriate pattern to be established. Its development was haphazard, the consequence of successive ad hoc changes, compromises, and the step-by-step relinquishment of longstanding notions and longstanding interests.

From the beginning the Education Department had separate dealings with a large number of individual school promoters, whose schools, scattered over the country and belonging to different denominations, differed widely in their social and material circumstances. As time went on the complication was increased by the increasing number of grant purposes and associated regulations. There were of course major decisions to be taken, for example those related to the growth of the denominational inspectorate. But there were in addition a large number of minor decisions. Even the decision to award a grant was not a single event but the cumulative result of many small steps each involving its own decisions and correspondence.

In consequence, the Department needed a large number of staff who could take some responsibility in the process, from something above the level of mere copying to something below that of major policy. The solution finally arrived at was a staff arranged in three tiers: at the top an upper establishment consisting of the examiners and assistant secretaries taking most of the responsibility for individual grant decisions, and presenting the Department's face to the public; at the bottom non-established copyists restricted as far as possible to copying; and in between a lower establishment of assistant clerks with duties varying greatly in responsibility, from copying to, for example, managing the list of recommended books under the book-grant scheme or overseeing the compilation of statistics, as well as contributing to the grant-awarding procedure. What the lower establishment did not do was correspond with school promoters.

The rudiments of this tripartite arrangement developed surprisingly early. Had the Education Department been created as an independent body from the beginning, the subsequent progress of its staffing might have been smoother. As it was, a 'new administrative plant' in the 'potting shed' of the Privy Council Office, to use F.M.G. Willson's metaphor, it soon outgrew its pot and outgrew the shed. The strain of this was released haphazardly and painfully. When finally the arrangements were overhauled in 1853-54, the bad feeling amongst those affected almost drove Lingen to resignation.(1)

(1) Granville Papers, PRO30/29/19/15, pp.66-73, Lennard to Lingen 31 Dec. 1853 (copy); C.E. Trevelyan Papers, CET18, vol.32, pp.191-93, Trevelyan to Granville 30 Dec. 1853; ibid. p.237, Trevelyan to Lingen 13 Jan. 1854.

In 1839, before the creation of the Committee of Council, the staff of the Privy Council consisted, under the Lord President, Lord Lansdowne, of two 'Clerks in Ordinary' who had a role similar to that of a permanent under-secretary, and seven clerks, shown in Table I.

The establishment had been fixed in 1830 at a number which in 1839 was much greater than the work needed. One may speculate on how these gentlemanly copyists passed their time before the bustling Education Department took three of them away and, as a consequence presumably, somewhat increased the workload of the rest. The remaining four were apparently still under-employed though, for in 1853 the suggestion was that two would be sufficient, under a single Clerk in Ordinary.(1) The point need not therefore be laboured that all appointments to the Privy Council Office for twenty years after 1839, save the odd (ungentlemanly) copyist, were of staff for the education business, no matter how they were described. After Bayly in 1835, the next clerk to be appointed to the Privy Council Office for Privy Council business was H.M. Suft in July 1860.(2)

For the first few years Kay Shuttleworth was assisted by clerks from the Privy Council establishment who were paid a supplement on top of their ordinary salaries. In addition, and presumably initially for copying duties, subordinate clerks were appointed from outside. These were not on the Privy Council establishment and had an uncertain status. In practice they were permanent employees, but had no security of tenure, and no automatic increases in their pay.

The uncertainty in their status was reflected in the variety of the

(1)PP1854, XXVII, 263.

(2)PC4/20, p.237.

position	name	age in 1839	years of service
Clerk in Ordinary	Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville	45	13
	William Lennox Bathurst	43	12
chief clerk	John Barrett Lennard	50	?
1st class	Henry Gaitskell	43	31
	Charles Anthony Hamilton	31	13
2nd class	Harry Chester	33	13
	Edmund Stephen Harrison	29	13
3rd class	Peter Francis De Bary	25	6
	Charles George Villiers Bayly	27	4

TABLE I: Privy Council establishment in 1839.

SOURCE: See below pp.143-6.

names they were referred to by: 'supplemental', 'supplementary', 'provisional' and 'assistant' clerks. The first of these will be used here up to 1853. From then on, after the creation of a lower establishment, they were known formally, if not always in practice, as 'assistant' clerks, and that name will be used.

Also, from at least the third quarter of 1839 Kay Shuttleworth had the use of a copying clerk from Messrs. Vacher, the law stationers from whom the Education Department bought its office materials. The Vacher accounts which remain in the Privy Council files suggest that there was work for only one such clerk until, certainly 1844 - not necessarily one clerk employed continuously, but intermittent employment of one, or more than one, which was roughly equivalent to one on average.(1)

Legal and architectural assistance were provided fairly early, on a part-time basis. When more higher staff were needed as a result of

(1)PC1/2657.

the large number of grant applications in 1844 there was no structural change, three appointments simply being made to the Privy Council establishment. The development of the staffing up to the beginning of 1845 is traced in detail in Appendix F, and is summarized in Table II.

In 1847 there was a major departure associated with the introduction of annual grants. Staff were appointed to be paid out of the Education Vote, like the inspectors, rather than out of the Privy Council Vote, like all previous office staff including Kay Shuttleworth. The new senior staff were the first two examiners, James Armitage and R.R.W. Lingen, and with them were appointed six clerks roughly equivalent to the existing supplemental clerks. The appointments were all explicitly provisional, the situation to be reviewed after a year. However this simply meant that their tenure was on the same terms as that of the supplemental clerks and, in particular, no worse. In 1848 Lingen 'had to threaten immediate resignation unless his appointment were made permanent and put on a satisfactory financial basis'.(1) But somehow he learned to live with impermanence, for the status of the examinerships remained unchanged until 1853. In 1850 Lingen, by then Assistant Secretary, took advantage of its not being an establishment post to reduce the salary of the chief examinership.(2)

The new pattern of appointment introduced in 1847 did not then become the pattern for the Education Department. Instead there was perpetuated a division in the office between Privy Council clerks who

(1) Smith, p.215.

(2) 5911/50 in T1/5609/24224.

	Dec.1840	July 1842	Jan.1845
Privy Council establishment with supplement	Chester Harrison?	Chester Harrison Bayly	Chester Harrison Bayly
Privy Council establishment			Boothby T.Kay Kaye
supplemental clerks	Hutchinson other other other?	Hutchinson other other other?	Hutchinson B.B.Moore other Stanney
counsel architect	Lumley	Lumley Westmacott	Lumley Westmacott
copyists	1	1	1?

TABLE II: Staffing 1840-45.

SOURCE: See Appendix F.

administered the building-grant business and examiners who administered the annual-grant business. The number of examiners was increased to three, in practice in 1848 and in theory in 1850, and then to four in 1852. But also five more clerks were added to the Privy Council establishment in 1849. The division was commented on adversely by the 1853 Committee of Inquiry, but remained until at least 1856.(1) It was probably only finally broken down by the departure of many of the ex-Privy Council appointees in the late 1850s and the appointment of new examiners in their stead.

The clerks added to the Privy Council establishment in 1849 had a slightly different status from their seniors, in that they were explicitly denied the right to rise automatically up the promotional ladder.(2) This seems to have meant that the new clerks were not subsequently considered quite as bona fide establishment clerks: the

(1)PP1854, XXVII, 263; Granville Papers, PRO30/29/23/6, pp.233-244, Boothby to Greville, 20 March 1856.

(2)PC4/19, p.435.

total on the Privy Council establishment now came to fifteen, but in a memorandum of 1856 Granville wrote, 'When I first came here, in Dec. 1852, I found a permanent staff consisting of two Clerks of the Council, a Chief Clerk, and 9 under clerks ...', i.e. he stopped at the additions of 1845.(1) The difference also meant a simpler task for the Committee of Inquiry, who had to consider the expectations of succession of eight rather than fourteen men (one of the original clerks, Thomas Kay, having in the meantime resigned).

Also in 1849 there was a large increase in the number of supplemental clerks, for the most part replacing copyists, whose number had grown enormously. The growth of staff up to 1852, again traced in detail in Appendix F, is summarized in Table III (by 1849 Armitage had resigned and Lingen had taken over from Kay Shuttleworth).

The result of the Committee of Inquiry, which reported in August 1853 and whose recommendations were put into effect in the course of the following year, was the separation of the Education Department from the rest of the Council Office and the creation for the first time of an Education Department establishment, divided between an upper establishment, the examiners and secretaries, and a lower consisting of the supplemental clerks.

It is fairly certain that the grades and salary scales were fixed with reference to the Board of Trade. In the report itself this was

(1)PC4/20, p.187.

	March 1849 £	July 1849 £	July 1852 £
Privy Council establishment with supplement	Chester 700 Harrison 500 Bayly 350	Chester 700 Harrison 500 Bayly 350 Boothby 240	Chester 800 Harrison 600 Bayly 450 Boothby 350
Privy Council establishment	Boothby 170 Kay 150 Kaye 140	Kay 150 Kaye 140 Merrifield 170 Hickson 110 Severn 110 Bryant 110 Bulteel 110	Kaye 190 Merrifield 190 Severn 130 Bryant 130 Morier 110 Randolph 120 Hickson 110
supplemental clerks	Hutchinson 200 B.E.Moore 180 Balfour 125 Joyner 120	Hutchinson 200 B.E.Moore 180 Joyner 150 T.Younger* 130 R.MacKenzie* 115 J.Perkins* 110 H.Green* 100 R.Summerford* 100 Thorpe* 100 J.Hunt* 100 R.Moore* 100 W.Clarke* 100 J.Withers 100 Musselwhite 100 Moyles 100	Hutchinson 250 Joyner 150 MacKenzie 150 Younger 130 Perkins 130 Green 120 Summerford 100 Hunt 100 Clarke 100 Withers 100 Moyles 100 R.Moore 100 Marks 100 Broad 100 Pratten 100 Saunders 100
counsel architect	Lumley 300 Westmacott 200	Lumley 300 Westmacott 200	Lumley 300 Westmacott 200
examiners	(Temple 600) Sandford 400 (Palgrave 400)	(Temple 600) Sandford 400 (Palgrave 400)	Sandford 550 Bowstead 450 le Mesurier 350 Sykes 300
statist	Banfield 250	Banfield 250	Jackson 200
Education Grant clerks	Merrifield 100 Hickson 100 Tilleard 100 Severn 100 Vance 100	Tilleard 130 Vance 100	Goodall 130 Price 100
copyists	16 1/- per hr.	none?	about 10

*ex-copyist

TABLE III: Staffing and salaries 1849-52.

SOURCE: See Appendix F.

made explicit for the messengers.(1) Northcote later made it so for the upper establishment, writing in a memorandum rebutting criticisms by Gladstone of the report, 'The scale proposed [for the Assistant Secretaries] is the same as that proposed, and adopted, for the

(1)PP1854, XXVII, 262.

Assistant Secretaries at the Board of Trade: the salary of the examiners being the same as that of the Senior Clerks in that Office'.(1) There is apparently no explicit mention of the comparison with the Board of Trade for the lower establishment, but in fact the scale for the lowest class was the same in the two departments.(2) The salaries finally agreed are shown in Table IV.

The three clerks appointed originally to the Privy Council establishment without reference to the education business were offered the choice of accepting positions on the Education Department establishment and forgoing their right of succession in the Council Office or, alternatively, retaining their present salaries and supplements and continuing to work in the Education Department until death or retirement in the Council Office allowed them once more to take their place there, at which point they would forgo their supplements.(3)

The Privy Council establishment was going to be reduced to two, on salary scales of £500 to £800 and £200 to £500.(4) The choices Chester, Harrison and Bayly made were consistent with the balance of their financial advantage, whether or not that was what actually motivated them. Chester was made an assistant secretary. He was already earning £800 and would thus rise to £1000, so the chief clerkship would hold no attraction for him whenever he got it. If Harrison, the second most highly paid man, had been offered the second assistant secretaryship, the argument would have been as

(1) 17667/53 in T1/5842A/24894.

(2) For the Board of Trade scales see PP1854, XXVII, 175.

(3) PP1854, XXVII, 226.

(4) Ibidem, 257-58.

1 secretary		£1200
2 assistant secretary examiners		£700 by £50 to £1000 £300 by £20 to £600
assistant clerks	1st class	£80 by £5 to £180
	2nd class	£130 by £10 to £180
	3rd class	£180 by £10 to £250

TABLE IV: Salaries following the 1853 report.

SOURCE: PP1854, XXVII, 263.

strong for him. As it was it went to Sandford,(1) so Harrison had to weigh the possibility of becoming assistant secretary against that of becoming chief clerk. He could regard himself as being next in line for assistant secretary, while there were two above him on the Privy Council ladder, Gaitskell and Hamilton. On the other hand Lennard was approaching retirement and Gaitskell himself was well over sixty. By December 1853 Harrison still had not decided, and asked for an extra £100 a year as an inducement to stay in the Education Department.(2) When this was refused he plumped after all for the Council Office.

Bayly's choice was easier, even after Harrison's decision. He had no very good prospect of being selected over the heads of the other examiners if an assistant secretaryship became available, whereas De Bary, the extra man above him on the Privy Council ladder was unusually incompetent:(3) succession there should be secure if not immediate, and as second clerk he would only be a little worse off

(1)The promotion of Chester and Sandford had been decided by May 1853, as shown by Temple's letter to Clough of the 10th: F.L. Mulhauser(ed.), The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough (Oxford,1957), p.427.

-(2)24894/53 in T1/5842A/24894.

(3)This is based on Granville's cautiously worded assessment of the Privy Council clerks in PC4/20, p.188, which suggests that De Bary was forced into premature retirement in 1858.

than as examiner. In the event Harrison and Bayly were rewarded for their choice.(1) Lennard and Hamilton died, and Gaitskell and De Bary retired, so by 1860 Harrison and Bayly were respectively chief and second clerk in the Council Office.(2)

In 1853 Boothby was already earning more than the starting salary for an examiner, and became one at once. The other seven third-class clerks remained as members of a 'moribund' class, to be paid from the Education Grant, and with the possibility of promotion to examinerships as vacancies arose, if they satisfied the educational requirements laid down in the report. The new upper establishment after the changes had therefore the same personnel as the old: there were no new appointments. The change is shown diagrammatically in Table V.

The new lower establishment was formed from the supplemental clerks previously on the Privy Council Vote, the statist, and the two clerks on the Education Vote, and its number was increased to 23. As well as reorganizing the clerical establishments, the 1853 report led to Westmacott's resignation and his replacement by M.R. Hawkins in the spring of 1854 (see below pp.220-2). Apart from this change, though, after the report the same people did the same things as they had done before. It took until the end of the decade for the paper scheme of 1853 to become the functioning reality of the Department. By then the moribund class had been virtually eliminated, all but Hickson and Wardrop having being promoted to examinerships; transfer,

(1)The earliest record of their choice seems to be 13611/54 in T1/5906B/26392, Lingen to Trevelyan, 19 June 1854.
(2)PC4/20, p.231.

1853	1854	
4 examiners	1 assistant secretary	Chester
	1 assistant secretary	Sandford
	3 examiners	Sykes
		Cory
		Clough
4 clerks receiving supplement	2 acting examiners	Harrison
	1 examiner	Bayly
		Boothby
7 clerks	7 clerks	Kaye
		Merrifield
		Severn
		Bryant
		Randolph
		Hickson
		Wardrop

TABLE V: The higher staff before and after the 1853 report.

SOURCE: See foregoing discussion.

retirement or death had removed a majority of the old guard; and with the appointment of more examiners from outside, the new men had achieved a majority in the upper establishment and occupied both assistant secretaryships. The process is summarized in Table VI.

Death struck with an even hand; but in Harrison's and Bayly's departure, Boothby's and Chester's early retirement, and Hickson's and Wardrop's unpromotability, it is tempting to see a common factor of the Education Department's being a place in which they could not flourish. A closer focus on the individuals concerned illuminates the stages by which the staffing of the Education Department progressed.

	July 1855	Oct. 1857	June 1859	July 1860	July 1862
asst.sec.	Chester Sandford	Chester Sandford	Sandford Sykes	Sandford Sykes	Sandford Sykes
examiners	Sykes Cory Clough (Harrison) (Bayly) Boothby Merrifield Palgrave	Sykes Cory Clough (Harrison) (Bayly) Boothby Merrifield Palgrave Severn Bryant Randolph	Cory Clough (Bayly) Merrifield Palgrave Severn Bryant Randolph	Cory Clough Merrifield Palgrave Severn Bryant Randolph Edwards Miller Waddington	Cory Merrifield Palgrave Severn Bryant Edwards Miller Waddington Poste Joyce
clerks	Severn Bryant Randolph Hickson Wardrop	Hickson Wardrop	Hickson Wardrop	Hickson Wardrop	Hickson Wardrop
counsel	Lumley	Lumley	Lumley	Lumley	Lumley
architect	Hawkins	Hawkins	Hawkins	Hawkins	Hawkins
accountant					Hamilton
assistant					
clerks	23	45-47	48	48	48
copyists	about 17	about 10?	about 17	15-18?	15-18?

TABLE VI: Staffing 1855-62.

SOURCE: See Appendix F and Appendix H.

3.2 APPOINTMENTS

3.2.1 The Privy Council establishment

The senior of the men whose appointments are discussed in this section are listed in Table VII. There is no reason to doubt that the Privy Council clerks in 1839 owed their position to the tradition of patronage by connection. They were characterized by high birth and low education. Apart from Greville and Bathurst, both Eton and Christ Church, those who had gone farthest were Chester and Bayly. Chester had been at Trinity College, Cambridge without taking a degree, and Bayly was a pass man at Exeter, Oxford. De Bary had been

admitted to Caius, but apparently never resided. Only Chester of the clerks on the ladder seems to have been at a major school, in his case both Charterhouse and Westminster.

Greville's ducal grandfather is well known as his passport to employment.(1) Bathurst's father, the second earl, was Lord President from 1828 to 1830 in Wellington's government, which resigned in November 1830, about a month before young Bathurst's appointment.(2) If his father's influence was not sufficient, then there was a friend in the office in Greville who, apart from having served under the second earl for the preceding three years, had previously been his secretary.

Further research would no doubt show up the routes along which influence travelled to put the others in their posts. As it is, some indications exist. Lennard, or Barrett-Lennard, the chief clerk, was the son of one baronet and married to the daughter of another, of Sir Walter Stirling.(3) Born in 1789, he was the oldest of the clerks and probably the most long serving, but not necessarily, since from 1830 the chief clerk could be appointed for other reasons than seniority.(4) The year of his appointment has not been ascertained.

Gaitskell, appointed in 1808, probably as a boy of 15, remains little more than a name.(5) Greville, Bathurst, Lennard and Gaitskell, similar in age, were of the generation of Lansdowne and Russell.

(1) See, e.g. D.N.B.

(2) Boase, I, gives 1827; but see PC4/17, p.393, Minute of 14 Dec. 1830, and Parris, Constitutional Bureaucracy, p.135.

(3) Burke's Peerage (1970).

(4) PC4/17, p.393, Minute of 14 Dec. 1830.

(5) The year of Gaitskell's appointment has been deduced from his completion of fifty years' service in 1858 (PC4/20, p.188). His first name, Henry, is in the Royal Kalendar 1825.

year appt.	Clerks in Ord.	est. clerks	misc. non est.	Welsh Comm.	examiners	Kneller Hall	L.P./P.M.
1808		Lennard					Camden/Portland
(1821)		Gaitskell					
		Greville					Harrowby/Liverpool
1826		Hamilton					
		Chester					
		Harrison					
1830		Lathurst					Lansdowne/Grey
1832		De Bary					
1835		Bayly					Lansdowne/Melbourne
1839			J.Kay				
1840			Lumley				
1841			Westmacott				
		Boothby					Wharnccliffe/Peel
1844/45		T.Kay					
		Lister-Kaye					
1846				(Symons)			Lansdowne/Russell
				(Johnson)			
				(Lingen)			
			Eanfield†		Armitage		
			Merrifield*				
1847			Hickson				
			Tilleard†				
			Severn*				
			Vance†			(Temple)	
1848					Sandford		
1849			Bryant*			(Palgrave)	
			Butteel				
1850					Bowstead		
					Le Mesurier		
1851			Morier				
			Randolph*				
1851/52					Sykes		
1852		Wardrop					Lonsdale/Derby
1853					Cory		Granville/Aberdeen
					Clough		

* later examiner

† lower staff only

TABLE VII: Senior men serving after 1839 appointed before 1854.

SOURCE: See discussion in this chapter and Appendix F.

When the Committee of Council was set up they were in fairly full vigour. Twenty years later they were relics not just from the previous age, but from the age before that, and had been, by one hand or another, removed from the scene of effective action.

Of the younger men, Hamilton (b.1809) was a kinsman of the earls of Belhaven. His father, W.R. Hamilton, was an archaeologist and diplomat. Having been secretary to Lord Elgin (and associated with bringing the Parthenon marbles to England) he was from 1809 successively under-secretary at the Foreign Office and British minister at Naples. It seems reasonable to look at his father's official experience for the key to young Hamilton's placement in the Privy Council Office in 1826, the year after his father's return to England.(1) Two months later Chester (b.1806) and Harrison (b.1810) were appointed on the same day. Chester, son of Sir Robert, was perhaps in debt to his father's connection with the Royal household. (2) Harrison was the son of Henry Holland Harrison and the nephew, presumably on his mother's side, of Joseph Hume. He rose finally to occupy Bathurst's job, and his later career is well documented; but how his origins gave him his start remains obscure.(3)

De Bary (b.about 1814) and Bayly (b.about 1812) were the earliest of Lansdowne's appointments to work on into the 1840s. Of neither can much be said. De Bary (the name also appears as 'Debary' and 'Debarry') came in 1832 after his flirtation with Cambridge, on the

(1)Burke's Peerage (1970, Belhaven); D.N.B. (W.R. Hamilton); J.K. Laughton, Life and Correspondence of Henry Reeve (1898), pp.88, 282, 287; PC4/17, p.11, Minute of 25 Feb. 1826.

(2)Burke's Landed Gentry (1863); Venn.

(3)Boase, I; Palmerston (Broadlands) Papers, GC/HA/294, Harrison to Trevelyan.

resignation of Lady Lansdowne's half brother, John Fox-Strangways. His father was described as being of Lincoln's Inn, and the son flirted also with the bar before settling to the clerk's life. Perhaps he was a relation of Lansdowne's old tutor of the same name, which is not, after all, a common one.(1) A comparable source for speculation exists for Bayly, appointed in 1835. His middle name, Villiers, is suggestive of a whig family connection - patronage in the Privy Council Office was recurrently matrilineal.(2)

If the stress put on speculation about family and political relationships seems excessive, it may be counterbalanced by an equal stress on government clerkships as a form of property. When a place was said to be in the gift of the Lord President, the sense was not at all metaphorical, for what was given had a value in cash and comfort just as real as that of bags of sovereigns. Before clerkships were competed for in the conventional sense they were competed for just as fiercely using the skills of emotional, moral or political persuasion, in whosever hands they would be most effective. Just as after 1870 the question why so-and-so was appointed would be answered by a set of examination results, in an earlier age it needs an answer quite as tangible, in terms of consanguinity, or social or political relationship.

The appointment of the first officer of the Education Department marked a break with what had gone before. In the first place Dr Kay was thought to have the special qualifications the job needed, not

(1)PC4/18, p.77, Minute of 5 Nov. 1832; Venn; D.N.B. (Petty-Fitzmaurice).

(2)PC4/18, p.211, Minute of 11 April 1835.

just some kind of 'right' to any kind of job; and in the second, the connection between him and, in particular, Russell, was solely related to education. Richard Johnson, to whom this analysis of Kay's appointment is due, took it to be typical of appointments to the office staff of the Education Department after 1839.(1) It was, however, the pattern of very few if any. The growth of the Education Department involved the growth of the Privy Council establishment from seven to fifteen. Both new appointments and replacements continued to be made entirely on the traditional pattern up until 1852 when the last one was made. Even the first posts paid out of the Education Grant and not on the Privy Council establishment, in 1847, were ambiguous in the way they were filled, including those of both Armitage and Lingen. Only in the 1850s was a pattern clearly established for the appointment of examiners, or at least examiners from outside, on the basis of their qualifications for the job.

The first additions to the establishment were at the beginning of 1845, with Boothby (b.1821), Kay, and Lister-Kaye (b.1827). Of the first and last of these the connections are fairly clear. Boothby was the grandson of Sir William Boothby, eighth baronet. His uncle was the ninth baronet, and in 1846 his cousin became the tenth, the Rev. Sir Brooke Boothby, fellow of All Souls. On his mother's side his connections were grander. She was a daughter of Henry, third baron Vernon, and niece of Edward Vernon Harcourt, Archbishop of York and brother-in-law of the first duke of Sutherland. As if this were not enough, Boothby was also a protégé of Greville, to whom he wrote

(1) R. Johnson, 'Administrators in education before 1870' in Sutherland, Nineteenth-century government (1972), pp.115,116.

in 1856, 'Such advancement in Office as I have been lucky enough to get, I owe to you, more than to anybody else ...'(1) Boothby had started in the Post Office in 1839. Perhaps Greville's first favour was effecting his transfer to the Privy Council Office.

Lister-Kaye was the son and heir of Sir John Lister Lister-Kaye, bart., of Denby Grange, Yorkshire, but perhaps again it was his mother's family which was important. She was an Arbuthnot - George Arbuthnot of the Treasury was her first cousin, and the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles, intimate of the duke of Wellington, her uncle; and Lister-Kaye's appointment was of course a tory one.(2)

The very obviousness of Boothby's and Lister-Kaye's social eligibility (to which in the former's case was added Charterhouse and the latter's Eton) makes its complete absence in the case of Thomas Kay all the more striking. There were no Thomas Kays at the great schools, no Kay families in the peerage or the landed gentry. The blank in these directions, combined with other circumstantial shreds, makes it very tempting to conclude that the connection was completely different, and that this Thomas Kay was in fact Kay Shuttleworth's youngest brother. Kay Shuttleworth's father had died in 1834 leaving his widow with six children including three young sons, Joseph (13), Edward Ebenezer (12), and Thomas (9). Referring to the elder two of these, Smith wrote that Kay Shuttleworth, then thirty, 'bestowed much

(1)Burke's Peerage (1915); Granville Papers, PRO30/29/23/6, p.233, 20 March 1856.

(2)Burke's Peerage (1970); D.N.B. (Rt.Hon. Charles Arbuthnot and Lt. Gen. Sir Robert Arbuthnot).

care on their education and development'.(1) One example of fatherly concern for Joseph survives from the latter's career at Cambridge (see below p.161). Thomas, the youngest, was a suitable age, nineteen, when the new clerkships were created at the end of 1844.(2) Being himself the creature of whig patronage, it would certainly not have been unnatural for Kay Shuttleworth to assist his brother in this way.

The next appointments to the Privy Council establishment, of Merrifield, Hickson, Severn, Bryant and Bulteel, in 1849, were again additions. The first three entered the Department in 1847, and will be considered in the context of the other 1847 appointments. Bryant was born in Calcutta in 1826, the son of Major Sir Jeremiah Bryant. In 1849 he was finishing as a poll man at Trinity, Cambridge. Like Boothby he had a friend in, or at least near, the office, in the shape of Sir Charles Trevelyan, to whose effusive intervention with Lansdowne he evidently owed his place.(3) Bulteel (b.1827) did not need a friend in the office, being comfortably ensconced deep in the whig cousinage. He was the son of John Crocker Bulteel of Flete,

Devon, heir to the old Devon families of Crocker and Bulteel, whose

(1)Smith, p.1, n.4.

(2)Baptized Bamford Independent Chapel, 25 August 1825. According to Smith, Kay Shuttleworth's mother, Hannah, was born in 1770 (Smith, Appendix III), but the correct year is 1780 (Kay-Shuttleworth Papers, 337, Hannah Kay to Kay Shuttleworth, 26 Dec. 1849). Even so, her last three were children of her middle age. Consistently with this suggestion and Thomas Kay's resigning his clerkship in 1851, Paz, on the basis of letters in the Kay Shuttleworth Papers, has written that Thomas 'contracted an improvident marriage, had too many children, spent too much money, lost too many jobs, and ultimately was packed off to New Zealand'. (D.G. Paz, 'Kay-Shuttleworth: Man and myth', History of Education 14(1985), p.197).

(3)Venn; C.E. Trevelyan Papers, CET18, vol.23, pp.90-91, Trevelyan to Kay Shuttleworth 28 Oct. 1848; vol.24, pp.96, 105, 191, Trevelyan to Lansdowne 3 March, 6 March and 1 May 1849.

wife, Lady Elizabeth, young Bulteel's mother, was a daughter of the second earl Grey. Sir Charles Wood, married to Lady Elizabeth's sister, pressed the third earl, her brother, to ask Lansdowne for the place on behalf of their nephew.(1)

Lansdowne's reply to the request, in January 1849, is of great interest in that it allows the deduction that Bryant and Bulteel were not simply the privileged recipients of whig largesse, but that their posts, and by extension that of Severn, were jobs. Lansdowne was at first discouraging. Yes indeed, an expansion of the Education Department staff was in the offing but increase in the Privy Council establishment was to be restricted to the two of the 1847 men who had already been promised promotion (see below p.328). Additions would only be in the form of supplemental clerks for copying, and Grey would probably think 'it could not suit Mr Bulteel to come into employment on this footing at the fag end of the Office ...'(2) Somehow by March the scheme had changed: Bryant and Severn were fixed up, and Bulteel was allowed for, coming into his place, or job, in July.

The last three appointments to the establishment before the separation of the two departments in 1853-54 were replacements: Morier (b.1826) in place of Thomas Kay early in 1851; Randolph (b.1827) in place of Bulteel, probably later in the same year; and Wardrop (b. about 1829) in place of Morier in 1852. Morier's background, like his future, were in diplomacy and foreign affairs.

(1)Burke's Landed Gentry (1894); Earl Grey Papers, 3rd Earl, Journal of 3rd Earl, Thursday 18 Jan. 1849.

(2)Earl Grey Papers, 3rd Earl, Lansdowne to Grey 19 Jan. 1849.

He was brought up to a familiarity with the great whig and tory politicians of the age. It seems that had his father, from 1833 to 1847 British minister at Geneva, not quarrelled with Palmerston over the latter's abrupt removal of him from his post, young Morier would have been placed somewhere in the foreign service much sooner than he was, and would have avoided his rather uncomfortable sojourn in Downing Street. He graduated in 1849 with a second class from Balliol, more apparently than either he or anyone else thought he deserved, and his future became a matter of some concern. Finally he got into the Privy Council Office through the agency of Sir Robert Adair, friend of his father, and one of the grand old men of whig counsels.(1)

With Randolph we are back in the cousinage. His father, the Rev. Thomas Randolph was respectable enough. His father had been bishop successively of Oxford, Bangor, and London, surviving in the last post just long enough to bestow on Thomas the very rich living of Much with Little Hadham, and in addition to secure him a prebend at St Paul's - the combined income of these posts was over £3500 a year. Thomas married, wisely, a daughter of Sir Archibald Macdonald, bart., Chief Baron of the Exchequer, of whom the D.N.B. said he 'was distinguished neither as a lawyer nor as a parliamentary speaker, and owed his successful career mainly to a fortunate marriage'. This was to Louisa Leveson Gower, sister again of the first duke of Sutherland, and Gower William Randolph's grandmother. The Leveson Gower connection was obviously worth maintaining: amongst the

(1)R. Wemyss, Mémoires and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Morier (1911), pp.82, 111, 112.

Rev. Thomas's seven sons were George Granville, Gower William, and Leveson Cyril.(1)

Wardrop, in October 1852, was the only tory appointment after the three in 1845. Of Lord Lonsdale, when he became the earl of Derby's Lord President at the beginning of the year, it was noted that his name was better known in racing circles than in educational, and it was from the former that Wardrop came. His father, James Wardrop, was a successful surgeon. He had married Margaret Dalrymple, one of the confused families of Dalrymple and Hamilton which between them produced the earls of Stair. He moved to London from his native Scotland, and in 1828 was surgeon in ordinary to George IV. The D.N.B. said of him that his 'great social gifts, his family connections, and his knowledge of horseflesh, coupled with his love of field sports, early brought him into intimate connection with the leading members of the aristocracy ...' In any event, the son's appointment was the result of the father's appeal to Lonsdale.(2)

3.2.2 The appointments of 1847

While the tradition of appointments to and enlargements of the Privy Council establishment continued quite untouched by the fact that the Education Department in which the appointees were to work

(1)D.N.B. (John Randolph, Sir Archibald Macdonald); Gentleman's Magazine, vol.83 (1813), pt.1, p.586; Clergy List 1841. Gower William is in the Much Hadham baptismal register. Foster erroneously gives his father to be 'Edward'. Thomas Randolph is in Boase, III, but incorrectly made the brother of his remote cousin Herbert.

(2)D.N.B. (James Wardrop); Burke's Peerage (1970, Dalrymple and Stair); Lowther Manuscripts, D/LONS/L1/2/121, James Wardrop to Lonsdale, 12 Oct. 1852. Confirmation of the son's parentage and his full name come from List of Wills (1869 and 1914).

was a very different place from the Privy Council Office of old, there developed along side it a tradition of a rather different kind, beginning in the summer of 1847.

Kay Shuttleworth was an educational enthusiast and a civil servant, but he did not learn to combine the roles satisfactorily. He did not develop a broad vision of how a government department should be run or how its staff should be selected, comparable to that, say, of Trevelyan. However, in 1847 he was feeling his way towards some sort of educational qualification. He wanted assistants with 'zeal and a peculiar fitness for their duties', (1) assistants whom he finally got in the form of the examiners. By the early 1850s the effective qualification for an examinership was a first-class degree and a fellowship; but in 1847 the situation was still fluid. Eight men were appointed, two examiners, a statist, and five juniors.

Taking the lower appointments at £100 a year first, the evidence that Merrifield and Hickson were the 'assistant clerks' and so, presumably, those who were promised future promotion to the establishment, and Tilleard, Severn and Vance the 'supplemental clerks', on a footing with Hutchinson, Balfour and the rest, is a marginal note on a Treasury document of five years later (see Appendix F). However it is a simple transcription from the original document of a list of five names. There is no reason to doubt its accuracy.

In keeping with their status as prospective establishment clerks, Merrifield (b.1827) and Hickson (b.about 1830) both seem to have been -----
(1) Smith, p.214.

in debt to a prior connection with Lansdowne. Merrifield was the son of John Merrifield, a barrister from Devon who practised in Brighton. However it seems once again that he owed his appointment to his mother. She was Mary Philadelphia Merrifield, author of works on painting which in some respects remain standard today. Her interest was in the techniques of the old masters. Her first work was a translation of the mediaeval Treatise on Painting by Cennino Cennini, published in 1844. This was followed by her own compilations, The Art of Fresco Painting as Practised by the Old Italian and Spanish Masters (1846) and Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting (1849). The significance of these is that they brought her into contact with the politico-art world of the 1840s. Peel and Lord Francis Egerton became at least her cordial acquaintances, as did Sir Charles Eastlake, Secretary of the Royal Commission on the Fine Arts of which Lansdowne was a an active member.

It is often stated that Mrs Merrifield was employed by the Fine Arts Commission. This however seems unlikely. There is no mention of her in the Commission's reports, and what she says herself suggests that she had more a personal connection with Peel, who found funds from somewhere to subvent the publication of Original Treatises. Certainly The Art of Fresco Painting was prepared entirely under her own steam, as is clear from the (original) introduction. The translation of Cennini was dedicated to Lady Follett. The other two were dedicated to Peel, and both warmly acknowledged the help of Lord Francis Egerton (from 1846 earl of Ellesmere). Altogether it becomes a very tory ambience.

On the basis of these snippets it seems reasonable to postulate a connection between either Mrs Merrifield, herself the daughter of a barrister, or her husband, with Sir William Follett, like John Merrifield a barrister from Devon. Lady Follett had been J.W. Croker's ward. Sir William became a friend of Croker, and was in the 1840s Peel's solicitor general and, briefly, attorney general. Such an acquaintance would lead the Merrifields straight to Peel and Egerton.(1) From there two routes may be traced to the Council Office. The first is through the Fine Arts Commission where Peel and Egerton were fellow members with Lansdowne (although Egerton, judging by the absence of his signature from the reports, an inactive one), and Eastlake the secretary. Eastlake was friendly with Lansdowne, and an habitué of the great whig houses.(2) On the other hand perhaps the link was again Greville, who was Egerton's brother-in-law. Certainly there is no record of contact between Mrs Merrifield and Lansdowne, whereas with Egerton she was undoubtedly on terms of regular friendly contact.

The case of Hickson is altogether more simple. His father, James Hickson, was Lansdowne's agent in Kenmare, County Kerry.(3)

Merrifield was nineteen when he was appointed. He had been to private schools in Brighton. Otherwise his education had been a matter of helping his mother with her work. She gave her sons credit

(1) See for example Norman Gash, Sir Robert Peel (1972), p.201. The 3rd to 7th Reports of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts are in PP1844, XXXI, 169; PP1845, XXVII, 151; PP1846, XXIV, 253; and PP1847, XXXIII, 267.

(2) David Robertson, Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World (Princeton, 1978), pp.28, 46.

(3) Mary Hickson, Selection from Old Kerry Records (1874), II, p.239; 'Early Years of Kenmare', Kenmare Journal (1982), p.14. Hickson died on 12 August 1905, and his full name comes from his death certificate.

for translating original documents which implied, for Charles, a knowledge of mediaeval Latin, French and Italian. So he was already giving evidence of the ability which subsequently led to fellowship of the Royal Society. It would be tempting to think that this ability had something to do with his appointment, were it not for the simultaneous appointment of Hickson, who had none. In Hickson's case connection was all; and one must suppose that in Merrifield's it would have been sufficient.

Between the establishment and the supplemental clerks, as later between the upper and lower establishments, there was a virtually uncrossable social gulf. The background of the early supplemental clerks remains unknown territory, but certainly from 1849 on many of them came in, as it were, off the street, as copyists from Vacher, and went from there to permanent positions. Apparently in 1847 the divide ran between the assistant clerks, Merrifield and Hickson, and the three supplemental clerks below them. It is a matter of good fortune then that Tilleard's history is tolerably well known; and a matter of some surprise that Severn, who socially was of a superior character, should have accepted a supplemental clerkship at all.

Tilleard was a protégé of Kay Shuttleworth, having been first his pupil at Battersea and then master of his school at Gawthorpe.(1) His date of birth is unknown, but supposing him, typically of the earliest pupils at Battersea, to have been thirteen or fourteen in the early 1840s, in 1847 he would have been about twenty, or a little over. Severn's story is well known, how his father, Joseph Severn,

(1)Minutes 1842-43, p.118.

was a friend of Lansdowne.(1) What is striking here is that Severn was a member of exactly that same world between art and politics in which Peel and Mrs Merrifield came into contact, of Lansdowne, Eastlake and, curiously, C.A. Hamilton's father: in the early 1820s W.R. Hamilton had assisted the short-lived British Academy at Rome of which Eastlake and Severn were founder members.(2) And there may have been a connection between it and Armitage's appointment at the same time (see below p.160).

There exists a later letter, from Eastlake to George Richmond, dated 28 February 1854, in which he asks,

Can you tell me whether Mr Severn has a son (besides the one who is in a public office) about 18 or 20 years of age. I have heard of a situation in a government office which might suit such a young man and I am requested to point out the son of an artist 'in difficulty'. The requisite qualifications are - a tolerably good education, steadiness, good hand-writing and, I presume, some knowledge of accounts ... (3)

Whether or not the request came from Lansdowne, the minister without portfolio, it is interesting that there should have been anywhere a notion that, beyond individual links, the patronage of artists could mean giving places to their sons as well as buying their works, and makes it seem plausible that the appointments of Merrifield and Severn were linked.

There remains the puzzle as to why Severn should have accepted the lowly position he did. In one respect Lansdowne's letter to Grey about Bulteel helps. It is clear that he was at least willing to

(1) S. Birkenhead, Illustrious Friends (1965), pp.113-118, quoted in Hurt, p.180.

(2) W. Sharp, The Life and Letters of Joseph Severn (1892), p.133; Robertson, Eastlake, p.22.

(3) In the possession of Dr David Robertson.

give the latter a supplemental clerkship, however unsuitable he thought he was; so his willingness in the case of Severn need not cause difficulty. From Severn's point of view, perhaps he saw the position as being a short-term expedient; or relied on his family connections (apart from his father's friendship with Lansdowne, his maternal uncle was an earl) to give him in the end the promotion the post in theory did not allow. If that was his calculation, it was justified by the job creations of 1849, through which he became the unique case of a man rising from the lower to the upper establishment.

Of the fifth junior clerkship in 1847 and of the statist, nothing can be said. Banfield and Vance are ciphers, the latter without even initials.

The more important posts were the examinerships. Although they were in theory temporary, the salaries offered, £500 and £400, were comparable with that of a first-class clerk on the Privy Council ladder. Armitage (b.1818), the chief examiner, was a member of a Leeds family, the Armitages of Farnley Hall, although he himself had been brought up in Sussex and on the continent. He came to Cambridge from France in 1839 and graduated by aegrotat from Trinity in 1843. He became a fellow in 1845, from where he moved to the Education Department, in July or August 1847.(1)

(1)Armitage was one of seven brothers, amongst whom were Edward Armitage R.A. , William James Armitage, and Thomas Rhodes Armitage, all of whom are in Boase, IV. His history can be traced from the Armitage Papers at the Yorkshire Archaeological Society; typescript 'History of Farnley' and manuscript notes by G.T Schofield, in the possession of his daughter, Miss I.M. Schofield; Farnley baptismal register; Mary G. Thomas, Thomas Rhodes Armitage (National Institute for the Blind, undated); Leeds and its History (reprinted from the Tercentenary Supplement of the

His brief tenure of the examinership and early death have led to his oblivion, and as a consequence it has long been thought that the first chief examiner was Lingen.

The outline of Lingen's career is well known - a brilliant undergraduate, fellow of Balliol, assistant master at Rugby, Welsh Education Commissioner, the bar. His high qualifications were such as were demanded of examiners in the 1850s. Together with his subsequent career as a model and successful civil servant, as well as giving Balliol an anachronistic prominence as a source for Education Department recruits, they have made it seem as though in at least the senior of the 1847 appointments the pattern of the future was already set. That Armitage, who could unambiguously claim only to be a college fellow, was preferred for the chief post, suggests that merit of an objectively measurable kind was by no means the decisive factor. In a sense the situation becomes parallel to that of Merrifield and Hickson, with the unfortunate consequence that it requires an explanation to be found not only for Armitage's appointment, a new case, but also for Lingen's, a case which had been thought settled.

Pointers towards why Armitage should have found favour are faint and inconclusive. Kay Shuttleworth's notion of 'peculiar fitness for their duties' can reasonably be interpreted to mean an honours degree from Oxford or Cambridge. By comparison with the qualifications of the Privy Council clerks, amongst whom were some total duds, an

(1)(cont'd)Yorkshire Post, 1926); Venn; J.R. Tanner, Historical Register of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1917), p.502. His appointment to the Education Department was reported in the Cambridge Chronicle and University Journal, 7 Aug. 1847, p.2.

honours degree of any kind or a college fellowship would seem high education enough without anything particularly glittering in the way of academic distinction.

If this then was the field, the first possibility is that Lansdowne's connection with Armitage was through the latter's brother, Edward. Armitage was the second of seven brothers of whom Edward, a year his senior, was the oldest. Edward had studied painting in Paris in the studio of Paul Delaroche. He came to England as a result of the competition organized by the Fine Arts Commission for fresco designs for the New Palace of Westminster. He won one of the major premiums of £300, in the company of G.F. Watts and C.W. Cope. Staying in London, he was again successful in competitions in 1845 and 1847, and was commissioned to paint, and actually completed, several frescoes. In all this Lansdowne played a considerable part, being one of the six judges, along with Peel, in all the competitions.(1) However, there is no evidence of direct contact. Lansdowne does not seem, for example, to have bought any of Edward Armitage's paintings.(2) Still, bearing in mind the appointments of Severn and Merrifield, and the possibility that appointments from the art world were for Lansdowne a matter of conscious policy, that Edward Armitage was a factor in his brother's success cannot be ruled out. All the other strands point in one way or another at Trinity College. It was Lansdowne's old college

(1)Robertson, Eastlake, pp.62-3, 327, 335-6.

(2)This is based on Armitage's absence from Anna Jameson, Companion to the Most Celebrated Private Galleries of Art in London (1844) and G.F. Waagen, Treasures of Art in Great Britain (1854); but one cannot be sure - Lansdowne bought at least one painting by Joseph Severn before 1844. One appears in Jameson but none in Waagen.

and that to which he had sent his son. It was that of Harry Chester, Kay Shuttleworth's lieutenant. A second of the three Welsh Education Commissioners, H.R.V. Johnson had been an undergraduate contemporary there of Armitage and of, perhaps most tellingly, Kay Shuttleworth's brothers Joseph and Ebenezer.

There had also been some direct contact between Kay Shuttleworth and Trinity, which had somehow become involved in John Hullah's bizarre singing extravaganzas. Hullah and Kay Shuttleworth were friends and associates, Hullah's method having been adopted as official Education Department doctrine. Hullah visited Trinity in 1841 as the guest of Ebenezer Kay, and met William Whewell, the master. Classes started in the spring of 1844 when both Kay brothers were still undergraduates.(1) In the same spring it seems that Kay Shuttleworth had sufficient of an acquaintance with Whewell to act in a fatherly way and ask Whewell to nominate Joseph as Worts Travelling Bachelor for the following year. This was not altogether a success, since Whewell's disparagement of Joseph Kay's abilities and views, and disagreement over the terms of the bachelorship, emerged briefly in a public row two years later.(2) Still, however the affair may have reflected on Kay Shuttleworth himself, his contact with Whewell would have reinforced the position of Trinity as a familiar element in a university system with which he was otherwise largely

(1)F.R. Hullah, Life of John Hullah (1886), pp.29, 39; Janet Mary Douglas, The Life and Selections from the Correspondence of William Whewell D.D. (1881), p.307.

(2)Whewell Manuscripts, Add.Ms.c.90(116), Kay Shuttleworth to Whewell, 4 March [1844] (the letter can be dated from the reference in Joseph Kay's to the Morning Herald of April 1846 - see following); Add.Ms.a.207(144,145), Joseph Kay to Whewell, 14 March [1846] and 4 April 1846; C[ambridge] U[niversity] R[egister], 42/1, ff.22, 23, published letters from Whewell and Joseph Kay, April 1846.

unacquainted.

The strands combine to give Kay Shuttleworth the dominant role in Armitage's appointment. It is not an unreasonable supposition, given that the examiners were to be his special assistants, according, as it were, to his own design; and of non-establishment appointments Lansdowne should not have been so jealous of the patronage. Between the two universities Trinity, Cambridge, was the college with which Kay Shuttleworth and the Department in general had had most contact. Joseph and Ebenezer were the only university men amongst Kay Shuttleworth's own relations. The speculation is that as a family minded man, which he certainly was, he consulted them, and Armitage's name was the result.

Fresh consideration of Lingen's appointment offers circumstantial support for this speculation. His employment as examiner ran on from his appointment on the Welsh Education Commission, which, it may be assumed, gave him the status of an inside candidate for the examinership. The interesting appointment then is that to the Welsh Education Commission itself, which entails consideration also of his fellow commissioners, Henry Johnson and Jellinger Symons.

The Commission was set up in 1846 as a result of parliamentary concern over the state of education in Wales. The proposal was agreed to by Sir James Graham on behalf of Peel's government, but put into effect by Russell's. It has been suggested that the commissioners were chosen by Sir George Grey, but on what basis is unknown, except simply that he was Graham's successor at the Home

Office.(1) In fact it was confided to the Committee of Council on Education, and was apparently left up to Kay Shuttleworth. He outlined admirable criteria for the men to be employed.(2) Symons, a barrister, with considerable experience of investigation and reporting, if apparently without any experience of elementary education, met them to a considerable degree.

Johnson's appointment is more puzzling. There lie about him persistent hints of friends in high places. His father, John Johnson, was cousin a generation down of William Cowper (and that kinsman of the poet who looked after him in the years before his death) and so distantly related to the Cowpers of Panshanger. He was rector of Yaxham and Welborne, in Norfolk, and not only rector but patron too. For some time he was chaplain to the whig earl of Peterborough. There is an association with Northamptonshire: one of Henry's brothers was born there, and the father's Sketch of the Life of Cowper (1815) was dedicated to earl Spencer. In the 1850s Henry became chief secretary to the whig Lord Chancellor Campbell, and subsequently married his daughter.(3) Frustratingly, the hints do not coalesce into anything substantial. What is undoubtedly the case is that at the age of 26 or so, after an undistinguished career at Cambridge (junior optime and second-class classic) and before he was called to the bar, Johnson was given the Welsh post.

The puzzle lies on the one hand in his being so far from Kay Shuttleworth's criteria; and on the other in the relative

(1)D. Salmon, 'The Story of a Welsh Education Commission', Y Cymmrodor, XXIV (1913), p.194.

(2) Pl847, XXVII,1, lff; Smith, p.202.

(3)Venn (John, Henry, and John B. Johnson); D.N.B. (John Johnson).

attractiveness of the commissionership. In September 1846, the whigs had just returned, hungry for the satisfactions of office.

Presumably there was no shortage of claimants for such patronage as was once again at long last at their disposal. The Commission was, to be sure, a temporary one. But the pay, at a rate of £600 a year, with 15s a day expenses in addition to travelling, was unusually high.(1) Were suitable men very hard to lay hands on? Or did Johnson have some special access of which no record remains?

Extending this line of thought to Lingen leads to a focus on his whig connections, for, like Johnson, he was neither experienced in elementary education nor a barrister. The only clue is that he was writing for the Morning Chronicle still, if in decline, the leading whig daily. Jowett referred to Lingen's politics in the spring of 1847, during the course of the Welsh Inquiry: 'But "am not I a Philistine" that is to say a Peelite and "you a servant of Saul" that is to say of Sir George Grey"'.(2)

Symons, Johnson and Lingen were thus linked, beyond their all being graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, by a whiggish thread. Symons was an established whig appointee to ad hoc commissions, and the other two had at least clear whig sympathies. Beyond this, Johnson and Lingen may be associated much more particularly in a way which leads back once more to Kay Shuttleworth and Armitage, for they were fellow students, along with Ebenezer Kay, at Lincoln's Inn, all three having been admitted in the late spring of 1844, while Joseph earlier in the year had entered the Inner Temple. A few years later Johnson

(1)20462/46 in T1/5193/20462.

(2)Hutton MSS, Jowett to Lingen, 10 March [1847].

and Ebenezer Kay were joint authors of Reports of Cases in the Courts of Chancery (1853). Is it relevant too that in the 1850s Lingen and Ebenezer Kay were neighbours in Gloucester Terrace?

While what exists here is far from proof, and goes no way to explaining why the men appointed to the Commission did not really meet what Kay Shuttleworth had originally said were his requirements, it is far more solid as circumstance than exists in any other direction, especially as the trail of Armitage and the trail of Lingen and Johnson so converge. It suggests that Symons, already known to the Whig chiefs, and no doubt to Kay Shuttleworth too through, at least, Joseph Fletcher H.M.I., who had been secretary of the Handloom Weavers' Commission which had employed Symons in the late 1830s, was available and willing; and beyond that Kay Shuttleworth consulted, primarily, his brother Ebenezer. Perhaps even at this stage Armitage was mentioned. Anyhow in the following year he was preferred as chief examiner. Was it a matter of Trinity bias? Or had Lingen shown that part of his temperament which later made Lansdowne doubt that he was conciliatory enough to be Kay Shuttleworth's successor?

3.2.3 The examiners

It may be accepted that after Lingen's installation in the Council Office, and particularly after April 1848 when he had taken over the chief examiner's duties, he was in a position to influence appointments to examinerships and related posts. The case of Temple as Principal of Kneller Hall in 1847 is indisputable, and that of

Sandford as examiner in November 1848 convincing (see Appendix F). Palgrave's appointment as Temple's Vice-Principal is not so easily characterized. His father, Sir Francis Palgrave, Deputy Keeper of the Records, was an accomplished string puller. Like Kay Shuttleworth he had changed his name and his religion in the cause of social advancement. By the 1830s he was a frequenter of Holland House, and his friendship with Gladstone led to young Francis's being taken on as Gladstone's private secretary in 1846.(1) In 1847, after graduating, the son wrote to Trevelyan seeking help in obtaining a clerkship in the Colonial Office (where he had worked with Gladstone).(2) Evidently he was looking for a government place of any kind and was keen to enlist all possible help.

Wherever the precise balance of influence lay, the appointment of these friends or acquaintances of Lingen, all connected with Balliol, are an example of the lateral movement of influence, similar to what in the case of Benthamites Finer has called 'permeation', the process by which a man tends to introduce into an organization friends of a like mind.(3) Bathurst's possible route via Greville, indirectly Lingen's and Armitage's via Kay Shuttleworth's brothers and, later, the examiners from Pembroke, Cambridge, Oriel and Exeter, are all likely examples of the process (see Appendix G). Furthermore with Sandford's appointment, and the consequent occupation of the two examinerships by men with first-class degrees, the qualifications for

(1)Strangways, G.S.H.F.S. Chronicles of Holland House 1820-1900 (1937), p.273; G.F. Palgrave, Francis Turner Palgrave (1899), p.33; Gladstone Papers, ADD44557, f.2.

(2)C.E. Trevelyan Papers, CET18, vol.17, p.125, Trevelyan to F.T. Palgrave, 19 Oct. 1847.

(3)S.E. Finer, 'The transmission of Benthamite ideas 1820-1850', in Sutherland, Nineteenth-century government, pp.28-30.

the post had begun to crystallize.

By the early 1860s eleven more examiners had been appointed from outside the Department: Bowstead, le Mesurier, Sykes, Cory and Clough in the early 1850s; Palgrave on the closure of Kneller Hall in 1855; and Edwards, Miller, Waddington, Poste and Joyce at the end of the decade. Of the eleven only Waddington was not a college fellow; and only le Mesurier, Clough and Joyce had seconds. Once the field had been so narrowed investigation of the reasons which favoured one man against another becomes less interesting; and in any case, although patronage was still vested in the Lord President, Granville, responsible for all except the first three of the new examiners, had a very different view of his role from that of his predecessors, enthusiastically espousing limited competition for the lower establishment after 1855, and embracing the idea of open competition in 1870.(1) Still, connections of one kind or another clearly continued to play a part.

Bowstead, appointed in 1850 along with le Mesurier, was a fellow of Pembroke, Cambridge. The next two, Sykes and Cory, were also Pembroke fellows and, like Bowstead, high on the list of wranglers. This was at a time when, according to its own historian, the academic reputation of Pembroke was low,(2) there seems no reason to look beyond their personal connection through the college for their introduction of the latter two to the office.

(1) Maurice Wright, Treasury Control of the Civil Service 1854-1874 (1969), p.96.

(2) Aubrey Attwater, Pembroke College Cambridge: A Short History, ed. S.C. Roberts, (Cambridge, 1936), p.96.

Le Mesurier, fellow of Corpus, Oxford, needs perhaps some investigation of why he was accepted with a second, unless in fact the policy had still not hardened. But Clough, the next after Cory, certainly had extra help in the form of interventions on his behalf by Lady Ashburton, who, given how difficult Clough was, could well have been forgiven for abandoning the attempt.(1) Edwards, from Trinity, Cambridge, was a regular examiner for the Civil Service Commission, and so was already moving in the right circles.(2) Miller, apart from being the son of a baronet, was a fellow of Exeter, Palgrave's old college. Waddington's father had had a distinguished army career in India. He was first cousin of the dean of Durham and of Waddington's namesake, Horace, permanent under-secretary at the Home Office.(3)

Poste, like Edwards, had been a regular examiner for the Civil Service Commission. He was a fellow of Oriel, Clough's college, and was first employed on a temporary basis when Clough was on secondment in 1856, presumably on Clough's recommendation. As evidence of friendship, Poste had been staying with Clough at University Hall on census night five years earlier. Poste stood in for Clough again in 1861 when the latter was on sick leave. Joyce too first did the job as a stand in, in his case for Randolph in, probably, 1860. Was he, again, Randolph's recommendation, being a student of Christ Church, Randolph's college? He stood in again in 1861, this time as a result of Sandford's secondment to the International Exhibition. However he

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- (1)H.F. Lowry, The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough (Oxford, 1932), p.122. The story can be traced in Mulhauser, Clough Correspondence , pp.305, 306, 355, 358, 384, 386, 428, 431, 432.
(2)Reports of the Civil Service Commissioners (see Appendix H).
(3)Burke's Landed Gentry (1937).

was introduced originally, the easy stages by which Joyce entered the Department could explain his acceptance with a second.

The only serious attempt to categorize appointments to the Education Department in the 1840s and 1850s has been that of Richard Johnson. Containing much of sense, it was vitiated by a conceptual muddle which led him to restrict himself to 'posts more exalted than that of clerk', and by a severe lack of data. He identified three kinds of men, who represented stages in an evolutionary sequence: the old Privy Council clerks appointed before 1839; experts like Kay Shuttleworth; and the Balliol group which started with Lingen. The second two kinds dominated appointments after 1839, and differed from the first in being appointed for reasons intrinsic to the job, and via a link between patron and client based on expertise or an educational institution rather than of family or society. This evolution was a model of the development of a professional civil service, mediated firstly by the perception by aristocratic patrons of the needs of society, and secondly by the organizational complexity of the growing civil service itself.(1)

Beyond the original typology, little of this can stand. Firstly, the appointment of clerks of the old type in the old way did not stop in 1839 but continued until 1852, long after there was any question of appointing experts, and after, too, the secure establishment of a pattern of appointing men from the universities. Secondly the existence of 'experts' as a group, rather than as a type, is open to doubt, since Kay Shuttleworth himself, among the office staff, is the

(1)Johnson, 'Administrators in education', pp.113-18, 136-38.

only unambiguous example. He indeed was appointed because he was thought by the whig lords to have appropriate expertise, but apart from Lumley and Westmacott, all Johnson's other examples were drawn from the inspectorate.

Now although undoubtedly Lumley was brought in by Kay Shuttleworth from the Poor Law Commission, it is not clear that he or Westmacott should really count as office staff. They were not men with special qualifications brought in on a full-time basis to administer new regulations, but professional men brought in on a part-time basis to give purely technical services. Lumley continued his primary (and well paid) career as Assistant Secretary of the Poor Law Commission.

(1) What Westmacott did cannot be stated as there remains doubt as to who he was. On the supposition that he was in fact an architect, the most likely candidate is William Westmacott, the youngest son of Richard and youngest brother of Sir Richard, professor of sculpture at the Royal Academy.(2) Westmacott was officially appointed in October 1841, but official appointment may have ratified, as in the case of Chester, an established arrangement, particularly since the decision that someone to examine plans was needed was taken in August 1840.(3) In other words Westmacott may have been taken on by Lansdowne, not Wharnccliffe, and represent an earlier example of appointment from the art world. One piece of circumstantial evidence is that William Westmacott designed St Martin's Hall, John Hullah's new music hall, of which the foundation stone was laid in 1847.

(1)Lumley's career is fully outlined in Venn.

(2)H.M. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 (1978), p.880.

(3)ED9/1, p.279.

Given Hullah's own association with the Education Department, his finding his architect there would be quite natural (see also below p.220-2).

Beyond the doubtful cases of Lumley and Westmacott there are no other candidates for the role of expert. Lansdowne and Wharncliffe did not see the administration of the education grants as needing a different kind of man from those traditionally employed in the Council Office, nor is there evidence that before 1847 Kay Shuttleworth himself sought to 'draw in' others of his own stamp.

The next part of Johnson's analysis is that the complications produced by the experts' enthusiasm created a need for the professional bureaucrat, to which need the patron was, again, responsive. There is more in this but it is still unsatisfactory. Kay Shuttleworth, the expert, undoubtedly contributed complication. However the examiners were appointed solely for and in advance of the annual-grant business; and the building-grant business, of which the complication was already a matter of fact, remained in the hands of the traditional clerks. The sequence of events was both more precise and more haphazard than Johnson allows. In 1847 the world of 1839 loomed large; that of 1854 was unseen. Faltering and partial as Kay Shuttleworth's vision was of the sort of men who were needed to administer the new Minutes, it represented, against the background of the old Privy Council Office, a tremendous effort of imagination. That he was on such unfamiliar territory renders it all the less surprising that he should look in the familiar direction of his brothers for likely candidates. What may seem in retrospect an

obvious need did not seem so at the time. The answers to new questions had painfully to be stitched together from the threads of experience.

For once, Kay Shuttleworth's vision pointed in the right direction. Had Lingen gone the way of Armitage the scheme might have fizzled out. As it was, by the time Lingen, Temple and Sandford were in triple harness, their inheritance was assured. They turned out to be the right men at the right time, able to manage competently and confidently the annual-grant business of which the complication soon left that of the building-grant business far behind.

The original appointments were a bit of Benthamite administrative invention. But once the new men had shown their mettle, there was no going back to the old, and the new, in effect, reproduced their own kind. This, finally, calls into question Johnson's characterization of the operation of patronage in their case. The distinction between the old clerks and the experts is accepted, the former appointed through some family or social connection on the basis of needs extrinsic to the job, the latter appointed through a connection based on expertise, which expertise was itself the basis of the appointment. Restriction of his attention to Balliol led Johnson to see the connection in the case of the new appointments as one between Balliol and the Department. However, the hypothesis of a particular institutional connection has no evidence beyond the appointment of the men in question, and is certainly not necessary (see Appendix G). Their appointment was simply one example among several of existing examiners' introducing their own associates; that in turn a process

seen in the staff at large; and the process itself being more a part of the operation of social or family connection than of anything else.

In effect there developed between 1847 and 1850 an informal minimum qualification, subsequently embodied formally in the report of the 1853 Committee of Inquiry. But those who met the minimum qualification were still in a competitive situation with other. Advantage was given, just as much as in competition for the old clerkships, by favourable social connection, as with Clough; favourable family connection, as perhaps with Waddington; or, most frequently, and especially in combination with other factors, connection with existing examiners, as 'in the case of Sandford, of Cory and Sykes, of Poste, and perhaps of Joyce.

There is some evidence that the establishment and maintenance of the minimum qualification was the work of Lingen. He did not lose an opportunity to affirm the importance of the examiners' being university men of the highest calibre; and certainly on one occasion he objected strenuously, when Granville wanted to appoint a man clearly not of this calibre. This was a certain Dr Perry who, according to Lingen, was 'nearer 50 than 40', and appears not to have been an Oxford or Cambridge graduate of any kind. In the event the matter did not come to a head, because Perry refused the offered post; but Lingen left Granville in no doubt about the strength of his feelings.(1)

(1)Granville Papers, PRO30/29/19/24, pp.109-144. Johnson gives a garbled account of this incident ('Administrators in education', p.129). On the basis that he had written a book on German universities, Perry may possibly be identified with Walter Copland Perry who published

The picture is not so much of what Johnson calls 'reformed patronage' as of 'restricted patronage', patronage that is to say exercised by successive Lord Presidents according to the traditional pattern, but within a field restricted by, first and uncertainly, Kay Shuttleworth, and later, with more assurance, Lingen. Such a situation can be imagined to have been a delicate one, and the persistence of the old ways unchanged in the appointment of clerks to the Privy Council establishment up until 1852 can be seen as part of a compromise, comparable to that which Lingen and Granville appear to have reached after 1855 over the appointment of assistant clerks (see below p.179).

The ending of this compromise in 1853 through the constitution of a new Education Department establishment and the incorporation into its higher branch of both the existing examiners and, immediately or provisionally, those on the Privy Council ladder who had been appointed for the education business, was even less evolutionary in its nature than had been the origination of the examiner class. From the point of view of the Privy Council men the top of the ladder was being cut off. Such widespread dispossession inevitably led to unrest and ill feeling which Lingen only with difficulty kept in check. It is doubtful whether such a dispossession would have been within the power of a Lord President - taking away was harder than giving. But a Treasury Committee of Inquiry, with the combined force of Trevelyan, Northcote and Lingen, the at least formal support of Greville, a sympathetic Lord President in Granville, with the whole

(1)(cont'd)German University Education in 1845.

structure underpinned by Gladstone, was irresistible.

3.2.4 Supplemental and assistant clerks

In the nature of the case the history of individual supplemental, and later assistant, clerks is much less accessible than that of appointees to the upper establishment in its various forms. Before 1849 there is virtually nothing to go on. From that date the promotion of copyists to permanent posts allows some sort of structuring of the situation; and from 1855 on, the reports of the Civil Service Service Commission allow competitive and non-competitive appointees to be distinguished.

Hutchinson was 34 or so when he was appointed in 1839.(1) Three of the copyists taken on in 1849 remained in the Department until retirement, Summerford, Hunt, and Withers; from the dates of their retirement it can be calculated that they were all in their early twenties on appointment; Pratten, appointed in 1852, may have been a few years older.(2) Otherwise the only men about whom there is any information are Joyner, whose brother was a schoolteacher,(3) and Goodall, who took over Tilleard's job on the latter's move to Kneller Hall. Goodall had followed the same route under Kay Shuttleworth's aegis as Tilleard had, Battersea then Gawthorpe. Retirement in 1892 would make him 23 on appointment in 1850, about the same age as

(1) 9831/59 in T1/6199B/14156.

(2) Retirements have been deduced from Whitaker's Almanack (1889-1894).

(3) Nancy Ball, Educating the People (1983), p.34.

estimated for Tilleard.(1)

There is no means of knowing whether the sort of prior connection Goodall had was typical or exceptional; nor how many of the eight or so clerks appointed between 1849 and 1852 began as copyists. Since however it was the dominant method in 1849 and certainly continued from 1854, it is reasonable to suppose that at least a proportion of them were. The appointment of copyists to supplemental clerkships was in effect a system of limited competition based on the most relevant criterion, competence in the actual duties the clerks were to perform. Its value in this respect was clearly recognized.

Chester described the process some years later:

... every clerk who came from the law stationers who was better than the generality was retained, and the others were sent away. We were thus in all those years sifting the general body of clerks, and the consequence was, that before the competitive system was introduced, we had got in the Education Department a body of assistant clerks of a very superior character ... They had been proved to be very useful, and whoever was Lord President was told that there was such a man in the office, and he was asked to give a permanent appointment to him, and he gave it.(2)

Paradoxically, the introduction of formal competitions threatened to cut off this source of supply. The first competition was in November 1855. Luckily, one of the successful competitors, John Pope Hennessy, went on to higher things, membership of Parliament and a succession of colonial governorships. His contemporary account of how he entered the competition survives:

I got my name on the list by writing to Lord Granville, who is President of the Council. I sent him a full account of my collegiate position, the College recommendation, and Kane's

(1) Minutes 1842-42, p.118.

(2) Evidence to the Select Committee on Civil Service Appointments, PP1860, IX, q.4044.

letters. I did not mention Serjeant Murphy's name, or any other person's but merely stated, that, if necessary, I could refer Lord Granville to some friends of mine with whom he was acquainted.(1)

As interesting as this as an example of a man coming more or less from nowhere and recommending himself, are the reasons Pope Hennessy gave for seeking the clerkship in the first place:

The appointment is a very respectable one, but the salary is at first very small. In fact it is the respectable status of these Downing Street appointments which enables the Government to get a high class of officials at a small pecuniary remuneration ... I feel pretty certain that if I held such and that Disraeli's party got into power, I would be pushed up.

and,

The most junior clerks in the Downing street offices belong to the first circles of London's society. Whatever the salary may be at first, these appointments confer, as far as social standing is concerned, a very high position.(2)

Pope Hennessy was blessed with considerably more than his fair share of ambition, self-satisfaction, and imagination. His view of the case was no doubt extreme. However, if only some element of this attitude was general, and if at the same time Granville was prepared to allow unrestricted access to the competition it is not hard to see that the result would be a considerable raising of the academic standards of the successful competitors compared with those of the clerks of the previous fifteen years.

A strong indication that this happened, and also more than a hint that Pope Hennessy's attitude was not confined to him, is contained in a letter from Lingen to Granville on the occasion of the next vacancy in the following May. He felt very strongly about the bad

(1)Pope-Hennessy Papers, MSS Brit.Emp.s.409, Box 2, File 1, p.5. Pope Hennessy to his father 25 Oct. 1855.

(2)Ibid., and p.7, Pope Hennessy to his father, 30 Oct. 1855, part quoted in James Pope-Hennessy, Verandah (1964), p.32.

results competition could bring, presumably based on the recent experience. By implication, the successful candidates were too highly educated and of too high a social status. Competition should be confined 'to the élèves of commercial and elementary schools, taking such, generally speaking, as have had some actual training in business.' Above all it was necessary to avoid men who had pretensions to examinerships, although whether the suggestion that such a promotion could be looked for was Granville's, or came from one of the clerks, cannot be guessed.(1)

The competition in November 1855 had originated in the previous August when Lingen suggested to Trevelyan that ten copyists be put on a permanent footing, after the by now normal fashion. In fact three copyists were promoted immediately;(2) and there followed the competition, in which 31 candidates, including 9 copyists, took part. (3) There is no record of how many of the copyists were successful. But in view of Lingen's complaint of the following May it is a reasonable assumption that they did badly and that few, if any, gained places. One may further argue that it was Granville who had changed Lingen's original plan and insisted that the copyists face the competition along with outside candidates, allowing only three to be appointed in August to fill vacancies.

(1)Granville Papers, PRO30/29/23/7, pp.101-112, Lingen to Granville, 16 May 1856.

(2)13289/55 in T1/5963A/18866; Appendix H, Table XXX.

(3)The 3rd Report of the Civil Service Commissioners, PP1857-58, XXV, correspondence pp.189-90, J.G. Maitland to Lingen, 20 Nov. 1855, stated that nine candidates out of 31 had 'been already for longer or shorter periods employed in the department'. This is taken to refer to copyists.

In later testimony Lingen was definite that Granville during his Lord Presidency had 'except in cases of promoting to the establishment temporary clerks already employed in official work, disposed of this part of his patronage by limited competition'.(1) It can therefore be assumed that all Granville's nominations without competition, which are distinguishable in the reports of the Civil Service Commission, were of copyists. The vacancy in 1856 was in the event filled by competition. What happened next cannot be determined completely because although the Civil Service Commission recorded all appointments, no distinction was made between those which represented increases in establishment and those which were to fill vacancies. However, comparison of numbers with increases in establishment recorded in the Treasury files, strongly suggests that after June 1856 Lingen and Granville came to a compromise. The result of the competition of November 1855, if it has been correctly deduced, meant that so long as appointments were made by competition Lingen would be unable to arrange for copyists to be permanently employed, however valuable he found them. What seems to have happened is that Lingen and Granville agreed that vacancies should be filled by nomination from the copyists, but increases to the establishment should be filled by competition among outside nominees (Appendix H, Table XXX).

This solved one problem but left the danger of unsuitably cultured or genteel candidates entering the competitions. Somehow a procedure was devised which neatly solved the problem. Nominations of candidates were only invited from organizations which specialized in

(1)Evidence to the Select Committee on Civil Service Appointments, PP1860, IX, q.3140.

the improvement of the sons of the working classes or lower middle classes, such as the Society of Arts. This was first tried, once and probably twice, in February 1857, and again in September. After the September competition Lingen wrote joyfully to Granville, '... this practice promises to give us exactly the kind of men we want.'⁽¹⁾ Lord Salisbury, tory Lord President in 1858-59, eschewed competition, but also made very few appointments, two in 1858 and one, or possibly two, in 1859. One of the former was to increase the establishment; otherwise they were to fill vacancies, and there is nothing to indicate whether the men appointed were copyists or outsiders (Appendix H, Table XXX).

3.3 PROMOTION

The tradition of promotion by seniority is firmly and pejoratively associated with the unreformed civil service. A boy like Lennard or Gaitskell, Hamilton or Harrison, could enter at sixteen or so, perform copying duties for decades, and with patience climb the ladder rung by rung, waiting for death or retirement to clear the way ahead, until he achieved a position of reasonable remuneration and, to a degree, responsibility; and, in the end, might become chief clerk. In the Privy Council Office at least, the ambition was perfectly realistic. With only a slightly abnormal course of events, in Chester's removal to the Education Department, Lennard, Hamilton, and Harrison all became chief clerk, and Gaitskell reached the top of the first class. From 1830 a negative test applied to the chief

(1) Granville Papers, PRO30/29/23/10, pp.499-512, memorandum by Lingen, 7 Sept. 1857.

clerkship, which resulted in Hamilton's overtaking Gaitskell on Lennard's death in 1856.

The effect of the report of the Committee of Inquiry in 1853 was to create a very similar situation in the new upper establishment, at least as regards the examiners appointed from outside. Immediately, Chester, the senior clerk on the building-grant side, and Sandford, the senior examiner on the annual-grant side, became the two assistant secretaries (and it may be noted that Sandford, as well as being the senior in service, was also the youngest of the examiners then serving). From then on, with patience, and relying on the same agencies thinning the ranks above them, the examiners could hope to rise, in order of their seniority, to an assistant secretaryship, much in the way of the clerks of old. Sykes in 1859 on Chester's resignation, Cory in 1869 on Sandford's promotion, Palgrave (Clough having died) in 1874, and Miller (Edwards having resigned) in 1885, all reached this goal, in strict order;(1) and as with the Privy Council ladder, the top job, the secretaryship, was on a different basis.

Otherwise, the fact that the Education Department had a relatively large and expanding staff of non-established and indeed uncertain status, and a diverse range of tasks for them to perform, meant that promotions were not made according to rule. At different times connection, merit, and the desire for administrative tidiness all seem to have played their part.

(1)Whitaker's Almanack 1869, 1874, 1885.

An early case of favoured promotion was that of Severn to the establishment in 1849; but the most conspicuous play of connection was in relation to the Lord President's private secretary. These were appointed from both inside and outside the Department. The first, and now best known, was Matthew Arnold, who started work for Lansdowne in 1847, at £300 a year.(1) It does not seem that Arnold had anything at all to do with the Education Department, his work being physically located in Lansdowne House, and concerned with Lansdowne's general political activities including his leadership of the House of Lords.

When Arnold moved to the inspectorate in 1851 he was succeeded by the very well connected Boothby, who drew the £300 in addition to his Privy Council salary.(2) Arnold's move was prompted by a desire for security, in view of the prospective demise of the whig government, so Boothby's appointment may initially have seemed a short-term expedient, and certainly came to an end on Lansdowne's replacement by Lonsdale. There is no record of whom, if anybody, Lonsdale had. Severn's uncle, the 13th earl of Eglinton, Derby's Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, recommended his nephew to Lonsdale for the post, but the implication of a later letter is that Severn was not in fact given it.(3) When Granville came in as Lord President a year later, Boothby was again the lucky man, at least for a year, except at a salary of only £150, suggesting that for the first time the post was divided, half being held by an examiner, the other half by a man from

(1)11071/47 in T1/5256/11071.

(2)The history of Boothby's connection with the private secretaryship is given in 3895/58 in T1/6116A/4284.

(3)Lowther Manuscripts, D/LONS/L1/2/121, Eglinton to Lonsdale, 6 April 1852.

outside. From January 1854 the outside man was J.E. Boileau, who was a client of Russell, being Lady John's first cousin.(1) Since Boothby vacated the post in 1854, it seems that Boileau had the whole job during Russell's presidency.

When Granville came back in 1855 it was Boothby again, and this time once more the whole job, so that when he retired on grounds of health in 1858 he was earning altogether £760, as much as an assistant secretary. Boothby's retiral coincided with Derby's return to office, and was no doubt prompted by it. Eglinton, once more Lieutenant, once more made representations on Severn's behalf to the new Lord President, Salisbury,(2) but again apparently without success, and there is no record of what appointment was made. On Granville's return the post was again divided, and this time kept in the family, the inside half going to Randolph, Granville's half first cousin once removed, and the outside half going to Lord Frederick Cavendish, his half first cousin twice removed. Randolph resigned his half at the end of the year, probably because he had to go on sick leave, and was succeeded by Palgrave, hinting again that connectedness was a recurrent element in Palgrave's career.(3)

For an examiner the private secretaryship was something of a plum, involving more pay, more interesting and varied work and, apparently, less of it. According to Boothby, who was in a position to know,

The rule is for such Private Secretaries of Cabinet Ministers who are members of the Office over which their chief presides

(1)PC4/20, p.105 (where the name is misspelled); Burke's Peerage (1980, Boileau and Minto).

(2)3895/58 in T1/6116A/4284; Cecil Papers, Eglinton to Salisbury, 24 Feb. 1858.

(3)PC4/20, pp.207, 221.

to take no part in the current business of the Office, while serving 'on the staff'.(1)

Boothby himself had been an exception to this rule, being involved in compiling the annual volume of Minutes. But his duties as private secretary had been 'so very light, and the pay so very liberal' that without the office work he would have been 'almost ashamed to pocket £300 extra' in addition to his office salary.

Amongst the supplemental clerks promotion can be measured by the rises in their salaries even when their duties are not known. Up until 1849 there were only four of them, and such differentiation as there was was entirely on the basis of seniority; but in view of the small number and the fact that there had already been at least one replacement, of Stanney, this does not mean very much. Hutchinson, the senior of them, was evidently highly regarded, since he received several special increases including a supplement from the Education Grant.

The promotion of copyists in 1849 was of course itself based on merit, and those promoted were simultaneously differentiated, Younger, MacKenzie and Perkins being given £130, £115, and £110 respectively, instead of the basic £100 (see above p.137). By 1852 MacKenzie had caught up with Joyner, and Perkins with Younger. MacKenzie did particularly well, taking over the post of 'statist' (later 'head of the statistical branch') in 1853 (see below p.334). In terms of salary these clerks were advancing faster than the less favoured of those on the Privy Council ladder.

(1)Granville Papers, PRO30/29/19/8/22, Boothby to Greville, 4 June 1857.

Promotion by merit was most obvious for the clerks on that ladder. For those higher up the mechanism was the supplement from the Education Grant, which steadily distanced the meritorious from those below. Boothby, having started roughly at a level with Kay and Lister-Kaye, was by 1852 earning about twice as much. Of the five appointed in 1849, for whom promotion by seniority was not guaranteed, Merrifield started well ahead of the other four, with £170 against £110, and ahead straight away of both Kay and Lister-Kaye. In 1852 Lister-Kaye had drawn level again (Kay having resigned) and Severn and Bryant had picked up a little; but Hickson, whose lack of merit must have been striking, remained at £110. If connections failed to secure advancement, they might at least palliate the consequences of meritocracy, or so at least Severn thought, and wrote in protest to his uncle the earl. Eglinton duly forwarded his nephew's letter to Lonsdale, but the appeal was in vain.(1) Merrifield stayed well ahead.

At the time of the Committee of Inquiry it had to be decided which of the Privy Council clerks merited immediate installation as examiners. Harrison and Bayly had of course chosen to stay on the ladder, so their being acting examiners was no problem. The positions of Boothby and Lister-Kaye were explicitly considered in the report. They caused difficulty because these two, unlike those below them, had property rights in the ladder. Supposedly examiners were to have a 'high university education' and have 'kept up their acquaintance with Classics and Mathematics'. Against these

(1)Lowther Manuscripts, D/LONS/L1/2/121, Eglinton to Lonsdale, 6 April 1852.

requirements the cases of Boothby and Lister-Kaye were hopeless, especially since for the other Privy Council clerks of the third class it had been laid down explicitly that they would need the requisite qualifications before they could be promoted to the examiner class.(1) Keeping them as they were would be hard, but giving them the choice of remaining in the Privy Council Office might entail giving the same choice to their juniors, which would be undesirable. The conclusion the report came to, on the basis that Boothby was already earning more than an examiner's starting salary, and had originally transferred from another department, was that he should be promoted at once and Lister-Kaye's case could be reconsidered when his salary had reached £300, if his services in the meantime had been satisfactory.(2)

Not surprisingly Gladstone queried the distinction between the two men, and in an explanatory memorandum Northcote more or less admitted that the aim had been to find a formula which would include Boothby and exclude Lister-Kaye, who was clearly regarded as incompetent. To have allowed Boothby 'to have taken his place naturally in the Examiners' class, would have been to establish a precedent directly opposed to our principle that no man should rise into that Class who was not fit to be an Examiner. To have promoted Lister-Kaye into it would have established an even worse precedent ...'(3) On the evidence however of his death having left a vacancy for Palgrave to fill, it seems that Lister-Kaye succeeded in preventing his separation from Boothby being maintained for long, and was in fact

(1)PP1854, XXVII, 253 and 264.

(2)PP1854, XXVII, 265.

(3)17667/53 in T1/5842A/24894, 19 Nov. 1853.

promoted.(1)

This left the four remaining of the 1849 appointments, Merrifield, Severn, Bryant and Hickson, along with Randolph and Wardrop. Merrifield presented no problem. He was on his way to becoming the academically most distinguished member of the Department, and in March 1855 Lingen could write convincingly that he met the educational requirements for an examinership (see below p.211). The cases of the others ranged from the difficult to the impossible. In descending order, Randolph had a third from Christ Church and Bryant a pass from Trinity, Cambridge, Severn had been to Westminster, and Wardrop had joined Hickson among the incorrigibly unpromotable. It seems that Lingen simply wanted to tidy the situation up. Northcote's principle would be bent if not broken to allow the first three promotion; and the other two would become, in effect, assistant clerks. Accordingly in June 1857 Lingen wrote a letter of consummate sophistry to Trevelyan whose reply, after he had failed to enlist the support of Lewis, the Chancellor, was as delicate in its dissemblance; and the matter was settled.(2)

(1)10160/55 in T1/5970A/19814.

(2)10590/57 in T1/6082A/15262; Granville Papers, PRO30/29/19/4/7, Lewis to Granville, 21 Sept. 1857.

3.4 EXPENDITURE AND EFFICIENCY

The Education Department's expenditure in the 1840s was initially dominated by the payment of building grants. Since these became steadily more generous until 1847, and since from 1848 there were rapidly growing annual-grant payments the pattern of total expenditure masks the decline in the number of building grants after 1844. In addition expenditure as conventionally quoted in terms of the annual Parliamentary Vote for education is misleading, since the latter bore only an indirect and changing relation to actual expenditure.

Recourse has commonly been had to the Parliamentary Vote because until 1851 no systematic account of expenditure was published or presented to Parliament. The first statement of any kind was the list of grants to schools in the Minutes for 1848-50. Then on 8 August 1850 J.W. Henley asked in Parliament for a return of all expenditure since 1839. This was presented in March 1851 and, in the absence of the original records, is the major surviving source of information.(1) There are enough other sources against which to check it to enable its contents to be analysed, its accuracy to be tested, and its relation to subsequent published figures to be established. The results of this process are given in detail in Appendix I.

The broad conclusion is that most of the figures in the Henley Return were reasonably accurate, but that the return was misleading

(1) PP1851, XLIII, 125-40.

because it did not distinguish between building grants for training colleges and those for elementary schools, nor between annual aid to colleges which preceded and that which followed the 1846 Minutes; because there are some clearly identifiable mistakes and omissions; and because the way it was put together led to serious errors in the expenditure figures for 1850, and thus in the general pattern of expenditure.

The most general check on the Henley Return is the total over the same period of Exchequer credits, the money transferred by the Exchequer from the Consolidated Fund to the credit of the Paymaster of Civil Services as voted by Parliament. Since credits were often sought, originally by the Education Department and via the Treasury, in advance of need, exact agreement for any one year is not to be expected. In fact if to the expenditure of the Committee of Council from 1839 to 8 August 1850 as given in the Henley Return is added the best estimate of expenditure in the remainder of 1850, the total, £703 139, is very close to and slightly greater than the total of Exchequer credits for the period of £699 282.(1) On the assumption that the Exchequer record is accurate, this means that the Henley Return is unlikely to have omitted anything. However, there are some fairly substantial items, amounting to £7000 or more, which it certainly did omit. What this suggests is that when the Education Department was faced in 1850 with the task of accounting for its expenditure to date the total figure came not from its own records but from the Exchequer or from the Paymaster, independently of the

(1) The Exchequer reported to Parliament each year. Figures have been taken from the part of the series beginning PP1840, XXIX, 98 and ending PP1852-53, LVII, 84.

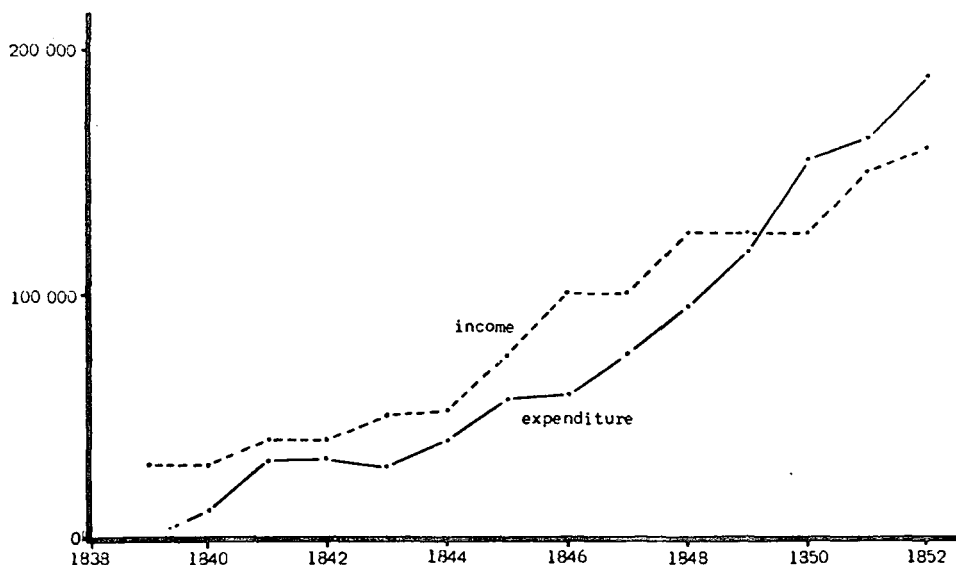


FIGURE 13: Education Department income and expenditure 1839-1852 (£).

SOURCE: Appendix I, Table XXXV.

items which made it up. When all known items had been included the total was made up perhaps partly by adjusting the large building-grant amount, and almost certainly by giving an inflated figure for the cost of administration in the first part of 1850 (see Appendix I). Correcting the Henley Return is therefore a matter of rearranging the expenditure within the same total.

The corrected annual totals, as far as they can be established, are shown in Figure 13, together with the corresponding figures for the Parliamentary grant. The gap between income and expenditure, which if anything increased towards the end of Kay Shuttleworth's period of office, means that the pattern of the Parliamentary grant overstates the growth of expenditure in the 1840s and understates it

in the early 1850s. Actual expenditure in the earlier period grew only intermittently, reflecting the fluctuations in the demand for building grants.

The impression given by the growth of the Parliamentary grant was very much the impression given by Kay Shuttleworth himself. He told the Select Committee in 1846,

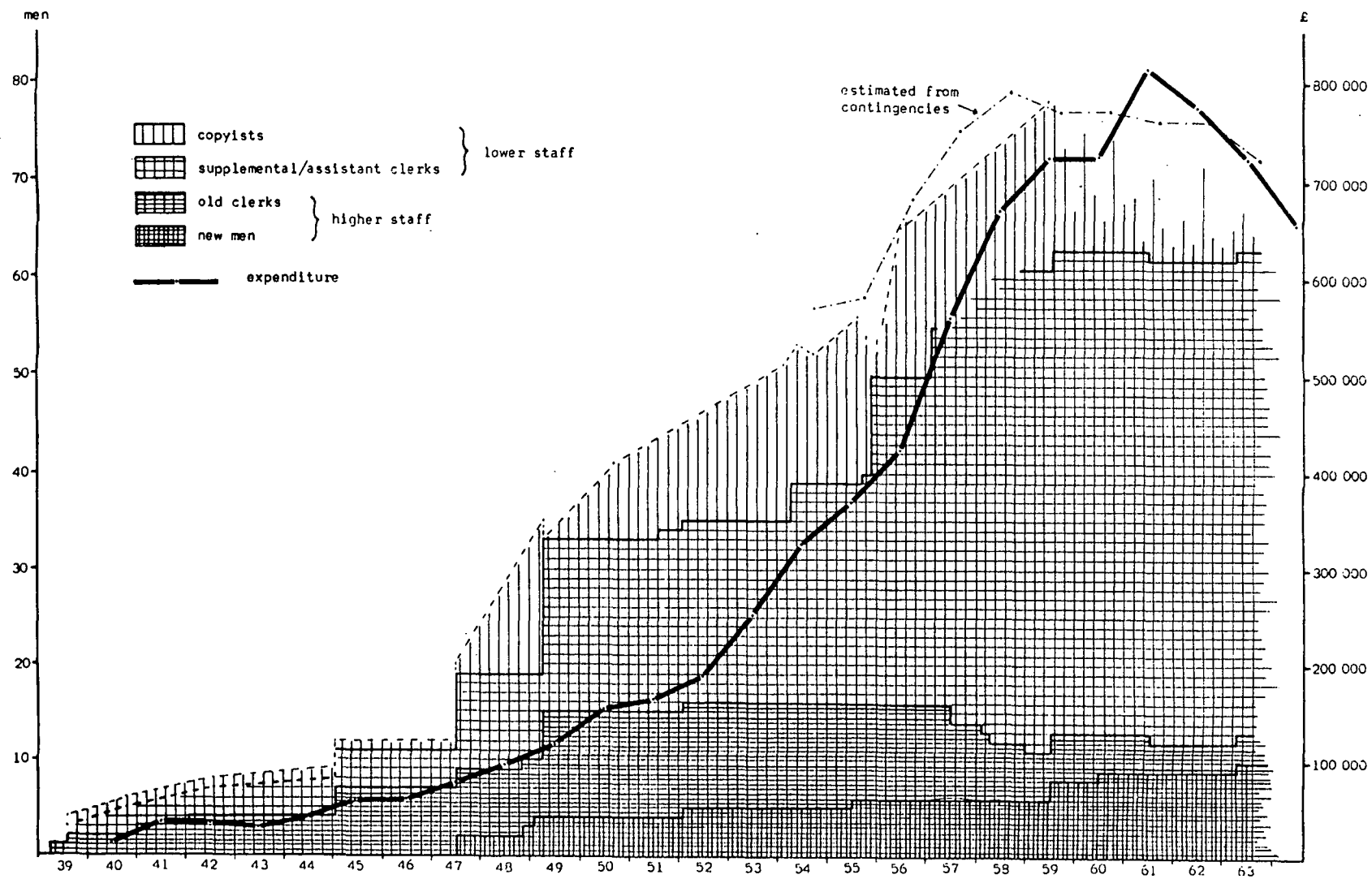
The business of my office is continually increasing in all respects, and we are always on the verge of being undermanned. It is an office which has been continually expanding since I have held it.(1)

Staffing and expenditure for the whole period are compared in Figure 14. The number of higher staff includes the (Assistant) Secretary, and is at all times the effective number, including for example Temple and Palgrave in the 1840s, but not Sandford when he was on secondment in the 1860s. Hickson and Wardrop are included until 1857 when, after the promotion of Severn, Bryant, and Randolph, they became irretrievably part of the lower staff. The higher staff are distinguished as between those originally appointed to the Privy Council establishment (but including Kay Shuttleworth) and those appointed from 1847 on as examiners (including Temple and Palgrave).

Figure 14 shows, in the most general way, three trends in the development of the Department. Productivity, measured in terms of financial throughput per man, increased over the period as a whole very greatly; the proportion of lower staff to higher increased; and among the higher the new men progressively replaced the old.

(1)PP1847-48, XVIII, 1, q.6129.

FIGURE 14: Education Department staffing and spending 1839-1863.



From 1839 to 1847 or so the numbers of lower and higher staff were roughly equal to each other, both increasing in line with expenditure. They processed annually about £10 000 per higher man and about £5000 per man overall. From 1847 to 1849 there was a big increase in the lower staff followed by an increase in the higher to maintain rough parity between the two. Throughput fell to about £8000 per higher man and about £3500 per man overall. From 1849 to 1857 the lower staff continued to increase rapidly while the higher remained steady, with some substitution of new men for old. Throughput increased greatly to about £35 000 per higher man and £8000 per man overall. After 1857 the number of lower staff levelled off, the higher decreased, and the substitution of new men for old accelerated, giving a further increase in throughput to over £60 000 per higher man and over £10 000 per man overall.

Undoubtedly, as has been periodically noted in its defence, the operation of patronage could result in the installation of very able occupants of the desks at Whitehall; but the history of the Education Department, where the old system and something like the new operated side by side, tends to support the criticisms made by Trevelyan, himself one of the most able products of the patronage system. For every Merrifield there was a Hickson and a Wardrop, for every Morier a Lister-Kaye and a Severn. Of the fourteen men appointed directly or indirectly to the Education Department higher staff by the traditional method, eight may have been at least (and in some cases at most) adequate to their duties. While the Department was in their hands, in the years up to 1847, there was no increase in productivity. When this record is contrasted with that from 1849 to

1861 it does not seem convincing that in the earlier period there was an actual or threatened staff shortage. In a sense Kay Shuttleworth's complaints were belied by what he wrote himself at the end of 1845. Harrison had shown his worth by his ability to take charge when both Kay Shuttleworth and Chester were away.(1) The pressure cannot have been so overwhelming if it allowed the two most senior out of a higher staff of seven to be away at the same time.

At the end of the decade productivity fell, perhaps the inevitable consequence of the introduction of a new and untried system. But it cannot have helped that the need for extra staff became the opportunity for a disproportionate increase in the number of placemen. The effect seems to have been a higher staff which was swollen well beyond the needs of the work. As some of the supernumeraries slipped away from 1857 on, the rapidly increasing work went ahead just the same. In 1860 13 men supervised the expenditure of more than £700 000, where in 1850 15 had been needed for £150 000. To a degree no doubt this was because the administration of the annual grants lent itself to routinization more than that of the building grants; but this can only be part of the explanation. The rest of it is that the new men simply did the work better, and were better organized. As Boothby put it ruefully to Greville, contemplating his promotion prospects, '... I don't seek any increase of salary, but only a transfer to a place for which I should be more suited than I am here where I shall have to struggle

(1) Kay-Shuttleworth Papers, 1168 1st, 'Present Condition of the Administration of the Parliamentary Grant', memorandum to the Lord President [Dec. 1845].

with University men, fresh from their University reading ...'(1)

The quality of the university men can be illustrated by anecdotes of Lingen and Temple. G.A. Denison recalled years later how he had been one of the examiners for the Ireland Scholarship in 1837. The choice was between Lingen and James Fraser, later Assistant Newcastle Commissioner and Bishop of Manchester. Initially only Denison favoured Lingen, but he kept his two colleagues up all night bullying them until they gave in. Denison's argument was that 'Fraser was in some respects the more finished scholar, but Lingen made no mistake'.

(2) In 1839 Temple described his undergraduate routine at Balliol to his mother:

I begin work at five o'clock a.m. and work till three, which includes also being in lectures, breakfast and chapel. I then go out till dinner time which is at four, and after dinner till chapel time, which is at half past five. After the chapel service is over I walk about in the garden, or get anything I want in town till about seven or six thirty, and then go to work again until I go to bed about 10.30 p.m. At that time I do my easy work, and anything which does not require much attention, as I do not like to work very hard in the evening.(3)

This makes nine or ten hours studying a day, which he apparently kept up for three years. It is not surprising that Boothby sought to avoid competition with men of this quality.

Lingen and Temple were Kay Shuttleworth's chief lieutenants in 1848, the year of his collapse and effectively his last in charge of the Department. Why did things still go so badly? Various pressures on Kay Shuttleworth can be identified: he was being required to

account for his expenditure; he was in trouble over Kneller Hall; he

(1)Granville Papers, PRO30/29/23/6, pp.233-44, 20 March 1856.

(2)G.A. Denison, Notes of My Life 1805-1878 (1878).

(3)E.G. Sandford (ed.), Memoirs of Archbishop Temple 1, p.39 note.

was at odds with Lingen; the demand for building grants was falling. At the same time the demand for annual grants, especially in relation to pupil teachers, was growing very fast, forcing him into a regulatory, restrictive role to which he was temperamentally unsuited. These pressures in combination provide a sufficient answer.(1)

But was there a further factor of overriding importance? Was Kay Shuttleworth in some sense the victim of, and was the progress of the Education Department continuously impeded by, the desire of the Treasury for economy, despite this not being apparent from the global figures for expenditure and staffing? The possibility needs to be taken seriously because it has been an element in most accounts of the period, not just in relation to the Education Department but in relation to other areas of government intervention as an aspect of the frustration model.

(1)Paz has diagnosed Kay Shuttleworth's ailment as neurasthenia (Paz, 'Kay-Shuttleworth', p.194).

CHAPTER FOUR

TREASURY CONTROL

4.1 STAFF INCREASES

4.1.1 The inspectorate

In the 1840s the Treasury was simply 'notified' of the appointment of inspectors,(1) as of course it had to be if their salaries were to be paid. The introduction of annual grants made strict annual visiting of schools essential for the first time, and the popularity of the pupil-teacher system, with its requirement that a school be inspected before pupil teachers could be appointed, made an immediate impact on the inspectorate, and a new demand for their services which was clearly going to go on increasing rapidly. In the face of this, Lingen prepared a memorandum for Lansdowne in July 1850 which calculated what could reasonably be expected of an inspector and thus how many inspectors were needed. In the first instance Lingen asked for one extra inspector and two assistant inspectors, but warned that it would 'fall short of meeting the public demand for inspection'. Lingen's calculations and request were ratified by a Minute of the Committee of Council of 25 July 1850.(2)

D.J. Stewart was appointed as the new inspector on 14 August, and on 15 October Lingen sent the memorandum to the Treasury, asking for

(1)e.g. T27/142, p.484 referring to Kay Shuttleworth to the Treasury of 8 and 9 May 1847.

(2)Minutes 1850-51, 1, pp.ix-xiii.

the new appointments to be sanctioned.(1) The Treasury raised no objection to the appointments or to the principle on which the memorandum was based. The principle was, simply, that the inspectorate should be expanded in line with the number of schools seeking annual grants, while leaving the workload of individual inspectors unchanged. The consequence of this principle was the quasi-automatic increase in their number from 16 to 60 in the decade. Those inspectors who gave evidence to the Newcastle Commission at the end of 1859 were in general agreement that, with the occasional delay, the inspectorate had indeed always been augmented appropriately to the demand for its services.(2)

Some evidence of the workload of the individual inspectors in the 1850s can be gleaned from their reports. There are consistent figures only for the number of institutions visited, rather than the number of separate departments, and this has been roughly equated with the number of places visited. Often the figures for an inspector and an assistant inspector in the same district cannot be separated; and for several inspectors in several years periods of illness make the year's figures unusable. Such reasonably long series as are obtainable are given in Table VIII. These figures seem to confirm the inspectors' own testimony. There is certainly no indication that the increasing pressure on the Department meant increased pressure on the individual inspectors except for very short periods, more especially as throughout the 1850s the physical size of their districts was getting less.

(1) 20548/50 in T1/5610/24287.

(2) Newcastle, VI, q.1020(Cook), q.1056(J.D. Morell).

year	Tinling	Mitchell	Jones	Stewart	J.D.Morell	Arnold	Marshall
1850	161	139	112	-	146	-	99
1851	150	156	93	126	146	-	98
1852	-	154	139	110	132	120	99
1853*	(172)	(126)	(130)	(83)	(128)	(119)	(79)
1854	144	130	117	107	132	110	88
1855	127	141	127	126	123	117	97
1856	143	128	126	134	121	113	107
1857	-	131	-	131	143	91	109

*ten month period

TABLE VIII: Number of separate institutions visited by inspectors in the 1850s.

SOURCE: Minutes, individual inspectors' reports.

It is noteworthy that from the beginning the inspectors were paid from the Education Vote, and were thus part and parcel of the grant system which the Treasury did not regard as any of its business. As if to underline this, from 1852 on files relating to the appointment of inspectors have been weeded from the Treasury records along with other routine matters such as school grants and trust deeds.

4.1.2 The office staff

The expansion of the office staff was in an area which had traditionally been the Treasury's concern. In fact there is no evidence in the Treasury Board Papers that the Treasury ever refused applications from the Education Department for more office staff, or that it modified the conditions under which such staff should be appointed except in very minor ways. This conclusion depends on the extant Treasury files being taken at face value as a record of what happened. It is possible that a formal letter making a request and

the formal reply from the Treasury granting it merely ratified decisions which had been negotiated face to face or by the medium of informal correspondence which has not survived.

There is one very clear example of such a process. The Committee of Inquiry of 1853, whose report was signed by Greville, Northcote and Trevelyan, but which included Lingen, produced proposals, for the creation of a separate Education Department establishment, of which the consequences had to be thrashed out in detail. This was carried out informally by Trevelyan and Northcote in consultation with Lingen. The agreed establishment was presented to the Treasury in a formal letter from Lingen of 11 April 1854, and received the Treasury's formal approval on 22 April. Trevelyan wrote to Gladstone on 13 April, 'Lingen brought me the draft of the letter to the Treasury of the 11th Instant, which is also sent herewith, and we went over it paragraph by paragraph ...'(1)

Such a procedure seems quite natural in this case when the Department was being radically reorganized on a plan to which Trevelyan had largely contributed. There was, too, obviously prior discussion of the posts paid from the Education Grant created in 1847. Here however it is likely that the discussion did not involve argument over details, but more the principle of the scheme and whether it should be rejected altogether in favour of something tending to greater simplicity in the combined Education Department/Privy Council arrangements. When Kay Shuttleworth wrote formally proposing the changes on 26 June 1847, the Treasury's

(1)T9/10, p.154; Gladstone Papers, ADD44334, f.22.

acceptance was in fact subject to various minor modifications.(1)

How common was face-to-face discussion? Wright quoted Trevelyan's evidence to the Select Committee of 1848 that within the Treasury, officers communicated informally by 'demi-official' correspondence and concluded that 'The chat with a colleague about a paper, or an informal conference, was rare'.(2) On how far this also applied between the Treasury and other departments Wright was less definite. He seemed to imply that face-to-face discussion was more likely at the Cabinet level, the level in fact of the surviving correspondence on the 1847 changes. In any case he concluded that 'Even though Treasury approval was sometimes given to a proposal before an application was made, the Treasury ... was careful to note upon the file that the decision had been made in this way'.(3) Unfortunately the incoming letters outlining the changes in the cases where there is evidence of prior discussion, Kay Shuttleworth's of June 1847 and Lingen's of April 1854, are among the interesting documents on staffing missing from the Treasury records, so the conclusion cannot be checked.(4) However, if it is accepted nonetheless as holding for the Treasury's dealings with the Education Department, the absence of such noting on the many files where there is no evidence of prior discussion suggests that none in fact had taken place.

In addition to the instances of major changes, there are three cases of great interest because, if the possibility of unrecorded discussions may be rejected, they imply that at least until 1852 the

(1) T27/142, p.507, Trevelyan to Kay Shuttleworth, 1 July 1847.

(2) Wright, p.6.

(3) Wright, p.50.

(4) 15555/47 and 8803/54; see Appendix E.

Education Department regarded the Treasury's approval of staff increases as in all respects a formality, since the staff in these cases were appointed before that approval had been given, and in one case before it had been asked for. The major reshuffle of 1849 was put to the Treasury on 24 March. Trevelyan conveyed his approval, with minor amendments, on 25 April. When the consequent appointments were minuted in the Privy Council Office, several of them were with effect from 5 April.(1) The following year Lingen requested a third examiner on 19 March. This was sanctioned on 22 March. It transpired from Lingen's response that the th third examiner had started work on 6 February.(2)

In neither of these cases is there any hint in the minuting on the file that the request was not being received for the first time, and this supposition is strengthened in the 1849 case by the fact that the Treasury made some, if minor, modifications to the Education Department's proposals. The third and most dramatic case seems to be even clearer, because Lingen had to fight very hard to get his proposals accepted at all. He wrote to the Treasury on 23 December 1851, proposing a fourth examiner, and certain salary augmentations. By March 1852 he had had no reply, and the Government had changed, so he wrote again, this time including a long and detailed account of the history of the staffing of the Education Department. G.A. Hamilton, the new Financial Secretary, minuted '... decline recommending any further augmentation till the whole arrangement of the office shall be considered by Treasury C.E.'. Lingen protested

(1) 9004/49 in T1/5479/15764; T9/9, p.365; PC4/19, pp.443-446.
(2) 5911/50 and 6215/50 in T1/5609/24224.

on 30 March, the day he received Hamilton's reply, and again on 5 April, but without eliciting a response. He came back with renewed force on 17 June, and now Hamilton gave in, agreeing to all the proposals in the meantime, but subject to the results of the inquiry. On 23 June Lingen coolly revealed that the fourth examiner had been working 'without pay' since 8 January, and would the Treasury please pay him from that date?(1)

As regards appointments before 1844 the Treasury was not consulted at all, except in the case of the salary arrangements for Kay Shuttleworth. Lumley, Westmacott, and the four supplemental clerks were all taken on on the authority of the Lord President alone, perhaps because they involved no addition to the establishment. The lack of consultation is emphasized by the Privy Council letter to the Treasury of 7 November 1840 which mentioned the prospect of more clerks being appointed simply by way of explaining why the Education Department needed another room.(2) The three clerks proposed in November 1844, however, did constitute an increase in the establishment, and Treasury sanction was sought. It was given almost immediately but on condition that the new clerks started at the normal salary for Privy Council clerks, rather than at a higher rate. (3)

The next appointments were those of 1847, on which has been based much of the case for Treasury restrictiveness. The question hinges on the interpretation of Kay Shuttleworth's letters to Lansdowne of

(1) 25684/51 in T1/5714B/25684; 6713/52, 7223/52, 12456/52 and 12919/52 in T1/5737A/12919.

(2) PC7/6, p.84.

(3) 23133/44, 27 Nov. 1844 (missing); T9/4, p.94, 11 Dec. 1844.

May 1847 quoted by Smith. Smith himself took the first of these, of 3 May, to be a 'plea for the reconstruction of the Education Department' which he implied was refused, and instead 'temporary help was provided'. Nancy Ball followed, and slightly extended, Smith, writing 'Kay-Shuttleworth appealed to Lansdowne for an entire reorganization of the Department as a separate unit, but was refused.' Johnson accepted the same sequence, elaborating it considerably, and emphasizing the Treasury's uncooperativeness. He saw Kay Shuttleworth as having produced a scheme after 3 May which was turned down by Trevelyan and Wood. The final arrangement was an alternative 'Treasury scheme'.(1)

Johnson's account is implausible for various reasons. It requires a desire and ability on the part of the Treasury to interfere in the affairs of another department, 'and a special animus against the Education Department, for which he offers no evidence; and a very odd time sequence. Most simply, though, along with Smith and Ball, he ignores clues in what Kay Shuttleworth actually wrote to Lansdowne.

It must have been clear long before May that if the Minutes of 1846 were to come into operation there would need to be extra staff. It is natural to suppose that the need would have been the subject of discussion between Kay Shuttleworth and Lansdowne in March or April, and would not have emerged de novo in a somewhat impassioned letter. And indeed in that letter Kay Shuttleworth more or less implied that discussions had taken place, for he referred to 'the prospect of an immediate increase in the staff of the Council Office'. That he

(1) Smith, pp.213,214; Ball, Inspectorate, p.197; Johnson, 'Education Department', pp.310-313.

referred to this prospect at all, and that it was as something separate from the subject of the letter, reinforces the obvious interpretation, which Johnson notes, that what Kay Shuttleworth was writing about was not increases in staff or the reorganization of the office, but his own position.

The second letter Smith quotes gives a further clue. This is the one in which Kay Shuttleworth asked for the support of officers 'whose principles are in perfect harmony with the Committee of Council and have zeal and a peculiar fitness for their duties'. This description applies so well to the examiners that it becomes reasonable to adopt the simplest assumption that not only was a scheme for extra staff drafted before May, but that in terms of personnel it was the same as the one finally adopted.

The problem was how to maintain an expanded Education Department within the framework of the Privy Council establishment. Apparently Kay Shuttleworth's scheme involved some sort of enlargement of the latter, and most plausibly it was this prospect that renewed his feeling that his official position should be altered, and led to his letter to Lansdowne of 3 May; and the same prospect which made the scheme disagreeable to the Treasury. This is the straightforward interpretation of Trevelyan's criticism that 'it will not do at all for its avowed purpose and that it considerably deranges the whole order of things in the Privy Council establishment, without making a good one even in the Education Branch.'⁽¹⁾ It also makes sense of the otherwise slightly odd business of Merrifield and Hickson's being

(1) Russell Papers, PR030/22/6C, ff.330-31, Wood to Russell, 24 May 1847.

promised promotion to the establishment when a place became available, if their original offer had been to a place on the establishment immediately.

The Education Supply Vote, and thus the Minutes, were passed on 23 April. Apparently Trevelyan looked at the proposed Education Department scheme on 7 May.(1) Wood conveyed Trevelyan's disapproval to Russell on 24 May. Lansdowne's letter to Russell which Johnson dates at c.20 May makes much better sense if referred to Wednesday 26 May, as a response to what Russell had presumably transmitted to him of the Treasury view. Lansdowne would either go ahead with Kay Shuttleworth's scheme, or accept what Wood and Trevelyan devised in its stead.(2) His urgency at this date is understandable. According to Lingen's subsequent recollection his service as examiner was 'entirely continuous' with his service on the Welsh Inquiry. Now he was paid for the latter up to the end of May.(3) The implication is thus that he started as an examiner on 1 June. In this case Lansdowne's position as May drew to a close was that the scheme he had agreed with Kay Shuttleworth had been with the Treasury for getting on for a month, and had just received blanket disapproval, while one of the key men who would be employed under it was all fixed up to start work. The Treasury answer was to accept the scheme as 'extra assistance out of Kay Shuttleworth's £100 000, and take time

(1) This is the date on which, according to pencil notes in the T3(skeleton) register beside 23133/44 and 65/45, Trevelyan looked at previous documents relating to the Privy Council establishment.
(2) Russell Papers, PRO30/22/6D, ff.12-13, Lansdowne to Russell, 'Wednesday afternoon'; Johnson, 'Education Department', p.311, n.2.
(3) 2822/57 in T1/6054B/2822; 27590/47 in T1/5314/27590.

to determine what the future establishment should be.'(1)

The story of 1847 is therefore not that the Treasury refused to reorganize the Department, far less that it refused staff increases, but that it refused to incorporate an ad hoc scheme into the Privy Council establishment and so preempt a proper reorganization. Again in 1849, again in 1852, and finally successfully in 1853, the Treasury pressed more or less strongly for reorganization. It is easy to see why in 1847 Trevelyan should have drawn back. Reorganizing the Privy Council establishment was not something to be undertaken lightly, since it meant interfering with the longstanding expectations of the clerks already on the ladder, and possibly creating further expectations which might in the future prove an embarrassment. In 1847 it would have been foolhardy to undertake disruption for the sake of an annual grant scheme of which the future was quite uncertain.

The scheme as approved looked muddled on paper, but this did not mean that it did not work in practice. Lingen's proposals in March 1849 had the effect of making it slightly tidier, so that apart from the statist and two assistants, all clerks were paid from the Privy Council grant, but left the basic structure unchanged. The net effect was an increase in 12 or 13 in the total number of clerks permanently employed, to which the Treasury agreed without hesitation, John Parker only asking rather wistfully whether 'that part of the Council Office Establishment which is employed for the purpose of education should be separately organized under the

(1)loc.cit., Wood to Russell, 24 May 1847.

immediate superintendence of the assistant secretary'.(1)

The attitude of the Treasury in 1847, and the evidence of the correspondence that by March 1849, 16 or so copyists were being employed on a regular basis, provides a context for reexamining the irresistibly attractive quotation from Kay Shuttleworth recorded by Smith - what Johnson called 'the mass collapse of education staff in November 1848', and saw as the climax of the Treasury's unwillingness to allow enough staff, and which, in similar vein, Hurt described as the consequence of 'Treasury parsimony'.(2)

There seems little doubt that in the summer and autumn of 1848 Lingen and Kay Shuttleworth were not getting on. Lingen was not only concerned that his appointment should be made permanent but, since April when Armitage had gone on sick leave, had been doing the chief examiner's job at the second examiner's salary. It seems that Kay Shuttleworth may not have been altogether willing to recognize Lingen's claims as a result of this. On 4 July he wrote to the Treasury asking that Lingen's salary be put up to £500 from 30 June. Three days later he wrote again, asking that the increase be backdated one quarter. One must wonder why two letters were necessary, unless the second was the result of renewed and more forcible representations by Lingen against Kay Shuttleworth's original view. It was in about July that Jowett heard Lingen

(1)9004/49 in T1/5479/15764; T9/9, p.365, Parker to Greville, 25 April 1849.

(2)Smith, p.215; Johnson, 'Education Department', pp.273, 335; Hurt, p.160.

'attacking Shuttleworth in very vigorous English'.(1) So when in November Lingen was described as leaving the office 'in a state of great nervous exhaustion' it sounds more like the result of a row than ill health. Armitage, 'the victim of chronic congestion of the brain', had not been seen in the office since April or earlier. This leaves Harrison, whose health was never particularly good, and in this case had 'a very sudden attack of congestion of the brain'. Kay Shuttleworth's case was just that, his own. The quotation does not need to signify anything beyond the normal ill health of government employees, and certainly does not justify inferences about the Treasury which are so inconsistent with the Treasury's revealed actions.

In 1850 the third examiner was sanctioned, and in 1851 another supplemental clerk. By December 1851 when Lingen applied for the fourth examiner the work of the education staff was well established and their continued place was secure. It seems that Trevelyan's thoughts turned once again towards reorganization, with a prior Treasury Committee of Inquiry, before the change of government, since when Derby took office Lingen's request had already been awaiting a response for eight weeks. Hamilton's reference to the proposed committee suggests that he approved (see above p.202); but in the event nothing came of it until Gladstone's entry to the Treasury. Trevelyan wrote proposing the inquiry to Greville on 3 February 1853, and Greville replied nominating himself and Lingen to serve with

(1)14871/48 and 15070/48 in T1/5413/24770; Hutton MSS, Jowett to Lingen, [18 July 1849], in which the incident is referred to 'About a year ago' (quoted in Johnson, 'Education Department', p.329).

Trevelyan and Northcote.(1)

In terms of the make-up of the Department and who did what the Committee of Inquiry made more difference on paper than it did in practice, much as the failure to reorganize in 1847 had been less significant in practice than it looked in theory. It did not lead to the appointment of more examiners, and with the flexibility given by the employment of copyists it is impossible to say what effect it had on the total lower clerical strength. But apart from tidying things up and raising Lingen's status, it established a principle crucial to the Department's growth. The original report of August 1853 did not specify how many examiners or assistant clerks there should be. In this rather open-ended state it was formally submitted to Gladstone in November. Gladstone included among his comments, 'I think that the expansion proposed for the Education Department ought not all to take effect in anticipation of increase of work but should be regulated and applied as that increase comes on'.(2) The consequence of this was not, perhaps, what Gladstone intended. It was not to restrict the increase in the Education Department staff but, for the first time, to establish the principle that such an increase should automatically follow an increase in the work. So from now on all Lingen had to assert when asking for more staff was that there had been an increase in the work and appeal to the 1853 report; and who could doubt that the work was always increasing? Thus the report very quickly became Lingen's chief lever, both for new appointments and for promotions.

(1) T9/10, p.45; 4810/53 in T1/5845A/25361, 10 Feb. 1853.

(2) 17667/53 in T1/5842A/24894, Gladstone to Trevelyan, 19 Nov. 1853.

There is an impression given by the Treasury files that at least from 1853 Lingen and Trevelyan developed a cordial and effective relationship. In that context it is hard not to suspect in this letter from Lingen, which demonstrates his technique, an element of levity:

Sir,

I am requested by the Lord President to request that you will advert to the passage marked A at page 232 of the enclosed Report by the Commissioners of Inquiry on the Establishment of the Education Committee of the Privy Council.

His Lordship desires me to state that the growth of business imperatively requires the services of an additional Examiner.

In pursuance of the passage marked B in the same page, the Lord President intends to promote Mr Merrifield, on account of merit, and without reference to the fact that he happens to be the senior Clerk of those left simply in the intermediate Class, to the rank of Examiner.

Mr Merrifield has been employed in the Office since 1847, and, during the whole of that period, he has discharged his duty (often of a kind requiring much administrative ability) to the satisfaction of the Officers under whom he has served.

In addition to his work in the Office, Mr Merrifield has, by private study, qualified himself to act as an Examiner. In Mathematics, especially, he is reported by competent judges to have given evidence of high powers and attainments.

Mr Merrifield's promotion will be in accordance with the passage marked D in page 234, and some of the official arrangements connected with it may tend to facilitate the accomplishment of the recommendation marked C in page 231 ...
(1)

Between the 1854 reorganization and 1859, Lister-Kaye died, Harrison resumed his Privy Council place, and Chester and Boothby retired on grounds of ill health (see below Appendix F). Of these only Lister-Kaye was replaced, by Palgrave from Kneller Hall. Not

(1)4314/55 in T1/5963A/18866, Lingen to Trevelyan, 12 March 1855.

until 1859 did Lingen begin again to ask for new men on the upper establishment. In the meantime the lower establishment continued to grow rapidly. The Treasury raised no objection until April 1859, when Lingen sought to raise the number from 48 to 52. At this time the whole position of assistant clerks, copyists, and the division between intellectual and mechanical work, was under consideration. Arbuthnot's view on the Education Department's proposal was that copying was best done by copyists 'who have no aspiration beyond copying'. In the event Northcote, now Financial Secretary, approved the proposal in principle, but suggested it should wait on the report of the forthcoming Treasury committee (see below Appendix H).(1)

The correspondence between the Education Department and the Treasury on staffing issues after 1853 reveals once again that the Department did not feel itself restricted by the need for Treasury sanction. By August 1855 the agreed number of assistant clerks was 34. When on 2 February 1857 Lingen proposed new salary scales for them he gave the current number as 37. It was immediately after this that sanction was sought to increase the number from 34 to 39. The same sort of timing characterized the appointment of the clerks after the competition in September. Sanction for the increase was sought on 25 September. The clerks had actually been certificated on 15 September, and entered for the examination in August.(2)

In May 1856 the Treasury agreed to the temporary employment of Edward Poste in place of Clough, while the latter was fully occupied

(1) 6550/59 in T1/6191A/10922. The story of the Treasury Committee is traced in Wright, pp.117-123.
(2) 2051/57, 3022/57, and 15281/57 in T1/6082A/15282; Granville Papers, PRO30/29/23/10, pp.499-512. See also Appendix H.

as secretary of 'the Commission appointed to consider the best method of reorganizing the training of Officers of the Scientific Corps'. Trevelyan stipulated that Poste's appointment should not extend beyond the second week in July. Lingen got in touch with the Treasury again on Wednesday 27 August. Poste was to be employed up to 31 August, and was leaving the country, so could he please be paid not later than the following Monday?(1)

Up until 1849 the series of Treasury Board Papers is more or less complete. From 1850 there is fairly heavy weeding but, as is clear from the entries in the T3 registers, not of files relating to the office staff (see Appendix E). The first twenty years of the existence of the Education Department coincided almost exactly with Trevelyan's time as Assistant Secretary and thus permanent head of the Treasury, and its first period of rapid growth with Trevelyan's increasing commitment to civil service reform. What the Treasury papers cumulatively show is that the thrust of the Treasury response to Education Department proposals for more staff was not restrictive. It only began to take a serious in 1847, and for the next six years its aim, finally realized as a result of the 1853 Committee of Inquiry, was to have the Education Department reorganized on a rational basis, and in particular according to the model favoured by Trevelyan and Northcote.

(1)8022/56 and 14271/56 in T1/6048A/20841.

4.2 ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENDITURE

4.2.1 Salary increases and supplements

Occasionally the Treasury disallowed salary increases to existing employees of the Education Department; but for the most part increases were sanctioned with minor if any amendments. For example, when Kay Shuttleworth asked for increases in the supplements paid to Chester, Harrison and Bayly in June 1847, to be backdated to the previous October, the Treasury allowed them only from the previous April.(1)

The Council Office clerks who received Education Grant supplements formed the senior staff of the Department. Chester and Harrison were at the top of their Council Office scales when they first received the supplement, and Bayly reached the top of his within three years. So increases in their salaries for most of the period up to 1853 meant increases in the supplements, which were granted at irregular intervals. Kay Shuttleworth expressed dissatisfaction with their pay at the end of 1845,(2) when the effect of the supplements was equivalent to raising Chester and Harrison about one rung and Bayly about two rungs up the Council Office ladder. No application for increases in the supplements reached the Treasury at that time. Perhaps either the lack of cordiality between Kay Shuttleworth and Buccleuch, then Lord President, deterred the assistant secretary from

(1)T27/142, p.507, Trevelyan to Kay Shuttleworth, 1 July 1847.

(2)'Present Condition', p.11.

making a specific request, or Buccleuch turned it down.(1) In any event the supplements were not adjusted until June 1847.

This episode aside, the Council Office clerks fared reasonably well. In eleven years Chester's salary rose from £450 to £800, Harrison's from £350 to £600, and Bayly's from £170 to £450. The average annual increments these increases represent, in the range £20-30, were more than were subsequently fixed on for the examiners, roughly equivalent in status, if less than for the assistant secretaries. Boothby, first getting a supplement in 1849 when he was still rising up the Council Office scale, did relatively even better, his salary increasing from £170 to £350 in three years. By 1852 Chester and Harrison were the equivalent of more than two rungs higher on the Council Office ladder, and Bayly and Boothby something like three. Between 1839 and 1856 there was no death or retirement to allow promotion within the Council Office establishment. The expansion of the Education Department opened an avenue for advancement and useful activity to clerks who would otherwise have lingered on underemployed and poorly paid - in 1856 De Bary's salary was still £267.10s,(2) and he was senior to both Bayly and Boothby. As it was, their salaries advanced, taking the period as a whole, at a very decent pace, and with Treasury blessing.

(1)Evidence of this lack of cordiality is (a) a letter to Buccleuch from Lord John Thynne of 8 Jan. 1848 in which he wrote, 'I know you had no confidence in your Secretary at the Council Office' (Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/511/22/4); (b) the frostiness of the tone of a letter from Buccleuch to Kay Shuttleworth just as he was leaving office (Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/511/18/4, Buccleuch to Kay Shuttleworth, 6 July 1846 [copy];) (c) the fact that Kay Shuttleworth appears to have 'written Buccleuch out' of the 1846 Minutes. In addition there was a particular conflict early in 1846 over Kay Shuttleworth's unauthorized circulation of 'Present Condition' (Johnson, 'Education Department', pp.197-199). (2)PC1/2649, double sheet docketed 'C.O. Establishment'.

The Education Grant supplements accentuated the hierarchy in the Council Office establishment. The cumulative effect of increases allowed to the supplemental clerks (who had of course no claim to an incremental scale) was to create a similar hierarchy. As with appointments, salary increases seem before 1845 to have been given on the Lord President's authority alone. Subsequently the Treasury's sanction was sought and given without question.

The copyists who were promoted in 1849 were to be paid £100 a year except for one, Younger, who 'on special grounds was to receive £130'. Younger's previous pay, like that of Green, was quoted as £2.2s a week rather than 1/- an hour, suggesting that these two had already achieved semi-permanent status, and they were two of the clerks whose annual salary started from 5 April. In the event not only did Younger start at £130 but MacKenzie started at £115 and Perkins at £110. In the original scheme it was also proposed that Tilleard should go up to £130, and Lingen wrote to the Treasury making this request formally on 20 July. He enclosed a private note in support, describing Tilleard as 'one of the most hardworking and meritorious of Her Majesty's servants'.(1)

So far the Treasury had agreed to an arrangement whereby these clerks were as a rule paid £100 with an exception made for special cases. However when Tilleard moved to Kneller Hall at the beginning of 1850 his replacement, Goodall was given £110 straight away with the promise of £130 after a year. At the end of the same year Lingen proposed that Green's salary should increase to £110 in the current

(1)15764/49 in T1/5479/15764.

year, £120 in the following and £130 in 1852. The suggestion seemed to be that as register keeper Green had special responsibilities.(1)

A year later it was the turn of Perkins. But now, consciously or unconsciously building on what had been achieved, Lingen changed the ground of the application. It was not that on account of special merit Perkins should be an exception to the general rule, but that after the proposed increase his salary would 'simply be placed upon a level with that allowed to several other clerks in the same office whose duties are of an equally responsible character'.(2) In effect the Treasury was being led into the acceptance of the differentiation of the supplemental clerks into ad hoc grades. The situation in 1852 is shown in Table IX, which also shows the details of the scales established in 1853 and revised in 1857. It can be seen how the division into classes effected in 1853 formalized a situation which had already evolved.

The 1853 scheme was laid down with reference to comparable offices, particularly the Board of Trade (see above pp.137-8). While lowering the starting salaries of new clerks it gave them all the certainty of rising to £130, without the need for special merit or special responsibility, and considerably broadened the prospect for higher promotion. Lingen and Trevelyan agreed a lower establishment of 23 of which 12 could be in the upper classes. As can be seen, Lingen did not promote to anything like this extent. Nonetheless the higher scales sanctioned in 1857 continued in the same direction.

The general tendency of the changes in 1853 and 1857 was to ensure

(1)6215/50 and 24224/50 in T1/5609/24224.

(2)25684/51 in T1/5714B/25684, 23 Dec. 1851.

	year of appt.	salary 1852	scale 1854	max. allowed initially	employed 1857	scale 1857	max. allowed initially	proposed 1857
Hutchinson	1839	250						
Joyner	early 1840s	150	180-250	5	4	250-300	6	4
Mackenzie	1859	150						
Younger	1849	130						
Perkins	1849	130						
Goodall	1850	130	130-180	7	3	150-250	12	8
Green	1849	120						
Summerford	1849	100						
Hunt	"							
Clarke	"							
Withers	"							
Moyles	"		80-180	11	30	100-150	21	25
Moore	"							
Marks	"							
Broad	"							
Pratten	"							
Saunders	"							
Price	1851	100						

TABLE IX: Salaries of assistant clerks 1852-57 (£).

SOURCE: 4737/52 in T1/5737A/12919 and 2051/57 in T1/6082A/15282.

that as the number of assistant clerks increased, the length of the salary scales and the opportunities for promotion to a higher scale increased pari passu, so that the differentiation and hierarchy among the clerks was maintained.

Against the background of general Treasury approval of what the Education Department proposed, the occasions on which an objection was raised seem few and understandable. In the unsettled period following the report of 1853 Greville requested that Harrison be paid an extra £100 a year as an inducement to him to stay, and for as long as he did stay, in the Education Department. With the balance of advantage to him not being clear, this might have been sufficient to

tip it decisively. Not unexpectedly Trevelyan declined to sanction the increase, contenting himself with pointing out that at £600 Harrison had been receiving the equivalent of the top of the examiners' scale for almost two years already.(1)

In 1860 Lingen asked for an increase from £200 to £300 in the maximum for Hickson and Wardrop. They were being overtaken by the assistant clerks in both salaries and duties. The latter consisted of no more than 'copying and of drafting from notes more or less full'. But when Arbuthnot and Hamilton, who dealt with it, had ascertained this, they were strict, and refused the request.(2)

The most interesting cases of increases not being allowed by the Treasury were those of Lumley, the counsel, and Westmacott, the architect or architectural clerk. Since Lumley worked full-time for the Poor Law Commission (later Board) he was certainly only part-time in the Education Office. He started in 1840 at £200, and this was raised to £300 in 1844 after Kay Shuttleworth had written to the Treasury. In 1856 Lumley asked for another £100, in view of the increase in the work, and Lingen conveyed the request to Trevelyan. Trevelyan commented disapprovingly on Lumley's holding two appointments at once; and thought that since he was getting £1200 from the Poor Law Board, his combined salary of £1500 from the two offices was enough it was of course at this point £300 more than Lingen. Lumley tried again in 1860 and this time was successful, perhaps because Lingen affirmed that Lumley's 'duties to the Committee of Council are performed wholly within his own private

(1)24894/53 in T1/5842A/24894, 15 Dec. 1853.

(2)20075/60 in T1/6283A/20075; 1877/61 in T1/6325B/16928.

time, after attendance daily during full official hours at the Poor Law Board'. This may have been the crucial point which could not be affirmed before because it was not true before.(1)

It could not be said that Lumley was hard done by. At first sight it might seem that Westmacott was. Appointed at £140 he rose to £200 in 1845 but was refused an increase to £250 in 1850.(2) The evidence that Westmacott was part-time too relates to his successor, Hawkins. When the latter was absent for two months in 1858 a temporary replacement was only to be employed for four hours, three times a week, and be paid £4 a week. The range £200 to £300 a year, if it was for working for only a third time or so, gives a respectable full-time equivalent.(3)

There was a further consideration in Westmacott's case. His status as an architect seems to have been in doubt. He was appointed as 'Architectural Clerk', and subsequently described as 'architect' up to 1849, when he is 'W. Westmacott Esq. Architect'. However in 1852 he was 'Mr Westmacott', the title ascribing to him the status of a supplemental clerk, and was called the 'architectural draughtsman'. (4) The implication of this was reinforced by a comment in the 1853 report. After describing the high qualities and qualifications needed by the Department's architect, the report went on, 'It will be for the Lord President to decide whether the gentleman at present employed possesses the qualifications, for the sake of obtaining

(1) 6149/44 in T1/5017/24657, 19 March 1844; 2891/56 in T1/6048A/20841, 30 Jan. 1856; 1076/60 in T1/6283A/20075, 17 Jan. 1856.

(2) T9/9, p.94, Trevelyan to Kay Shuttleworth, 11 Dec. 1844; 16057/50 in T1/5609/24224, Lingen to the Treasury, 5 Aug. 1850.

(3) 15699/58 in T1/6138B/15699, Chester to Trevelyan, 10 Sept. 1858.

(4) PC4/19, pp.176, 446; 4737/52 in T1/5737A/12919.

which it is proposed to raise the salary of the Office, [to £300 to £500] or whether a new appointment should be made. Should the latter course be preferred, it would be right that the present holder should be compensated for the loss which he would sustain by the alteration of the Office'.(1) In the event the 'latter course' was preferred and Westmacott resigned. Following what they had written in the report, Lingen and Trevelyan were sympathetic. The difficulty was in giving a man a pension who had worked only for twelve years part time. Trevelyan wrote privately to Lingen, 'I will do all I possibly can for Mr Westmacott, but a pension equal to 3/4 of the Salary after 12 years service cannot be allowed under any [indecipherable]'. By stretching the rules he managed 2/3, or £133.6s.8d.(2)

Finally, the episode of Westmacott's resignation offers further slight support to his tentative identification. Richard Westmacott's thirteenth child was born in 1784. William, the youngest, was sufficiently under age when his father died in 1808 for his upbringing to be provided for in his father's will. Still, by 1853 he could well have reached sixty, which would make the pension something like a retirement pension and the whole business more understandable. Again, among Richard's sons there seems to have been a social range. Sir Richard, the most successful, was a gentleman artist. Others of them may have been more like non-gentleman craftsmen.(3) This might tie in with William's (if it was he)

(1)PP1854, XXVII, 268.

(2)C.E. Trevelyan Papers, CET18, vol.32, p.279, Trevelyan to Lingen, 4 Feb. 1854; T9/10, p.138, 18 Feb. 1854.

(3)H.M. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 (1978), p.880; R. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851 (1953).

apparently uncertain social status in the Education Department.

Lastly, his successor was son of Edward Hawkins, Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum and a member of the same circle as Sir Richard Westmacott. It would be a natural succession.

4.2.2 Office expenditure, gratuities and printing

Beyond grants to schools and salaries, the Education Department had its ordinary running costs and periodical miscellaneous expenses, which latter needed individual Treasury approval before they could be met by the Paymaster General. In many of these expenses there was a hint, or more than a hint, of Kay Shuttleworth's private schemes, but approval was never withheld. The oddest case was in 1844 when John Parker as printer of the Minutes for 1842-43 was sued for libel on the basis of John Allen's report on Lichfield Free School. The defence was undertaken, at Kay Shuttleworth's request, by the Treasury solicitor and, the case being lost, the Treasury agreed to pay Parker's damages of £2 and costs of £133.5s.(1)

One subject however became and remained a matter of dispute, and that was the printing of the Minutes themselves. It was first raised by the Treasury in 1848. Trevelyan asked J.R. McCulloch, the economist, who was Comptroller of the Stationery Office, for a report on the expenses of the various departments. McCulloch was enthusiastic for economies, and pointed particularly at the gratuitous distribution of annual reports. His figures showed that

(1) Minutes 1842-43, p.39; 10600/44 in T1/5086/19010 (no connection with John Parker M.P., Financial Secretary to the Treasury).

the Education Department's 1846 Minutes had cost £2718, more than half the year's total for such reports of £5266. But Trevelyan and McCulloch did not gather much political support, and the matter rested. Cornwall Lewis, then under-secretary at the Home Office, commented that the Minutes 'would certainly be more read if the volumes were less thick. Probably however all the documents inserted are considered useful and important.' The relevant portions of McCulloch's letter were simply sent to the Committee of Council 'with a request that they will cooperate with [the Treasury] in reducing this branch of the public Expenditure within the narrowest possible limits'.(1)

The question arose again at the end of 1852 when Chester made his annual request to the Stationery Office for the Minutes printing. Instead of just going ahead, McCulloch sent a copy of Chester's letter to Trevelyan, quoted the cost, £2123, of the proposed printing, referred to his own report of 1848, and argued strongly that continued free distribution was an extravagance. Trevelyan wrote in similar terms to Lingen (but implying that the initiative had come from the Treasury rather than the Stationery Office). Lingen protested vigorously, assuring Trevelyan that the recipients of the free copies valued them highly, and promising that every possible economy would be made. Accordingly, the printing was allowed for a year, but would then be reconsidered. Thereafter for the next few years the printing went ahead with Lingen each year

(1)23285/48 in T1/5405/23285, McCulloch to Trevelyan, 31 Oct. 1848 and enclosures.

stressing the (genuine) economies he was making.(1)

It is tempting to relate McCulloch's move at the end of 1852 to the appointment of Gladstone as Chancellor. Certainly Gladstone and McCulloch were in touch at some stage, for Gladstone referred on 3 February 1853 to 'a Report of the Comptroller of the Stationery Office, relative to the charges for Parliamentary Printing and to a Printed Memorandum which he prepared at my request'.(2) Chester wrote to McCulloch on 3 December 1852, but McCulloch's letter to Trevelyan was not until 14 January. It seems likely that either this letter was the outcome of prior contact between McCulloch and Gladstone, and the printing of the Minutes one of the subjects treated in the report Gladstone referred to on 3 February; or, alternatively, that McCulloch was encouraged simply by Gladstone's presence to bring the matter up, and Gladstone's wider interest was engaged as a result. What is clear is that, as in 1848, it was not within the power of the departmental Treasury to bring the change about. When free distribution was stopped in 1858, it was by the political will of Adderley acting as Vice President.

Gratuities were payments to men who had performed duties extra to their normal ones, sometimes in office hours, sometimes in their own time. They were not requested often, and were not refused, but the Treasury did not like them. In 1847, when the affairs of the Welsh Inquiry were being wound up, Kay Shuttleworth asked for a gratuity of £70 for Bayly, who had acted as the Inquiry's accountant, presumably

(1) 1060/53 and 1440/53 in T1/5842A/24894, McCulloch to Trevelyan, 14 Jan. 1853 and enclosures; Lingen to Trevelyan, 19 Jan. 1853.

(2) Gladstone Papers, ADD44528, f.90, Gladstone to the Speaker, 3 Feb. 1853.

in office hours. This was granted without question. A year later £50 was asked for for Rapley, a clerk in the Stationery Office who had helped set up the Education Department's schoolbook scheme, apparently a comparable case. The response was less favourable: although 'My Lords will not on this occasion refuse their sanction', it was not to be regarded as a precedent.(1) The next case was a bit different. Moseley had been commissioned to buy samples of scientific apparatus. This would presumably be in his own time, although with an inspector the distinction was not so clear cut. Anyhow, a £100 gratuity to him in 1853 was agreed without demur. The last case was of a clerk who had prepared an index to the Minutes in his spare time. James Wilson, as Financial Secretary, agreed to a gratuity of £40 for him, only complaining that prior sanction had not been sought.(2) Perhaps the absence of requests for gratuities for employees who had simply done unusual work in office hours, after Rapley's in 1848, means that the Treasury succeeded in holding the position it had then taken up.

4.3 FINANCIAL PROCEDURES

Of necessity the Treasury stood in a direct relation to the procedures whereby grants were paid to schools and other Education Department expenditure was effected, since at the beginning directions for all payments went to the Paymaster General via the

Treasury. From 1845 to 1857 the Department was by successive steps

(1) 27590/47 in T1/5314/27590, 30 Nov. 1847; 20112/48 in T1/5394/20112, 5 Sept. 1848.

(2) 6239/53 in T1/5814A/18507, 23 March 1853; 19148/56 in T1/6046A/20841, 26 Nov. 1856.

emancipated from this close oversight.

Emancipation took three forms. On a temporary basis a clerk in the Education Department could be appointed sub-accountant, as Bayly was for the Welsh Inquiry in 1846. The Treasury authorized the Paymaster to pay money to Bayly personally. Bayly banked it and then paid the expenses of the Inquiry on his own signature, accounting subsequently for all his transactions. Secondly, starting in 1845, small grants were paid not directly by the Paymaster, but by the Post Office in the form of Post Office money orders. These were made out on the direct application of the Education Department to the Post Office, and a quarterly list of orders applied for was submitted to the Treasury. The Treasury then authorized the Paymaster to reimburse the Post Office for the whole amount. Thirdly and most completely the Treasury could allow the Education Department to request payments directly from the Paymaster.

The first step was that of August 1845 when, following consultation with the Post Office, the Treasury allowed grants of less than £20 to be paid by money order. Following this, in March 1848, pupil-teacher stipends and teacher salary augmentations, the bulk of which were less than £20, were allowed to be paid according to the same procedure.⁽¹⁾ In August 1853 Chester asked if inspectors's expenses could be paid on direct application by the Education Department to the Paymaster, and this was sanctioned, and allowed similarly for building grants in February 1855. Finally in February 1857 Lingen requested that prior Treasury scrutiny should

(1) 17390/45 and 19016/45 in T1/5086/19016; 7173/48 in T1/5405/23431.

cease on all payments from the Department, which the Treasury agreed to the next month after Foster and Williams had reported on the Department's accounting methods (see below pp.233-5) and, as one of their recommendations, had supported Lingen's request.(1)

While on the broad progress of emancipation the Treasury was cooperative, on some details it hesitated. Post Office money orders could not be issued in amounts greater than £5, so a payment of £17 for example was made in three orders of £5 and one of £2. In his time as head of the Department, Lingen seems quite quickly to have developed something of an obsession with these money orders and the complications they entailed, and drew attention to the procedure at every possible opportunity. They were considered by the 1853 committee, which recommended that, after all, the payments be made by the Paymaster by cheque.(2) Lingen strongly disapproved of this suggestion, stressing the difficulties it would present to individual teachers and pupil teachers in country places. Instead, he requested in March 1854, at least as a palliative, that the £5 limit be raised to £30.

The request was turned down, but Lingen did not leave it at that, and his reaction shows what sort of unofficial communication at least could take place. He wrote on unheaded paper to Trevelyan on 24 March:

My dear Sir Charles,

Among the papers before you and Northcote, please to treat this one as official ...

(1)18049/53 in T1/5814A/18507; 3385/55 in T1/5980A/20562; 3470/57 in T1/6099A/19336.

(2)PP1854, XXVII, 272.

You will remember the Treasury letter refusing to sanction [£30 orders], which I brought you back and which remains non avenue ...

Lingen was taking the matter of money orders to be part of the working out of the details of the reorganization of 1853/54 which he was at the time engaged on with Trevelyan, and which seems to have brought the two men close. It must surely have been exceptional under any circumstances though, for Lingen physically to bring back an official Treasury letter and expect to have it as it were unwritten.(1) Non avenue or not, and despite Lingen's private notes referring to his discussions with the Post Office, the decision remained unchanged until, again, Foster and Williams's report of 1857, which also recommended that the limit be raised.

On a somewhat different matter the Treasury followed a similar course of first refusing and then after a few years allowing a simplification of procedure. In 1839 the Education Department had been allowed free postage for its outgoing mail, but this meant that each envelope or wrapper had to bear the signature of Kay Shuttleworth or his authorized substitute. In September 1848 Kay Shuttleworth wrote to Trevelyan to ask if instead of the actual signature, at this time Harrison's, a facsimile stamp might be used. The request is understandable, particularly when it came to tasks like the annual dispatch of the Minutes, involving thousands of wrappers. It was however a bad time for the general disposition of Trevelyan to give the Education Department a free rein, and the request was refused. It was renewed by Lingen in 1855, and this time was

(1) 4857/54 in T1/5906B/26392, Lingen to Wilson, 3 March 1854, and enclosures.

granted, at least for major dispatches.(1)

The on the whole steady progress towards Education Department independence in the area of payment procedures suffered one major interruption, in 1848, in relation to the conversion of Kneller Hall. The original Minute of August 1846 had set aside £20 000 for the scheme. Kay Shuttleworth put £13 000 in the estimate for 1847-48, and in the summer negotiated the purchase of Whitton Estate for £10 500.(2) In September an arrangement was agreed with the Treasury that Harrison would act as sub-accountant in the same way as Bayly had for the Welsh Inquiry. Allowing initially for the purchase price, to which had to be added some interest, the Treasury authorized £12 000. During the winter and spring Harrison, via Kay Shuttleworth, called in the balance in amounts ranging from £40 to £240, all of which were approved by John Parker, the Financial Secretary. On 17 June 1848 the request was for £1000, as the first instalment of £17 336 for 'alterations and enlargements', and Parker minuted 'My Lords will be prepared to pay such sums as may from time to time be required for the alteration alluded to'.(3)

Parker was a member of the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure, and had heard Kay Shuttleworth's evidence on the 16th. Following his established pattern the chairman, Vernon Smith, had taken the items in the education estimate in turn. The one apparently relating to Kneller Hall was £7000, 'For erection of pauper and penal schools, and furnishing and completion of contract

(1) T9/8, p.222, 29 Aug. 1839; 19684/48 in T1/5391/19684, 4 Sept. 1848; 5598/55 in T1/5963A/18866, 2 April 1855.

(2) PP1847, XXXV, 331; 19680/47 in T1/5313/27240.

(3) 2832/48, 7429/48 and 13473/48 in T1/5422/26206.

of normal school'. It looked as though £7000 was what remained of the original £20 000 after the previous year's £13 000 had been taken off. However it turned out that a later item, £10 000 for 'The erection of normal schools' was also for Kneller Hall. Immediately afterwards Kay Shuttleworth explained a discrepancy in the balance in hand between £10 000 and £5749 as a 'clerical error', and became very evasive when pressed as to the accuracy of his estimate. Finally he revealed that even the extra £10 000 would not be sufficient for Kneller Hall, and that the true figure was £17 000, the amount quoted in his letter to the Treasury of the following day. However, the Department would be able to absorb the extra £7000.(1)

The Committee was obviously impressed by Kay Shuttleworth's evidence, and drew attention to Kneller Hall and its likely expense in its report. But the question cannot have seemed one of great concern to Parker. He did not ask Kay Shuttleworth anything when he had the opportunity, and gave the request of the following day his immediate assent, even though the projected expenditure of £17 336 took the total cost of the project far beyond the £20 000 originally proposed, and Kay Shuttleworth's answers had shown that the estimating and accounting procedures of the Education Department were distinctly odd.

Trevelyan, however, intervened. On the 22nd he wrote to Kay Shuttleworth to inquire what the auditing procedures in the Education Department were, and the outcome was an official letter of the 27th altering the procedure for paying for Kneller Hall. In future

(1)PP1847-48, XVIII, 1, qq.6148, 6189, 6193, 6197, 6221, 6222.

payments would be made directly by the Treasury to the payee at the request of the Education Department, 'without the intervention of any sub-accountant', and the operations should be under the superintendence of the Office of Works.(1) Kay Shuttleworth replied at once and with some indignation pointing out that Bayly's earlier role as sub-accountant had been requested by the Treasury itself, and that the present arrangement with Harrison had had the Treasury's approval. As regards the Office of Works they had been asked to give assistance, but had refused. Accordingly, Trevelyan enlisted the Office of Works himself. He did not move from his main position, but allowed Harrison to continue in his role for small payments and, to ensure that the new system worked, dealt with all Kneller Hall payments himself for the next few months, handing back to Parker in December.(2)

Kneller Hall was the cause of the most serious conflict between the Education Department and the Treasury, indeed the only serious conflict in the 1840s and 1850s, and it may be noted that it was not a conflict about how much the Education Department should spend, or on what. At no stage was there a suggestion that the Treasury was not willing to sanction the expenditure the Education Department proposed. Trevelyan's move was to secure that what was being spent was being properly accounted for. Even whatever unease he felt about the Department's estimating procedure did not lead to any immediate action. There was however a sort of coda to the affair which can be

(1)C.E. Trevelyan Papers, CET18, vol.21, p.285; 13944/48 in T1/5422/26206; T27/143, p.242.

(2)14278/48, Kay Shuttleworth to Trevelyan, 28 June 1848, and subsequent files in T1/5422/26206.

seen as at least an exploratory exercise by Trevelyan.

Lord Ashley was promoting a scheme for the assisted emigration of boys from ragged schools, £10 to be paid from Colonial Land Revenues for each of 150 boys for their passage to Australia. On 18 July Herman Merivale, assistant under-secretary at the Colonial Office, wrote to Trevelyan proposing the scheme. Trevelyan's response was very curious. He conveyed his approval to Merivale, but suggested that the £1500 come not from the Colonial Land Revenues but from the Education Grant, writing at the same time to Kay Shuttleworth.(1) There is no obvious reason why Trevelyan should have proposed this change unless he wanted to test a bit further the flexibility of the education estimate. After his revelations to the Select Committee of the previous month, Kay Shuttleworth could hardly decline the proposal on the grounds that all the money estimated was accounted for. On the other hand he would not wish to make himself more vulnerable to accusations of financial looseness. As it was he did about the best he could, writing

... though the sum of £1500 proposed to be expended ... was not included in the estimate of the charges to be met by the Education Grant in the current year, yet that he trusts no considerable inconvenience is likely to be experienced from that fact, if the Lords of H.M. Treasury allow this item to influence the amount to be appropriated to Public Education in the year next ensuing.(2)

Whatever interest the Treasury may have had in the Education Department's internal procedures, it had no opportunity to examine them until the end of 1856 when in November a committee was set up to

(1) Hansard, vol.99, cols. 429 ff., 6 June 1848; 16050/48 in T1/5387/18307.

(2) 17087/48 in T1/5387/18307, 3 Aug. 1848.

inquire into the best way of amalgamating the Education Department with the Science and Art Department in accordance with the Order in Council of 28 February 1856; and in December the chief clerk, Lennard, died.

The importance of Lennard's death was that, as was standard practice with the chief clerks of government offices, Lennard acted as permanent sub-accountant for the day-to-day expenditure of the Council Office. In the early 1840s at least this included payment of all official salaries, including that of the Lord President, which meant that Lennard handled thousands of pounds every quarter.(1) Evidently the Council Office was very much his private fief, the organization of which could not be investigated while he was alive. One aspect of this came out in relation to the staff of messengers, who by the report of 1853 were supposed to be in three classes, and common to the Council Office and the Education Department. This recommendation was not put into effect until 1857 when, following a row between some of the messengers and Lingen, it was discovered that three of them had been employed on Lennard's authority alone, without reference to the Lord President, and had been paid by the Office Keeper, presumably out of the 'domestic' office budget.(2)

Lennard died on 18 December 1856. By the 24th Greville was in some alarm, seeing in Lennard's accounts certainly confusion and possibly defalcation. He wrote to Lennard's bank to ask them not to disburse from his private account what might turn out to be public

(1) A remnant of his role, in the form of bank receipts, remains in PC1/2657.

(2) Granville Papers, PRO30/29/23/10, pp.529-536, Lingen to Granville 15 Sept. 1857; PC4/20, p.171, 1 Oct. 1857.

money, and at the same time to the Treasury to come and investigate the situation. The Treasury appointed M.H. Foster. The result of his inquiries was that Lennard had indeed died in the public debt, to the extent of £526.16.1d representing 'Judicial Fees received by him and not carried to account'.(1) There is no record of speculation as to what, if anything, was Lennard's intention.

The Committee of Inquiry into the prospective amalgamation of the Education Department and the Science and Art Department was set up on 28 November, and consisted of Granville, Northcote and Trevelyan. Its report, dated 17 February 1857, included the recommendation that the systems of financial control of the departments should be considered by H.R. Williams of the Board of Trade, who had hitherto looked after the accounts of the Science and Art Department, together with 'one of the officers of the Treasury'.(2) The officer appointed was the same M.H. Foster as before, and the two accountants made their report on 14 March.

His two simultaneous inquiries meant that Foster was authorized to investigate every single aspect of the Education Department's financial methods, internal and external. Although there is no record of his thoughts on the domestic accounting, one may speculate that it at least coloured the report which he and Williams produced, a report which was decidedly critical, and which, with its tone of de haut en bas, Lingen must have found maddening. The days of bizarre estimating and private schemes were long over, but this did

(1) PC7/8, pp.403,404; 20714/56 in T1/6046A/20715; T9/10, p.363, 26 Dec. 1856; 19314/57 in T1/6099A/19314, Greville to James Wilson, 8 Dec. 1857.

(2) 19243/56 in T1/6031A/19438; 2272/57 in T1/6099A/19336.

not deter the accountants. One criticism was that annual-grant payments were in effect authorized by the examiners alone, and others were of the same ilk: criticisms, based on a notion of orthodoxy, of procedures which Lingen knew to be sound, and which the addition of theoretical checks would certainly make more complicated and time consuming, but not obviously more secure. However, the report did support Lingen's requests for larger money orders and an end to all prior Treasury scrutiny of Education Department expenditure.(1)

Lingen's official response to the report came on 26 September. The letter was signed by Cowper, now Vice President, but was obviously drafted by Lingen. Seventeen pages long, its style is unmistakable, and the corrections are in Lingen's hand.(2) He rebutted the criticisms made by Foster and Williams, and gave a detailed account of what went on in the Education Department to show that the financial procedures were sound, and precisely tailored to the Department's needs. The main points at issue were the authorization of grant payments, the form of the Department's account books, and the procedure for collecting money from schools under the schoolbook scheme. On the first the Treasury fairly soon gave way. On the other two Lingen held out for a year or more but finally, after a further report this time by the Audit Office, apparently had to accept at least a modified version of the Treasury's prescriptions.(3)

(1)4508/57 in T1/6099A/19336, report by Foster and Williams.

(2)15509/57 in T1/6099A/19336.

(3)9148/58 and 11536/56 in T1/6128A/11536.

4.4 THE EDUCATION BUDGET

Unlike that for the army and the navy, money for civil purposes including education was not voted for a particular year, and no account had subsequently to be rendered to Parliament of how it had been spent. However, in the early years of the Committee of Council it was the practice to regard each year's vote as a unit, from which sums could be granted until it was used up. Thus it was possible to provide a return in 1840 of how the 1839 vote had been allocated, which showed that sums were still being expressly granted from it into the summer of 1840, and that at that date there remained a balance unallocated.(1)

In the early 1840s the Parliamentary Grant comfortably exceeded the amount being awarded by the Committee of Council, and there was an accumulated reserve unallocated. The very large number of applications in 1843 and 1844 used up this reserve, and by the end of September 1844 had also used up that year's vote of £40 000.

Payments from the Exchequer followed a parallel pattern. Each grant paid was set against the balance of the vote of the year in which the grant had been awarded, or at least the year to which it had originally been referred, so that at any one time the Exchequer held unexpended balances from several different years' votes. As there was a lapse of a year or more between the award of a building grant and its payment, and as some projects fell through altogether, the picture of the Department's finances given by the relation of

(1)PP1840, XL, 1-18.

awards to the annual votes was much more gloomy than that given by the state of the balances in the Exchequer. At the end of 1844, when as far as Kay Shuttleworth was concerned the funds were exhausted, the Exchequer held £18 500 of the 1842 grant, and £32 000 of each of those of 1843 and 1844. A year later there was still £1500 from 1842, £10 000 from 1843, £13 000 from 1844 and all of the £75 000 from 1845; but from the point of view of awards all votes had again been used up.(1)

In 1846 the practice changed. In that year all the longstanding Exchequer balances were cleared,(2) and from then on they were drawn on simply in chronological order so that, in effect, they were regarded as contributing to a single fund which was replenished yearly. It is natural to suppose that this change in the Exchequer record reflected a change in the practice in the Education Department and that there too awards were no longer referred to a particular vote. The change was not in itself very important, but was a necessary first step if money simply promised was not indefinitely going to be regarded as equivalent to actual expenditure.

So long as it was so regarded, surpluses, largely in the form of unexpended balances in the Exchequer, were bound to accumulate (see Table XXXV, p.358). In 1847 for the first time Kay Shuttleworth itemized the education estimate.(3) It is likely that this was at the Treasury's request, but there is no evidence on the point. In the preamble he referred only to the direction of the Lord President to

(1)PP1845, XXVII, 114; PP1846, XXV, 116.

(2)PP1847, XXXIV, 112.

(3)PP1847, XXXV, 331.

submit first 'the balance remaining unappropriated' (i.e. unpromised), and an estimate for the following year's appropriation. Wherever the request originated it was a natural consequence of the much greater diversity of educational expenditure implied by the 1846 Minutes, although at the date of the estimate, 26 March 1847, these had not yet been approved by Parliament.

The immediate effect of the 1847 estimate was to boost the Department's surplus further. Kay Shuttleworth projected a continually large demand for building grants and quite unrealistic amounts even for what was likely to be promised for the various categories of annual grant. Allowing for an unallocated surplus of £35 000 he was able to ask for the same £100 000 as had been voted in the previous year. In 1848 he could similarly justify an increase to £125 000.

It is fair perhaps to allow that Kay Shuttleworth, at least to some extent, genuinely saw appropriation as equivalent to expenditure. Also the implications of the Minutes of 1846 were very hard to predict. It was only prudent to estimate for the most expensive case. But even with those allowances the estimates of 1847 and 1848 cannot be seen as serious attempts to state the Department's requirements, if only because immediate and certain sources of expense were omitted from them: the examiners' and other Education Grant salaries, the supplements for the Council Office clerks, the annual payments to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, and to the Scottish training colleges, were all left unmentioned. It was more as though the estimate was designed to

justify the global figure Kay Shuttleworth thought necessary, and leave him then complete room for manoeuvre within it, the situation in other words which the Select Committee and Trevelyan made a start towards revealing in the summer of 1848. Still, it cannot be argued that the matter was one of great concern either to the Select Committee or to the Treasury. Most of the questioning of Kay Shuttleworth was on the effect of Committee of Council grants on the growth of education and the position of the denominations. Kay Shuttleworth only alluded to one occasion on which the vote 'was taken in surplusage', and attributed it to the special circumstances of the National Society at the time.(1) The Committee made no attempt to ascertain whether surplusage in this sense was a regular feature, as it was, far less to travel from the £35 000 surplus in allocation of two years' previously, to the current surplus in the Exchequer of something approaching £200 000. The paragraph in the report drawing attention to the situation referred only to the single occasion. When this paragraph was under consideration its deletion was moved. With twelve members of the Committee present it was retained only by the casting vote of the chairman after a three-three tie.(2)

Parker, the Treasury representative on the Committee, was not a more conspicuous advocate of economy than the Committee at large. Economy was forcefully pressed only by John Bowring, all of whose suggestions were towards lower salaries for public officials, harder work, rationalization of offices, and more Treasury control. When the report was under discussion Parker voted against Bowring as often

(1) PP1847-48, XVIII, 1, q.6133.

(2) Ibidem, p.53.

as with him. On the last paragraph relating to the Education Department he abstained. Earlier when Greville was being questioned about estimating procedures in the Privy Council Office, Parker took no part, and intervened only to change the subject; and he did not ask Kay Shuttleworth any questions at all.(1)

The 1849 estimate, completed by Lingen in May in his role as acting assistant secretary, was in the same mould as the previous two, except that this time all certain expenses were included.(2) Although the itemized estimates of 1847-49 were of dubious value in illuminating the financial affairs of the Department, they formed a second necessary step towards real estimates. To one of Lingen's turn of mind it can scarcely have been agreeable to present an estimate which involved the addition of quantities of quite different significance, on the one hand sums of money which would certainly be spent in the ensuing year, and on the other sums which would merely be promised.

Whether the first move came from Lingen or from the Treasury, there was consultation before the next estimate. Lingen submitted the calculations on which it was based to the Chancellor, Wood, in advance, and comparison of the figures with actual expenditure for the year shows that for the first time only actual expenditure was

(1) John Parker, 1799-1881, M.P. for Sheffield 1832-1852, Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1846-1849. His role, or lack of it, is emphasized partly because Johnson, who inaccurately referred to him as a 'Treasury official', had the idea that Parker somehow spearheaded a Treasury campaign against the Education Department ('Education Department', pp.334, 345; 'Administrators in education', p.126). Parker's undoubted irritation with Kay Shuttleworth in the spring of 1847 may safely be related to the approaching election.
(2) PP1849, XXXI, 377.

being forecast. The corollary of this was that the relevant balance was not any amount from the previous year's grant which had not been promised, but the unissued amounts in the Exchequer. In line with the estimate, Wood and Russell originally decided on a vote of £150 000; but then Wood discovered the accumulated surplus in the Exchequer of which, evidently, Lingen was unaware. Even with the most generous assumptions about promised grants lying unclaimed, £70 000 remained as clear surplus. Wood's verdict shows unambiguously how on the one hand he wanted proper accounting practices; and on the other had no desire to interfere with expanding education expenditure:

... if we acted according to our practise [sic] in ordinary cases we should say 160,000 probable expenditure minus balance in hand 70,000 = sum to be voted 90,000.

This however it would be unwise to do for many reasons, but I think that we either ought not to increase the vote at all, which will be the easiest way for this year or increase it only a little as to 130,000£ to show that the expenditure is an increasing expenditure and render subsequent increases easier.(1)

On Lingen's letter Wood minuted briefly 'State the balance in hand', then '£125,000 to be voted'.(2) This compared with Lingen's estimate of £151 300, and began the reduction in the accumulated surplus. In 1852 for the first time money from the current year's vote was spent in that year.

In one sense the period from 1847 to 1850 was one of increasing Treasury strictness: whatever pressure there was first to produce an itemized estimate, and then to make that itemized estimate realistic

(1) Russell Papers, PRO30/22/8D, ff.46-48., Wood to Russell, 4 March 1850.
(2) 6372/50 in T1/5552/6372, Lingen to Wood, 14 March 1850. Johnson has a highly coloured and misleading mention of this incident ('Education Department', p.334).

in terms of real expenditure; and, in 1850, Wood's unambiguous attack on the accumulated surplus. However, this strictness, consistently with what has been concluded about the Treasury's attitude in other areas, was not related to the control of expenditure but to the control of financial procedures. Control of expenditure, of the total size of the Education Department's budget, seems to have moved in the opposite direction. Paradoxically, the more clearly and the more accurately the Education Department predicted its expenditure, the less attempt was made to restrict it.

The first grant for building schools, in 1833, was £20 000. Why £20 000? The question has no answer. It just happened to be the sum the government thought right, with reference perhaps to political acceptability but not to any calculation of the 'needs' of the country. Since a grant rate was fixed at the same time it would have been pure chance if the vote had been adequate to the created demand. As it turned out it was not, so the grant rate was reduced (see above p.70). Equilibrium having been achieved by this means, the system was sustained unchanged until 1841. Now the grant rate began slowly to increase, and the size of the vote correspondingly. In 1844 the demand was rapidly increased by forces outside the Department's control, and the grant proved insufficient. Obviously Kay Shuttleworth asked for more money; but at the same time he stopped awarding grants. This was his testimony in the 'Present Condition' where he wrote

Between the 30th September, 1843, and the 30th September, 1844, the Committee of Council were enabled by the state of their funds to grant upwards of 80,000l for the building of schools, but since that time their funds have been exhausted.
(1)

That no more grants were awarded is corroborated by the following year's report of the National Society which stated, on 28 May 1845,

Notwithstanding that no grants of any kind have been voted out of the Parliamentary Grant between the 13th October 1844 and the current month ...(2)

Kay Shuttleworth put together the outstanding applications and the likely demand for the following year, and concluded that a vote of £150 000 would be necessary; or at least £150 000 was the figure Wharncliffe suggested to Goulburn, the Chancellor, based as he put it merely on 'the extent of the applications to the Council for grants'.

(3) Goulburn's objections to this figure were not that it misrepresented the demand (or need), but were purely religious and political. The compromise of £75 000 was thus determined in the same spirit that had determined the original £20 000, and was of course, according to the way Kay Shuttleworth calculated the Department's need, insufficient. The rate of grant applications fell somewhat, but still by December 1845 awards were once again stopped. In his submission to the Lord President Kay Shuttleworth again mentioned the figure of £150 000 as being necessary for 1846, although this was

(1)'Present Condition', p.13.

(2)NS Report, 1845, p.9.

(3)Peel Papers, ADD40445, f.20, Goulburn to Peel, 16 Jan. 1845.

also to cover the annual grants he was projecting at the same time.(1) There seems to be no record of how the final vote of £100 000 was arrived at. It is at least suggestive that the increase from 1845 was kept the same as in the previous year, and the religious and political arguments would have been as strong as a year earlier. In addition, Buccleuch could not have been expected to press the case for more money as strongly as Wharnccliffe had, and the fact that the vote turned out to be more than sufficient could as easily have been against Kay Shuttleworth's expectation as in line with it, given his generally unrealistic predictions. Still, the question as to how far this £100 000 was determined by political considerations remains unresolved.

The following year, 1847, was the first in which there was an itemized estimate, and the evidence of the estimate itself is unequivocal that it is as Kay Shuttleworth composed it. So for the very first time, the vote for education was based entirely on the projected demand from the country for the grants which the Education Department offered. Various factors favoured acceptance without question of this 1847 estimate. Demand for building grants was falling. This, with the considerable over-estimate in 1846, meant that no increase in the vote was needed despite Kay Shuttleworth's exaggerations. And the whigs, or at least Russell and Lansdowne, were flushed with educational enthusiasm. A new principle, perhaps unwittingly, was accepted. By 1850, perhaps equally unwittingly, it had become established and went on to survive the whigs' departure from office, the tory administration of 1852 and, most remarkably of

(1)'Present Condition', pp.13, 32.

all, Gladstone's tenure of the Exchequer from 1852 to 1855.

The old principle, still very much alive in 1845, was that the educational coat would be cut according to the government's cloth; the new that given the desired coat the government would provide the cloth without question. Wood's treatment of the 1850 estimate underlines the change. Lingen was proposing that the Government spend £151 000 on education, representing in terms of actual expenditure the biggest increase in the history of the Department. To this Wood had no objection. His concern was that in effect government funds should lie in one account in the Bank of England rather than another.

One may speculate that the increasing accuracy and comprehensiveness of the estimates was itself a factor in preempting political objections to the expenditure they projected. Each item represented an interaction between the offer of a grant by the Education Department and the demand for the grant by a portion of the population. The grants were not, in terms of what individuals received, obviously lavish. The individuals seeking them were prompted by the best of motives, philanthropy in some cases, a desire for self-improvement in others; and the general result was by all accounts genuine progress in the country's education, an aim, to which all subscribed. The more detail in which the estimate was spelled out and the more accurately it could claim to represent the demand, the greater the force with which it implicitly made what was in the end a political case.

In the face of the consequent apparently uncontrollable growth of the education vote, the old principle, the principle that had determined that £20 000 was the right amount in 1833 and that the country would not stand for more than £75 000 in 1845, could still be invoked, but only in distant terms. The education vote should never exceed, say, £1 million, or £2 million, or £5 million. But so long as the limit was sufficiently greater than the current level of expenditure, those in favour of expansion lost nothing and those in favour of retrenchment gained nothing by agreeing to it.

CHAPTER FIVE

PEELITES AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

5.1 SETTING THE STAGE

5.1.1 Introduction

By the late 1850s education expenditure, while still far short of the 50% of civil expenditure it reached in the 1890s, had become the largest single item (see above Figure 1, p.4). Its growth and the prospect for its future growth, the apparent unwillingness or inability of the Treasury or anyone else to control it, led to recurrent Parliamentary grumbling. But the government's role had not only become much more expensive, it had changed its character. In theory the principles were the same: the Committee of Council simply aided voluntary effort, encouraging by its grants desirable activities which might not otherwise have been undertaken. In practice the scale of intervention and the consequent size of the Whitehall Office meant that it had begun to partake of the nature of a state enterprise. The training colleges were in effect financed entirely by the Committee of Council, which also fixed their syllabuses; the Committee of Council contributed substantially to teachers' salaries, and determined their minimum level; it supported the pupil teachers entirely; it provided large school-building grants; and in the form of the capitation grant gave a general subsidy to schools' running costs.

Inspected schools remained a minority of elementary schools, but a large minority, and could seem to be a state sector which had slipped into being without an Act of Parliament and without Parliament's approval. At the same time the role of the Whitehall staff had changed. Because the grants were generous and the demand for them brisk, the emphasis came to be on enforcing the conditions rather than on encouraging applications. The more the initiative lay with the applicants, the more the role of the Office had to be restrictive. It is a small irony of history that Kay Shuttleworth, on the basis of his administration of a confined and relatively mean grant system, retains a reputation for generosity, whereas Ling, administering a much more comprehensive and generous system, is remembered for his meanness.

There were of course those for whom the defect of the Committee of Council system was still that it was not a national system, and by implication that it was not in fact expensive enough, although the implication was not made clear. It was one of this general school of thought, Sir John Pakington, whose motion in Parliament that there should be an inquiry into the whole subject was accepted in February 1858. However the outcome three years later, the Revised Code and the system of payment by results, was the product of a very different attitude. The inquiry itself and the planning of education reform associated with it fell into the hands of men who were characteristically anti-collectivist. Somewhere in the middle of the political spectrum, they espoused the doctrines of free trade and political economy as they had been espoused a generation earlier by the high whigs and were to be a generation later by the high tories.

Conspicuously they were Peelites: original colleagues, Gladstone and the duke of Newcastle; Granville, an ex-whig; and new liberals, Robert Lowe and James Fitzjames Stephen who found amongst the Peelites their most natural political home. They were supported by others of similar views such as Goldwin Smith and, importantly, the 'new meritocrats' such as Lingen, Temple, and W.C. Lake, for whom free trade meant above all free trade in talent.

The Revised Code and payment by results have tended to be associated exclusively with Lowe, but they are of much wider interest and importance. They were an attempt, in the long run of course unsuccessful, to reassert the values of minimal government and individualism against a sort of creeping collectivism which was subverting an intervention which had originally seemed unexceptionable. Lowe's was the cutting edge and the public face; but he represented a substantial constituency both in Parliament and in the country.

Gladstone's dominant concern was to cut expenditure. This meant in effect asserting the right of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to determine the miscellaneous estimates and so the policy of the departments whose expenditure these represented. The dominant concern of the Newcastle Commission was the structure of the grant system. Gladstone sustained a campaign against the miscellaneous estimates in general and the education estimate in particular almost from when he became Chancellor in 1859. At about the same time the Newcastle Commission began seriously to develop its views. The two lines ran in parallel, interacting at crucial moments. In the

Revised Code both achieved something like a satisfactory conclusion.

5.1.2 Gladstone 1853-55

When Gladstone came to the Exchequer in 1859 he knew exactly what he wanted to do. For the first time a Chancellor had prepared a financial programme when out of office.(1) As regards the miscellaneous estimates the doctrine he claimed was expressed in a memorandum to the Cabinet in April 1860:

The responsibility of definitively recommending particular plans and modes of reduction belongs principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for a great part of the Miscellaneous Estimates; ...(2)

This was a sweeping claim which in principle his colleagues rejected. In practice, in the face of Gladstone's industry, forcefulness and persistence (and deviousness?) they often accepted it. In relation to education it was a doctrine he had asserted whenever he had had the opportunity during his first occupation of the Exchequer from the end of 1852 until early 1855.

The first occasion was the introduction of the capitation grant for rural schools at the beginning of 1853. Like much early education policy the capitation grant is of obscure origin. The earliest immediate mention of a capitation grant is in a letter to Gladstone from John Sinclair of the National Society of 11 January 1853. This contained the extreme proposal that all annual grants should be replaced by a capitation grant of 4s per pupil, distributed

(1)Richard Shannon, Gladstone, I (1982), p.319.

(2)Gladstone Papers, ADD44591, ff.20-25, 20 April 1860.

by the Diocesan Boards.(1)

One aspect of education policy which was on the agenda from the beginning was the replacement of the tory minute of July 1852 regarding school management. To this Gladstone gave considerable attention over the next few months. He discussed it at dinner with Sidney Herbert on 25 January. He saw Granville on the 17th, but this need not have been about education. On the other hand he definitely discussed education with Russell on the 20th, and on the 24th attended a Committee of Council.(2) Perhaps earlier discussion had been on the management minute; but perhaps too it had included the capitation grant.

The capitation grant scheme emerged in something very like its final form in a printed memorandum of 27 January,(3) presumably drawn up by Kay Shuttleworth, and presumably printed, if not drawn up too, at the request of the Committee of Council on the 24th. One may suppose that it reflected both Kay Shuttleworth's earlier ideas, as conveyed to the Committee of Council by Russell, and comment, including Gladstone's from the Committee itself.

What remained was to fix the rate at which the grant would be offered, and thus the likely cost. Kay Shuttleworth had proposed (for boys, to whom all the following figures refer) either a flat rate of 7s, or a sliding scale from 8s for a school of less than 50 to 5s for a school of more than 200, all in aid of 14s raised

(1)Gladstone Papers, ADD44373, ff.262-63.

(2)Diary, IV.

(3)Gladstone Papers, ADD44570, ff.263-9. Johnson misdated this memorandum 17 January ('Education Department', pp.447ff.).

locally. There was a meeting of the Committee of Council on 4 February. On the 10th Gladstone worked on a new scheme, completed on the 13th.(1) The maximum rate would be 6s, for a school of less than 100, going down to 3s for a school of more than 200, with lower rates to meet smaller local contributions. On the 14th he saw Kay Shuttleworth.(2) By the same logic as was later urged on Lowe in relation to the Revised Code, Gladstone did not content himself with lowering the rates. He proposed too to drop the requirement that the teacher be certificated. The capitation grant was going to depend on examination. If you are going to pay a grant according to the competence of the pupils, it is redundant to demand certain qualifications of the teacher.

Kay Shuttleworth returned the revised schedule on the 21st. He objected strongly both to allowing any grant to meet smaller local contributions, and to allowing it to uncertificated teachers. He clung to the range 8s to 5s, but suggested somewhat smaller class-size limits, so that schools would cease to qualify for the higher rates somewhat sooner. Gladstone saw Granville on 23 February, and at some point consulted Lingen, who proposed the same maximum as Kay Shuttleworth had, 8s, for schools up to 100 pupils rather than 50, and a compromise of 4s for schools above 200.(3)

It seems most likely that the Committee of Council came to a decision at its meeting on 7 March, since thereafter Gladstone

(1)Diary, IV.

(2)Gladstone Papers, ADD44374, ff.57-59; Diary, IV.

(3)Gladstone Papers, ADD44374, ff.55-56; Diary, IV; Gladstone Papers, ADD44573 f.96, schedule in Lingen's hand. Johnson exaggerated the part Lingen played, and misrepresented its tendency (Johnson, 'Education Department', p.456.).

referred in his diary only to the management clauses minute. All Kay Shuttleworth's original conditions were retained; but the rates agreed were basically Gladstone's. As compared with his original scheme, schools between 50 and 100 got less, 5s instead of 6s, and schools over 200 got more, 4s against 3s. But these last, considering the minute was aimed at rural areas, would have been few, and the concession correspondingly cheap.

Gladstone's action in this case was clear enough and clearly enough motivated. A case later in the year is more obscure and certainly of less immediate financial consequence, but possibly even more revealing of Gladstone's attitude and approach. It concerned the salary Lingen was to be paid after the reorganization. The Committee of Inquiry reported on 6 August 1853, recommending that Lingen should be on a scale from £1000 to £1500 by £100 increments.(1) Granville saw the report some time in the week beginning 8 August. He thought it should be shown to Gladstone at once, because he feared the latter would think the proposed scale too high. Northcote took it to Gladstone, probably on the 10th. Granville, himself seeing Gladstone the same evening, found he had objected, on the rather strained argument that

change of salary which made a difference of official position was not within the competence of a Commission of Inquiry, but was a matter that ought to be reserved for the consideration of the Government at large.(2)

A flat £1200 was agreed on, equal to what Kay Shuttleworth had received, and what indeed Lingen had already asked for in March. At some point Lingen was informed. Upset, he wrote to Northcote. He

(1) 16907/53 in T1/5842A/24894.

(2) Gladstone Papers, ADD44333, f.61, Granville to Lingen 16 Aug. 1853.

was upset not simply on account of the money, but

should have been sorry to rest under the impression ... that my Office had been permanently rated below the scale of analogous grades in other Departments.(1)

Granville succeeded in mollifying him and reassuring him, but later events showed that Lingen may have touched the nub of the matter. At the time Northcote amended the report: the Secretary would be paid 'a salary equal to that received by Sir J.P.K. Shuttleworth viz. £1200', and the increase was authorized by the Treasury on 26 August, backdated to 7 March, the date of Lingen's original application.(2)

Gladstone however was not finished. On 19 November he wrote to Trevelyan, including amongst various points that the proposed salaries of the Assistant Secretaries seemed 'rather high with reference to that of the Chief Secretary'. (3) The gall of the man, did Trevelyan think? Northcote pointed out, naturally, that the Chief Secretary's salary had been reduced at Gladstone's own suggestion. Seeing Gladstone on 21 and 22 November(4) Northcote evidently held his ground, that the Assistant Secretaries' (and examiners') salaries were the same as for posts of equivalent rank at the Board of Trade.

It seems clear that Gladstone's main aim, the amount of money involved being insignificant, was as Lingen feared related to the Education Department's status. If he could by hook or by crook (and his original argument was quite phoney) keep Lingen from parity of

(1)Ibidem, f.62, Lingen to Granville, 16 Aug. 1853 (original in Granville Papers, PRO30/29/23/3, pp.267-70).

(2)16907/53 and 17776/53 in T1/5842A/24894.

(3)17667/53 in T1/5842A/24894 (this is the same memorandum cited above on this page and on pp.138 and 186.

(4)Diary, IV.

salary and status with those such as the Secretary to the Poor Law Board and the Second Secretary to the Admiralty, with whom the Committee of Inquiry were inclined to equate him, he could then exert a downward leverage on the whole Department, and so keep education as unimportant as possible. Having succeeded in the first aim, he failed in the second. And in the end Lingen got his full increase. He asked in February 1856,(1) and when Granville, Northcote and Trevelyan reported on the amalgamation of the Education and Science and Art Departments in 1857 they took the opportunity of recommending an immediate rise. The justification was first spelled out in sophisticated gobbledygook. Prudently, perhaps, Northcote substituted

that an increase in the salary of the Secretary was [in 1853] objectionable owing to temporary circumstances, which have now passed away. We therefore recommend that the Secretary's Salary be raised to £1500 per annum.(2)

What had passed away of course was Gladstone from the Exchequer.

In a third case, Gladstone was not restricting the rate of a grant, or attacking the status of the Education Department, but doing his best to prevent its taking on new areas of responsibility and thus new sources of expense. After three years of operation Kneller Hall was doing badly because the masters it produced, designed for workhouse schools, were overtrained for the job and expected higher salaries than the Poor Law Guardians were prepared to pay. In conception Kneller Hall was a reincarnation of Kay Shuttleworth's normal school scheme of 1839. It needed a penal school alongside it to act as a practising school for the students; and it was designed to serve a network of District Poor Law schools, each serving a group

(1)Granville Papers, PRO30/29/19/2/12, Lingen to Granville, 28 Feb. 1856.
(2)2272/57 in T1/6099A/19336, 17 Feb. 1857.

of Unions, and able to pay a competitive salary. Without the penal school, and particularly without the District Schools, Kneller Hall languished, despite Temple's best efforts.

In February 1853 Lingen presented a comprehensive scheme to Granville which, presumably, he had drawn up in conjunction with Temple. Granville passed it on to Gladstone. Lingen apparently proposed that the government should provide money to the Unions for a network of District Schools at £12 000 each, and at the same time fund their masters' salaries. Characteristically, Gladstone did not reject the scheme outright, but exaggerated its cost, and raised a host of questions and difficulties. His main suggested amendment, which he must have known to be a wrecking amendment, was that government finance should be provided only in the form of loans to the Unions. Since the reason that there were no District Schools was that the Unions had not built them, with their existing powers to borrow money, having no interest in education, no new scheme for loans was going to excite any interest. As regards Kneller Hall, Gladstone suggested it be merged with the training school for army schoolmasters.⁽¹⁾ For the next two years he repeatedly and unwaveringly urged these two recommendations, never condemning the scheme for District Schools outright, wherever possible resting his objections on obscure legal or procedural ground, as in the case of Lingen's salary, and at all times taking the minimum of action necessary to prevent District Schools being built and to ensure the closure or merging of Kneller Hall.

(1) Gladstone Papers, ADD44528, f.106, Gladstone to Granville, 28 Feb. 1853.

The matter rested until June, when it was raised again by Adderley writing from Warwickshire where he was a philanthropic proprietor. He proposed to assist a District School himself and sought government aid. Gladstone swamped the proposal with a tangle of delays, projections and technicalities:

The refusal to allow the diversion of the Schoolmaster Grant is simply on the grounds of regularity as respects the public accounts and control of Parliament over Expenditure, and has nothing to do with the merits...(1)

The question of District Schools was complicated by being bound up with the question of Temple's future. So long as he was Principal of Kneller Hall he and Lingen pressed the case for District Schools at every opportunity. In October matters were brought to a head by the intervention of Lord Derby who, on the assumption that Kneller Hall was failure, suggested that it be transferred to the Wellington Testimonial. This prompted Granville to a more wholehearted support for Lingen and Temple than he had previously shown. He expressed this to Palmerston (who as Home Secretary was in the end responsible for the Poor Law), and Temple enlisted Lansdowne's support.(2) Finally a meeting of the Committee of Council on 24 or 25 January 1854 decided to go ahead with the full scheme, District Schools, and a penal school for practising. Granville wrote to Derby accordingly on the 25th, telling him that Kneller Hall in consequence could not

(1)Gladstone Papers, ADD44528, f.165, Gladstone to Granville, 11 July 1853 (original in Granville Papers, PRO30/29/29, bundle marked '1852-1864'). The rest of the correspondence with and relating to Adderley is in ADD44528, ff.150-51, 168; and ADD44165, ff19-20.
(2)Granville Papers, PRO30/29/18/11/1, Granville to Palmerston, Oct. 1853; ibidem, 19/16, Temple to Granville, 2 Jan. 1854.

be transferred to the Wellington Testimonial.(1)

What happened next is conjectural, but the circumstantial evidence is strong, and any alternative explanation seems to demand at least misdating on the original documents. From the absence of a record in Gladstone's diary it may be supposed that he was not at the meeting where the decision to go ahead was taken. Indeed had he been there the decision would scarcely have been taken. But he was at a further meeting of the Committee of Council on the 26th. What took place is not recorded, but writing to Jowett two days later Gladstone made no mention of District Schools, only his own longstanding recommendations:

... the case [of Kneller Hall] is full of difficulty; and I do not at present see any mode of escape except by some amalgamation of Government Training Schools or some plan of making Kneller Hall serviceable outside the precise circle within which it was originally intended to operate. This matter is under Lord Granville's consideration ...(2)

This not only makes no mention of District Schools, but in the phrase 'outside the precise circle within which it was originally intended to operate' implicitly excludes them. May we surmise that, learning of the decision of the 24th or 25th, Gladstone engineered the second meeting at short notice and forced either a reversal of the original decision, or a degree of modification to it that amounted in practice to a reversal?

Again the matter rested. In the summer Russell replaced Granville as Lord President, and Temple wrote to him in November apparently proposing special financial incentives to Kneller Hall students, an

(1)Granville Papers, PRO30/29/19/16, pp.119-125, Lansdowne to Granville, 23 Jan. 1854, Granville to Derby, 25 Jan. 1854.

(2)Gladstone Papers, ADD44529, f.43, Gladstone to Jowett, 28 Jan. 1854.

idea neither Russell nor Gladstone could support.(1) But then there arose the possibility of Temple's accepting the post of examiner with the proposed civil service commission, after Jowett had refused it. Clearly if Temple could be satisfactorily berthed elsewhere, Kneller Hall could be allowed to die in peace. Such a solution Russell and Temple combined to frustrate. Some time in January 1855 Russell, 'on Mr Temple's representation' resuscitated the District School scheme and 'promised to get a grant proposed in the Education Estimates';(2) and then of course resigned from the Government on Roebuck's motion on the Crimean War. Temple in an excess of integrity, even though the promise he had had was from what was now an ex-cabinet minister, would not accept another post until the Government's intentions for Kneller Hall were made clear; and in any case demanded that in the event of its being doomed, he should continue to draw his salary as Principal to the last, in addition to his salary as civil service examiner. Gladstone lost patience, and used the change of government as a pretext for washing his hands of Temple's affairs. But as far as District Schools were concerned he had done enough, and in May the decision to close Kneller Hall was taken.(3)

In involving himself with the capitation grant and District Schools Gladstone does not seem explicitly to have asserted a right to control education policy. It was enough to deal with the

(1)Gladstone Papers, ADD44291, f.212, Russell to Gladstone, 14 Nov. 1854; ADD44529, f.175, Gladstone to Russell, 14 Nov. 1854; f.185, Gladstone to Russell, 29 Nov. 1854.

(2)Gladstone Papers, ADD44383, f.37, Jowett to Gladstone, 30 Jan. 1855.

(3)Gladstone Papers, ADD44334, ff.190-91, 197-98, Trevelyan to Gladstone, 30 Jan. and 21 Feb. 1855; ADD44530, f.28, Gladstone to Trevelyan, 21 Feb. 1855; Granville Papers, PRO30/29/19/16, pp.127-30, 135-38, Temple to Granville, 8 Feb. and 23 Feb. 1855; 10160/55 in T1/5970A/19814.

practical matter in hand. On other occasions though, when there was no question of becoming embroiled in a dispute, he did not hesitate to make his views plain. In December 1853 it was drawn to his attention by a clergyman correspondent that the Department was insisting on boarded floors in new schools and were offering grants of two thirds of the cost of converting existing tiled floors to boards. Gladstone commented

I confess that if as the Cerberus of the public purse I had had to consider a proposal for paying 2/3rds of the cost of converting Tile Floors to Board floors in the Schoolhouses of the country, I should have growled. But I conclude sufficient authority has been obtained for this outlay of public money, and consequently I do not write to you to raise that question ...(1)

Again, on the subject of schoolbooks in the following March, draft proposals on which had been submitted to him by Granville, Gladstone asked 'Is there any reason why we should go from 1/3 to 1/2 the cost? The fact of our saving the cost of the agency cannot of itself be said to constitute such a reason.'(2)

Perhaps it was Gladstone's experience in his first year as Chancellor that led to the formulation of his policy of control. Certainly by 1854 it applied to the miscellaneous estimates in general. For example in April he was writing to the Financial Secretary, James Wilson,

1. Though it may be inconvenient to postpone further the presentation of the miscellaneous estimates, I do not think we can settle this matter of Agricultural Statistics without seeing Cardwell - that is if he is disposed to press his demand ... I am indisposed to incur so great a charge without knowing what chance there really is of attaining our object by it ...

(1) Gladstone Papers, ADD44529, f.14, Gladstone to Granville, 10 Dec. 1853.

(2) Ibidem, f.46, Gladstone to Granville, 2 Feb. 1854.

2. I have heard nothing of the increase of the Science and Art Estimates but I presume from what you say that it is founded on decisions already made and agreed to by us ...(1)

In relation to education the logic was at its strongest, since the bulk of expenditure decisions were not for one year only but were open-ended commitments for the indefinite future. Against the political case made by the education estimate the Chancellor of the Exchequer could do little, and the departmental Treasury nothing. Accepting the estimate entailed the increases in staffing and salaries which the departmental Treasury could affect only in the most minor way. If education expenditure was to be controlled the Chancellor had to have his say at the point at which a grant was proposed or its level set. He had, in fact, to be the overriding minister of education.

After Gladstone had left the Exchequer in 1855, the claim was next revived by Northcote, who took over from G.A. Hamilton as Financial Secretary under Disraeli in 1859. Northcote put the case to Disraeli:

We have at present absolutely no control over [the education] estimate ... There is, however, one thing which I think we ought immediately to do, and which may lead to some ultimately good results. The moment for vigilance is not when the bill is to be paid, but when the Minutes authorizing the expenditure are to be passed. I think we ought to come to an understanding with the Education Committee that in future no Minute whatever should be passed without the previous sanction of the Treasury.(2)

Half apologetically, Disraeli passed Northcote's memorandum on to Lord Salisbury, the Lord President. Salisbury was made of sterner stuff than Granville, and he met the argument head on. Apart from

(1) Ibidem, f.85, 21 April 1854.

(2) Cecil Papers, Northcote to Disraeli, 6 May 1859, in Disraeli to Salisbury, 9 May 1859.

his ancestry, apart from his rank, he was head of the Privy Council, the senior assembly of the state. Replying to Disraeli, he stressed his own desire for economy, but Northcote

proposes to place the inferior office over the superior
... It would be as foreign to every principle of Government
to allow the Treasury to interfere with the action of the
department as to allow it to interfere with that of any of
the Secretaries of State.(1)

It could not have been put more bluntly.

Gladstone's actions with regard to the Education Department during his first Chancellorship were clearly aimed at saving money and asserting control over civil expenditure; but beyond that they show his distaste for action by the government which could supersede action by the individual.(2) The creation of a government apparatus for social purposes was undesirable. Such government apparatus as there was should be kept as small as possible. Above all it should not embark on ventures such as District Schools and Kneller Hall which were not in response to a real local demand expressed in the expenditure of local effort and local money. When he returned to office in 1859 he took up the thread where he had left it himself four years previously, and at exactly at the point where Northcote had just put it down. And by this time the Newcastle Commission, representing by and large views similar to Gladstone's own, was just beginning to get up steam.

(1) Salisbury to Disraeli, undated, in ibidem (copy).

(2) Compare Shannon, p.322.

5.1.3 The right men in the right place at the right time

Selection of members of the Commission to inquire into popular, or elementary, education, after Pakington's motion on 11 February 1858, was initially in Granville's hands. Lingen recommended Lake, and did not want 'any very pronounced advocates of the present system';(1) but the general tendency of the names being canvassed was in that direction. Granville first asked Russell to chair the Commission, and included in his suggestions for members Kay Shuttleworth and Richard Dawes, Dean of Hereford, of Kings Somborne fame. Russell approved the suggestions, but said he himself would only serve if the Commission included the Dean of Bristol, his father-in-law's cousin, Gilbert Elliot. He suggested two possibilities for a Roman Catholic member, the idea of such a member having apparently come from Granville. On 19 February Russell finally declined the chair, having heard that it was to be offered to Lord Stanley. At the same time he recommended that Pakington himself should be a member and Arthur Helps secretary.(2)

In the event the government changed and the choice fell to Salisbury. The result was a Commission of completely different complexion. Salisbury originally tried to enlist a respected figure who was not primarily a politician: first the duke of Northumberland, then Charles Shaw Lefevre, who had recently retired from the

(1)Granville Papers, PRO30/29, Lingen to Granville, 14 Feb. 1858 (cited Johnson, 'Education Department', p.420 - I have been unable to locate the document).

(2)Granville Papers, PRO30/29/18/6/21 and 22, Russell to Granville 15 Feb. and 19 Feb. 1858; Russell Papers, PRO30/22/13E, ff.228-29, Granville to Russell, 16 Feb. 1858.

Speakership as Lord Eversley; but both declined.(1) Newcastle was thus at least Salisbury's third choice. Newcastle agreed grudgingly:

Further reflection ... has more than ever convinced me that the work must be heavy and that the reward for a great sacrifice of valuable time will in all probability be to satisfy nobody - to displease many - and to be thrown over by whatever Government may happen to be in power on the distant day when the Report is presented - if indeed the Commission should happily be sufficiently agreed amongst themselves to concur in any recommendations.(2)

His distaste for the post was due in part to a view of the Inquiry quite different from Pakington's:

... it is pretty well understood that the general concurrence in the appointment of this Commission arose from a wish to shelve the subject for a year or two and that the motion was carried not without a recognition on all sides that it was to be an imposture.(3)

He agreed to serve only on the condition of his fellow commissioners' being to his taste, suggesting immediately Lake, Goldwin Smith, and Sir John Coleridge. Salisbury accepted these (having Lake already on his own list) and proposed G.R. Gleig, the chaplain-general of the forces, Nassau Senior, George Nicholls, and William Rogers as Secretary. Presumably these were from the same list as Granville had shown Russell and Rogers seems likely to have been another of Lingen's suggestions - Lingen had encouraged his educational work at St Thomas Charterhouse over many years. As a poorly paid curate Rogers would greatly have appreciated the position of paid Secretary.

Salisbury himself did not think that any of them on the list carried with them much weight. Newcastle disliked the threatened Church of England and particularly clerical dominance: Lake, Gleig

(1) Cecil Papers, Northumberland to Salisbury, 7 May 1858; Eversley to Salisbury, 9 May 1858.

(2) Cecil Papers, Newcastle to Salisbury, 3 June 1858.

(3) Ibidem.

and Rogers; and Nicholls was too old. There should be a voluntarist instead of Gleig, and a young barrister as Secretary. Impatient at Newcastle's delay, Salisbury went ahead and invited Rogers (whom Newcastle did not know) to be a Commissioner instead of Secretary. Finally Newcastle came up with the voluntarist Edward Miall; and J.F. Stephen as Secretary.(1)

In the end therefore, including the Secretary, five were Newcastle's own choice: Lake, Goldwin Smith, Coleridge, Miall and Stephen; Senior had his knowledge and approval; only Rogers was an unknown quantity. Four of these, Lake, Goldwin Smith, Senior and Stephen came to dominate the Commission's work. Lake and Goldwin Smith were both Oxford reforming liberals, clever, meritocratic and intolerant, in the same mould as Lingen and Temple. Lake had been a member on the Commission on army education of which Clough had been secretary. Goldwin Smith, recently appointed regius professor of modern history at Oxford, had been joint secretary of both the Commission of Inquiry into Oxford University and the Executive Commission which succeeded it. This had brought him into contact and friendship with Peelites such as Cardwell and Herbert.(2)

Lake believed in government aid for education, but on a more stringent basis; Goldwin Smith was a secular voluntarist. Senior, experienced and distinguished as an economist and member of commissions of inquiry was happy with the existing system in principle, but would make it less lavish. These three disagreed with

(1) Cecil Papers, Newcastle to Salisbury, 6, 9, and 14 June 1858; Salisbury to Newcastle 12 June 1858; Salisbury to Miall (draft) 15 June 1858.

(2) D.N.B.

each other, and disagreed with their Secretary, Stephen, sometimes acrimoniously. But the disagreements were in a sense superficial, within a relatively narrow ideological context. Stephen's own views were firmly within the same context, perhaps closest to those of Lake and thus somewhere between those of the other two. And it was Stephen who was responsible for actually drafting the report. When compromise was reached it was uncannily close to the position from which Stephen had set out.

Newcastle had been a friend and political ally of Gladstone since their days at Christ Church. With Herbert, Aberdeen, and Sir James Graham they made up the core of original Peelites. Fitzjames Stephen, the 'young barrister' found for Secretary had early formed a Peelite attachment. He was recruited to write for the Morning Chronicle after it had been bought by Newcastle and Herbert in the late 1840s, and became a regular writer for the Saturday Review, the Chronicle's successor as the organ of Peelite opinion, which started in 1855. Newcastle did not apparently have a financial stake in the Saturday Review, but was close to it. He attended, as did Stephen, its first annual dinner for the contributors '... and a select few friends of the chief writers', which chief writers also included Goldwin Smith.(1)

It is illuminating to look at the Saturday Review for expressions of the cast of opinion that dominated the Newcastle Commission, and was inherently antithetical to that represented by Pakington, Kay Shuttleworth or, for most of the time, Russell. The Review was

(1)Merle Bevington, The Saturday Review 1853-1868 (1941), pp.13, 25, 37.

self-conscious of its stance:

The critics, then, have their valuable place in a society, and it is only natural and right that, like the Sadducees, they should generally be on the side of the governing classes, conscious of the practical difficulties of administration and not ready to accept without question the reforms of enthusiasts whose emotions outrun their intellects.(1)

In Merle Bevington's words,

The nineteenth century was a time of prophets - men who spoke with a burning passion of the ills of England and proclaimed as with inspired authority what the nation must do to be saved. Some of these were men of genius, and they attracted to themselves bands of devoted and enthusiastic disciples. The Saturday Review frame of mind was not that of discipleship, but rather of a sceptical, if not cynical detachment.(2)

The fall of the Derby administration and Palmerston's return had two important and related consequences for the progress of the Commission. In the first place it made Newcastle and Gladstone cabinet colleagues thus allowing Gladstone to be informed at all times on the thinking of the Commission, and Newcastle similarly to be informed on Gladstone's financial and educational desiderata. In the second place, by placing on Newcastle the burden of the Colonial Office it reduced the amount of his time available for the Commission, and put a correspondingly greater load on Stephen. To this Stephen was originally disposed to object, particularly as it meant major responsibility for drawing up the Report. But his father counselled him to take on the extra work gladly, only insisting on a

(1) Ibidem, p.45.

(2) Ibidem, p.121.

correspondingly higher remuneration.(1) In August 1859 Newcastle appointed, or in effect appointed, Stephen Recorder of Newark. According to his father, even apart from the status, the mere salary was 'worth the having'. (2) Stephen had solicited the post, but still its award might to Newcastle have seemed an indirect form of recognition of Stephen's increased responsibilities at the Education Commission.

The change of government also of course brought Granville back to the Education Department as Lord President, and introduced Lowe as Vice President. Granville was originally a whig, but his sympathies were largely Peelite. He had written in 1855,

For the last five years I have been of opinion that amalgamation of the Peelites and Liberals was essential for the Liberal Party, and for the Public cause - I have always held this language so strongly, that I am considered, and put down in lists as a Peelite ...(3)

Lowe was something of a maverick liberal, closer to the Peelites than to any other group. Both Granville and Lowe were politically close to Gladstone, as they were to each other. When Aberdeen took office in 1852 Gladstone wanted Lowe as his Financial Secretary, but was overruled by Aberdeen. When Palmerston became Prime Minister in 1855, according to Greville, Granville 'moved Heaven and earth to get Lowe an office'. In 1860 Gladstone was recommending Lowe to Russell as a good man 'for unravelling and penetrating a system of waste and

(1)Stephen Papers, Add.7349, Box 1, James Stephen to James Fitzjames Stephen, 7 July 1859.

(2)Ibidem, James Stephen to James Fitzjames Stephen, 12 Aug. 1859.

(3)Newcastle Manuscripts, NeC 12587, Granville to Newcastle, 17 April 1855; quoted in John Martineau, The Life of Henry Pelham Clinton, Fifth Duke of Newcastle 1811-1864 (1908), p.256.

fraud'(1) (did he have the Education Department in mind?). It is interesting to speculate whether Gladstone had anything to do with Lowe's appointment in 1859. In any event by July 1859 with Gladstone at the Exchequer, Granville and Lowe at the Education Department, and Newcastle, Stephen and the rest at the Commission on education, the immediate and more distant fortunes of government involvement with elementary education had both come under the control of a remarkably like-minded group.

It was remarkable not just that political chance had thrown men of like mind simultaneously into the key positions, but that both politically and educationally they represented minority views. The Government was dominated by Palmerston and Russell, both of whom later opposed the Revised Code. Educational opinion in the country included importantly the generally enthusiastic approach of Kay Shuttleworth or Pakington; the Radical demand for a National System; and the desire of the Church of England to protect its vested interest. None of these was represented on the Newcastle Commission, notwithstanding the presence of Lake and Rogers.

(1) Russell Papers, PRO30/22/10F, Aberdeen to Russell, 29 Dec. 1852; Greville Memoirs, VIII, p.119, 25 Feb. 1855; Gladstone Papers, ADD44291, f.345, Gladstone to Russell, 15 Sept. 1860.

5.2 THE NEWCASTLE REPORT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

5.2.1 The Commission's first phase

By the summer of 1859 the Commission had met 24 times but had made little progress towards a report.(1) The work so far had all been in collecting information and opinion from correspondents and assistant commissioners. However by August Stephen himself had done a considerable amount of preliminary writing. He sent his father for comment a printed draft titled 'Memorandum on the proceedings etc.', substantial enough for his father to describe it as a book, prefaced by an historical introduction. This presumably was the draft referred to later by Senior as being 'on the proceedings of the Committee of Council on Education', and approved by Lingen.(2) It seems likely that at the same time Stephen was putting his thoughts together into some kind of scheme, long before the Commission as a whole had done so, individually or collectively. That Stephen had done so would explain the immediacy with which he could produce analysis and suggestions when the general issues came up at the Commission itself two months later.

Some time in October Senior decided that a start should be made on drawing conclusions from the material that had been assembled. For Lake at least it was still too soon. He wrote to Stephen,

Senior's function seems to be to flame before us occasionally like a meteor. I confess I think the present rush in media res as great a mistake as his statistics generally.

(1) T74/1B (Minute Book).

(2) Stephen Papers, Add.7349, Box 1, James Stephen to James Fitzjames Stephen, 30 Aug. 1859; Newcastle, VI, q.358.

It can't be wise to draw up plans before we have half our data ...(1)

Senior had his way however, and a meeting of the Commissioners on 9 November, from which only Coleridge was absent, the first meeting since 19 July, heard a paper from Senior 'as to the course necessary to be pursued in the inquiry'.(2) The outcome was a resolution that the Commission should investigate whether it was

practicable and desirable to maintain the existing system of Inspectors and central aid to Popular Education administered by the Committee of Council with any and what modification.(3)

There is a hint in the scope and open-endedness of this resolution of the influence of the voluntarists, Goldwin Smith and Miall, and of the critics of the existing system. At a further meeting the following day it was agreed 'that the Secretary draw heads of questions for the examination of Mr Lingen on the system of the Committee of Council on Education'.(4) This gave Stephen the opportunity to bring forward his own ideas. He must have produced proposals almost immediately, in the form of a letter to Senior, because knowledge of the contents of this letter comes from comments on it by Coleridge written from his home in Devon on the 12th. What Stephen proposed to Senior then, more or less determined the Commission's future course: the agenda for discussion, the examination of witnesses, and to a large degree, the recommendations of the final report. Coleridge was considerably taken aback. He wrote at length, questioning or disagreeing. In consequence what

(1)T74/2D, bundle marked 'Letters 1858,1859, 1860, 1861 Education Commission', Lake to Stephen, [Oct. 1859].

(2)T74/1C (Rough Minutes).

(3)T74/1B (Minute Book).

(4)Ibidem.

must be a large part of Stephen's analysis can be reconstructed.(1)

Stephen argued that at present the elements, reading, writing and arithmetic, were poorly taught, because the inspectors concentrated on the more advanced pupils, because the teachers were overtrained, and more generally because the Privy Council system was constructed rather 'with a view to means of supply, than result to be obtained'. The public had 'absolutely no security at all that the children in the schools shall be properly taught'. And for the mass of parents being properly taught meant being properly taught in the elements and nothing more. The remedy was a grant paid from a County rate, administered by the Quarter Sessions through a new corps of inspectors and based on the individual examination of children. This would replace an unspecified portion of the existing Committee of Council grants, and the existing central department and inspectorate would remain. The resemblance between these ideas and what appeared in the Commission's report sixteen months later does not need to be stressed. Coleridge ended, 'p.s. I should be glad if you would show Lake this letter - for I think he agreed more with you than I can at present.'

At meetings on 14 and 17 November the Commission discussed the heads of questions to be put. (2) Lingen was examined on the 23rd, 24th, and 30th. The first day concentrated on the system of grants to schools, under the heads building grants, grants to teachers, and the capitation grant. Primed by Stephen's memorandum the

(1)T74/2D, bundle marked 'Letters' etc., Coleridge to Stephen, 12 Nov. 1859.

(2)T74/1B (Minute Book).

Commissioners were interested in the general nature of the system, its history, and changes in the rates of grant and the conditions attached. It was all very straightforward. On the second day the phrase 'payment for results' was introduced, by Lingen himself in relation to training college grants. Lake picked the phrase up later, and asked Lingen to explain, finally inquiring

Q. and A.325 Do you think that in other cases, if you could give a searching examination, it might be desirable to test results as well as in training colleges? - If you could give a searching examination individually, I should see no objection to it.

The chairman, Coleridge, took the discussion back to how far the inspectors examined the children individually at present, and from there it reverted to training colleges.

The second major topic of the day was the working of the Education Department itself. After looking at this, and statistics of pupil numbers and costs, Coleridge embarked on a new line of questioning, pointing once more at payment for results:

412 What is your machinery for knowing that when you have made grants they are productively applied to the purposes for which you have made them?

413 How do you get at the fact that the masters and the pupil teachers do their duty to the children?

414 Is there any direct mode by which you know the state in which the children are as to educational knowledge?

Lingen answered these questions at length, but he could only go so far. Finally there was,

417 (Coleridge) Have you any machinery in existence by which you can acquire a more accurate knowledge of what the children learn? - No.

418 (Goldwin Smith) You have no means of asking whether the parents are satisfied? - No.

426 (Coleridge) Then inspection does not at present secure that every child is able to read and write? - Certainly not.

On the third day of Lingen's evidence the Commission considered the system in its denominational aspect, and the place of religious instruction. Much of the second half of the session was in the nature of a debate between Senior and the voluntarists over the extent to which expansion in elementary education could be attributed to the operations of the Committee of Council. Somewhere in between Newcastle asked Lingen what changes would be necessary if the system were to be extended. Lingen recommended the replacement of the present multiplicity of appropriated grants by a single capitation grant. Newcastle probed,

554 And if it was thought desirable to continue the present system, the continuance of which I apprehend necessarily entails extension, the change which you would advocate, or at any rate, would think necessary, would be to bring the whole system to a grant which should point at results rather than to a grant which should provide means?

But Lingen demurred. He was thinking of the financial arrangement, not of the conditions. In sum,

I did not mean to say that a capitation grant necessarily implied paying for results as contrasted with paying for means, but I did mean to say that the simplification of the system would be in the direction of substituting capitation grants for the present annual grants.

This interchange is interesting not only for its statement of Lingen's views, but because it was the first occasion on which payment for means and payment for results were directly contrasted using the terminology of Stephen's letter.

The questions put to Lingen show that the possibility of replacing the existing system, altogether or in part, by some form of payment for results was in the Commissioners' minds, presumably put there by Stephen's letter to Senior. Clearly Lake and Newcastle were

interested, and Coleridge much more favourable than he had been at first. It seemed as though Lingen was being encouraged to suggest such a change, but he would not go so far. It was a possibility to which he had evidently given little or no consideration. He did not object in principle, but could see difficulties, such as a souring of relations between school managers and the inspectors, if indeed it was to the existing inspectors that the business of individual examination was to be entrusted.

Systems which could be described as 'payment for results' were already in existence, or had been considered.(1) It remains of great interest how the idea came into the Newcastle Commission's thinking, and in the particular terms it did. The immediate answer remains Stephen. To inquire further, as to how the idea entered his thinking raises at the same time consideration of the Commission's choice of witnesses to give oral evidence. Lingen was the obvious person to start with. Later they questioned representative selections of inspectors, of training college principals, and of schoolteachers; and in addition various people whose official position was relevant in some way to elementary education. Only three witnesses did not have some official position to explain their being called: Kay Shuttleworth, Temple, and Harry Chester.

By the end of 1859 Chester had been retired almost a year. Stephen wrote to him on 30 November, the day of Lingen's third appearance. Chester was asked to give evidence 'on the subject of the general nature of the system of central aid and inspection

(1) See for example D.W. Sylvester, Robert Lowe and Education (1974), pp.49-57.

administered by the Committee of Council'.(1) But why should he have been so asked? What could he add to what Lingen had said? He had been subordinate to both Kay Shuttleworth and Lingen, and was out of touch with the immediate situation in the office. The invitation was broad in its scope, broader than that to Lingen, in which the phrase 'the general nature of' had not been included.(2) Lingen mentioned Chester's experience with the Society of Arts towards the end of his evidence, and perhaps this is what prompted the Commission.(3) Alternatively Chester was asked because he was known to be a committed advocate of a system of payment for results.

Earlier in the year written evidence, in the form of answers to a questionnaire, had been collected from a large number of people, who apparently without exception had approved of the Committee of Council grant system. Now one of those sent the questionnaire was Chester,(4) and presumably he expressed the same views in writing as he later did in person, in favour of payment for results. Amongst the mass of anodyne comment this would have stood out sharply. It is reasonable to conjecture firstly that Chester's written evidence (which was not published) contributed importantly to the development of Stephen's thought; and secondly that by the end of November there was a majority of the Commission (Newcastle, Lake, Coleridge, Goldwin Smith and Miall) in favour at least of considering a radical change of the grant basis. Thus after eliciting but lukewarm support from Lingen it was natural to seek a known advocate of payment for results

(1) T74/1A (Outletters), p.171.

(2) Ibidem, p.163.

(3) Newcastle, VI, q.637.

(4) T74/2D, Chester to Stephen, 25 May 1859.

who had the advantage of having had official experience - hence the invitation to Chester, and hence the broad terms in which it was couched.

Chester, it is true, had some special knowledge of the building-grant business, on which he was questioned when he appeared before the Commission on 2 December. But more than half of his evidence was related to his general ideas, on which he was closely questioned by Lake and Senior. He was conscious of the complication of the present system, and in addition, from his involvement with the Society of Arts, had experience of an educational milieu imbued with the ideals of competition and self-help. His assertion,

I do not see how it is possible to relieve the Committee of Council on Education from the multiplicity of details which are involved in the present system, unless you give up the plan of inspecting the schools, and ascertaining that the work is done before you pay the money, and substitute for that a system of simply testing by examination, and paying for the results.(1)

was linked to a range of anti-collectivist views. School fees should be higher, because low fees pauperized the children; parents should be more closely involved with school management.(2)

Like Stephen in his original suggestions, and like the Commission in its final recommendations, Chester proposed that while the Education Department should be retained, individual examination should be conducted by local bodies (which might in some way develop from the existing Society of Arts organization) supported by local rates. The result would be 'a system which would be capable of expansion to any extent whatever, because both the expense and the

(1)Newcastle, VI, q.716.

(2)Ibidem, qq.737-43, 757.

labour would be divided locally'.(1)

Between 6 and 15 December the Commission heard evidence from Horace Mann on educational statistics, and from four schools inspectors. On 11 January 1860 Newcastle was able to tell Granville that he expected to be able to lay his report 'on the Table of the House just before the close of the session'. He had sufficiently clear an idea of what would be in it to be able to say 'if our recommendations in the direction of reduced expenditure are such as I at present contemplate, we shall be very generally assailed as enemies of Education and retrogradist'.(2) In the event Newcastle's prediction was hopelessly optimistic. The report was going to need almost a year more than he expected; and in terms of number of meetings and number of disputes the Commission was less than half way through its work. However it is plausible that at the time optimism seemed perfectly justified, consistent with what seems to have been the Commission's course of development up to that point. Stephen had presented them with a ready-made scheme which now commanded the support of a majority. Newcastle and Lake had probably been in favour from the beginning; to the voluntarists it was at least better than the existing system; Coleridge had been persuaded, and perhaps Rogers too, who later wrote, 'The man to whom more than to anybody else the country owed a debt of gratitude was Mr Fitzjames Stephen ...';(3) and only Senior remained opposed. The scheme answered the objections Lingen had to the present system and would be at least acceptable to the Government; for Newcastle did not write to

(1)Ibidem, qq.719, 744, 782-85; 786.

(2)Granville Papers, PRO30/29/18/12/3.

(3)R.H. Hadden (ed.), Reminiscences of William Rogers (1888), p.130.

Granville in January 1860 out of the blue. It was the point at which the progress of the Commission was intersecting with Gladstone's.

5.2.2 Gladstone 1859-60

On his return to the Exchequer in June 1859 Gladstone looked immediately at the Miscellaneous Estimates. On the 28th, for example, he wrote to Cardwell about the Irish police estimate: 'When I left D.St. six [sic] years ago the expectation was that the constabulary might be reduced to £10 000 ... Pray look into it.'(1) In the debate in Parliament on 22 July he and his Financial Secretary, Samuel Laing, both put forward the argument Northcote had put to Disraeli in May, that the Treasury would have no control over the education estimate until it had prior control over the minutes passed by the Committee of Council. Gladstone saw Granville and Lowe together on 15 August, presumably on education, and so presumably on the need for economy.(2) A few days later there was an unexpected intervention from Russell:

... our civil service Estimates have grown fearfully ... even our education of the poorer classes is growing to monstrous proportions - I believe a million sterling should be the inviolable limit of the Education Vote for Gt. Britain, to be afterwards reduced to half that amount ... Now you are the person who might at least make inquiry into the possibility of checking this tendency to grants, afterwards to be defrayed by taxes ...(3)

Russell could not be relied on as a future ally, but such a hostage to fortune would not have been unwelcome to Gladstone.

(1)Gladstone Papers, ADD44530, f.41.

(2)Diary, V.

(3)Gladstone Papers, ADD44291, f.245, Russell to Gladstone, 19 Aug. 1859.

There was no particular hurry. Nothing could be done about the current year's estimate as it was not susceptible, as for example that related to the Irish constabulary was, to ad hoc trimming. On 16 September he asked Laing to prepare a statement of all expenditure on Education, Science and Art, with an estimate for the next five or seven years 'presuming the administration to continue the same as heretofore'.(1) On the 23rd he sent the minute Laing produced to Granville, asking him to send it on to Lowe in turn. He wrote,

This is not an invidious and exceptional attack upon the expenditure of one department ... what may be called a spirit of expenditure prevails in Parliament, with the Press, and for the present with the Public.

It seems to me that we should survey our position in general instead of mere consideration piecemeal which is given to annual estimates as such ...(2)

On 10 October Laing sent a memorandum 'on the Civil Estimates generally'. His view of the case coincided exactly with Gladstone's:

... a good many unpopular things must be done to prevent our Estimates going on at the accelerated rate of the last few years - Without some change in regard to Education it is hopeless ...(3)

The memorandum started 'The increase in Education and Art alone is £209 000'. There followed a list of the increases between 1858 and 1859, with Education at the top, then Colonial and Consular, Irish constabulary, and so on.(4)

Gladstone's next move was to involve the Cabinet. It met on 7 and 9 November and 'determined to appoint a Committee of members of the Government to consider the vote for Education, and another for

(1)Gladstone Papers, ADD44530, f.78.

(2)Ibidem, ff.82-83.

(3)Gladstone Papers, ADD44392, f.204.

(4)Gladstone Papers, ADD44589, ff.248-9. The memorandum in Laing's hand is undated and bound at the end of the volume; but it is reasonable to identify it with the one referred to in Laing's letter of 10 October.

Science and Art'. Committees were similarly appointed for the Consular Service and for the Irish Judicial Establishment. Gladstone invited Lowe to serve on the committees for both Education and Science and Art.(1) Thus Lowe was involved in what was in effect educational policy making at the highest level long before the time came to draw up the Revised Code.

The Cabinet committees were doubly useful to Gladstone. In the first place they gave legitimacy to his interference in the affairs of the departments beyond the disputed claim he could assert as Chancellor. But in the second he could cloak the interference in Cabinet impersonality. Granville was abroad with his wife and did not attend the meeting or meetings when the decision to appoint the committees was taken;(2) and on learning about them apparently felt some of Salisbury's indignation. Gladstone tried to reassure him:

I understand the object with which the Cabinet appointed its Committee on the Science Dept. to be that it should consider of any desirable reduction in the immediate and prospective charge. It was certainly a Committee on the Vote, not a Committee on the Dept.(3)

and went on, with a truthfulness which was at most technical,

I have however no authority to expound the views of the Cabinet, and merely speak as a witness.

(1)Diary, V; Gladstone Papers, ADD44530, f.108, Gladstone to Lowe, 9 Nov. 1859.
(2)Granville Papers, PRO30/29/18/1, Granville to Argyll, 15 Nov. 1859; PRO30/29/29, bundle marked 'From the Duke of Argyll', Argyll to Granville, 15 Nov. 1859.
(3)Gladstone Papers, ADD44530, f.118, 22 Nov. 1859. In his letter to Granville, Argyll, who himself chaired that on Science and Art, described the committees as having been set up 'at Gladstone's insistence'.

Gladstone himself (naturally) joined Lowe in the committee on education, with how many others is unknown. They met on 11 and 28 November, and again on 2 December.(1) Gladstone recorded in his diary for 5 December 'Cabinet 2 1/4 - 6 1/2 Stiff work ... on the Estimates'. During the rest of the month he recorded a flurry of contact with Granville and, especially, Newcastle:

14 Dec. Wrote to D. of Newcastle
16 Dec. Cabinet Saw Newcastle
22 Dec. Wrote to Granville
28 Dec. Wrote to Newcastle

Conceivably this related to Colonial affairs and general Privy Council business, but it would have been an odd coincidence since such frequent reference to Newcastle was rare. Both Newcastle and Granville were of course privy to what went on in Cabinet, and the reports of the Cabinet committees. At some point a scheme of proposed education cuts was agreed, and Granville took soundings in the Education Department.(2) On 2 January Gladstone recorded a memorandum embodying his own version of the proposals: 1. to reduce the building grant; 2. not to extend the capitation grant to Scotland; 3. to require managers to pay a proportion of pupil-teacher stipends.(3) A fourth proposal, to withdraw building grants for training colleges, he omitted. He saw Newcastle at a Cabinet on 3 January. Either he then, or Granville, conveyed the proposals formally. Newcastle's letter to Granville of the 10th was his response.

(1)Diary, V.

(2)Granville Papers, PRO30/29, memorandum by Granville Dec. 1959 (cited Johnson, 'Education Department', p.483 - I have been unable to locate the document).

(3)Gladstone Papers, ADD44749, f.1. Printed in Diary, V, 2 Jan. 1860.

Newcastle was keen that there should be cuts: the more the Government reduced expenditure before his report the more odium would attach to the Government and the less to the Commission; but he cautioned against hasty and perhaps irrevocable action in relation to pupil teachers. Reluctantly Gladstone agreed. The Minute embodying the cuts was passed on 21 January. Gladstone did not mention a Committee of Council on that day, but there was a Cabinet, and he 'Wrote to, saw, and dined with Granville'.(1)

Gladstone had done as much as he could with education. Anything further would have to wait until the Newcastle Report and the following year's estimate. But he was not yet finished with the other estimates. On 3 February he told Frederick Peel, Laing's successor as Financial Secretary, that the Cabinet had decided that they should be cut by a further £100 000, and recorded himself 'A stiff fight: won in the main'.(2) In April he reported back to the Cabinet,

We have obtained, with much effort, a small result in the Education Vote; we have resisted demands for telegraphic ... contracts ... we have endeavoured to check the growth of our Consular charges ...(3)

and so on. But there remained 'the devouring prospective growth of the Education Estimates'. By and large his campaign over the previous six months had been successful, and he felt confident enough to enunciate the general doctrine of his right to control what

(1)Gladstone Papers, ADD44530, f.145, Gladstone to Granville, 17 Jan. 1860 (original in Granville Papers, PRO30/29/29, bundle marked '1852-64'); Diary, V.

(2)Gladstone Papers, ADD44530, f.153; Diary, V.

(3)Gladstone Papers, ADD44591, ff.20-25.

spending departments spent their money on (see above p.250).

5.2.3 The Commission's second phase

When Newcastle wrote to Granville in January 1860 the Commission had not yet heard evidence from Kay Shuttleworth. He evidently did not expect that what Kay Shuttleworth had to say would make much difference to the rough plan for a report (presumably in effect Stephen's) he already had in his mind. An invitation to Kay Shuttleworth had been sent on 22 December, at the same time as one had been sent to Temple,⁽¹⁾ now headmaster of Rugby after a spell as inspector of male training colleges. As with Chester, it is possible that the Commission called Temple because of his past official experience; but again as with Chester it is more likely that what was important was the combination of that experience with his espousal of a coherent scheme of public aid to elementary education, which would replace the existing scheme and was close to the general line of the Commission's thinking. What Kay Shuttleworth would say was fairly predictable. It is almost therefore as though each was seen as a counterweight to the other to satisfy on the one hand the majority opinion in the Commission and on the other, Senior.

The subsequent history of the Commission can most simply be interpreted as the story of Senior's energetic attempts to bring his fellow commissioners more round to his own views. The weight and persistence of these attempts goes a long way to explaining why producing the report took so much longer than Newcastle thought it

(1)T74/1A (Outletters), p.180.

would. In the end Senior achieved little on the central questions, and the final recommendations in March 1861 were much as Newcastle seems to have envisaged them at the beginning of 1860. Senior's views are known because he published them independently.(1) He was against the complete replacement of Committee of Council aid by local rate aid, and even more against its partial replacement. Instead he would keep the present system of appropriated grants. He agreed with his fellow commissioners that the elementary subjects were neglected. He would therefore make inspection mean the individual examination of children, with sub-inspectors to help with the extra work. If the children did not meet the required standard the result would be not a general grant reduction but a reduction in the teacher's salary augmentation. In the poorest and most apathetic districts only, a local (and generally parochial) rate would be levied after a serious educational deficiency had been established.(2)

Kay Shuttleworth gave evidence on 26 and 30 January, and Temple on 27 January. Temple's views were similar to Lingen's. He would replace all appropriated grants by a single capitation grant, but would not base the latter on individual examination. In addition he would have universal, compulsory local rating to supplement schools' incomes.(3)

After Kay Shuttleworth had been heard it remained for Senior to influence the Commission himself as best he could. On 8 February (this was now the Commission's 43rd meeting) he read a paper on the

(1) Suggestions on Popular Education (1861).

(2) Ibidem, pp.10-12; 344-45; 57-59.

(3) Newcastle, VI, qq.2786, 2793, 2796, 2610.

'course of future proceedings'. On the following day he, Lake and Goldwin Smith met to frame resolutions.(1) The result was two opposed sets of resolutions. Senior recommended keeping the present system 'with such retrenchments, extensions and modifications as may appear to be expedient' and condemned local rating. Goldwin Smith counter-recommended winding the present system up and restricting government aid to paupers and the like. Was he provoked to insist on a voluntarist line by Senior's attachment to the status quo? Somehow on the basis of these opposed resolutions Stephen was directed 'to prepare and submit to the next meeting a Draft of the Commencement to the Report'.(2)

For two months they went round and round. They considered Stephen's draft, Lake read a paper, Goldwin Smith, Senior and Miall all produced schemes, Senior read a paper in answer to Stephen. On 20 April, at the 52nd meeting, they decided at Senior's instigation on a more productive approach, namely to take single proposals individually rather than whole schemes. They agreed to discuss at the next meeting the questions of a general rate; of a special rate; and of the capitation grant, by the last evidently meaning a capitation grant which would replace the existing appropriated grants.(3) In the event it seems that the last topic dominated the meeting. The decision was once more to consult Lingen, Temple, and Kay Shuttleworth, to show them the schemes Senior, Lake and Stephen had devised, and ask

whether it would be practicable and if so whether it would be

(1)T74/1C and 1B.

(2)T74/1C and 1B.

(3)T74/1C.

desirable to substitute for the existing system of appropriated grants a system of unappropriated grants determined in amount by the results of an examination of the individual children, and also by the general condition of the school ...(1)

On the 26th the idea of a parochial rate was abandoned. On the 30th replies came from Lingen and Temple. There is no record of a reply from Kay Shuttleworth: there is however no doubt what it would have said. In view of the Commission's subsequent decision Lingen and Temple must have moved much closer to recommending payment by results than when they gave oral evidence. On 3 May County rates were considered, and at the same meeting the broad lines of an agreement were reached: 'Payment for Results - as part of the system - Mr Lake's plan to be taken as the basis - mixed means and results'. Lake, Rogers, Goldwin Smith and Senior were to form a subcommittee to draw up a plan on this basis and submit it to the Commission.(2)

At this stage they had got back to something close to Stephen's proposals of the previous November, but another nine months or so were needed for agreeing on all the details. In addition, again probably at Senior's urging, the Commission broadened its view to include the education of paupers, vagrants and criminals; factory schools; and charities - the final report includes much of what is in Senior's Suggestions in these areas. Senior also had something of a bee in his bonnet about the hours children attended school - he thought they should be reduced. Schoolmasters were examined in the

(1)T74/1C, 25 April 1860.

(2)T74/1C.

autumn as part of his quest for support for this view.(1)

From May 1860 on, the Report was thrashed out chapter by chapter, section by section, Stephen proposing and the Commission disposing. A flavour of the proceedings is given by a letter from Coleridge to Newcastle written in January 1861:

You have, I believe, heard from Goldwin Smith, if not from Lake also, how much they are dissatisfied with the way our friend Stephen has executed his work, and I must say that they seem to have much reason. He has been much occupied, professionally and otherwise, - he has trusted too much to his natural quickness and to his habits of composition, and so has thrown off his sketch too rapidly, and besides has introduced notions of his own, which we are not prepared to adopt. In consequence Goldwin Smith and Lake have rewritten a great deal. But Stephen is quick tempered as well as quick-witted - and he in his turn has been very much annoyed - and this makes your presence so specially desirable now, among other reasons.(2)

On 18 March 1861 at the 107th meeting the Report was 'finally read and confirmed'. Copies were dispatched to the Home Office for Parliament on the 21st. On the same day Gladstone saw Lowe.(3) It could again have been coincidence. But given the urgency of Gladstone's desire to reduce civil expenditure in general and education expenditure in particular; given their already having worked together on education cuts; and given the relatively short time before the end of the Session and Lowe's being the obvious candidate to draw up a scheme on the basis of the Commission's recommendations, it seems unlikely.

(1)Suggestions, pp.243-44.

(2)Newcastle Manuscripts, NeC 12642, Coleridge to Newcastle, 15 Jan. 1861.

(3)T74/1B; Diary, V.

Two assertions have commonly been made about the relation between the Report of the Newcastle Commission and the Revised Code. It has been claimed that the Code was largely Lowe's, in both conception and execution; and that it was opposed in spirit to as well as differing in its terms from the Commission's recommendations. The first of these assertions cannot be disproved, but the circumstantial evidence is against it. The probable shape of the Commission's Report would have been known through Newcastle to the Cabinet and to Gladstone well before March, and a response provisionally sketched. The important decision was on legislation, which the proposals for County rates would certainly have needed. However seriously the Commissioners had weighed the relative merits of County rates and parochial rates, and however much heartsearching there had been on the role of the denominations, the difficulties in the way of legislation for rate aid remained as great as they had been and made legislation as unattractive a prospect. Thus, 'the Code was devised to implement the recommendations of the Newcastle Report insofar as this was possible within the existing powers of the Committee of Council on Education and without invoking new legislation'.⁽¹⁾ The timetable of the decision making cannot be specified, but there is a clue in a letter from Granville to Newcastle, which also suggests that Russell's inclination to retrenchment lasted at least well into 1860. Granville wanted Newcastle's presence for support on the Code at a Committee of Council meeting in the autumn of 1861:

At the last meeting Gian Bellino was violent ...
He was much annoyed when I reminded him that he himself
proposed the substance of our code at a meeting last year,
and that the only thing that puzzled us at the time was who

(1) Sylvester, p.19.

had suggested it to him -, he got red, and said that he had been rather rash ...(1)

Thus the Cabinet, as such or in the form of the Committee of Council, had been considering something like the Revised Code probably before the end of 1860. As soon as the Commission reported, Gladstone could brief Lowe informally. Formally the Code was 'in strict accordance with the views of the Committee of Council which met by [Palmerston's] direction to consider what should be done upon the report of the Commissioners'..(2)

The second assertion, that the Revised Code was opposed in spirit to the Commission's proposals, simply ignores what the report said. The central feature of both plans was the replacement of appropriated grants by an unappropriated capitation grant, meaning crucially that the salaries of teachers and pupil teachers would become a matter of negotiation with school managers. In addition both plans sought to reduce expenditure on education. It is on this last point that the Newcastle report has been most frequently misrepresented. Commentators beginning with Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, in his life of Lord Granville,(3) have misstated the sense of Newcastle's letter to Granville of 11 January 1860 to the point of apparent wilfulness. Newcastle was unambiguous that the aim of his report would be to reduce expenditure. In the report itself, the expense of the existing system and its tendency to grow were among the objections to

(1)Newcastle Manuscripts, NeC 12594, Granville to Newcastle, undated, bound between 27 Sept. and 12 Oct. 1861.

(2)Palmerston (Broadlands) Papers, GC/GR/1889, Granville to Palmerston, 13 Oct. 1861. James Winter, Robert Lowe (Toronto, 1976), gives an account consistent with the foregoing.

(3)E. Fitzmaurice, The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower, Second Earl Granville, K.G. (1905), I, p.421.

it. A time was looked forward to when 'we should have a right to look for a decrease, gradual at first, then rapid, in the demands on the public purse'.(1) Finally the actual financial proposals implied economy, even as compared with the Revised Code itself. The report forecast expenditure from all public sources of just under £1.1m for a school population of 1.5m. The school population reached a little less than £1.5m in 1873, and the corresponding figure for expenditure, the vast bulk of which was for payments under the Revised Code, was almost £1.3m.(2)

5.3 THE FAILURE OF THE INDIVIDUALIST SOLUTION

There had been, as Gladstone later put it, 'a great and salutary reform'.(3) Or had there? If the Revised Code was a reassertion of individualism and the virtues of minimal government it was followed by increased, not decreased, central control of schools, and after eight years by a thoroughly collectivist Education Act. If it was intended to save money its system of payment by results allowed an increase in educational expenditure over the next thirty years unthinkable in scale to anybody in 1859 or 1861, and at which even Senior might have quailed. Somehow things had gone wrong; and perhaps it was inevitable that they should. The tide against which the educational freetraders were trying to swim was stronger than they imagined; and their chosen instrument much less reliable.

(1) Newcastle, I, pp.313-314.

(2) Ibidem, p.346; Report 1873-74, pp.xxii, cxcii, 3.

(3) Quoted Sylvester, p.46.

There were out-and-out non-interveners who would leave factories unregulated, disease unchecked, or children unschooled, except insofar as it was in the private interest of those concerned to do something about it. But few went so far. In education voluntarists such as Miall and Goldwin Smith allowed the government a role when it came to paupers, say, or criminals. The important debate was not whether there should be intervention, but what the nature of the intervention should be, measured by the degree to which it encroached on individual freedom of action. In education, as in other areas of social life, central intervention in the mid-century was acceptable if it facilitated individual and local exertions, if it was compatible in other words with a philosophy of individualism of the kind later articulated by Dicey. But there was a catch. Effective intervention had an effect: it changed the situation to which it was originally directed and was changed itself in consequence. Freedom to compete means freedom to win. Those who have won want to hang on to their winnings, and may be expected to wish to restrict others' freedom to compete. They have acquired, in fact, a vested interest. Competition and privilege are two sides of the same coin, and the freetrader is in a fix - as fast as he tears down one set of barriers he is creating conditions for the erection of others.

An anecdote relating to Lowe, a lifelong scourge of vested interest, illustrates the point. In Australia in the early 1840s he took the part of the squatters, brave pioneers in a new country, their enterprise unfairly hampered by the restrictive attitude of the Colonial Office in London to the release of land. Not many years later, thanks in part to Lowe's efforts, the squatters had achieved a

position of baronial power, and found Lowe as vigorous in attacking them as he had previously been in defending them. He was vilified as a traitor. But his protestations that his principles had been consistent throughout ring true - only the situation had changed.(1)

When the government gave money to education in aid of voluntary exertions it was in the structure of the endeavour that greater exertions would attract greater aid. And since on the whole drawing on capital is easier than actual exertion it was inevitable that the pattern of government-aided provision should reflect to a greater or lesser extent the pre-existing pattern of financial and social capital. This result was complained of at the time and has been complained of since, in the favourite quotation of educational historians 'to him that hath will be given'. By 1859 schools received greater aid for less exertion as compared with twenty years earlier. The government was supporting a new social cadre, of pupil teachers and teachers, who went about their daily business with security and reasonable comfort. Educationally, the inspectors talked of nothing but improvement. But education had ceased to be the sole factor in the equation. There was added the momentum of tens of thousands of individuals seeking and holding on to a particular way of life and social position.

Of necessity the government's role changed. The style was no longer inspirational and frenetic, but had become regulatory and detached. It no longer seemed that aid was being given to stimulate what might not otherwise have been done, but that a self-sustaining

(1)A.P. Martin, The Life and Letters of the Rt.Hon. Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke, G.C.B., D.C.L. (1893), I, p.341.

and flourishing enterprise was being controlled. Exhortatory intervention had evolved onto something very like regulatory intervention. The Report of the Newcastle Commission and the Revised Code were reactions to this situation. They were produced by a group of men who, with the exceptions of Granville and Newcastle, were unambiguously middle-class, professional men and the sons of professional men. They had risen in the world by cleverness and hard work, above all by hard work. Why should elementary schools not be rewarded by the government on the same basis? Why should aid be given where local exertion by teachers and pupils was not clearly demonstrated, as well as in the form of subscriptions?

Since the interests the Revised Code threatened were scarcely represented either on the Commission or in the Education Department, the extent of the outcry the Code provoked had probably not been expected. Teachers, school managers, and the Church at large united to defend their position. Members of the Newcastle Commission itself were influenced by the clamour. For example Lake, who in 1858 had only recently moved to the Balliol living of Huntspill was by 1862 much further in time from Oxford and more deeply ensconced as a country parson. He had clearly been one of the main proponents of payment by results in the Commission's proceedings, but wrote to Gladstone objecting to the principles of the Revised Code (so perhaps earning Lowe's later condemnation of him as a 'trimmer').(1) The result of the uproar was that the Code was modified from the extreme version in which Lowe had originally cast it to something much closer to the Newcastle Commission's scheme. But it remained a powerful

(1)Granville Papers, PRO30/29/18/12/13, Lowe to Granville, 21 Oct. 1864.

reassertion of individualist values. Its long term failure either to keep collectivism at bay or save money had little to do with the immediate opposition it aroused, and was much more deeply seated.

A capitation grant dependent on individual examination was a grant in aid of local contributions just as much as had been the grants it replaced. As Lowe stressed, the principles of the system were not being changed. He did not stress and perhaps did not realize that the tendency to indefinite expense was also not being changed. Lingen put it clearly in 1868, when he was still Secretary of the Education Department, and the Revised Code was still the basis of its operations:

The Annual Vote for Public Education is an offer to all who choose to fulfil the conditions annexed to a share of it. The very reason and object of the vote is that this number shall be large, and increase as rapidly as possible ...(1)

The more pupils there were in schools successfully passing examinations, the greater would be the call on government funds. As with building grants, pupil-teacher grants, and all the others, the initiative lay with the schools. The government made an offer and could only wait to see what the demand would be. As it turned out demand was checked somewhat by the Revised Code, but only temporarily. The new arrangements for pupil teachers certainly made apprenticeship less attractive, but the effect was smaller than has been thought (see pp.127-8); the effect of the reduction in the rate of building grant in 1860 is hard to discern (see pp.81-4). As to

(1)Lingen to the Secretary of the Treasury, 28 Dec. 1868, ED24/71, quoted by G. Sutherland in a review of Hurt, Education in Evolution in the English Historical Review, 91 (1976), p.663.

the payments to schools under the Revised Code, they depended in the end on the willingness of children to go to school (or the willingness of their parents to send them) and the degree to which inspected schools were preferred to non-inspected. It is arguable that both were increasing before 1862 and continued to increase thereafter, for reasons deeply embedded in the relationship between education and the rest of the socio-economic structure.

It is possible, as E.G. West has argued, that the development of elementary education owed less to the 1870 Act than is generally supposed. However that may be, it is clear that the Revised Code did little to counteract the movement away from individualism towards collectivism, and even in some respects reinforced it, despite the professed aims of its progenitors. Had the voluntary support of schools grown and flourished, a desideratum of all shades of educational opinion, from Goldwin Smith through Lowe to Kay Shuttleworth, the pressure on schools to earn grant from the Revised Code would have been smaller. A more liberal and relaxed school regime, less under central control, could have been expected. But the path that had been downward continued the same way. Schools had learned to rely on the Education Department. Expectations had been formed, and even though the conditions had changed, the focus of educational endeavour remained towards satisfying them. As Gladstone had put it, and was fond of putting it, 'a spirit of expenditure' prevailed. Such a spirit was another aspect of the collectivist view that the government should provide, and that its control was acceptable. There began the game between the teachers and the Department, with the inspectors caught in the middle. The greater

the teachers' pressure, the more restrictive the Department became and the more dominant became its control.

In a quite different respect too the Revised Code failed to defuse collectivist feeling. The old grants had been condemned because they aided better-off areas preferentially. From an individualist point of view a vested interest had been created at the government's expense. From a collectivist point of view, the state was not simply not enforcing a more egalitarian distribution of goods than private agency produced, it was reinforcing the inequalitarian results of private agency. The individualist answer was educational free trade, natural to men amongst whom Lingen, Lake and Temple had risen through the open scholarship and competitive fellowship systems of Balliol, and were involved with creating a competitive system of middle-class education; and Gladstone, Lowe and Goldwin Smith had been closely involved with reforming the structure of Oxford towards something more like the Balliol pattern. Payment by results was out of the same stable.

It may seem to have been naive to believe that such a system would be satisfactory. Would the able not inevitably be held back and the dull forced to a performance ill-suited to them, or ignored and discouraged because their grant-earning potential was minimal? And would not the general consequence be as unequal as the allocation of grants according to the extent of local financial resources alone? Such questions are raised by a modern view of the distribution of intellectual abilities. But such a view is of relatively recent origin, the product of a realm of discussion and investigation which

scarcely existed in the mid-nineteenth century.

Whatever Kay Shuttleworth or Lingen or Gladstone thought about the distribution of intelligence, they did not record it; but Charles Darwin did. He wrote to his cousin, Francis Galton, after reading the latter's Hereditary Genius,

You have made a convert of an opponent in one sense, for I have always maintained that, excepting fools, men did not differ much in intellect, only in zeal and hard work.(1)

The comment deserves attention. If a similar attitude was widespread, or at least characteristic of the educated middle classes, then the espousal by the Newcastle Commission and the Education Department of payment by results, and their belief that it would lead to a fairer and more widespread distribution of public aid, become more understandable. But the less this happened, the more the evidence amassed and publicized by the Commission that on the whole the areas with the least resources had received the least help reinforced the collectivist case.

Gladstone had tried to re-establish the old principle, of 1833 or of 1845. When the building grant was reduced from 4s to 2s 6d in 1860 the assertion was in effect, 'Never mind that the lower rate will result in fewer schools being aided, no more can be afforded'. But his success was partial and shortlived. The Revised Code's being a more comprehensive bulwark was an illusion. The explanation of these failures is in terms of a change in the centre of gravity of influential opinion away from individualism towards collectivism, as

(1) Darwin to Galton, 3 Dec. [1869], quoted in Francis Galton, Memoirs of My Life (1908), p.290.

the forties and fifties gave way to the sixties and seventies. The change was related to the growing influence of the working classes, particularly the urban working classes. The task of working up such sketchy explanations into a detailed account remains.

Appendix A

RECORDS OF TREASURY GRANTS TO SCHOOLS

The available published records are confusing and probably incomplete.

England and Wales. For the earlier years the grants are listed in PP1834, XLII, 527-537; PP1835, XL, 680-685; and PP1836, XLVII, 53-59. In PP1837-38, XXXVIII, 329-353 grants through the National Society are listed for the period of each Parliamentary Vote from 1833-34 to 1837-38, but not for 1838-39. The National Society's 28th Report (1839) lists all Treasury grants received through the Society correct up to 1 December 1839, but without giving the year of award or the pupil number. Most of those included in the National Society list but omitted from the Treasury retrospective list are shown in the Minutes for 1848-50 (the earliest such source) to have been paid in the period 1838-40, i.e. may be assumed to have been granted in 1838 or 1839, but some have earlier payment dates, i.e. appear simply to have been omitted from the official list in error. Award dates therefore cannot be ascribed with any reliability, hence the lack of data for 1838-39. PP1837-38, XXXVIII, 354-361 lists grants to British schools by years '1834' to '1837', but is not explicit that calendar years are intended.

Scotland. PP1836, XLVII, 69 and PP1837, XLI, 470-471 give the awards from the votes of 1834 and 1836 respectively, but without the date of award. PP1839, XLI, 384-407 gives all correspondence on

Scottish awards up to May 1839, with the dates of award, but without the pupil numbers. The sources combined therefore only give complete data for 1834-35 (when only a single grant is recorded) to 1836-37. The list in the 1848-50 Minutes does not include payment of Treasury grants to Scotland, and so the list in the 1852-53 Minutes has been used.

Because of the gaps in the records, they have only been used for calculating the average rates of grants awarded. No attempt has been made to draw conclusions about numbers of grants. For simplicity, the records for British schools referred to '1834' etc. have been taken to be equivalent to those for National schools referred to '1833-34' etc.; and for Scottish schools the equivalent period has been taken to be 1 June to 31 May of the appropriate years.

The situation could possibly be resolved to some extent by analysis of the Treasury building-grant volumes ED103/135-139 in the Public Record Office, of which, however, volume 137 is missing.

Appendix B

RECORDS OF COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL AND NATIONAL SOCIETY GRANTS

There are three separate sets of records: the lists of grants awarded and grants paid in the Minutes and Reports of the Committee of Council, and the lists of grants in the reports of the National Society. These are assumed to be grants awarded, in which case there is no separate record of payments; but this is unimportant in the present context.

Committee of Council awards from the 1839 Parliamentary Vote are listed in PP1840, XL, 1-23. The dates in the list show that the awards extended into 1841, but since the list in the Minutes for 1840-41 seems most plausibly to cover the period mid-1830 to mid-1841, the 1839 list has for simplicity been taken to cover the period mid-1839 to mid-1840. Periods covered by the lists in other volumes of Minutes are shown in Table X, where the situation is certain only from 1847-48 on. For the earlier years it has been deduced from the dates within the body of the lists. Lists of grants awarded were not published after 1854.

Lists of payments of Committee of Council grants were published in the Minutes for 1848-50, i.e. in 1850, and then annually from 1853. The lists were retrospective and cumulative from year to year, with the payments arranged by county and calendar year of payment. Like the Committee of Council Minutes the reports of the National Society include lists of awards covering various lengths of time, as shown in Table XI.

volume	period	years
1840-41	mid-1840 to mid-1841	1
1841-42	mid-1841 to mid-1842	1
1842-43	mid-1842 to end 1843	1½
1844	1844	1
1845	1845	1
1846	1846	1
1847-48	1847	1
1848-50	1848 and 1849	2
1850-51	1850	1
1851-52	1851	1
1852-53	1852	1
1853-54	1853	1

TABLE X: Periods covered by the lists of awards in the Minutes of the Committee of Council.

SOURCE: Mason, 'Building-grant policy', pp.19-22.

year of report	period	years
1841	May 1838 to May 1841	2½
1842	Xmas 1840 to Xmas 1841	1
1843	Xmas 1841 to Xmas 1842	1
1844	Xmas 1842 to Xmas 1843	1
1845	Jan 1844 to May 1845	1½
1846	25/3/45 to 25/3/46	1
1847	25/3/46 to 25/3/47	1
1848	25/3/47 to 25/3/48	1
1849	25/3/48 to 31/5/49	1½
1850	31/5/49 to 27/5/50	1
1851	27/5/50 to 3/5/51	1
	and so on	

TABLE XI: Periods covered by the lists of awards in the reports of the National Society.

Published records of National Society grants in the period around the formation of the Committee of Council are confused. There was no list in the 1840 report and that in the 1841 report covered the previous three years in order to clarify the situation where events had falsified earlier statements. It is not therefore known how many building grants were awarded by the Society in each of these years. It is, though, possible to calculate the average rate for the period mid-1839 to the end of 1840 on the basis of the grants which were

associated with one from the Committee of Council.

The reports of 1839 (p.5), 1840 (pp.6-7), and 1841 (p.3) gave 115, 217 and 556 as the total numbers of grants awarded in the periods May 1838 to May 1839, May 1838 to May 1840, and May 1838 to May 1841 respectively. Taken at face value these figures are consistent with a surge in local contributions and applications reaching a peak about the end of 1840 and then declining (see above pp.88-89).

Appendix C

BUILDING-GRANT DATA

The records described in Appendix A and Appendix B have been pieced together for each grant 'event'. When deciding whether two records referred in fact to the same event, the general rules have been followed that the government award followed the National Society award, and payment of a government grant followed its award. But it is easy enough to think of circumstances under which these rules would actually have been, or would appear to have been, broken; and they have not been held to rigidly when details of purpose, number of pupils and amount of grant corresponded to a compelling degree.

In this way have been compiled 1483 grant events for the Treasury period, and 6405 for the period 1839-53, ranging from a bare National Society award, or a Committee of Council payment to which no award can be attached, to a complete story with a National Society grant, a Committee of Council grant, and subsequent payment. Each record, or event, consists of the National Grid reference and name of the school; its county and denomination; the date, amount and purpose of the National Society grant, if any; and the date, amount, purpose and payment details of the government grant, if any. The records are on computer file, and have been analysed using SPSS in the Computer Centre of Durham University in the period September 1983 to May 1985.

The two series of published reports give two alternative time bases for analysis of the data. In effect therefore two separate

analyses have been done. The majority of schools aided by the National Society were also aided by the government, and vice versa, and data for these schools thus appears in both analyses. It is not however possible to relate closely the schools which only received a National Society grant with those which only received a government grant.

Because of the periods greater than a year covered by the lists in the Committee of Council volumes for 1842-43 and 1848-50 and the National Society reports for 1845 and 1849, totals calculated from them have been reduced proportionately to give an annual rate, and shown thus on all graphs. Both totals and averages have been located in time at the mid-point of the period covered by the relevant list.

Both the Committee of Council and the National Society lists give the number of pupils for which the planned schools were intended, and so, in effect, the number of square feet. In many cases the numbers given differ, and often the National Society number is ambiguous. Only the Committee of Council number has therefore been used in the calculation of rates per square foot, comparing it with the Committee of Council award figure and the corresponding National Society award figure in turn.

This procedure gives no information about schools which received a grant from the National Society only, but the assumption has been made that the average rate for grants awarded by the National Society to schools which subsequently got a grant from the Committee of Council did not differ significantly from the average rate for all grants awarded by the Society. The theoretical basis for this is

that the schools which went on both to apply for and receive a Committee of Council grant were not at first clearly distinguishable from the rest, although the Society did originally profess to take into account 'whether government aid can be obtained' when making its own grants.(1)

However, there is also some direct evidence to justify the assumption of uniform treatment. In its reports from 1845 to 1848 the National Society gave global figures for the amount of money awarded and the corresponding numbers of pupil places provided, broken down by grant purpose. For these years it is therefore possible to calculate the rate and compare it with that calculated for those where there was also a Committee of Council grant, and on the basis of the Committee of Council pupil number, as shown in Table XII.

In the Committee of Council volumes up to 1846 the awards are listed in no obvious order. The reasonable assumption is that the order is that in which the awards were made, and this assumption is confirmed by such little evidence as remains in the Treasury files in the Public Record Office of the lists of grants which the Education periodically submitted to the Treasury for approval, and onward transmission to the Paymaster of Civil Services to await authorization for payment. Having been so transmitted, the lists were presumably destroyed, but in one case the ink has left a reverse image on the back of the covering letter, and the schools and their order are recognizable as a portion of the subsequently published

(1)NS Report 1841, p.3.

National Society report	total amount of building grants	total number of pupils	calculated rate	rate for CCE aided cases
1845 p.8	£45 897	87 054	21.1	21.3
1846 p.8	£22 360	51 532	17.4	19.4
1847 p.23	£19 048	47 696	16.0	16.1
1848 p.19	£10 763	31 055	13.9	13.5

TABLE XII: Estimates of overall National Society building-grant rate.

Minutes.(1) It is thus possible for the earlier years to make a crude division between the first half and the second half of the year by taking the first half and the second half of the list. This has been done for 1846 (see above p.74). From 1847 on, the award list was rearranged into alphabetical or county order, and so the information on date of award within each year was lost.

For part of the analysis use has been made of the National Society's distinction between areas aided by the Special Fund and those aided by the Queen's Letter Fund. The Special Fund areas are those defined by the distribution of grants in Figure 6 (p.92). For ease of computing they have been forced into a ten-kilometre grid, according to the scheme in Table XIII.

Early publications of the Committee of Council quoted school accommodation in terms of pupil numbers, in the proportion of six square feet per pupil. From 1851 accommodation was quoted in square feet, and where equivalent pupil numbers were given it was in the proportion of eight square feet per pupil. Only square feet are used here, and for comparison with published pupil numbers the square footage up to 1850 should be divided by six, and after 1850 by eight.

(1)6925/46 in T1/5209/24419.

region	E grid ref.	N grid ref.	region	E grid ref.	N grid ref.
N.E.	4100-4300	5600	Maccles-	3800-3900	3700
	4000-sea	5500	field etc	3800	3600
	4000-sea	5400	N. Wales	2700	3800
	4000-4400	5300		2400-2700	3700
	4000-4300	5200		2400-2700	3600
	4000-4300	5100	Derby	4500	3600
Ribble	3700-3900	4400	and	4300-4400	3500
and	3500-3900	4300	Notts	4300-4600	3400
Calder	3500-3800	4200		4300-4500	3300
W. Yorks	4000-4200	4400	Potter-	3800-3900	3500
	4000-4300	4300	ies	3800-3900	3400
	3900-4300	4200	W. Mid-	3800-4000	3000
	4000-4200	4100	lands	3800-4000	2900
	4100	4000		3800-4000	2800
S. Lancs	3400-3600	4100	S. Wales	3200	2100
	3400-3600	4000		2400-3300	2000
	3400-3600	3900		2500-3200	1900
	3400-3600	3800		2800-3100	1800
S. Yorks	4300	4100		2800	1700
	4200-4300	4000	London	5200-5300	1800
	4200-4400	3900		5200-5300	1700
	4200-4400	3800	Cornwall	2100-2200	0700
	4300-4400	3700		2000-2200	0600
Greater	3700-3900	4100		1700-2100	0500
Manches-	3700-4000	4000		sea -2100	0400
ter	3700-4000	3900		sea -2000	0300
	3800-3900	3800		all	0200
Mersey	3300	4000		all	0100
	3300	3900			

TABLE XIII: Definition of Special Fund areas.

The major part of the analysis has been of cases in which a rate per square foot could be calculated, i.e. cases in which both the size of the Committee of Council grant and the number of pupils or school area is available. This covers 913 cases in the Treasury period, out of the total of 1483; and 3028 from 1839 on, out of the total of 6405, made up of 2764 in England and Wales and 264 in Scotland. These are in fact the bulk of the grants for actual building, either new buildings or enlargements. The remainder includes a few building grants of which the details are incomplete, grants for other purposes than building, and cases where there was no Committee of Council grant at all. The results of the main analyses of building grants are given in Tables XIV and XV.

		ENGLAND AND WALES							SCOT- LAND
		no N.S. grant			with a N.S. grant	TOTAL	Spec. Fund areas	rest of Eng.	
		non- con.	Church	total					
Figure		9 (b)	9 (b)		9 (b)	2(a), 3(b,c)	3 (a)	3 (a)	2(a), 4(b,c)
1834	amount					20170			-
	area					179346			-
	rate					27.0			-
1835	amount					17623			750
	area					223194			2400
	rate					19.0			75.0
1836	amount					21991			8483
	area					275520			42600
	rate					19.2			47.8
1837	amount					17056			4755
	area					217224			27780
	rate					18.8			41.1
1838	amount					17028			-
	area					207744			-
	rate					19.7			-
1839-40	number	54	31	35	15	100	41	59	25
	amount	7341	3358	10699	2178	12877	6257	6620	4380
	area	83178	37518	120696	22668	143364	69582	73782	28194
	rate	21.2	21.5	21.3	23.1	21.6	21.6	21.5	37.3
1840-41	number	11	31	42	171	213	70	143	14
	amount	2965	2514	5479	17943	23422	11992	11430	1852
	area	26544	26922	53466	213798	267264	125364	141900	12114
	rate	26.8	22.4	24.6	20.1	21.0	23.0	19.3	36.9
1841-42	number	8	26	34	160	194	69	125	19
	amount	1041	2708	3749	18007	21756	11937	9319	3786
	area	11916	29862	41773	193434	235212	119933	115224	25062
	rate	21.0	21.8	21.5	22.3	22.2	23.9	20.5	36.3
1842-43*	number	12	32	44	189	233	77	156	13
	amount	2152	2313	4465	24539	29004	15323	13131	3236
	area	20250	24984	45234	226138	271422	129396	142026	21012
	rate	25.5	22.2	23.7	26.0	25.6	29.3	22.3	37.0
1844	number	14	32	46	314	360	161	199	7
	amount	2392	4186	6578	54270	60843	39375	21473	1575
	area	24216	35892	60108	425604	485712	238498	197214	13146
	rate	23.7	28.0	26.3	30.6	30.1	32.3	26.1	28.8
1845	number	19	30	49	255	304	101	203	14
	amount	3930	3164	7094	36567	43661	22546	21115	2033
	area	36000	24780	60780	287316	348096	159930	138166	16330
	rate	26.2	30.6	28.0	30.5	30.1	33.8	26.9	29.0

* totals reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$ for annual rate - see above pp.303, 306.

TABLE XIV: Government building grants 1834-53, broken down by denomination and region, showing for each year the number of awards, the total amount (£), the school area (sq.ft), and the average rate (old pence/sq.ft) [table continued on next page].

SOURCE: Computer data.

		ENGLAND AND WALES							SCOT- LAND
		no N.S. grant			with a N.S. grant	TOTAL	Spec. Fund areas	rest of Eng.	
		non- con.	Church	total					
Figure		9(b)	9(b)		9(b)	2(a), 3(b,c)	9(a)	9(a)	2(a), 4(b,c)
1346 (i)	number	13	21	34	129	163	64	99	5
	amount	1908	2929	4837	19767	24604	13269	11335	756
	area	20118	23562	43680	156394	200574	101214	99360	4423
	rate	22.8	29.8	26.6	30.2	29.4	31.5	27.4	41.0
1846 (ii)	number	5	8	13	63	76	21	55	13
	amount	1029	821	1850	11289	13139	5255	7884	1873
	area	7650	6006	13656	81006	94662	37080	57582	12318
	rate	32.3	32.8	32.5	33.4	33.3	34.0	32.9	36.5
1846 (all)	number	18	29	47	192	239	85	154	18
	amount	2937	3750	6687	31056	37743	18524	19219	2629
	area	27763	29568	57336	237900	295236	138294	156942	16746
	rate	25.4	30.4	28.0	31.3	30.7	32.1	29.4	37.7
1847	number	17	33	50	202	252	99	153	24
	amount	4839	4922	9761	38903	48664	25257	23407	4922
	area	32670	34956	67626	256866	324492	166362	158130	32334
	rate	35.5	33.8	34.6	36.3	36.0	36.4	35.5	36.5
1348,49*	number	43	92	125	223	348	128	220	73
	amount	9538	11037	20575	33762	59337	27920	31417	10673
	area	70080	85152	155232	270072	425304	198132	227172	76296
	rate	32.7	31.1	31.3	34.4	33.5	33.8	33.2	33.6
1850	number	11	25	36	32	118	39	79	20
	amount	1615	3043	4658	12962	17620	8736	8884	2057
	area	18306	30438	48744	103302	152046	72516	79530	19410
	rate	21.2	24.0	22.9	30.1	27.8	28.9	26.8	25.4
1851	number	11	12	23	91	114	40	74	11
	amount	3838	2615	6453	15120	21573	12053	9520	1884
	area	31914	20994	52908	113172	166080	80880	85200	16044
	rate	28.9	29.9	29.3	32.1	31.2	35.8	26.8	28.2
1852	number	14	28	42	96	138	64	74	12
	amount	2131	5070	7201	24121	31322	17566	13756	2116
	area	20814	45630	66444	178374	244818	133152	111666	21012
	rate	24.6	26.7	26.0	32.5	30.7	31.7	29.6	24.2
1853	number	15	34	49	102	151	46	105	9
	amount	5174	9405	14579	22190	36769	14570	22199	1538
	area	40140	62058	102198	145194	247392	106710	140682	11346
	rate	30.9	36.4	34.2	36.7	35.7	32.8	37.9	32.5

* totals reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$ for annual rate - see above pp.303, 306.

number of grants in England and Wales 1839-53: 2764

of these, number of non-conformist grants: 247 (8.9%)

number associated with the National Society : 2092 (75.7%)

TABLE XIV: [continued from previous page].

Figure 2(b)	rate in old pence per sq.ft rounded											total number*
	0-19	20	21-29	30	31-39	40	41-47	48	49-71	72	> 72	
1834 number	21	11	32	3	14	4	6	-	4	-	1	96
cumulative %	21.9	33.3	66.7	69.8	84.4	88.5	94.8	94.8	99.0	99.0	100.0	
1835 number	48	107	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	156
cumulative %	30.8	99.3	99.3	99.3	99.3	99.3	99.3	99.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1836 number	44	234	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	278
cumulative %	15.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1837 number	39	138	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	177
cumulative %	22.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1838 number	17	149	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	166
cumulative %	10.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1839-40 number	19	61	10	2	4	2	1	-	1	-	-	100
cumulative %	19.0	80.0	90.0	92.0	96.0	98.0	99.0	99.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1840-41 number	43	147	13	1	4	3	-	-	2	-	-	213
cumulative %	20.2	89.2	95.3	95.8	97.7	99.1	99.1	99.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1841-42 number	22	139	21	1	3	6	1	-	1	-	-	194
cumulative %	11.3	83.0	93.8	94.3	95.9	99.0	99.5	99.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1842-43 number	14	80	100	9	16	12	1	-	1	-	-	233
cumulative %	6.0	40.3	83.3	87.1	94.0	99.1	99.6	99.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1844 number	11	70	124	38	60	50	4	-	3	-	-	360
cumulative %	3.1	22.5	56.9	67.5	84.2	98.1	99.2	99.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1845 number	11	51	97	32	52	56	3	-	2	-	-	304
cumulative %	3.6	20.4	52.3	62.8	79.9	98.4	99.3	99.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1846(i) number	4	32	22	59	12	32	-	-	2	-	-	163
cumulative %	2.5	22.1	35.6	71.8	79.1	98.8	98.8	98.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1846(ii) number	4	4	8	21	6	33	-	-	-	-	-	76
cumulative %	5.3	10.5	21.1	48.7	56.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1846(all) number	8	36	30	80	18	65	-	-	2	-	-	239
cumulative %	3.3	18.4	31.0	64.4	72.0	99.2	99.2	99.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1847 number	2	5	13	56	16	158	2	-	-	-	-	252
cumulative %	0.8	2.8	7.9	30.2	36.5	99.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1848,49 number	10	26	25	115	18	143	3	-	7	-	1	348
cumulative %	2.9	10.3	17.5	50.6	55.7	96.8	97.7	97.7	99.7	99.7	100.0	
1850 number	5	30	19	38	11	12	1	-	1	-	1	118
cumulative %	4.2	29.7	45.8	78.0	87.3	97.5	98.3	98.3	99.2	99.2	100.0	
1851 number	4	26	10	44	12	11	4	1	1	-	1	114
cumulative %	3.5	26.3	35.1	73.7	84.2	93.9	97.4	98.2	99.1	99.1	100.0	
1852 number	9	33	13	46	12	16	4	-	4	-	1	138
cumulative %	6.5	30.4	39.9	73.2	81.9	93.5	96.4	96.4	99.3	99.3	100.0	
1853 number	3	21	17	26	31	13	12	5	12	9	2	151
cumulative %	2.0	15.9	27.2	44.4	64.9	73.5	81.5	84.8	92.7	98.7	100.0	

*See Appendix I, p.301 for the status of the Treasury totals.

TABLE XV: England and Wales: distribution of rates of building grant 1834-53.

SOURCE: Computer data.

The difference between the average rates of grants to England and Scotland was tested for significance using the Mann-Whitney U (non-parametric) test, giving the results shown in Table XVI.

period	England and Wales	Scotland	two-tailed probability
1841-42	22.2	36.3	0.000
1842-43	25.6	37.0	0.000
1844	30.1	28.3	0.367
1845	30.1	29.0	0.293
1846(i)	29.4	41.0	0.001
1846(ii)	33.3	36.5	0.065
1847	36.0	36.5	0.725
1848,49	33.5	33.6	0.546
1850	27.8	25.4	0.090
1851	31.2	28.2	0.874
1852	30.7	24.2	0.230
1853	35.7	32.5	0.508
1850-53	-	-	0.023

TABLE XVI: Results of tests of significance of differences between English and Scottish rates.

SOURCE: Computer data.

	England and Wales	Scotland
Figure	3(a)	4(a)
1834	56	-
1835	120	4
1836	143	9
1837	180	18
1838	153	16
1839	144	22
1840	149	30
1841	188	18
1842	198	19
1843	180	13
1844	243	5
1845	317	6
1846	335	7
1847	358	9
1848	383	28
1849	318	39
1850	252	41
1851	188	13
1852	232	14
1853	209	15
1854	283	19
1855	399	14
1856	406	20
1857	421	25
1858	491	39
1859	431	43
1860	383	29

TABLE XVII: Number of payments for all building-related purposes 1834-60.

SOURCE: Report 1860-61, pp.520-826.

	England and Wales	Scotland	
Figure	3(c)	4(c)	SOURCE
1848	496236	87606	1848-50,1,1xxviii
1849			
1850	158762	20406	1850-51,1,xcviii
1851	172694	18186	1851-52,1,132
1852	249979	24226	1852-53,1,74
1853	261593	16265	1853-54,1,66
1854	339013	26225	1854-55,132
1855	334088	20603	1855-56,44
1856	481841	26632	1856-57,52
1857	535564	29177	1857-58,52
1858	438812	34696	1858-59,xxiv
1859	559937	45862	1859-60,xxxii
1860	390599	37502	1860-61,xx

TABLE XVIII: Total school area in square feet aided, as stated in the Minutes and Reports 1848-60.

The initial analysis was complicated by the fact that some Committee of Council grants appear twice in the lists. There is first an apparently straightforward award of which there is no record of payment. Then, in the same or a subsequent year, there is a second award which obviously replaced the first, and which was paid. In these cases the first award only has been used in calculating average rates, as representing the Committee of Council's first thoughts. However the proportion of grants not paid can only be based on the second awards. Thus the cases in Table XIX total the same but are distributed slightly differently compared to those in Tables XIV and XV.

The cases in Table XX for Scotland number 289 rather than 264 as in Table XIV because they are all those given for building in the lists, including those where some details are missing.

Figure 3	total	number unpaid	% unpaid
1839-40	97	20	20.6
1840-41	211	14	6.6
1841-42	193	11	5.7
1842-43	220	12	5.5
1844	374	18	4.8
1845	302	21	7.0
1846	238	30	12.6
1847	252	23	9.1
1848,49	353	28	7.9
1850	120	12	10.0
1851	113	5	4.4
1852	138	6	4.3
1853	153	8	5.2

TABLE XIX: England and Wales, building grants unpaid 1839-53.

SOURCE: Computer data.

Figure 3	Kirk	Free Church	other	total
1839-40	30	-	-	30
1840-41	15	-	1	16
1841-42	22	-	-	22
1842-43	20	-	-	20
1844	9	-	-	9
1845	11	3	-	14
1846	15	1	2	18
1847	11	16	1	28
1848,49	14	52	9	75
1850	5	14	2	21
1851	4	7	1	12
1852	3	7	3	13
1853	5	5	1	11

TABLE XX: Scotland, grants stated as being for building, by denomination, 1839-53.

Since there could be an interval of a year or more between the award of a National Society grant and the award of a related Committee of Council grant, the proportion of National Society grants which can be associated with a government grant tails off towards the end of the Committee of Council data. No figures are therefore given in Table XXI for this proportion after 1852.

	average rate in old pence per sq.ft	total number	number with a government grant	number with no government grant	% with no government grant
Figure	5(a)	5(b)	5(b)	5(b)	5(c)
1841	12.4				
1842	11.2	260	192	68	26.2
1843	10.9	131	137	44	24.3
1844	15.6	201	158	43	21.4
1845*	21.8	427	344	83	19.4
1846	18.4	313	261	52	16.6
1847	16.1	254	219	35	13.8
1848	13.5	175	143	27	15.4
1849*	11.0	182	147	35	19.2
1850	10.2	131	114	67	37.0
1851	9.5	153	89	69	43.7
1852	7.8	165	115	50	30.3
1853	7.8	159	-	-	-
1854	9.1	162	-	-	-

* totals for 1845 reduced to 4/5 and for 1849 to 6/7 for annual rate - see above pp.303, 306.

TABLE XXI: National Society building grants, by report year 1841-54.

SOURCE: Computer data.

Appendix D

ANNUAL-GRANT DATA

	Scotland		England and Wales					SOURCE <u>Minutes or</u> <u>Report</u>	
Figure	12	11,12	11						10,11
y/e 31 Dec.	1st year	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year	total		
1850	154	1069	1381	1282	388	70	4190	50-51,1,ci-cii	
1851	170	1044	1110	1225	1159	457	4993	51-52,1,141-2	
1852	227	1041	1052	1012	1150	1088	5343	52-53,1,77	
1853	319	1627	1212	1004	946	1062	5871	53-54,1,69	
1854	354	1797	1632	1173	917	870	6389	54-55,134	
1855	379	1770	1842	1522	1113	870	7117	55-56,47	
1856	463	2281	1952	1788	1441	1087	8549	56-57,55	
1857	432	2889	2510	1879	1659	1432	10369	57-58,55	
1858	530	3104	3020	2388	1772	1636	11920	58-59,xxviii	
1859	493	2773	3205	2906	2371	1697	12952	59-60,xxxv	
1860	425	2321	2995	2989	2757	2175	13237	60-61,xxiii	
1861	410	2682	2769	2866	2962	2685	13964	61-62,liii	
1862	468	2466	2832	2572	2766	2802	13438	62-63,lv	
1863	450	1865	2433	2726	2347	2517	11888	63-64,lxxii	
1864	210	1685	1822	2193	2341	2158	10199	64-65,lxxxvi	
1865	385	1970	1707	1700	1893	2086	9356	65-66,lx	
1866	514	2206	2016	1560	1497	1658	8937	66-67,cvi	
1867	635	2811	2184	1827	1387	1279	9488	67-68,xciii	
1868	716	3166	2822	2118	1717	1294	11117	68-69,lxxxix	
1869	639	3392	3230	2654	1986	1580	12842	69-70,lxxix	

TABLE XXII: Number of pupil teachers in service 1850-69.

Figure 1)	certificated teachers			annual grant schools			SOURCE Minutes or Report		
	ex	RC	RC*	total	ex	RC	RC*	total	
y/e 31 Oct. 1849								1133	48-50,1,clviii
1850	694	27	721					1455	50-51,1,ci-ciii
1851	742	34	776						51-52,1,143
1852	1114	33	1147						52-53,1,79
10 months to 31 Aug. 1853	1333	59	1392						53-54,71
12 month equivalent			1670						
y/e 31 Aug. 1854	1969	70	2039						54-55,135
1855	2419	62	2481						55-56,51
1856	3007	119	3126						56-57,61
1857	3563	164	3727	3367	178	3545			57-58,61
1858	4063	217	4280	3882	192	4074			58-59,3
1859	4974	223	5197	4269	193	4462			59-60,3
1860	5823	252	6080	4916	191	5107			60-61,3
1861	6410	310	6720	5230	219	5499			61-62,3
1862	6735	336	7071	5330	233	5563			62-63,1
1863			7375			5730			63-64,1
1864			8587			5891			64-65,1
1865			9429			6367			65-66,1
1866			9905			6694			66-67,1
1867			10501			7022			67-68,1
1868			11102			7406			68-69,1
1869			11752			7845			69-70,1

* see next page

TABLE XXIII: England and Wales: number of certificated teachers and annual-grant schools inspected 1850-69.

In Table XXIII the figures for Roman Catholic certificated teachers in England and Wales from 1850 to 1862 have been estimated from the published figures for Great Britain on the basis of 95% of the G.B. total (1850-55), 90% (1856) and 89% (1857-62); the figures for the number of Roman Catholic annual grant schools from 1857 to 1862 have similarly been estimated on the basis of 85% of the G.B. total. Possible errors in these estimates makes the total for England and Wales uncertain, but not to an extent greater than 0.5% or so.

approximate date	number of schools		number of p.t.s		p.t.s per school				% of schools with > 4 p.t.s
	all	new	all	new	new	rest	Spec. Fund areas	rest of Eng.	
1 Nov. 1847	40	-	100	-	-	-	2.42	3.25	7.5
1 Nov. 1848	120	84	372	197	2.34	4.86	3.42	2.38	20.8
1 Nov. 1849	171	52	550	114	2.19	3.66	3.45	2.79	18.7
1 Nov. 1850	194	26	658	44	1.69	3.64	3.67	2.92	23.7
1 Nov. 1851	218	30	743	58	1.93	3.64	3.59	3.09	25.7
1 Jan. 1853	229	21	735	39	1.86	3.35	3.35	2.99	24.0
1 Jan. 1854	241	26	738	40	1.54	3.25	3.26	2.76	18.7
1 Jan. 1855	264	32	876	38	1.19	3.61	3.64	2.83	23.1
1 Jan. 1856	284	24	937	29	1.21	3.49	3.76	2.67	22.2
1 Jan. 1857	318	32	1061	35	1.09	3.59	3.81	2.70	23.6
1 Jan. 1858	369	50	1251	77	1.54	3.68	3.85	2.76	23.3
1 Jan. 1859	418	47	1425	60	1.28	3.68	3.92	2.73	22.7
1 Jan. 1860	454	45	1511	62	1.38	3.54	3.81	2.69	22.0

TABLE XXIV: Statistics of Yorkshire pupil teachers 1847-60.

SOURCE: Computer data.

From 1846 to 1854 the Minutes included the names of individual pupil teachers who had been apprenticed up to 31 October, and the corresponding amount due to be paid to them and their teachers in the succeeding year, the payments being annually in arrears. From 1853 to 1861 there was included the cumulative total that had been paid to each school on account of pupil teachers up to 31 December. The two

series are not always consistent with each other and, on the whole, the record of actual payments has been preferred. From it, by a process of subtraction and reasonable deduction, a number of apprentices in Yorkshire in each school in each year has been arrived at. These are no doubt inaccurate in detail, but there is no reason to distrust their general pattern. Along with the school details, including the year of any building grant, they have been put on computer file and analysed using SPSS. The results are shown in Table XXIV (previous page).

year	index of money wages (1850=100)	% unemployment
1850	100	(4.0?)
1851	100	3.9
1852	100	6.0
1853	110	1.7
1854	114	2.9
1855	116	5.4
1856	116	4.7
1857	112	6.0
1858	110	11.9
1859	112	3.8
1860	114	1.9
1861	114	5.2
1862	116	8.4
1863	117	6.0
1864	124	2.7
1865	126	2.1
1866	132	3.3
1867	131	7.4
1868	130	7.9
1869	130	6.7

TABLE XXV: Money wages and unemployment 1850-69.

SOURCE: The series have been taken immediately from W. Layton and G. Crowther, An Introduction to the Study of Prices (1935), p.265. They come in turn from G.H. Wood, 'Real Wages and the Standard of Comfort since 1850', Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, LXXII(1909), pp.91-103, where they appear on p.102. It seems that the wages index originated with Wood, and his discussion of it implied that it covers all employees, regardless of age and sex (*ibid.*, p.98). The unemployment percentages were from a Board of Trade publication, and were based on records of unemployment among members of trade unions in the U.K. presumably largely adult males (PP1905, LXXXIV, 121 and 127).

Appendix E

TREASURY BOARD PAPERS RELATING TO EDUCATION 1839-1860

The Treasury Board Papers, which make up the present T1 class in the Public Record Office, are the main source for the Treasury's activities in the nineteenth century. They consist of all the Treasury's incoming correspondence along with the associated internal discussion, minutes of decisions and draft replies.

Incoming documents were numbered sequentially from the beginning of each year so that, for example, 4978/39 means the document, or file, numbered 4978 in 1839. They were registered by numerical sequence, by correspondent alphabetically, and by department alphabetically, in the registers which now form the class T2. In a typical year in the mid-nineteenth century some 25-30 000 documents were registered.

As time went on some files were destroyed, and others were assembled by subject. A record of this process was maintained in the skeleton registers which now form the class T3. Each surviving assemblage, which may consist of a single file or several tens of files, has a Public Record Office reference, for example T1/4505/23036. The last part of this is the file number of the file with the largest number in the most recent year (usually there is only one year) in the assemblage. The middle number goes in chronological sequence through the class, i.e. the later the files the bigger this number.

Because the modern researcher is using the searching system used and maintained by generations of Treasury clerks, he has to deal with his predecessors' accumulated mistakes, in particular files which are unaccountably missing. In the case of routine files the simplest interpretation is that they have been destroyed without a record being made. Unfortunately several files potentially of great interest are also missing. The supposition must be that they have been repeatedly referred to and at some point not been put back into the system and so got lost.

The interest of all this in the history of the Education Department is that in the absence by and large of early surviving Education Department files, except the bare outline of those on individual schools, the Treasury Board Papers form the major source of contemporary Education Department documents. In the early years the situation is confused because the Treasury was still dealing with many schools itself. In 1840, for example, more than 200 Treasury files were registered under 'Schools', the heading which included all Education Department business, and most of these in fact relate to individual schools. By 1842 when little on individual schools came directly to the Treasury the number had dropped to less than 60. After 1847, with the expansion and increasing complication of Education Department business, it rose again to above 100.

The confusion in the early years is compounded by the fact that most of the schools documents seem to be missing (but establishing this for an individual file is difficult and time-consuming). Very probably they were conveyed to the Education Department after Kay

date	file	subject	notes
27 Nov. 1844	23133/44	establishment increase	T3 unclear } pencil note that Trevelyan looked at them
1 Jan. 1845	65/45	Boothby's salary	T3 unclear } 7/5/47
26 June 1847	15555/47	staff increases	} should be in T1/5296/24044, but that is an empty folder, with a cryptic note referring to 1863 and 1890
15 July 1847	17575/47	extra salaries	
16 Oct. 1847	24044/47	examiners' clerks	
14 Mar. 1850	5424/50	appointments and alter- ations to salaries	T3 unclear
	6577/53 } 7115/53 }	Greville's salary	should be in T1/5842A/24394, but isn't
	4024/54 5742/54	redundant officers return of superior officers	destroyed? T3 unclear
11 April 1854	8803/54	revision of establish- ment	should be in T1/5906E/25392 but isn't

TABLE XXVI: Important missing T1 files.

Shuttleworth's request at the end of 1844 (24548/44 in T1/5017/24657, 17 Dec. 1844), but there is no record. Accordingly the list which follows in Table XXVII is very incomplete for the early years. from 1842 to 1846 it is believed that files which have not been located are relatively unimportant - individual school business, formal letters, and so on. From 1847 it is comprehensive for the files registered under 'Schools' or under 'Council Office' but relating to the Education Department, in the sense that with the exceptions noted in Table XXVI, all files not included under these references have certainly been destroyed. There was systematic weeding of 1850 and 1851 files which was not noted in T3. From 1852 the weeding was heavier, and was noted in T3.

1839	T1/3405/28368	miscellaneous
1840	T1/4505/23036	miscellaneous
1841	T1/4566/4821 4595/13542	Kay's salary Battersea
1842	T1/4553/16510 4676/1403 4688/5753 4688/5776 4708/11776 4728/17211 4745/20544 4763/23809 4779/25337	(1 file) endowment of Scotch schools (1 file) payment to Thurgar land for school sites endowment of Scotch schools (1 file) payment to Thurgar Durham memorial inspectorate endowment of Scotch schools grant business
1843	T1/4894/25933 4900/26448 4903/26523	grant business miscellaneous inspectorate
1844	T1/4968/17384 4971/17353 5003/23748 5010/24230 5017/24657 5017/24663	inquiry expenses York blind school endowment of Scotch schools training college grant miscellaneous inspectorate
1845	T1/5030/1352 5061/13180 5086/19010 5086/19016 5089/19414 5121/24432 5128/24913	endowment of Scotch schools endowment of Scotch schools libel action small grants through the Post Office (1 file) grant business inspectorate grant business
1846	T1/5140/1681 5150/5446 5193/20462 5198/21828 5202/22677 5209/24419	grant business (1 file) grant business Welsh Commission expenses (1 file) grant business inspectorate grant business
1847	T1/5233/1757 5264/14126 5310/26809 5313/27240 5314/27590 5323/29027 5336/29735 5256/11071	(1 file) payment for Dr Taylor (1 file) grant business grant business Kneller Hall Welsh Commission expenses training college grants inspectorate Matthew Arnold's appointment
1848	T1/5361/10258 5387/18307 5388/18601 5391/19684 5394/20112 5405/23431 5406/23592 5413/24770 5420/25908 5422/26206 5440/27682	(1 file) Welsh Report translation emigration scheme (1 file) training college grant (1 file) franking letters (1 file) gratuity to Rapley Post Office money orders inspectorate increase for Lingen (1 file) training college grant Kneller Hall grant business

TABLE XXVII: Extant T1 files relating to education 1839-60
[continued on next two pages].

1849	Tl/5445/2165 5457/7742 5465/10796 5473/13686 5479/15764 5487/18018 5499/9779 5511/24917 5512/25082 5526/27432 5529/27679	(1 file) grant business (1 file) training college grant (1 file) grant business National Society staff reorganization trust deed training college grants money orders inspectorate Kneller Hall grant business
1850	Tl/5542/326 5552/6110 5552/6372 5555/7399 5570/13971 5583A/13490 5591/20866 5609/24224 5610/24237 5621/25274 5656/5388	(1 file) training college grant (1 file) training college grant estimate for 1950-51 (1 file) training college grant training college grant training college grant money orders promotions etc. inspectorate Kneller Hall legal business
1851	Tl/5634E/1599 5644B/6740 5646A/7440 5654A/10700 5654A/10909 5661A/14025 5661A/14026 5673E/18165 5676A/19035 5683B/21052 5689A/22429 5701A/24566 5714B/25684 5720E/26074	(1 file) training college grant " " " " " " " " (1 file) " " " " " Irish schoolbooks training college grant Kneller Hall money orders establishment etc. inspectorate
1852	Tl/5726A/6348 5735E/11986 5737A/12919 5741A/14620	(1 file) University of Edinburgh St David's College Lampeter establishment etc. National Society
1353	Tl/5799E/10411 5807E/15327 5814A/18507 5817E/19319 5827B/22546 5842A/24894 5845A/25337 5845A/25361	Crown land industrial teachers in workhouse schools inspectorate Irish schoolbooks Kneller Hall Committee of Inquiry, and appointments (1 file) National Society Committee of Inquiry
1854	Tl/5861E/6172 5861E/6196 5875E/14045 5877E/15022 5894B/23195 5906E/26392 5907E/26540 5907B/26566	(1 file) grant business (1 file) Crown land (1 file) account inspectorate grant business staffing etc. education exhibition Kneller Hall
1855	Tl/5963A/18866 5967B/19552 5970A/19814 5980A/20562 6622E/8537	staffing etc. educational museum Kneller Hall school deeds black-edged paper

TABLE XXVII: [continued from previous page].

1856	T1/5989A/5918 6031A/19376 6031A/19438 6037A/19996 6046A/20715 6048A/20341	(1 file) examiners educational museum amalgamation of departments Kneller Hall Lennard's accounts salaries etc.
1857	T1/6050E/1000 6051E/1548 6054E/2822 6059A/5636 6062A/7530 6070A/11594 6082A/15282 6099A/19314 6099A/19336	(1 file) grant business school site (1 file) inspector's salary (1 file) educational museum (1 file) examiners Kneller Hall staffing etc. Lennard's accounts Science and Art Department
1853	T1/6116A/4284 6119A/6069 6119A/6070 6124A/9588 6127A/11164 6128A/11536 6129A/11981 6132A/13358 6133A/13673 6133E/13916 6133E/14069 6138E/15699 6151E/18764 6153A/19126 6160A/20130 6163E/20633 6163A/21055 6168A/21074 6774E/3682	Boothby's retirement Woolley's transfer (1 file) Cowie's salary inspector's equipment Ordnance Survey maps auditing of Education Department accounts grant business printing of reports (1 file) additional assistant clerk grant business grant business (1 file) architect Irish schoolbooks grant business Newcastle Commission Science and Art Department Science and Art Department (1 file) Chester's retirement issue procedure
1859	T1/6176E/1783 6177E/2529 6186A/8147 6191A/10814 6191A/10922 6198A/13604 6199E/14156 6202A/14798 6219A/18974 6227E/19906	grant business Payly increase (1 file) grant business grant business staffing etc. printing reports Hutchinson's retirement Science and Art Department Newcastle Commission printing
1860	T1/6250A/9059 6254E/11440 6255E/11736 6275A/18814 6276C/19078 6278E/19339 6283A/20075	assistant clerks grant business grant business printing reports Irish education grant business salaries etc.

TABLE XXVII: [continued from previous page].

Appendix F

DETAILED STAFFING HISTORY 1839-1862

This appendix outlines the evidence for the precise course of the growth in numbers of the Education Department staff and the identity of the individuals concerned. It forms the basis for the tables in Chapter 3.

Harry Chester, the senior second-class clerk in the Council Office was officially transferred to the Education Department by the Privy Council Minute of 8 August 1840, and granted a supplement to his salary of £100 a year. However, he was later described as having had also a gratuity of £100 'for past services rendered', i.e. one year's supplement, and had written to the Treasury on education business as early as 22 August 1839, which suggests that he had been attached to the Education Department in practice since some time in the summer of 1839.(1)

On 1 October 1840 Charles William Hutchinson was officially appointed 'a Clerk in the Education Department' at £100 a year, but when he retired in 1859, and on at least one other occasion, he was described as having started on 1 October 1839, so it seems likely that, as with Chester, his formal appointment ratified an established arrangement.(2) William Golden Lumley was appointed counsel at £200

(1)PC4/19, pp.135, 189; 18375/39 in T1/3405/28368.

(2)PC4/19, p.137; 9831/59 in T1/6199B/14156; 25684/51 in T1/5714B/25684.

in August 1840 (see also above pp.219-20).(1)

On 7 November 1840 Bathurst, Greville's alter ego, wrote to the Board of Works requesting more rooms, in view of 'the contemplated increase in the business of the Education Committee and of the appointment of additional Clerks'. In December he referred to 'the five clerks of the Education Department'.(2) Who were the five? Since 'Clerks' plural were to be appointed at least three of the five were Hutchinson and two new appointments. A fourth was Chester. Assuming Kay Shuttleworth, Kay as he then was, would not be described as a 'clerk', the fifth could have been Lumley, who was referred to as a clerk in the proceedings of the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure of 1848 and in the 1849 estimate (see below p.331); or it could have been a fourth supplemental clerk to make up the four who were being employed by the end of 1844.(3) Finally it could have been Harrison who, when he was formally transferred to the Education Department in January 1842, was said to have rendered efficient services 'for a very long and laborious period in the Education business'. He was given a supplement of £50 a year from 5 January 1842 and a gratuity of £50 for past services, i.e., again, one year's supplement, so his actual attachment to the Education Department may have dated from before the end of 1840.(4)

(1)PC4/19, p.136.

(2)PC7/6, pp.84,91.

(3)PC4/19, p.280.

(4)PC4/19, p.189.

W. Westmacott was appointed 'architectural clerk' in October 1841, (1) and in January 1842 Bayly was transferred from Privy Council business. This transfer was formalized in July when he was given a supplement of £50 a year and a gratuity of a half year's supplement. (2) The situation remained unchanged until January 1845, except that at some stage the fourth supplemental clerk was certainly appointed. On 27 November 1844 sanction was sought for the addition of three clerks to the Privy Council establishment. The original letter, 23133/44 (T2 vol. 186, p.55) is one of those missing from the Treasury files (see Appendix E), and it does not appear in the relevant volume of the Privy Council outletters, PC7/7; but what may be assumed to be more or less its contents are recorded in PC4/19, pp.279-82, and in summary in the Treasury reply in T9/9, p.94. Charles Edward Boothby was transferred from the Post Office, where he had served since 1839, and Thomas Kay and Lister Lister-Kaye were appointed.(3) The three became respectively the third, fourth and fifth clerks in the third class.

The next additions were in 1847 when new appointments were made to deal with the business resulting from the 1846 Minutes: two examiners at £500 and £400, a statist at £250, and five clerks at £100. Kay Shuttleworth's letter of 26 June 1847 (15555/47) outlining the scheme, and his later letter of 16 October naming the appointees (24044/47) are both missing (see Appendix E). Neither appears amongst the Privy Council outletters, but what may be presumed to be

(1)PC4/19, p.176. See also above pp.170, 220.

(2)PC4/19, pp.189, 203.

(3)PC4/19, p.283; 3895/58 in T1/6116A/4284 (for Boothby's history).

the contents of the former is rehearsed in the Treasury reply of 1 July (T27/142, p.507) which reply is also recorded in PC4/19, p.365; and the names of the appointees contained in the letter of October are noted on 4737/52 in T1/5737A/12919.

The chief examiner was James Armitage, and the second Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingen. The statist was J.C. Banfield. The five clerks were distinguished as between two 'assistant clerks' and three 'supplemental clerks'. On the evidence of the 1852 note the assistant clerks were Charles Watkins Merrifield and John Godfrey Hickson, and the supplemental clerks James Tilleard, Walter Severn and one Vance. Three of the five, Merrifield, Hickson, and Severn, were later promoted to the Privy Council establishment. When that happened it was stated that two of the three had in fact on appointment been provisionally 'placed in the class of Junior Clerks with an understanding that they should have that rank on the establishment when a permanent arrangement was made'.(1) It may be supposed, therefore, that these were Merrifield and Hickson, and that the two assistant clerks of 1847, despite having the same salary, had a higher status than the three supplementals.

The next additions after 1847 were in 1849. In March all the staff were named, including in particular the four Council Office supplemental clerks whose posts dated from 1844 or earlier.(2) The senior was Hutchinson. Next came B.B. Moore, his initials distinguishing him from R. Moore who was appointed in 1849. Most probably B.B. Moore was one of the 1840 appointments. The third was

(1)PC7/7, p.298.

(2)PC7/7, p.300.

Balfour. His name appears for the first time on the 1849 list, but it is possible that he also had been employed since 1840. The first clerk in 1844 had certainly been Stanney, whose name appears faintly in pencil on PC4/19, p.282 along with those of Hutchinson and B.B. Moore. By 1849 Stanney had been replaced by R.Joyner.

The correspondence relating to the changes of 1849 reveals that the number of Vacher copyists had grown tremendously since 1845, to 16, and presumably the growth had chiefly been since 1847 to cope with the annual-grant business.

Armitage did not last long as chief examiner, going on sick leave in the spring of 1848 and resigning in November of the same year, when Lingen was officially promoted to chief examiner and Francis Richard John Sandford was appointed second examiner.(1) In addition Frederick Temple, having been appointed as Principal of Kneller Hall, served temporarily as an examiner from 24 April 1848. The date of his starting work was perhaps related to Armitage's departure. Similarly Francis Turner Palgrave, having been appointed Vice Principal of Kneller Hall, worked as a temporary examiner from 19 January 1849, just as Lingen was starting to stand in for Kay Shuttleworth.(2) Thus the number of examiners was effectively increased from two to three in November 1848, as shown in Table XXVIII.

Kay Shuttleworth collapsed on 9 December 1848.(3) The evidence suggests that this was the date at which he stopped being effective

(1)15070/48 and 24770/48 in T1/5413/24770; 1981/49 in T1/5526/27432.

(2)16272/48 in T1/5422/26206; 1981/49 in T1/5526/27432.

(3)Smith, p.215.

June 1847 to April 1848	April 1848 to Nov.1848	Nov.1848 to Jan.1849	Jan.1849 to Jan.1850
Armitage Lingen	Lingen (Temple)	Lingen (Temple) Sandford	(Temple) Sandford (Palgrave)

TABLE XXVIII: Examiners 1847-50.

head of the Department. Initially, it seems, Chester took over informally, not that Kay Shuttleworth's absence would create any immediate need for a substitute. Neither the building-grant business under Chester nor the annual-grant business under Lingen needed any further day-to-day supervision. However someone had to sign letters, and initially Chester did - in the volume of selected letters which survives, his name appears from 10 January 1849 to 10 March 1849, and he signed letters to the Treasury on 22 and 29 January. Lingen's first in the Education Department volume is dated 20 March, and his first with the title 'Assistant Secretary pro tem' 24 March, the day after Jowett congratulated him on his promotion. The only letter in 1849 above Kay Shuttleworth's signature was on 29 March, i.e. after Lingen had formally been made his substitute.(1)

Again, Kay Shuttleworth resigned his salary from 31 March.(2) This would have given him three months or so sick pay, much the same as in the case of Armitage, who had been paid up to 5 July 1848 having gone sick around the beginning of April. Against these considerations is Smith's statement that Kay Shuttleworth returned to work. However the implication is that this was not before the middle of February, and involved in any case only matters peripheral to the main work of

(1)ED9/12, pp.122, 137, 138; 1981/49 in T1/5526/27432.

(2)24770/48 in T1/5526/27432.

the Department. During the same period the question of a successor was being actively pursued. The return to work was therefore an insubstantial affair.(1)

It is convenient here to consider Kay Shuttleworth's statements about the number of staff at his disposal. In 1845 he said the work was done 'by six gentlemen under my superintendence, and the books and registers are done by four clerks'.(2) This agrees exactly with the situation in 1845 as deduced from other sources. In May 1847, writing to Lord Lansdowne, he described his staff as having grown from one to forty since 1839.(3) At this date the situation in the office was the same as it had been in January 1845. With Kay Shuttleworth himself and fifteen inspectors the apparent total of permanent employees was 28. The number of copyists may have increased from one since 1845, but still a total of 40 seems a considerable exaggeration. In June 1848 he was asked by the Select Committee to confirm that there were nine clerks in his department. He replied, 'There are nine clerks on the staff of the Privy Council Office connected with my department, and there are provisional appointments'. Presumably the provisional appointments were those paid out of the Education Grant (including the examiners). Of clerks in the straightforward sense there were in fact ten, Chester down to Joyner. But the nine referred to omitted Boothby, Kay and Lister-Kaye for some reason, yet included Lumley and Westmacott.(4)

(1) Smith, pp.218,219; Russell Papers, PRO30/22/7E, Lansdowne to Russell, 23 Feb. 1849, quoted in Johnson, 'Education Department', p.339.

(2) 'Present Condition', p.8.

(3) Smith, p.213.

(4) PP1847-48, XVIII, 1, q.6128 and Appendix p.107.

The changes in 1849 were proposed to the Treasury in a letter from Greville to Trevelyan of 29 March, but a marginal note on the Privy Council outletter says 'N.B. this [indecipherable] was prepared in and issued from the Education Department', presumably, at that date, by Lingen, to whom in any case the style would point.(1) He originally proposed that eight of the existing copyists should be taken on as Education Department employees, and in the event took on nine. They are identified in the lists by their previous pay being entered as an hourly or weekly rate. Their initials, where known, have for the most part been taken from a later list, 4810/53 in T1/5845A/25361. In addition to those promoted, two new supplemental clerks were taken on, and the implication of the scheme was there would now be no need for copyists. Balfour apparently died or resigned, and was replaced by Withers, in all probability also a former copyist.

Merrifield, Hickson, and Severn, and two new appointees, Henry Strickland Bryant and John Bulteel, were added to the third class of the Privy Council establishment. The Minute of 25 April under which they were appointed stated:

The Lord President, in consequence of the arrangements made and about to be made this year for the effectual dispatch of business in the Office, and referring to the classification under three heads of the Clerks placed on the Establishment under the Minute of 14 Decr 1830, desires to have it understood that the Gentlemen this year placed, in the third Class of Clerks, will not, as vacancies occur, succeed to Appointments in those Classes, in order of Seniority, but will be selected for promotion to them according to the capacity and industry they have evinced by the Lord President for the time being.(2)

(1)PC4/19, p.446; PC7/7, p.298.

(2)PC4/19, p.435.

There may have been a connection between this stipulation and Merrifield's starting at £170 rather than at the first point on the scale.

After this there were no more additions to the Privy Council establishment. In January 1851 Thomas Kay resigned, to be replaced by Robert Burnet David Morier, and at some time between then and March 1852 Bulteel resigned, to be replaced by Gower William Randolph. There is no record of the change, but Randolph's name appears in place of Bulteel's in a list of March 1852.(1) One additional supplemental clerk, William Sims Pratten, was appointed in July 1851. B.B. Moore died in 1849.(2) His replacement, William Darham, was himself replaced, as were Thorpe and Musselwhite, before March 1852. The three new men were Marks, W. Broad and G. Saunders.
(3)

Kneller Hall was ready for occupation early in 1850, and Temple and Palgrave left the office. Joseph Bowstead and Richard Arthur le Mesurier were appointed examiners in their stead so formalizing the de facto increase from two to three. In January 1852 they were joined by John S. Sykes.(4)

Banfield, the original statist (statistical clerk) left in 1851. Julian Jackson was appointed in March at a reduced salary of £200.(5) Of the two clerks paid from the Education Grant, Tilleard went to Kneller Hall as fourth master at the same time as Temple and

(1)PC4/19, p.504; 4737/52 in T1/5737A/12919.

(2)14702/51 in T1/5714B/25684.

(3)PC4/19, p.458; 4737/52 in T1/5737A/12919.

(4)5911/50 and 6215/50 in T1/5609/24224; 12919/52 in T1/5737A/12919.

(5)6538/51 in T1/5714B/25684.

Palgrave, and Vance resigned in December 1851. They were replaced by, respectively, John Goodall and John Edward Price.(1)

If the appointment of copyists as supplemental clerks did away with the need for copyists in 1849, the need soon returned. In March 1851 '7 - 10' had on average been employed in the previous year.(2)

In July 1852 William Dunn joined the supplemental clerks in place of Marks. There is a record that J.A. Marquess was appointed in December 1852, but his name does not appear on a list of February 1853, nor is there anyone else missing from that list whom he could have replaced. The list, which was supplied by Greville, not Lingen, may have been a little out of date.(3) In March 1853 Jackson, the statist, died. MacKenzie, his assistant, took over his duties on a temporary basis, and since the only difference between what the 1853 Committee of Inquiry found and the situation in July 1852 was one less supplemental clerk on the Education Vote and one more on the Council Office Vote, it may be assumed that a supplemental clerk was taken on in the meantime, MacKenzie's confirmation as statist only being delayed until the outcome of the Inquiry. If Jackson went off sick sometime before his death, perhaps Marquess was appointed in anticipation, or initially on a temporary basis.(4)

Of the superior officers, Morier resigned in October 1852, to be replaced by Hew Dalrymple Hamilton Wardrop,(5) and Bowstead moved to

(1)6215/50 in T1/5609/24224; 25684/51 in T1/5714B/25684.

(2)5880/51 in T1/5714B/25684.

(3)PC4/20, pp.46, 54; 4810/53 in T1/5845A/25361.

(4)6719/53 in T1/5842A/24894; PP1854, XXVII, 255.

(5)PC4/20, p.49 gives the date, and 4810/53 in T1/5845A/25361 Wardrop's surname.

the inspectorate in January 1853. In his place came Alexander Turner Cory. In July of the same year le Mesurier died and Arthur Hugh Clough was appointed.(1) Lister-Kaye became an examiner not long after the reorganization. The somewhat tenuous evidence for this is that his death was described as creating a vacancy for Palgrave to fill. In March 1855 Merrifield was similarly promoted. By May 1855 Lister-Kaye was dead. In that month the closure of Kneller Hall was agreed, and Palgrave moved from there to the vacant position, starting work in July.(2)

The next changes in the upper establishment were in 1857. In June Severn, Bryant and Randolph were made examiners,(3) leaving only Hickson and Wardrop in the moribund class, where they stayed until they retired, Wardrop in 1881 and Hickson in 1895.(4) Boothby retired on health grounds at the beginning of 1858 and Harrison returned to the Council Office in March. The date of this is implied by the Granville memorandum cited above (see pp.136,139). At the end of the year Chester retired, again on grounds of health.(5) Sykes was then promoted to be the second assistant secretary.

In July 1859 two new examiners were appointed, William Finch Edwards and George Miller, the first new men since Clough in 1853. The 1859 correspondence does not mention them by name, but they are identified from their position in a list included in a private note from Lingen to G.A. Hamilton, Trevelyan's successor at the Treasury,

(1)518/53 in T1/5842A/24894; 20257/53 in T1/5842A/24894.

(2)4314/55 in T1/5970A/19814; 10160/55 in T1/5970A/19814.

(3)10590/57 in T1/6082A/15282.

(4)8264/81 noted in T2, vol.334, p.184, and 8403/95 noted in T2, vol.390, p.196. Neither file survives.

(5)3895/58 in T1/6116A/4284; 21074/58 in T1/6168A/21074.

of January 1863.(1) A year later they were joined by Horace Waddington, following Bayly's return to the Council Office in May 1860.(2) In 1861 Randolph retired, apparently on health grounds - he had had a 'protracted absence ... from illness' at some stage, perhaps connected with his resigning as Granville's 'half' private secretary, and died in 1863.(3) In March 1861 Sandford went on secondment to the International Exhibition in Paris, and in April Clough went off sick. To fill the gaps, Edward Poste and Sidney Joyce were appointed on a temporary basis, and Cory stood in as assistant secretary. Poste's appointment became permanent after Clough's death in November.(4) Finally, in September 1861 as a belated consequence of the Treasury investigation of 1857, Robert George Crookshank Hamilton was appointed as accountant.(5)

The tendency of the changes between 1857 and 1861 was to reduce the size of the upper establishment from about 16 to about 12. Meanwhile the lower establishment had grown rapidly. The agreed number in 1854 had been 23, including 19 existing employees. Four new men were taken on of whom three were ex-copyists. Consistently with this, between the first and third quarters of the year the average number of copyists fell from about 16 to about 13.(6)

From 1854 on it is not possible to list the lower establishment by name. On the one hand the Treasury files have been progressively

(1)10922/59 in T1/6191A/10922; 1789/63 in T1/6465A/18365.

(2)9731/63 in T1/6465A/18365; PC4/20, p.231.

(3)3684/63 in T1/6465A/18365; PC4/20, p.221.

(4)4849/61, 5668/61, 16928/61 in T1/6325B/16928; 3684/63 in T1/6465A/18365.

(5)PP1862, XXI, 181.

(6)T9/10, p.194; PP1854, XL, 419; 13611/54 in T1/5906B/26392; PC1/2657, Vacher accounts.

more heavily weeded. On the other, changes in Education Department staff were no longer recorded in the Privy Council Minute Book after the separation of the two departments. Although, therefore, the reports of the Civil Service Commissioners list all appointments from July 1855 on (see Appendix H), there is no record of resignations, and so a cumulatively less accurate picture of who was employed.

When Kneller Hall closed in 1855 Tilleard moved back to the office as an assistant clerk.(1) From then on, during the period in which the upper establishment was stable and then declined somewhat in size, the lower first increased rapidly in size and then stabilized. During 1855 it increased to 33 or 34, and between the beginning of 1857 and the end of 1858 increased further to 48 (see Appendix H). The increase at the end of 1855 represented a major substitution of assistant clerks for copyists, and each subsequent increase had a similar effect, but in no case did it last long, and 15 or more copyists were typically being employed between 1855 and 1862. After 1859 an idea of the number of copyists employed can only be got from the sum put down for their payment in the annual estimates, reckoning £100 per copyist per year. Comparison of these estimates for earlier years with known figures shows that the two were at least of the same order of magnitude, as can be seen in Figure 14 (p.192).

(1)10160/55 in T1/5970A/19814.

Appendix G

THE BALLIOL LINK

In his analysis of Education Department staffing Johnson gave considerable prominence to Balliol College, referring to 'the Balliol-Privy Council link', 'the Balliol pipe-line', 'the first Balliol invasion', and 'the Balliol stranglehold'.(1) These phrases, and such explanation of them as Johnson offered, have little justification.

He gave two alternatives for what they meant. The first was a link between Jowett and, primarily, Lansdowne, whereby Jowett guided likely recruits in Lansdowne's direction. The second focussed on Lingen, who chose men from his old college in preference to others. The appointments of Lingen, Arnold, Temple, Sandford, Palgrave, Clough and Morier were the result of one or other of these processes.
(2)

The notion that Lingen owed his place to prior contact between Balliol and the Department is theoretically implausible, and is unsupported by evidence. Jowett's letters of the period show that he had a consuming interest in university reform and little or none in the civil service. Characteristically when writing to Lingen he gave the latter's professional concerns the most cursory mention before launching into some new essay on Oxford matters. He was not

(1)'Education Department', pp.319, 322, 476; 'Administrators in education', p.119.

(2)'Administrators in education', pp.119-20; 'Education Department', p.476.

interested in the civil service because the notion of the universities as training grounds for bureaucrats did not yet exist, and Jowett was not in the process of inventing it. Such invention as was going on was in the mind of Kay Shuttleworth; and such evidence as exists suggests that he was looking in a quite different direction (see above pp.164-5, 170-1).

The sequence of events put forward by Roach is much more consistent with the known development of Jowett's thought: 'It was probably through Lingen and through Stafford Northcote, one of Jowett's Balliol contemporaries, that he came into contact with Trevelyan and Macaulay in 1853-54.'⁽¹⁾ In other words it was Lingen who introduced Jowett, not the other way round.

Matthew Arnold almost qualifies as Balliol reject, and the notion that the recently appointed Lingen, especially if his recruitment was basically by Kay Shuttleworth rather than by Lansdowne, could influence the Lord President in his choice of private secretary, is far fetched. Arnold was the son of his late father, and of his very much alive and solicitous mother, who had already made efforts on his behalf. In March 1847 he was passing on to Jowett his conversation with Lansdowne; and in April Jowett informed Lingen of the private secretaryship as though it were a matter of surprise to both of them.

(2)

(1) J.P.C. Roach, 'Victorian Universities and the National Intelligentsia', Victorian Studies, III (Dec.1959), p.149 n.56.

(2) Park Honan, Matthew Arnold A Life (1981), p.112; Hutton MSS, Jowett to Lingen, 11 March 1847 and 28 April 1847.

Only with Temple do we come to an unambiguous case, his name certainly having been suggested by Lingen.(1) Interestingly, Temple was the only other Balliol fellow to get an Education Department job in this period; and also that job, Principal of Kneller Hall, was a specifically educational one, for which special qualifications would seem to be desirable and for which, if it were compared with the headship of a public school as at one point Jowett almost did, the natural candidate would be one from an Oxford or Cambridge common room.(2)

On Sandford's case there is really no evidence. But his, like Temple's, having been introduced by Lingen would be consistent with the uncertain and fluid state appointments were still in, when it was felt that some new sort of man was needed but it was not clear quite what sort of man that would be. Sandford's recruitment through Lingen would be comparable to Lingen's own, or Armitage's, through Kay Shuttleworth's brothers.

The last three of Johnson's examples, Palgrave, Clough, and Morier were more or less clearly the result of the operation of connection. As Temple's lieutenant, Palgrave perhaps too needed special qualifications. But Clough and Morier obviously owed nothing to their college connection and all to their friends in high places (and Morier, of course, became an establishment clerk, not an examiner).

What it comes back to is an undefined situation between 1847 and 1849 or 1850, in which Kay Shuttleworth's original vision of a need

(1)E.G. Sandford (ed.), Memoirs of Archbishop Temple (1906), II, p.489.

(2)Hutton MSS, Jowett to Lingen [17 Oct. 1847].

	year of appt.	undergraduate	fellow
Armitage	1847	Trinity, Camb.	Trinity, Camb.
Lingen	1847	Trinity, Oxf.	Balliol
Sandford	1848	Balliol	-
Bowstead	1850	Pembroke, Camb.	Pembroke, Camb.
Le Mesurier	1850	Corpus, Oxf.	Corpus, Oxf.
Sykes	1852	Pembroke, Camb.	Pembroke, Camb.
Cory	1853	Pembroke, Camb.	Pembroke, Camb.
Clough	1853	Balliol	Oriel
Palgrave	1855	Balliol	Exeter
Edwards	1859	Trinity, Camb.	Trinity, Camb.
Miller	1859	Exeter	Exeter
Waddington	1860	University	-
Poste	1861	Oriel	Oriel
Joyce	1863	Christ Church	Christ Church

TABLE XXIX: Examiners' university connection 1847-63.

SOURCE: Foster, Venn.

for new men allowed unusual scope for the lateral operation of influence, the people already in the job being temporarily the only ones who could claim to know what was needed. As an objective minimum qualification emerged, it paradoxically allowed more, not less, scope for influence of an old-fashioned kind to operate as well. While uncertainty lasted Lingen looked to his own friends and acquaintances, with Jowett no more than a bystander. When a new situation crystallized, he lost his central role.

Table XXIX is restricted to examiners. I can see no justification for including Arnold or Morier. Only for Temple could a reasonable case be made, but still, even temporary Balliol dominance would not be clear cut.

Appendix H

THE LOWER ESTABLISHMENT 1855-1862

There is some uncertainty about the progress of the lower establishment because of discrepancies between statements of the total number at different times and statements of increases. The latter, between August 1855 and April 1859 add to 22; but in that period the establishment increased by 25, from 23 to 48. It stood at 23 after the 1854 reorganization. There was a stated increase of ten in 1855, but by the beginning of 1857 the total was 34, not 33.(1) The simplest assumption is that the extra man was Tilleard, whose re-entry to the Department was under unusual circumstances. Lingen referred explicitly in May 1856 to a 'vacancy' making it seem unlikely that there was an increase in the establishment then; but it remains possible, as it does that one of the four copyists promoted in July and August 1855 was appointed to fill a new post (see above pp.177-8, and below Table XXX).

There was definitely an increase from 34 to 39 in February 1857. There was a further stated increase of six in September of the same year, and one in August 1858, but in April 1859 when Lingen asked for a further increase of four the total stood at 48, not 46. Again the simplest explanation is that the missing two were the two appointed after a second competition in February 1857.(2)

(1)13289/55 in T1/5963A/18866; 3022/57 in T1/6082A/15282.

(2)15281/57 in T1/6082A/15282; 13673/58 in T1/6133A/13673; 6550/59 in T1/6191A/10922.

If the simplest explanations of the 'missing' increases are accepted, along with the compromise assumed to have been reached between Lingen and Granville (see above p.179), the resultant picture receives general support from showing a pattern of increases to the establishment of a reasonable number at a time (taking the two increases in February 1857 to be part of the same discussions with the Treasury, which included new salary scales) contrasted with the filling of vacancies normally singly, as might be expected, and consistently with Chester's description of the promotion of copyists (see above p.176).

In April 1859 Lingen requested an increase of four to make 52, and put 52 into the estimate for 1859-60.(1) The request was granted in principle, but was to await the report of a committee set up to look at the role of assistant clerks and copyists. The committee was overtaken by the change of government in June 1859, was set up again, and reported in June 1860 in favour of a greater use of copyists and against increases in lower establishments. In the meantime Lingen had again put 52 into the estimate.(2) However there were no appointments in 1859 or 1860 which could correspond to an increase of four in the establishment (see Table XXX), and in 1861 the figure in the estimate was back to 48.(3) It seems therefore that the establishment stayed at 48 all along.

Table XXX lists all the clerks appointed in the period, with the best conclusion that can be reached as to their origins and the

(1)'P1859(II), XVI, 554.

(2)6550/59 in T1/6191A/10922; 9059/60 in T1/6250A/9059; Wright, pp.119-121; PP1860, XLIII, 174.

(3)PP1861, XXXIX, 194.

Date of certification	Competition or simple nomination	Origin
21 July 1855(1)	Edward Isaiah Dearman N	copyist
28 Aug. 1855(1)	William Hodgson Alfred Thomas King William Albert Morfey } N	copyist One of these an increase in the establishment so that by the spring it was 34?
27 Nov. 1855(1)	William James Passett John Pope Hennessy Daniel Dennis Hutchings Richard William Nelves Frederick Reynolds George Ritchie John Shirlaw John Simmonds James Richens Trendell John Daniel Wilkes } C	private nominees? Assumed to be the ten by which Lingen proposed to increase the establishment in his letter of 10 Aug. 1855(9).
18 June 1856(1)	Henry Fitzgerald Earnard C	private nominee?
9 Feb. 1857(1)	Robert Abbott Thomas Brodribb Edward Chaplin Joseph Benjamin Rundell William Matthew Taylor } C	{ Soc. of Arts Assumed to be the five who would increase the establishment from 34 to 39 as proposed by Lingen in his letter of 17 Feb. 1857(10). { Crosby Hall? { (12) { Soc. of Arts(6)
21 Feb. 1857(1)	Frederick Clarence Sharland N	copyist
24 Feb. 1857(1)	Thomas Ford William Schwenk Gilbert } C	{ Crosby Hall? An unrecorded increase of { Dr Jelf? (12) two in the establishment?
2 Aug. 1857(1)	William Luke Browne N	copyist
15 Sept. 1857(1)	Thomas Chesman Henry Cullum Edward Highton Frank Marshall Edward Philip Plowman Thomas Stevenson } C	{ Dr Jelf(7) { Crosby Hall { Soc. of Arts Assumed to be the six meant in Lingen's letter of 25 Sept. 1857(11). { Crosby Hall { Soc. of Arts { Rev.S.Hawtreay
1 Dec. 1857(1)	Francis Benjamin Maule N	Ed. of Health(8)
22 Sept. 1858(1)	Charles Townsend N	? } Assumed to be the additional man mentioned 2 Aug. 1858(1).
4 Dec. 1858(2)	Edward Phelps Bartlett N	? } Lord Salisbury's Presidency
13 June 1859(3)	Frederick Dobede Fairman N	private nominee?(14)
24 Jan. 1861(4)	Richard Charles Browne Joseph Marshall Carpenter Archibald Simon Lang Macdonald William Vaughan } C	institutional nominees?
13 Dec. 1862(5)	John Gershom Greenhough William David Ground Joseph Hiam Levy James Robert Norton George Wreford } C	institutional nominees?

TABLE XXX: Appointments to the lower establishment 1855-62: clerks certificated by the Civil Service Commission (see references at the top of the next page.)

- (1) 3rd Report of the Civil Service Commissioners, PP1857-58, XXV, 111ff.
 - (2) 4th Report of the Civil Service Commissioners, PP1859(I), VIII, 157ff.
 - (3) The Secretary of the Civil Service Commission told the Select Committee on Civil Service Appointments that there had been two clerks appointed to the Education Department in 1859. The relevant report of the Commissioners, the 5th, is ambiguous: in one list it says two were nominated and one appointed, but elsewhere implies that two were appointed. Only Fairman's name appears in the complete list of certificated persons - PP1860, IX, q.44; PP1860, XXIV, 349, 355, 397ff.
 - (4) 7th Report of the Civil Service Commissioners, PP1862, XXI, 116ff.
 - (5) 8th Report of the Civil Service Commissioners, PP1863, XX, 108ff.
 - (6) Select Committee on Civil Service Appointments, PP1860, IX, q.4012.
 - (7) Granville Papers, PRO30/29/23/10, pp.499-512. The institutions nominating candidates were the Society of Arts, University College, Working Men's College, Rev. S. Hawtrey (Windsor School), Dr Jelf (King's College), and Crosby Hall.
 - (8) 13982/57 in T1/6082A/15282.
 - (9) 13289/55 in T1/5963A/18866.
 - (10) 3022/57 in T1/6082A/15282.
 - (11) 15281/57 in ibidem.
 - (12) In his letter of 25 September 1857 Lingen said Cullum and Marshall were the fourth and fifth clerks from Crosby Hall; on the assumption that this was the only previous competition with institutional nominees, these must be the first three. Alternatively, if Ford and Gilbert were institutional, in which case Gilbert presumably by King's College, Ford could be one of the three from Crosby Hall instead of one of the others.
 - (13) 13673/58 in T1/6133A/13673, Lingen to Trevelyan.
- His father wrote thanking Salisbury for the appointment: Cecil Papers, S. Fairman to Salisbury, 26 June 1859.

circumstances of their appointments. There is some indication that however the social or promotional pretensions of the clerks may have changed after November 1855 (see pp.177-8), many still shared Pope Hennessy's view of their clerkships as staging posts on the way to higher things. A few had some post-school education on appointment, notably Pope Hennessy himself, a graduate of Queen's College Cork, and W.S. Gilbert, a graduate of King's College London, neither of whom stayed long.(1) F.B. Maule had enrolled in the General Literature and Science course at King's College in 1847. Maule was

(1) James Pope-Hennessy, Verandah (1964), p.26; W.S. Gilbert, 'An Autobiography', The Theatre, 2 April 1883.

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the only one of the clerks from an identifiably upper middle-class background. He was (presumably the youngest) son of George Maule, the Treasury solicitor, and had been to Winchester. He resigned in August 1858.(1)

A more common story, as far at least as the matter has been pursued, was for the clerks to take courses after appointment. W.L. Browne, Highton, Abbott, Plowman, Reynolds and Marshall all enrolled at evening classes at King's College between 1856 and 1859. They all took French, and most took Latin and mathematics as well. In addition, between them, they took Greek, German, chemistry and English.(2) What is indicative is that of these only Browne stayed in the Department until retirement,(3) suggesting that extended education was a passport to more desirable employment rather than to internal promotion. J.G. Greenhough took a London M.A. in 1868 and, most striking of all, A.S.L. Macdonald went up to Oxford in 1867, where he later became a lecturer in physics.(4)

(1)King's College Admission Books, KA/E/A7, p.166; Cecil Papers, Sandford to Salisbury, 19 Aug. 1858.

(2)King's College Admission Books, KA/E/E1, p.310; E2, p.531; E3, pp.38, 39, 40, 94, 239; E4, pp.249, 268; E5, p.44; E6, p.284.

(3)From the evidence of Whitaker's Almanack 1889-1894.

(4)University of London The Historical Record (1912), p.232; Foster.

Appendix I

COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL EXPENDITURE 1839-1861

Expenditure from 1840 to 1852 is laid out in Table XXXI. Figures up to 1849 are basically from the Henley Return, those for 1851 and 1852 from, respectively, the Minutes for 1851-52 and 1852-53.(1) The figures for 1850 have been calculated from the part-year figures in the Henley return and the Minutes for 1851-52. Figures in bold type have been taken unchanged from the original source. Those in roman type have been calculated, in one way or another, from the original source or sources. Those in italics are different from those in the Henley Return because of mistakes or omissions. Often figures do not add to the stated total. This is a result of rounding sums involving shillings and pence. Asterisked figures are those to which individual reference is made in the notes which follow.

Building grants to training colleges.

The Henley return comprised in fact several returns, the first of which, referred to here as the Henley general return, was an account of all expenditure of the Committee of Council on Education up to 8 August 1850, and the second an account of grants to training colleges. Most building grants to training colleges were also included in the list in the 1848-50 Minutes. Comparison of the totals in the Henley general return with the corresponding totals calculated from the 1848-50 list, and cross-checking the individual

(1) PP1851, XLIII, 125-40; Minutes 1851-52, pp.136,137; 1852-53, p.71.

	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS						
building, enlarging, repairing and furnishing	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ 3149 3923 — — 1837	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ 3198 5946 8909 — 3133	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ 18952 991 — 23618 3666	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ 19605 3384 — 24837 2626	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ 27867 2149 — 31034 1015	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ 41844 3337 — — 1189
apparatus	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \end{array} \right\}$ — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \end{array} \right\}$ 7 —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \end{array} \right\}$ 7 —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \end{array} \right\}$ — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \end{array} \right\}$ — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \end{array} \right\}$ 215 —
books and maps	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ other \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ other \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ other \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ other \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ other \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ other \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —
industrial schools	—	—	—	—	—	—
TEACHERS						
pupil-teacher stipends and gratuities to their teachers	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —
augmentation of salaries of certificated teachers	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —
pensions	—	—	—	—	—	—
TRAINING COLLEGES						
building, enlarging, repairing and furnishing	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — 5000 — 1000 2500 — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — 7500 — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — 6000 — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — 2500 — — 5000 [*] —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ W \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — 5000 1000
annual maintenance	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — 1000 [*] 500 [*]	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — 1500 1000 [*] 1250 [*]
payments on account of certificates	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ RC \\ S \\ SF \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ — — — — — —
payments on account of Queen's scholars	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — —	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ B \\ S \\ SF \end{array} \right\}$ — — — —
OTHER						
inspection	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} denom \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ 733	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} denom \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ 1733	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} denom \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ 1587	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} denom \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ 1930	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} denom \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ 2286	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} denom \\ WH \end{array} \right\}$ 2361
administration	1000	1733	383	55	2019	2168
TOTAL	11642	31733	31959	29356	40052	56821

N - Church of England RC - Roman Catholic S - Church of Scotland
 B - British WH - Workhouse SF - Free Church of Scotland
 W - Wesleyan SE - Episcopal Church of Scotland

TABLE XXXI: Committee of Council expenditure 1840-52 (£) [continued on next page].

SOURCE: See discussion in this appendix.

	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850*	1851	1852
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS							
building, enlarging, repairing and furnishing	{ N 38241 B 2779 W — RC — S 631 SF 120 }	{ 40234 3245 250 45088 1028 1968 3075 }	{ 42745 3058 1028 52753 1048 4320 +280SE 858 }	{ 36442 3351 1173 1789 46948 2089 2099 3802 }	{ 31200 1173 2089 40364 1155 100 974 864 }	{ 20430 889 1375 1679 1649 535 1260 }	{ 26985 1375 1679 1649 535 1260 }
apparatus	{ N 213 B 19 }	{ 232 15 }	{ 326 340 51 }	{ 908 626 3 +24W }	{ 653 — — — }	{ — — — — }	{ — — — — }
books and maps	{ N — B — W — RC — S — SF — other — }	{ — — — — — — — }	{ 500 104 6 617 — — 7 }	{ 2276 336 218 2937 — — 33 }	{ 1315 190 172 157 1878 — 74 }	{ 1242 190 91 184 1715 — 8 }	{ 1631 257 192 137 96 312 21 }
industrial schools	—	—	—	—	23	23	113
TEACHERS							
pupil-teacher stipends and gratuities to their teachers	{ N — B — W — RC — S — SF — WH — }	{ — — — — — — — }	{ 6326 410 — 6736 — — — }	{ 19669 2535 874 24118 669 350 22 }	{ 40245 6857 2591 1129 54928* 2133 170 }	{ 55616 10276 3484 2220 78000* 2744 181 }	{ 49383 11733 4297 3065 5320 5594 195 }
augmentation of salaries of certificated teachers	{ N — B — W — RC — S — SF — }	{ — — — — — — }	{ 743 — — 743 — — — }	{ 4424 281 208 5442 288 241 }	{ 6880 788 622 10295 501 1270* }	{ 10223 1258 987 15474 1190 1430 }	{ 9994 1568 945 10975 1547 2406 }
pensions	—	—	—	—	20	20	70
TRAINING COLLEGES							
building, enlarging, repairing and furnishing	{ N 4550 B — W — RC — S 4000 SF — WH — }	{ 3200 — — 8550 — 10890* }	{ 340 — — 14090 — 3000 11244* }	{ 3133 — — 14584 — 3000 7850* }	{ 8750 — — 13983 — 1000* 6484* }	{ 7070 — — 16234 — 4913* }	{ 6777 — 7500 1400 — 320* }
annual maintenance	{ N 1000 B 750 S — WH — }	{ 1750 1000 750 500* }	{ 2250 1000 750 1000* }	{ 2750 1000 750 500* }	{ 2250 1000 750 500* }	{ 4261 1000 1250 3020 }	{ 1500 750 1000 3395 }
payments on account of certificates	{ N — B — RC — S — SF — WH — }	{ — — — — — — }	{ 1705* — — 1705 — — — }	{ 2210 — — 2633 — 423 — }	{ 2907 — — 2407 — — — }	{ 3970 — — 4065 — 95 — }	{ 4452 200 20 673 2719* 140 }
payments on account of Queen's scholars	{ N — B — S — SF — }	{ — — — — }	{ — — — — }	{ — — — — }	{ — — — — }	{ 429 — — 429 }	{ 2216 244 39 129 +18WH }
OTHER							
inspection	{ denom 5979 WH 300 }	{ 6279 — }	{ 13811 — }	{ 14195 — }	{ 18833 — }	{ 23095* 4122 2405 }	{ 15557 32084 2971 }
administration	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	58582	75579	94991	117799	154604	164314	188857

N - Church of England RC - Roman Catholic S - Church of Scotland
 B - British WH - Workhouse SF - Free Church of Scotland
 W - Wesleyan SE - Episcopal Church of Scotland

TABLE XXXI: [continued from previous page].

grants with the Henley training-college return, shows which training-college grants the Henley general return included. These were in fact all those listed elsewhere and in addition a grant of £5000 to the Church of Scotland college at Glasgow in 1844, not listed anywhere but recorded as being granted in 1841, and mentioned in the Minutes for 1846.(1)

The one training-college grant immediately recognizable in the Henley general return is that of £36 419 to Kneller Hall in 1850, amounting to the total for 'workhouse schools' for that year. It is not included in the 1848-50 list, but is repeated in the Minutes for 1851-52 (p.135). However, Treasury records show that payments for Kneller Hall began in 1847. The figure of £36 419 is close to the total of £36 468 which the Treasury records show up to the end of 1850, assuming, as seems to have been the case, that £200 per quarter rates and taxes for 1849 and 1850 were counted as building expenditure.(2) The figures in Table XXXI under this head are thus from the Treasury. The Henley training-college return figure for the building cost of Kneller Hall is £41 809. This must be assumed to include the amount for 1851.

The Henley general return does not record any payment to the Free Church of Scotland in 1850. However, £1000 appears in the accounts of the Free Church itself, and this has been identified with what would otherwise be an inexplicable excess in the amount for salary

(1)Minutes 1841-42, p.35; 1846, 2, p.513.

(2)14278/48 in T1/5422/26206; T1/5526/27432; T1/5621/25274; T1/5689A/22429.

augmentation for the Free Church in this year.(1)

Annual aid to training colleges not under the 1846 Minutes.

The Henley general return does not distinguish between aid under this head and that consequent on the 1846 Minutes; but initially it is the only kind of aid recorded, and latterly may be deduced from the global figure actually given. As far as Scotland is concerned annual grants of £500 each to the training colleges in Edinburgh and Glasgow were awarded in 1841. However, because of the Disruption and building delays, it seems that neither grant was paid until 1844 or, according to John Gordon's report for 1846, not until 1845.(2) Grants paid were recorded in the 1846-50 list, in the Henley training-college return, in the Henley general return, and in the printed accounts of the Church of Scotland.(3) No two lists agree in detail, but the Henley figures are confirmed by the Treasury records and have thus been preferred. As for England and Wales, in 1843 grants were awarded of £1000 p.a. to the National Society and £750 p.a. to the British and Foreign School Society. Payment of both grants was made in 1844 and 1845.(4) The Henley training-college return records payment from 1844 on, but the Henley general return only from 1846. The figures for the earlier years have thus been added in Table XXXI. For the later years initially they appear simply in the general return; and latterly their payment has been

(1) Scottish Record Office, Public Accounts of the Free Church, CH3/1208/3, p.99.

(2) Minutes 1841-42, p.36; 1846, 2, p.488.

(3) Scottish Record Office, General Assembly Papers Main Series, CH1/2, pp.192-204.

(4) PP1843, XL, 669; H.J. Burgess, Enterprise in Education (1958), p.111; Minutes 1846, 2, p.322; NS Report, 1845, p.52, 1846, p.68.

confirmed by a rather laborious disentangling of the figures from those for salary augmentation and and teachers' certificates with the help of the figures for certificates in the training-college return and the augmentation shown to have been awarded in the 1848-50 list.

The Henley general return shows nothing for the maintenance of Kneller Hall in the first part of 1850. However, the training college return gives £2611 as the maintenance for the whole year, which latter figure has been accepted.

Annual aid to training colleges under the 1846 Minutes.

Before 1851 the only form of annual aid paid under the 1846 Minutes was that on account of students who had gained certificates. The figures given are from the Henley training-college return. There are slight differences between the totals shown in subsequent accounts, and also between the list of individual awards in the Henley training-college return and subsequent lists, but no good reason for preferring the later versions except that both Henley Returns record £340 to Battersea in 1847 which probably belongs to, and is subsequently recorded as belonging to, 1848.

No payments to the Free Church of Scotland on account of certificates are recorded for 1850 or 1851. However the statement of awards in the Minutes for 1851-52 (1, p.293) shows £455 presumably payable in 1850 and £896 presumably payable in 1851. It is assumed that something like these amounts were paid in the two years, but only recorded in 1852, thus giving the very large figure of £2739 for that year.

Other annual aid under the 1846 Minutes.

Pre-1850 figures for salary augmentation have been extracted from the combined figures given in the Henley general return with the help of the lists of augmentation grants awarded in the Minutes for 1848-50, the records of payments on account of certificates in the Henley training-college return, and the records of annual aid to colleges not under the 1846 Minutes. The figure of £1270 for the Free Church of Scotland in 1850 is £1000 less than that so calculated on account of the supposed inclusion in the latter of a building grant.

Figures for payments to pupil teachers have produced no difficulties. In the accounts in the Minutes the categories 'pupil teacher stipends' and 'gratuities to their teachers' are separate.

Inspection and administration.

Comparison of the figures for inspection and administration in the Henley general return with the Treasury records of inspectors' expenses suggests that it is only the cost of the inspectorate and, from 1847, the salaries in the annual-grant department that the Henley general return includes under this head. It thus omits the various other payments out of the Education Grant which were made between 1840 and 1850. The most significant were those for the 1846-47 Welsh Inquiry, which cost more than £3000.(1) Now the Henley general return gives an extraordinarily high figure of £18 126 for

(1) The records of inspectors' expenses and other payments are listed in Appendix E.

administration in the first part of 1850. Since it seems that the Henley figure for total expenditure came from the Exchequer via the Treasury (see above p.189), it is reasonable to suppose that the anomalously high 1850 amount was what was left after all identifiable expenditure had been taken away. It has therefore been reduced firstly by all other miscellaneous payments remaining in the Treasury records, which have been allotted to the appropriate years, and secondly by the £3500 training-college payments omitted from 1844 and 1845.

The year 1850.

Adding together the revised part-year figures in the original sources gives, on the whole, credible totals for 1850. It must be stressed though that the very large figure for Kneller Hall included in the Henley general return under school building, the inflated figure for administration, and the consequently high total expenditure implied by Henley for 1850, make it seriously misleading for that year.(1)

Later financial statements.

The Henley general return gave a grants total of £559 218 for the period 1839 to 8 August 1850 and, however this figure was actually arrived at, it became the basis for future grant summaries. Errors which were afterwards found in the Henley general return could only be corrected by adjusting the make-up of the Henley grant total or by

(1) See for example Johnson, 'Education Department', p.479.

		Henley general return, elem. and tr. coll.		Minutes 1851-52, 1,135			change
				elem.	tr. coll.	total	
building grants	N	327730		301524	25950	327474	-256
	E	37149		31236	5000	36236	-913
	W	4607		4631	-	4631	24
	WH	36419		-	36419	36419	
	S	48507		30005	18500	48505	
	total	454412	454412			453265	453265
apparatus			2355			-	-2355
salary augmentation			} 20333 {			13565	} -20
certificates						6743	
tr.coll. pre-1846			13000			16500	3500
Minutes							
pensions			-			20	20
books and maps			4663			4664	
pupil teachers			64456			64455	
TOTAL			559218			559218	0

TABLE XXXII: Comparison of the summaries of expenditure from 1839 to 8 August 1850 given in the Henley general return and the Minutes for 1851-52 (£).

attributing a pre-Henley payment to a post-Henley date, as was perhaps done with part of the building cost of Kneller Hall, and payments for salary augmentation to the Free Church of Scotland.

The first procedure was carried out to allow for the omission from the Henley general return of the training-college payments in 1844 and 1845 amounting to £3500. These were included in summaries from 1852 on, and instead the pre-1846 Minutes apparatus grants, totalling £2355, were omitted. In addition the totals for building grants were reduced to make up the balance. Finally the amount for augmentation was reduced by £20 for the pensions figure which the Henley general return did not mention, although it continued to include £1000 which was in fact building grant. These changes are summarized in Table XXXII.

After 1852 an account of expenditure continued to be published annually in the Minutes and Reports on a standard basis. These accounts are summarized in Table XXXIII.

y/e 31 Dec.	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861
building schools	26101	43412	71288	74471	117771	140826	134199	117103	99507
books and apparatus	2895	1783	2385	3957	7803	5718	6145	4833	5992
reftry. and industrial schools	281	890	1678	8159	19105	27026	13028	9743	9311
capitation	-	5957	10126	20080	39362	49523	61183	63897	77240
pupil teachers etc.	139040	138356	143806	158229	192248	221719	252551	257558	301827
augmenting salaries	26773	37647	44878	52088	64491	74041	86328	98171	121627
asst. and probatry. teachers	81	2635	4556	5050	5544	5904	6693	10769	16711
building training colleges	6578	16677	6155	9537	1893	10389	3008	1025	6945
annual grants to tr. colls.	19197	39394	39960	45785	57220	73732	89588	92329	101866
other*	1635	1652	1865	2316	3367	3507	5902	7123	9105
inspection	26260	30444	30241	30830	34434	39276	41230	43165	44143
adminis- tration [@]	1813	7589	12164	13081	16731	17212	18261	18682	19163
TOTAL	250659	326436	369602	423633	559974	668873	723116	724403	813442
SOURCE Minutes or Report	53-54, 1,65.	54-55, 131.	55-56, 41.	56-57, 49.	57-58, 49.	58-59, xxi.	59-60, xxix.	60-61, xvii.	61-62, xlvi.

* includes pensions, poundage on Post Office orders, agency fees for books and maps, night schools, and schools of drawing

[@] until 1853 most salaries, and therefore the bulk of the administrative cost, were borne on the Privy Council Vote

TABLE XXXIII: Committee of Council expenditure 1853-61 (£).

year	Henley total	computer total	difference	diff. as % of smaller total
1840	3909	9879	970	10.9
1841	22276	23513	1237	5.6
1842	23618	24146	528	2.2
1843	24837	24995	158	0.6
1844	31034	31117	83	0.3
1845	46370	44890	-1480	3.2
1846	41771	42295	524	1.2
1847	45088	45415	327	0.7
1848	52753	54152	1399	2.6
1849	46943	47728	780	1.7

TABLE XXXIV: Comparison of the building-grant totals calculated from the Henley Return and from the data on computer file (£).

Building grants to schools.

This was the largest category of expenditure in the 1840s and the one in which the scope for error is greatest. Up to 1849, the Henley figures, adjusted for the inclusion of training-college grants, can be checked against the totals calculated from the data on the computer file (see Appendix C). The comparison is laid out in Table XXXIV. What happened in 1852, albeit on a fairly small scale, indicates that to some extent the figure for building grants was an artificial one which could be adjusted to maintain a constant total grant expenditure when other items had to be changed. It is possible that in the Henley general return it also, like the administration figure for 1850, acted as a flexible residuum to be adjusted up or down to suit the required total. That said, it remains that the general agreement between the two sets of totals in Table XXXIV is good, the difference exceeding 4% of the smaller only in 1840 and 1841. It seems insufficient to justify replacing the Henley-based amounts in Table XXXI.

year	income	expenditure	surplus	accumulated surplus	expenditure as a % of income
1839	30 000	0?	?	?	?
1840	30 000	11 642	18 358	48 358	33.8
1841	40 000	31 753	8 247	56 605	79.4
1842	40 000	31 959	8 041	64 646	79.9
1843	50 000	29 356	20 644	85 290	58.7
1844	52 342	40 052	12 290	97 580	76.5
1845	75 000	56 821	18 179	115 759	75.8
1846	100 089	58 582	41 507	157 266	58.5
1847	100 200	75 579	24 621	181 887	75.4
1848	125 000	94 991	30 009	211 896	76.0
1849	125 000	117 799	7 201	219 097	94.2
1850	125 067	154 605	-29 538	189 559	123.6
1851	150 183	154 314	-14 231	175 328	109.4
1852	160 056	188 857	-28 801	146 527	118.0

TABLE XXXV: Income and expenditure of the Education Department 1839-52 (£).

SOURCE: Expenditure is from Table XXXI. The income figures are from the Henley return. They include £10 000 transferred from the Treasury in 1841 and £12 282 in 1844. In addition in some years there were small amounts representing grants which had been repaid.

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- (i) Official Reports etc.
- (ii) Biographical Reference
- (iii) Directories and Chronicles
- (iv) Gazetteers

C. BIOGRAPHY, MEMOIRS, ETC.

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