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later fourth Baron Stanley of Alderly, fourth Baron
Sheffield*

A. W. Jones

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An abstract of an M.Ed. thesis by A. J. Jones entitled The work for education of the Hon. J. Lyulph Stanley, later Fourth Baron Stanley of Alderley, Fourth Baron Sheffield

Lyulph Stanley (1839-1925) devoted his life to the development of a national system of education under ad hoc civic authorities. Educated at Eton and Balliol and embracing an uncompromising radicalism he assisted in attempts to divest Oxford of sectarian influence before joining the School Board for London. So successful were his efforts at initiating school building from 1879 to 1885 that those years witnessed more board school accommodation opened in London than the two greatest provincial boards constructed in three decades.

The Cross Commission Extended Minority Report was basically his work and the National Education Association, a pressure group opposed to the Majority's recommendations and vigilant in the defence of school boards' rights was largely controlled by him until 1898. His Vice-Chairmanship of the S.B.L. (1897-1904) was marked by the crisis associated with the 'Cockerton Judgments', and this crisis may have been exacerbated by his own forthrightness. After the abolition of school boards, he worked for education in Anglesey, on the Central Welsh Board and in the House of Lords.

Throughout his career, during which he produced over thirty publications, he persistently saw the elementary school as the institution from which the system should grow and improved teacher-training as the means of raising standards.

Evaluating his work prompts these tentative conclusions:-

(a) the financial weakness of voluntary schools (c.1880-1902) sprang from the meanness of their supporters whose motives were often unrelated to furthering Christian education

(b) the Department on occasion administered the Elementary Education Acts with an excessive leniency towards denominational schools

(c, in the countryside the Department could have (i) created more suitable units by amalgamating small school boards and (ii) prevented the unnecessary multiplication of small schools

(d) some of the administrative units created in 1902 were over-large

(e) the development of the best elementary schools was sometimes thwarted until too late (e.g. in London) thereby rendering "parity of esteem" less likely in subsequent re-organisations.



E. Lyolph Stanley

*The work for education of the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley,
later Fourth Baron Stanley of Alderley, Fourth Baron Sheffield*

A thesis submitted by

A. W. Jones

in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Education

in the

University of Durham

1968

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Records of Stanley's administrative work are located in the Greater London Record Office in County Hall, London S.E.1 and in the Anglesey County Record Office, Llangefni. My thanks go to the staff of both offices; and I am grateful for being allowed to consult the maps in the Members' Library in County Hall, London.

Stanley's private letters survive in the Cheshire Record Office, the John Rylands Library Manchester, the library of Sheffield University, the National Library of Wales and in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, N.S.W. My thanks go to the archivists concerned especially where they provided me with photo-copies of the relevant documents.

The records of the National Education Association were consulted at the Free Church Federal Council, 27 Tavistock Square, London W.C.1 and at Dr. Williams's Library, 14 Gordon Square, London W.C.1. I am grateful for the facilities accorded me and for information on the location of relevant source material given to me by Mr. Wilfrid J. Rowland, the last secretary of the N.E.A.

Nineteenth-century pamphlets and leaflets in the Howell Collection at the Bishopsgate Institute and in the Gladstone Library at the National Liberal Club were also consulted and my thanks go to the librarians concerned.

I also wish to thank the Director of the Central Public Library, Art Gallery and Museum, Oldham and the Librarian of the University College of North Wales, Bangor for access to source material; the staff of The Times for allowing me to consult the file of the early edition of the paper not available elsewhere; the staff of the Westminster Public Libraries for allowing me access to stacks where their collections of periodicals are shelved; the authorities of the National Society for allowing me to consult their annual reports; the Librarian at the offices of the T.U.C., Great Russell Street, London W.C.1 for information about George Shipton; and the Librarian of the Beaverbrook Library, 33 St. Bride Street, London E.C.4 for searching the Lloyd George Papers for letters from Stanley.

In my unsuccessful attempt to trace the private papers of Sir John Gorst (1835-1916) I was accorded help by the editor of The Times Literary Supplement, the Archivists of the County Record Offices of Wiltshire, Lancashire and Kent; the Librarian of Cambridge Institute of Education; the Assistant Secretary, the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Chancery Lane, London W.C.2; members of St. Antony's College, Oxford; and Mr. John Gorst great-grandson of the former Vice-President. My thanks go to them all; and to the staff of the County Record Office of the North Riding of Yorkshire for information on the papers of the Bell family.

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A.W. Jones

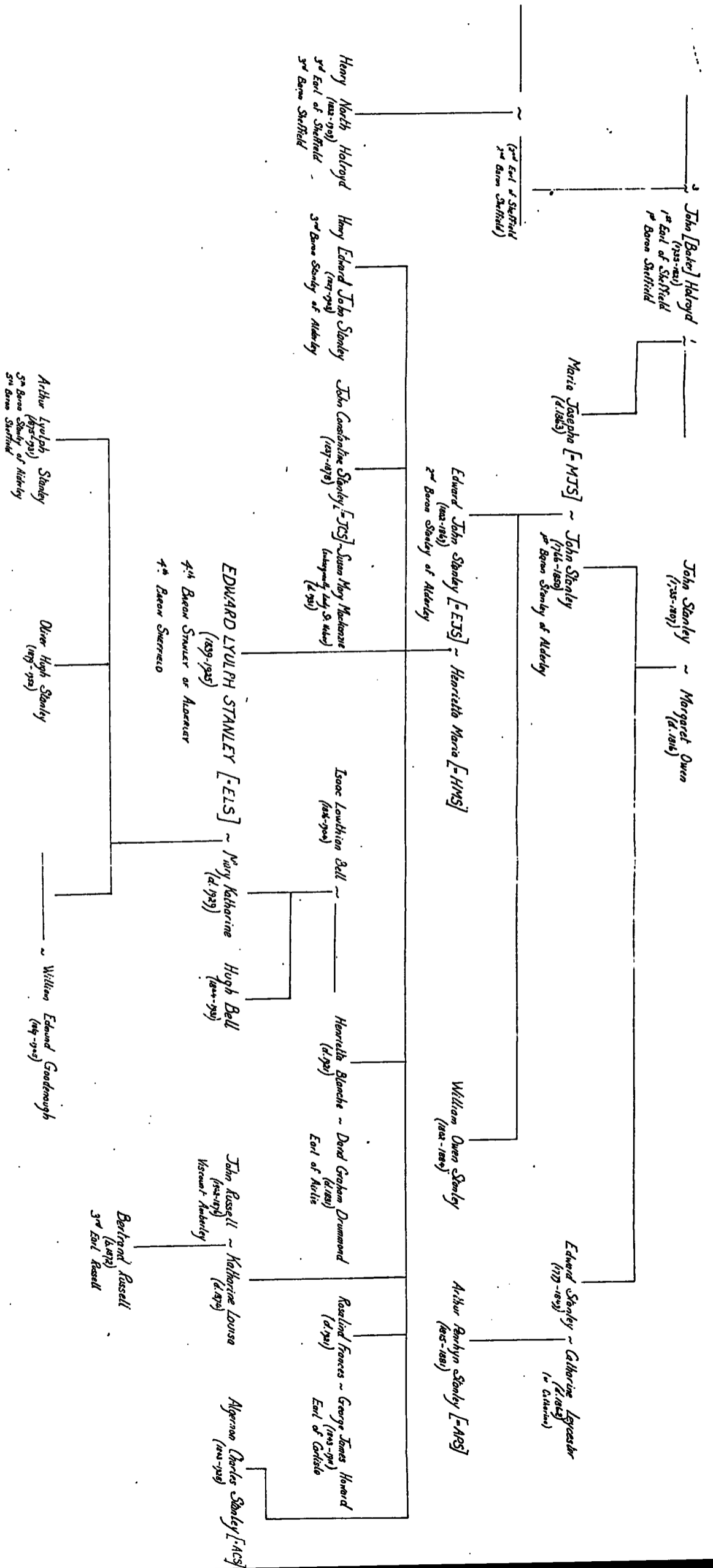
Barking, Essex.
August 1968.

Note to the Reader

A book based on this thesis has been published under the title Lyulph Stanley: a Study in Educational Politics. In the book I carry my interpretation of Stanley's work further than I do in this thesis.

A.W.J.

To be read in the context of the book 'Lyulph Stanley'



NB: This is not a conventional genealogical table, but is designed to show the family relationships of those persons named in the text, foot-notes or bibliography.

Genealogical Table

Fig. 1

CHAPTER ONE

Origins and Early Years

In their efforts to emancipate Anglican theology and practice from convention Benjamin Jowett and A.P. Stanley were equally unorthodox in their published works.¹ The future Master of Balliol bore the brunt of public displeasure: the future Dean of Westminster escaped censure. The reason for this may have lain in their different dispositions, one provocative, the other languid; but A.P. Stanley is alleged to have attributed his escape to his aristocratic connections, giving the laconic explanation, "because my name is Stanley".²

Arthur Penrhyn Stanley was born at Alderley Rectory in Cheshire and spent his boyhood there before his father left this family living to become Bishop of Norwich.³ Although the Stanleys of Alderley shared a common ancestor with the Earls of Derby, up to Regency times they were Cheshire squires of no great national moment. They farmed their estates in the eastern part of the county, acquired a baronetcy at the Restoration⁴ and built themselves a small red-brick Jacobean mansion, Alderley Hall.⁵ When the Hall was burnt down in 1779 the family moved to the bailiff's house, Park

¹ e.g. Jowett The Epistles of St. Paul.... and Stanley The Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians.... published on the same day in 1855.

² Lord Lingen quoted in Abbott and Campbell The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett.... vol. i p.233 note 2.

³ Stanley The Memoirs of Edward and Catherine Stanley pp.6, 26-27. D.N.B. Entry under Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn (1815-1881).

⁴ G.E.C. [okayne] Complete Baronetage... vol.iii p. 60-1.

⁵ Adeane The Early Married Life of Maria Josepha, Lady Stanley... picture on title page. Mitford (ed.) The Ladies of Alderley... p.xxiv of the 1938 edition; it is this edition that has been used throughout.

House, to which they and their successors built extensions.⁶ Hence the name Alderley Park for the family seat. The sixth baronet, Sir John Stanley (fig 1⁷) who was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in the reign of George III⁸, added to his property by marrying Margaret Owen heiress of Penrhos in Anglesey.⁹ The seventh baronet, another Sir John Stanley led an expedition to the Faeroes and Iceland¹⁰ and was elected F.R.S.¹¹ At the time of the Napoleonic Wars he led a force of Cheshire militia, which was eventually drafted to Sussex. There he met and married Maria Josepha daughter of Baron Sheffield.¹²

The Barony of Sheffield¹³ had been granted to John Baker Holroyd in 1781 for his bravery when leading the Northumberland militia to quell the Gordon riots. The Holroyds, originally a Yorkshire family had migrated to Ireland in the reign of Charles II,¹⁴ and had property there¹⁵ besides Sheffield Place

⁶ Mitford (ed.) The Ladies of Alderley... p. xxv.

⁷ Adeane The Early Married Life of Maria Josepha, Lady Stanley... p.435. Burke's... Peerage... 1967 edition.

⁸ G.E.C.[okayne] Complete Baronetage... vol. iii p.61.

⁹ Adeane The Early Married Life... p. vii.

¹⁰ In the summer of 1789. Adeane The Early Married Life... Chapters IV and V.

¹¹ 29 April 1790. D.N.B. Entry under Stanley, Edward John... (1802-1869).

¹² Adeane The Early Married Life of Maria Josepha, Lady Stanley... pp. 104, 106.

¹³ The barony of Sheffield of Dunamore, Co. Meath. The barony of Sheffield of Roscommon was granted to him in 1783. G.E.C.[okayne] The Complete Peerage... vol. xi (revised White) p.664.

¹⁴ D.N.B. Entry under Holroyd, John Baker... (1735-1821).

¹⁵ Implication in a letter of M.J. Holroyd to Ann Firth dated 18 February 1794 in Adeane The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd... p.271.

in Sussex which John Holroyd had purchased in 1769 and from which he took his title. With the Yorkshire Sheffield he had no known association¹⁶. He was no Ajax, an ignorant military man, but an exponent of model farming, a President of the Board of Agriculture¹⁷ and, like his daughter Maria Josepha, a friend and correspondent of Gibbon¹⁸.

Parentage and Upbringing

From the marriage of John Stanley and Maria Josepha Holroyd eleven children were born, including twin boys, Edward John and William Owen¹⁹. Edward John Stanley went to Eton whence he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford; and it may have been at Oxford²⁰ that he was given the nick-name "Ben", derived from Sheridan's Sir Benjamin Backbite. This nick-name stayed with him throughout his life and was justified by his incisive wit; yet he was popular because he was "a man of great kindness"²¹. He entered the Reform Parliament in 1831 as member for Hindon²², a rotten borough in Wiltshire population 921²³. As a Whig he voted for the Reform Bill which disfranchised his constituency, but was returned as

¹⁶ G.E.C. [okayne] The Complete Peerage... vol.xi (revised White) p. 663 (e).

¹⁷ D.N.B. Entry under Holroyd, John Baker... (1735-1821).

¹⁸ Lord Sheffield edited the historian's papers and published the Autobiography of Edward Gibbon in 1796. On pp. 295-8 of the 1907 World's Classics edition (no. 139 in that series) there is a letter from Maria Josepha to Gibbon.

¹⁹ On 13 November 1802. Adeane The Early Married Life of Maria Josepha, Lady Stanley... p.435.

²⁰ Malmesbury Memoirs of an ex-Minister p.212 of the 1885 one-volume edition.

²¹ The Times 17 June 1869.

²² D.N.B. Entry under Stanley, Edward John... (1802-1869).

²³ Census of 1831 Enumeration Abstract vol.ii p.696 in Parliamentary Papers vol.37 of 1833.

M.P. for North Cheshire at the next election. Early in 1835 he was appointed Patronage Secretary to the Treasury. Despite his reputation for stinging wit he discharged his duties with diplomacy as well as energy.²⁴

When twenty-three he had married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Viscount Dillon. She had been born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, but from the age of seven had lived in Florence, where she acquired a complete mastery in Italian and French. She also developed a great love of books and early in her marriage she read Rousseau's Émile and Locke's On Human Understanding with the upbringing of her own children in mind. But her concern for education was not limited to her own family. She became deeply interested in the girls' school at Alderley where she gave lessons herself on occasion, and once she invited the senior girls to Alderley Park for practical instruction in biology - watching a doctor dissect a sheep.²⁵

Henrietta Maria and her husband had ten children. Their third son was born in their town house in Grosvenor Crescent²⁶ on 16 May 1839. A week before this, the young child's grandfather, the seventh baronet, then aged seventy-two, had been raised to the peerage as the first Baron Stanley of Alderley.²⁷ The child, destined to become the fourth baron was named Edward Lyulph, but "Edward" was soon dropped or reduced to an initial. Why the name Lyulph was chosen can only be conjectured. A family history was published in Manchester in 1840 and it may have been the compiler's antiquarian enquiries that suggested the name. Lyulph was not a traditional name

²⁴ The Times 17 June 1869.

²⁵ The Journal of Education April 1895 pp. 217-219.

²⁶ Dod's Parliamentary Companion 1880.

²⁷ Burke's.... Peerage.... Entry under Sheffield. (The Annual Register 1839 Appendix to Chronicle p.305 gives 2 May 1839.)

in the Stanley family but the twelfth century Adam de Stanley had a brother Liulf de Audley,²⁸ who is named Lidulph and given a fanciful Norman origin in the 1840 history.²⁹ Those who later suffered under Lyulph Stanley's biting censures might have agreed that "Lyulph" meaning "fire-wolf"³⁰ had a certain appropriateness.

"Ben" Stanley received a set-back to his career when he lost his seat in the general election of 1841.³¹ While retaining his town house in Grosvenor Crescent, he moved his household to Winnington, a small Adam house twelve miles west of Alderley Park. Despite their Whig allegiance the Stanley family viewed the changes in Cheshire in the eighteen-forties with apprehension. When the railway was opened through Alderley³² and brought crowds from Manchester to the beauties of Alderley Edge,³³ the Stanleys felt their rights of property abused and contemptuously referred to the mill-owners who asked for access to the Edge as "Cottontots".³⁴ Once during the hungry forties weavers on strike came to Alderley and demanded free food: which was given out of prudence as the inhabitants "had no means of resistance".³⁵ Peel's Corn Bill designed to reduce

²⁸ Burke's... Peerage... Entry under Derby.
²⁹ The History of the Noble House of Stanley... pp.vii, 15.
³⁰ The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names.
³¹ The Annual Register 1841 Appendix to Chronicle p.133.
³² 10 August 1842.The Times 11 August 1842.
³³ Mitford (ed.) The Ladies of Alderley... p.71.
³⁴ Letter 83 dated 8 September [1843] from HMS to MJS in Mitford (ed.) The Ladies of Alderley... p.72.
³⁵ August 1842. Letters 47-48 from MJS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Ladies of Alderley... pp. 40-44.

For brevity the initials of members of the Stanley family are given in the footnotes. The key to these initials is in fig. 1.

food prices passed through the House of Lords on 26 June 1846 but on the same night the Commons rejected the Irish Coercion Bill³⁶ and Lord John Russell formed a government. Although "Ben" Stanley did not regain his seat until the following year,³⁷ Russell offered him the Under-Secretaryship at the Foreign Office.³⁸ Palmerston was Secretary. In 1848³⁹ "Ben" Stanley was raised to the peerage but used the title Baron Eddisbury of Winnington for less than three years before his father died and the two titles were merged.⁴⁰

Lyulph was his mother's favourite child because of his intellectual ability.⁴¹ In March 1850 she took him to Eton where he was examined in Greek exercises for half an hour by the eccentric school-master William Johnson. Johnson, then in the fifth of his twenty-six years at Eton, said Lyulph was "very superior" to any other boy brought to him for examination.⁴² In the decade preceding Lyulph's arrival, Eton had sloughed off its worst barbarities. Symbolic of the change was the demise of Montem, that pagan boyish ritual, ostensibly because the G.W.R. brought down disreputable sight-seers. Such external developments may have occasioned reform but Hodgson as Provost and Hawtrey as Head Master were the leaders of the "regeneration". The New Buildings were completed in 1846: and a new sewage system installed. No longer had visitors - even the King of Prussia - to be

³⁶ The Annual Register 1846: p. 152.

³⁷ D.N.B. Entry under Stanley, Edward John... (1802-1869).

³⁸ Letter 155, dated 4 July 1846 from HMS to MJS in Mitford (ed.) The Ladies of Alderley... pp. 132-133.

³⁹ 12 May 1848 G.E.C. [okayne] The Complete Peerage... vol. xii pt. 1 (revised White) p.254.

⁴⁰ 23 October 1850. Ibid. p.254.

⁴¹ Russell and Russell The Amberley Papers... vol. i. p.26.

⁴² Letter 353, dated 23 March [1850] from HMS to MJS in Mitford (ed.) The Ladies of Alderley... pp.280-1.

refused entry to the dormitories because of their squalor.⁴³ Despite these reforms the curriculum was still inadequate in the early fifties. There was no science: mathematics teaching was just beginning to grow: modern languages were looked upon with disdain.⁴⁴ Latin and Greek taught from inadequate text-books provided the basis of instruction for the six hundred boys. Only the pedagogic genius of a Johnson could transform this into real education.⁴⁵ Unlike his brothers Lyulph stayed the course, reaching Sixth Form in the Election of 1856.⁴⁶ He was not always popular, having difficulty in gaining entrance to the Eton Society (Pop),⁴⁷ but he did become Captain of Oppidans and was instrumental in starting House Fours by "collecting subscriptions for a challenge cup".⁴⁸ Of Lyulph's schooldays at Eton William Johnson reported to Lord Stanley - "... Amongst the hundred pupils or more that I have had I have known not one boy equal to him in general information or in candour & few equal to him in uniform good humour & in generosity of sentiment. I should have liked another year to tell him a few things that I have in my head, but he has learnt a great deal more than Eton boys generally learn & I have no doubt that he will profit infinitely by Oxford training."⁴⁹

⁴³ ^{Lyte} A History of Eton College 1440-1910 pp. 444, 458, 459, 464, 512 of the 1911 edition.

⁴⁴ Ainger Memories of Eton Sixty Years Ago p.85.

⁴⁵ e.g. Mackenzie William Cory pp.54-55.

⁴⁶ Stapylton Eton School Lists 1853-6-9 p.254a.

⁴⁷ Letter 272 dated July 27 1857 from William Johnson to EJS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley... p.177.

⁴⁸ Sterry Annals of the King's College of Our Lady of Eton Beside Windsor p.320.

⁴⁹ Letter 272 dated 27 July 1857 from William Johnson to EJS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley... p.177.

Oxford Days and the Reform of the University

In the Trinity Term of 1857 Lyulph Stanley went up to Balliol, that nursery of Victorian educational administrators. Lingen, Cumin, Sandford and Kekewich were all associated with Balliol. Lingen became a Fellow in 1841. In the same year Cumin and Sandford went up as undergraduates; and so in 1859 did Kekewich.⁵⁰ Thus from the appointment of Lingen as Secretary to the Committee of Council in 1849 until Kekewich's retirement from the Board of Education in 1903, a representative of Balliol headed the Whitehall administration of the education service. For their contribution to education these men are still remembered in educational circles but Lyulph Stanley despite his forthrightness, vision and industry is almost forgotten.

His position as a second cousin to A.P. Stanley, as the son of a cabinet minister⁵¹ and as a distant relative of the fourteenth Earl of Derby, Chancellor of the University and Prime Minister, gave him a variety of connections rare even in Oxford, and as a junior undergraduate he was on familiar terms with the most eminent there.⁵² A.P. Stanley was senior to his cousin by twenty-four years and was installed as a Canon of Christ Church in 1858,⁵³ yet Lyulph Stanley called

⁵⁰ Elliott Balliol College Register 1833-1933 pp.3,20,26.

⁵¹ "Ben" Stanley was President of the Board of Trade 1855-8 and Post-Master General 1860-6. The implication in the D.N.B. memoir that he was not offered a seat in the cabinet until Gladstone was forming his first ministry in 1868 is not borne out by the entries in The Annual Register e.g. 1856 Appendix to Chronicle p.205.

⁵² Abbott and Campbell The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett... vol i; p.267 and Faber Jowett... pp. 301, 303.

⁵³ Prothero The Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley... vol.i p.536.

him by his Christian name and went frequently to his rooms.⁵⁴ Benjamin Jowett was Lyulph Stanley's tutor and they formed an association that was to warm into friendship and last until Jowett's death.⁵⁵ As Lady Stanley wrote of her son: "... considering the great difference in the two, the German & Greek abstraction of Jowett, & the practical physical life of Lyulph, it told well for him..."⁵⁶ This "practical physical life" included steeplechasing,⁵⁷ rowing and football. He was a member of the crew which won the Ladies Plate at Henley in 1858.⁵⁸ But playing football he suffered an injury and had three stitches in his tongue: "Ben" Stanley wrote pithily to his wife, "Poor Lyulph, I hope his tongue is not seriously injured, as it is his main breadwinner. Though we may benefit from his mitigated speech, & you will not be able so frequently to stop the company to listen to his marvels, it must be very disagreeable to him..."⁵⁹ His eloquence was heard at the Union and shortly after going up he was attending every week but he found Oxford deplorably conservative,⁶⁰ and for this reason disliked it.⁶¹ Despite all these activities

⁵⁴ e.g. letter 349 dated 28 November 1858 from ELS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley... p.228.

⁵⁵ e.g. Jowett and Stanley went to Switzerland on holiday together in 1886. Abbott and Campbell The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett... vol. ii p.258.

⁵⁶ HMS reporting the words of Catherine Stanley to EJS. Letter 288 dated 11 November 1857 in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... p.186.

⁵⁷ Letter 319 dated 18 March 1858 from ELS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley... pp.206-7.

⁵⁸ Sherwood Oxford Rowing... p.394.

⁵⁹ Letter 454 dated 17 November 1860 from EJS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley... p.299.

⁶⁰ Letter 296 dated 20 November [1857] from ELS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... pp. 190-191.

⁶¹ Letter 349 dated 28 November 1858 from ELS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... p.228.

he worked hard.⁶² Jowett thought he might get a first class in classical moderations.⁶³ When the class list came out and he had only a second he wrote ruefully to his father saying he had seen Jowett one of the examiners who told him that his composition was up to first class standard and in his viva voce he headed the list but his "scholarship" had faults.⁶⁴ Disappointed but not daunted he began to work for a first in Greats with a vacation of hard reading.⁶⁵ It seems that he continued in this vein, for on 22 November 1861 A.P. Stanley was able to telegraph, "Lyulph has got his first class".⁶⁶

At Oxford he left respectable liberalism for an uncompromising radicalism. By November 1859 he was speaking at the Union in favour of universal suffrage, to the irritation of his father;⁶⁷ by December 1860 his admiration for radical leaders was so deep that he travelled to Birmingham to hear Bright speak for an hour, to the astonishment of those at Alderley who thought Bright a hypocrite failing to practise among his workmen what he preached at political meetings;⁶⁸ and in February 1861 he was complaining to his mother of the impossibility of corresponding

⁶² Letter dated 26 May 1858 from KLS to ELS in Russell and Russell (eds.) The Amberley Papers.... vol.i, p.51.

⁶³ HMS to MJS reporting APS. Letter 372, dated 5 April [1859] in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley....p.248.

⁶⁴ Letter 387 dated 27 June 1859 from ELS to EJS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... p.258.

⁶⁵ Ibid. and letter 398 dated 7 September [1859] from HMS to EJS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... p.265.

⁶⁶ Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... p.318.

⁶⁷ Letter 414 dated 18 November [1859] from EJS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... p.273.

⁶⁸ Letter dated 7 December 1860 from KLS to ELS in Russell and Russell (eds.) The Amberley Papers.... vol.i, pp.110-111.

with her in any real sense because their modes of thought were mutually incomprehensible.⁶⁹ Parallel with this radicalism in politics he espoused an intellectualism in religion. In the year he left Eton he was still willing to travel to London to hear Spurgeon the young Baptist preacher,⁷⁰ and early in his career at Oxford he was complaining of the Puseyism in the Union⁷¹ and the freethinking Balliol undergraduates,⁷² but by December 1860 his sister Kate was chiding him for his belief in the power of the intellect to establish religious truths.⁷³ The influences that impelled these changes cannot be accurately defined. It may be that he was influenced by free-thinking undergraduates such as Swinburne⁷⁴ who was "a nihilist in religion"⁷⁵ and who "had portraits of Mazzini in his rooms, and declaimed verses to them".⁷⁶ Perhaps he was swayed by The Origin of Species.... published in 1859, with its explanation of the

⁶⁹ Letter 474 dated 12 February 1861 from ELS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... pp.309-310.

⁷⁰ Letter 271 dated 22 April 1857 from EJS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... p.176.

⁷¹ Letter 296 dated 20 November [1857] from ELS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... p.190.

⁷² Letter 349 dated 28 October 1858 from ELS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... p.228.

⁷³ Letter dated 5 December 1860 from KLS to ELS in Russell and Russell (eds.) The Amberley Papers.... vol.i p.110.

⁷⁴ Algernon Charles Swinburne was up at Balliol 1856 to 1859. Elliott The Balliol College Register 1833-1933 p.18.

⁷⁵ D.N.B. Entry under Swinburne, Algernon Charles (1837-1909).

⁷⁶ Recollection of ELS in D.N.B. memoir: the phrasing is presumably by E[dmund] G[osse].

universe in terms of competition, so alluring to a competitive society, and especially so to a Free-Trader. At the very least Stanley was critical of Darwin's detractors.⁷⁷ Or it may have been the irksome conservatism of Oxford that provoked him: as his sister told him, "it is not truth which you proclaim but opposition."⁷⁸

That this love of opposition did not degenerate into some theoretical extremism may be ascribed perhaps to Jowett's tempering influence. More liberal than his contemporaries but seeking and holding the essential truths of christianity beneath the obscurities of the Early Church Fathers,⁷⁹ Jowett gave himself unstintingly to his pupils. "At almost all hours of the day," wrote G.C. Broderick,⁸⁰ "and up to a very late hour at night, his door was always open to every man in the College seeking help.... No other Tutor within my experience has ever approached him in the depth and extent of his pastoral supervision, if I may so call it, of young thinkers...."

Just as Stanley went to an Eton where reform was begun but unfinished, so the Oxford he knew was but partially released from the encumbrances of its mediaeval and Laudian statutes. Riven by the controversy of the Tractarian Movement, Oxford had debated doctrinal issues rather than academic reform until interest withered away after Ward's degradation⁸¹ and marriage. A.P. Stanley and Jowett were

⁷⁷ Letter 442 dated 26 August [1860] from ELS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... p.291.

⁷⁸ Letter dated 29 January 1861 from KLS to ELS in Russell and Russell (eds.) The Amberley Papers.... vol.i p.113.

⁷⁹ e.g. in On the Interpretation of Scripture in Essays and Reviews.

⁸⁰ Hon. G.C. Broderick, Warden of Merton, in Abbott and Campbell The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett.... vol.i pp.202-203.

⁸¹ In 1845.

leaders in the subsequent movement for reform. In 1848 the reformers had revived a proposal to shorten the undergraduate course to two years and use the third year for specialist lectures by professors. Convocation had rejected the scheme. Frustrated by Oxford conservatism, the reformers had petitioned for a Commission and Lord John Russell had granted their request. Despite the unco-operativeness of most Oxford authorities, the Commission's investigation was thorough and their proposals numerous. Some of their recommendations were incorporated in the Oxford University Act of 1854⁸² and carried out either by the colleges or the Statutory Commissioners who sat until 1858. The composition of the Hebdomadal Council was reformed and Congregation could discuss matters in English. Obstructive oaths were abolished. As no declaration or oath was required at matriculation or graduation, Nonconformists could graduate B.A. The terms of benefactions more than fifty years old could be revised, and so they were freed from tiresome restrictions of kin or place of origin. In this way many fellowships and scholarships could be gained by open competition. The ancient idea of private halls was revived, to cheapen education and bring it within the reach of a wider class.⁸³

Despite his avowed dislike of Oxford and its conservatism Stanley did not sever his connection with the university on graduation.⁸⁴ Barely a year after he won his first he was elected a Fellow of Balliol to his father's delight.⁸⁵

⁸² 17 & 18 Vict. c.81.

⁸³ Adamson English Education 1789-1902 pp.194 - 195.

⁸⁴ B.A. 1862, M.A. 1863. Elliott The Balliol College Register 1833 - 1933 p.20.

⁸⁵ Letter 529 dated 2 December [1862] from EJS to HMS in Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley.... pp.338-339.

Stanley used the leisure his fellowship afforded him to read law. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1865 and began to practise at the Manchester and then the Salford Sessions on the Northern Circuit.⁸⁶ Meanwhile he continued to speak at the Union: "Peel or Palmerston, Russell or Gladstone, the Italians of 1860 or the French of 1793 - all were grist for the mill of the Honourable E.L. Stanley."⁸⁷ Dr. H.A. James afterwards named him as the greatest Union orator of the decade 1863-1873. James praised particularly one of his speeches delivered to a hostile House in favour of the Northerners in the American Civil War,⁸⁸ a calamity he found so arousing that he visited the United States in 1864.⁸⁹ In college meetings Stanley's eloquence was of great value in assisting reform,⁹⁰ and when he resigned his Balliol Fellowship in 1869 Jowett lamented the loss.⁹¹

⁸⁶ The Law List 1866 onwards.

⁸⁷ Morrah The Oxford Union 1823-1923 p.168.

⁸⁸ Dr. H.A. James in a paper read to the St. John's Essay Society and printed in Morrah The Oxford Union 1823-1923: the relevant passage is on pp.225-226.

⁸⁹ A letter dated 4 June 1864 introducing Stanley to General McArthur at Vicksburg is in Russell and Russell (eds.) The Amberley Papers.... vol.ii pp.9-10.

⁹⁰ Abbott and Campbell The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett.... vol.i p.329.

⁹¹ Letter dated 11 June 1870 from Benjamin Jowett to HHS in Abbott and Campbell The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett.... vol.i p.445 (and footnote).

By the time of his resignation Stanley had developed his ideas on university reform into a systematic scheme which he sketched in a pamphlet Oxford University Reform⁹² in the autumn of 1869. The defeat in the House of Lords of the Bill for reform which Coleridge the Solicitor-General had introduced was the occasion for its publication. Stanley found Coleridge's measure "very inadequate" as it would have done little to make the university a national institution. For the most part the Bill merely sought to revise parliamentary statute. To expect the colleges to reform themselves and revise their own statutes and ordinances Stanley held to be irresponsible. Anglicanism was so entrenched in the colleges that those attempting reform from within would be unable to dislodge the ecclesiastics from their positions. If the colleges were left to revise their own statutes they would be divided into factions and the cause of learning harmed. Then to allow a few Nonconformists to proceed to the M.A. degree - as the Bill would have done - and become members of Convocation with a say in the government of the university was a meagre concession when clergymen could be brought up by the trainload to vote in ignorance at the bidding of their leaders. Stanley also believed that the concessions suggested in Oxford such as Pusey's proposed substitution of the Nicene Creed for the tests in force were just tactics to delay the inevitable radical reform: even Beresford Hope M.P. for Cambridge University, a staunch supporter of Anglicanism, who had opposed the abolition of Church Rates⁹³ had admitted in Parliament that he believed professorships should be open to Dissenters. Friends of reform must not be

⁹² Stanley Oxford University Reform London 1869 28pp. His subsequent publication (Stanley Three Letters on Oxford University Reform London 1876 19pp. reprinted from The Nonconformist of 15, 22, 29 December 1875) gives a more popular exposition of his views which had changed only in detail despite an interval of six years that included the passing of the University Tests Act.

⁹³ D.N.B. Entry under Hope...., Alexander James Beresford (1820-1887).

satisfied with any meagre measure. "We have to insist upon the proposition that the universities exist for the higher learning of the nation; not as seminaries for the clergy of any denomination." Not only was it wrong in principle that the headships in eighteen out of the nineteen ancient colleges had to be filled by a Church of England clergyman but it was detrimental to learning since the ordained academic without prospects of advancement left Oxford. All religious qualifications for office as well as for admission and graduation must go.⁹⁴

The religious difficulty did not obscure from Stanley the basic inefficiency of the university. Oxford and Cambridge probably possessed greater wealth than all the continental universities combined, yet they produced only the most meagre results. In 1868 there were fifteen hundred undergraduates at Oxford and a mere hundred and sixty-eight graduated with honours.⁹⁵ Young men who wanted efficient tuition to fit them for a career went elsewhere. Preparation for the Indian Civil Service or the army could be obtained best from private instructors. Oxford colleges should not be "finishing schools" for "half educated youths". Coupled with this desire to increase the efficiency of undergraduate teaching was a wish to encourage higher learning and adult research. If this were to be achieved, thought must not be trammelled by theology. The statutes framed to preserve Anglicanism from injury required that persistent heretics be reported to the Vice-Chancellor and that rational inquiry be subordinated

⁹⁴ Stanley Oxford University Reform pp. 3-5, 7-8. Stanley Three Letters.... pp. 5-6.

⁹⁵ But on 28 February 1876 Stanley wrote to Gladstone enclosing an analysis of the Oxford Class List for 1875, and pointing out that two-thirds of those taking a degree graduated with honours. British Museum Add. MSS. 44449, ff. 148-151.

to Divine Revelation. Such regulations had no place in a national institution. Writing of the theological professorships Stanley expressed the view "Nothing like a Roman Catholic seminary, with its foregone conclusions and prohibition of independent inquiry, should be sanctioned by the approval of the university."⁹⁶

After the barriers of sectarian restrictions had been cleared away the key to this revival of learning and teaching at the university was the reform of the fellowships. That the fellowships should be freed from sectarian restrictions just as the 1854 Act had freed them from regional and kinship restrictions was only the beginning of reform. Stanley believed that fellowships should be reduced from about three hundred and fifty to a hundred and fifty. These would be distributed among the various disciplines. Each year fifteen fellowships were to be awarded after an open examination on the lines of the Craven Scholarship examination. Instead of being held for life, fellowships would be tenable for ten years.⁹⁷ The fellows would be paid a fixed salary of £200 per annum instead of the variable amount yielded by some portion of the college estates. No longer should fellowships be the means of granting a sinecure for life to a graduate who displayed some academic prowess in his early twenties. Stanley justified the retention of fellowships on the ground that they would enable young men who were able but not wealthy to establish themselves in the professions.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Stanley Oxford University Reform pp.4-5,9,11-13,23.
Stanley Three Letters.... p.13.

⁹⁷ In Three Letters.... at p.17 Stanley preached what he practised and reduced the tenure to seven years. He increased the number to be awarded to twenty per annum.

⁹⁸ Stanley Oxford University Reform pp. 13 - 15. Stanley Three Letters.... pp. 12 - 13.

These proposals would reduce the amount spent on fellowships from £80,000 - £90,000⁹⁹ to £30,000 a year and a fund from which to pay professors and their assistants adequate salaries could be created. Stanley believed there should be twenty professors at a salary of "about a £1,000 a year" for "the principal subjects of study of the university", except for the study of theology as it was then organized. There should also be forty lecturers at about £500 a year and a fund of £10,000 per annum from which to pay "assistants, demonstrators and temporary lecturers." Wherever possible the professor should be appointed to his Chair by one man, eminent in his field, who would be gratified by the approval of his fellows in making a sound choice. The Astronomer-Royal might select the Professor of Mathematics. But where this system was impossible a committee of five should select the candidate for the post. Certainly Convocation - too large in any case - should have no hand in it. The junior appointments could be made by the colleges.¹⁰⁰

This development of professorial teaching and reduction in the number of fellows would react on the relations between college and university. The university would regain some of its prestige but Stanley did not wish to extinguish the collegiate system. Because a total of a hundred and fifty fellows would mean very small governing bodies for the colleges, Stanley advocated the addition of the professors to these bodies. He emphasized again the need to root out ecclesiastical influence from college government. In all colleges

⁹⁹ In Three Letters.... at p.9 Stanley quoted the Royal Commission's figure of £105,000.

¹⁰⁰ Stanley Oxford University Reform pp. 10,13,24-26.

except Exeter, Corpus and Lincoln it was likely - though the matter was in dispute - that one-third of the fellows or the visitor could veto any amendment to the statutes or ordinances: and the visitor was nearly always a bishop. The Archbishop of Canterbury as Visitor of Merton had openly declared that he used his office to safeguard Anglican interests. From the visitor's judgement there was no appeal. This investing of judicial powers in an interested party provoked Stanley and he demanded "the absolute removal of the bishops from their offices of visitors, and the substitution of trained and competent judicial persons."¹⁰¹

Stanley suggested a systematic reform of the undergraduate course. He believed that all entrants should be required to pass a matriculation examination. The recently established Associate in Arts might be used as a qualification for admission. For those who were a little older a slightly harder examination might be devised. Although Stanley believed that languages were "probably the most perfect instrument for training the mind of the young" and he did not "accept Mr. Lowe's Civil Engineer as the noblest product of the century," he held the view that the undergraduate should be free to choose the school in which he would read and that instruction in the classical languages should not be insisted on after matriculation. The length of the course should be reduced to three years. The £35,000 a year¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Ibid. pp.6-7,15. Stanley Three Letters.... p.15. In Three Letters.... at p.8 he suggested that until the university had escaped from its sectarian strife, proposals to alter college statutes and ordinances should come before the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education.

¹⁰² In Three Letters.... at p.9 Stanley quotes the Royal Commission's figure of £40,000.

already spent on scholarships was sufficient but was not applied to the best advantage. Scholarships should be freed from all restrictions: not merely kinship and regional restrictions should go but also college affiliations. Scholarships were frequently misused to attract clever young men into a wealthy college where the tutorial instruction was incompetent. So scholarships should be awarded on the results of the Oxford Local (or Middle Class) Examination by the university and not by the colleges. He believed that unattached students should be allowed to compete for scholarships. For these non-collegiate students a boarding house providing eighty to a hundred cheap lodgings ought to be established. Indiscipline should not be condoned because of the high connections of the offender: Oxford should not be a place for idlers. To end the "scandal" of degrees being sold, those graduating with first, second or third class honours should receive the M.A. degree and those who reached pass or fourth class standard should receive the B.A. degree.¹⁰³

Finally Stanley believed that fundamental changes in the financial structure of the university and the colleges were needed, with the university having the power to audit college accounts. He argued that since corporations were not efficient managers of estates, those estates should be sold. He also wanted to dispose of college advowsons. If this selling were done judiciously over a period, the livings might realise a million sterling, which could be invested in the purchase of ground-rents on 99-year leases. This would mean that academics could be bribed no longer into staying at Oxford with the prospect of a college living for their retirement. It would also make more difficult augmentation of livings out of funds intended for educational uses, a

¹⁰³ Stanley Oxford University Reform.... pp.17-22.

Process which many continued to think virtuous.¹⁰⁴ From this superabundance of wealth¹⁰⁵ provision could be made for women's education - an apposite suggestion in the year Emily Davies opened the precursor of Girton at Hitchin - and higher education in the industrial towns. To have followed Stanley's suggestion that "Lancashire would profit more by an extra £3,000 a year to Owens College than by the maintenance of the Hulme trusts at Brasenose" would have raised the income of Owens College (£6,817 in 1868-9¹⁰⁶) by almost half. Stanley justified this redistribution of wealth by saying that the mediaeval benefactors used Oxford as a means to secure educational provision. They did not regard the development of Oxford as an end in itself. Characteristically he wrote, "I no more mind spoliating Oxford than spoliating the founders, but I do mind spoliating education by applying money less efficiently where it might be applied more efficiently."¹⁰⁷ Coleridge's measure of 1869 which Parliament had rejected had been a private bill: but by 1871 Gladstone had so relented in his defence of the traditional Oxford that he allowed a government measure for reform to be

¹⁰⁴ e.g. Butler An Account of Benefactions Bestowed upon the College p.30. This work is no.iv of Brasenose Quatercentenary Monographs (ed. Madan) in Oxford History Society Publications vol.lii (1909).

¹⁰⁵ College income amounted to some £332,000 p.a. Stanley Three Letters.... p.9 quoting the Royal Commissioners.

¹⁰⁶ Fiddes Chapters in the History of Owens College and of Manchester University 1851-1914 p.213.

¹⁰⁷ Stanley Oxford University Reform pp.8,9,22-23,26-27. Stanley Three Letters.... pp.8-12.

introduced. This became the University Tests Act.¹⁰⁸ It abolished religious tests for those taking degrees except theological degrees, and from holding office except the theological professorships. Neither membership of a particular denomination nor attendance at religious services nor subscription to a code of religious beliefs was required any longer. In the following year a Royal Commission was set up under the Duke of Cleveland to enquire into the finances of the two ancient universities.¹⁰⁹

Indicative of the re-awakening of Oxford was the founding of new colleges. One of these was Hertford. Its ancestors were the mediaeval Hart Hall, the eighteenth century Hertford College and Magdalen Hall. When the first Hertford College was dissolved, its property had been conveyed to the university in trust for the members of Magdalen Hall. In the early seventies T.C. Baring the banker approached Brasenose with the offer of a gift, which the college authorities refused because of the restrictions he attached to it. Baring then turned to Magdalen Hall, where the energetic Dr. Michell was planning to transform the Hall into a College. Baring's offer of endowment for the new college was made on the understanding that a further sum to be used with the kinship, territorial and religious restrictions the donor desired, would be accepted later.¹¹⁰ By the Hertford College Act of 1874¹¹¹ Magdalen Hall was dissolved and its property conveyed to the new college: which also received Baring's gift of

¹⁰⁸ 34 & 35 Vict. c.26.

¹⁰⁹ Mallet A History of the University of Oxford vol.iii p.332-333.

¹¹⁰ Hamilton Hertford College pp. 139-142. Mallet A History of the University of Oxford vol.iii p.425.

¹¹¹ 37 & 38 Vict.c.55.

£30,000.

By the autumn of 1875 the authorities of Hertford College were attempting to impose religious tests on candidates for scholarships. Stanley wrote immediately to The Times pointing out that such restrictions were contrary to the 1871 Act. Nor did he believe the Hertford College Act justified the restriction. Its seventh section specified that the Chancellor must sanction the terms on which endowments were accepted. Its thirteenth stated "nothing in this Act shall be construed to repeal any of the provisions of the University Tests Act, 1871." J.R. Mowbray M.P. for Oxford University who had piloted the Bill through the House of Commons had "disclaimed any secret trust" and Liberals had accepted such assurances that the Bill was not meant to circumvent the anti-sectarian measure of 1871. "If the proposed limitation of scholarships to members of the Church of England be legal," Stanley wrote, "then I have no hesitation in saying that those who last year in Parliament watched over the maintenance of the principles of the University Tests Act have been the victims of a juggle and of a breach of faith, and that Parliament itself has been imposed upon by a piece of sharp practice amounting to fraud." The authorities of Hertford College did not reply to this challenge but on the following Saturday¹¹² announced that there would be an election to one fellowship on 21 December 1875: candidates had to be members of an Episcopal Church. Stanley wrote again to The Times re-iterating the former arguments and pointing out that the College Statutes approved by the Queen in Council on 17 March 1875 and printed in the University Calendar contained no mention of any denominational restrictions.¹¹³ Apart from letters over the signature "A

¹¹² The Times 9 November 1875.

¹¹³ The Times 16 November 1875.

Fellow of Hertford College" no reply appeared. Stanley maintained that the College was "bound in honour to observe the spirit as well as the letter of the pledge embodied in Section 13...."¹¹⁴ Then in early December he announced that the legality of the college's action would be tested in a court of law.¹¹⁵

A.I. Tillyard, a Cambridge man but a Non-conformist who had been a scholar at St. John's and had distinguished himself in the Tripos for 1875 was selected to test the resoluteness of the college. The Principal of Hertford informed him that he might go in for the examination but he would not be elected even if he headed the list. Tillyard refused to be examined on these terms, and rather arrogantly applied for mandamus not only to be examined but also to be elected. Judgement was delivered in the Queen's Bench Division on 29 June 1877. It was held that Hertford College was subject to the 1871 Act just as Magdalen Hall had been. Tillyard had approached the college to be examined and they had refused to examine him as a candidate because of his religious views. It would have been pointless for him to sit an examination, when the examining authority had informed him they would not elect him. The filling of the vacancy did not prevent the issue of mandamus but mandamus would command the college to examine the candidate, not to elect him.¹¹⁶ Eventually the case was taken to the Court of Appeal where on 2 May 1878 this judgement was reversed. Lord Justice Coleridge delivering judgement held that the college had not refused to examine, and even if Tillyard had been refused admission to the examination, since the

¹¹⁴ The Times 30 November 1875.

¹¹⁵ The Times 7 December 1875.

¹¹⁶ R.v. Hertford College, L.R. 1877, 2 Q.B., 590.

office had been filled by a "properly qualified candidate" his remedy would be with "an appeal to the visitor," not by mandamus. It was further held that the University Tests Act did not apply to colleges created after its enactment and that new endowments could be "confined to the members of a particular religious community."¹¹⁷

The Rising Young Barrister

The death of Palmerston was one of the symbols ending the mid-Victorian era: and "Ben" Stanley did not long outlive the statesman under whom he had served so long. On his father's death in 1869 the eldest son Henry naturally inherited the titles. After Cambridge he had entered the foreign service, but had resigned in 1859 after serving in the Levant and the Balkans.¹¹⁸ He had become a Muslim and roamed the Mohammedan lands in native dress to the annoyance of his family. After his father's funeral the new Lord Stanley revealed that he had been married for seven years. This secrecy, the humble Spanish birth of his wife and the use of the Mohammedan rite at the marriage did not endear him to his relatives.¹¹⁹ Except for Algernon who remained celibate, his brothers and sisters made better matches. Rosalind became Countess of Carlisle and Blanche Countess of Airlie. Katherine married Viscount Amberley, son of her father's friend,¹²⁰ Lord John Russell: and from this union the philosopher Bertrand Russell was born. Lyulph

¹¹⁷ R.v. Hertford College, L.R.1878, 3 Q.B., 693.

¹¹⁸ D.N.B. Entry under Stanley, Henry Edward John (1827-1903).

¹¹⁹ Mitford (ed.) The Stanleys of Alderley. p.xiv. Letter 390 dated 11 July [1859] from JCS to HMS; letter 403 dated 14 September [1859] from JCS to HMS; letter 407 dated 24 September 1859 from HMS to MJS ibid. pp.259,268,270.

¹²⁰ Prothero Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley... vol. i p.216.

Stanley married ¹²¹ Mary Bell daughter of Isaac Lowthian Bell¹²² the chemist and iron-founder.

The family's variety of experience and outlook expressed in the most trenchant way astounded a newcomer to the family circle: - "A family dinner in Dover Street was a unique experience. Well do I remember my astonishment and amusement, the first time that I was admitted into that sacred circle, at the difference of opinions. The vehemence with which every person upheld his own, the perfect frankness with which each dissented from the others, filled me with speechless admiration."¹²³

The ruler of this circle at 40 Dover Street the Dowager Lady Stanley of Alderley maintained her interest in education. She had been one of the first visitors and governors of Queen's College and had assisted in obtaining the college's royal charter in 1853. During F.D. Maurice's incumbency at St. Peter's, Vere Street, she had helped to found an industrial school - the Maurice Girls' Home. Her signature was on the memorial to the Taunton Commission pleading for the consideration of girls' education, and she helped to set up the Girls' Public Day School Company, becoming a member of its council. Deeply involved in the progress of Girton, she not only helped to raise funds, but during an emergency acted as Mistress of the college. The Stanley library still commemorates her work there.¹²⁴ Opponents or lukewarm supporters of her work were given short shrift. When the

¹²¹ On 6 February 1873. Burke's...Peerage... Entry under Sheffield.

¹²² Sometimes rendered Isaac Lothian Bell e.g. Burke's...Peerage...

¹²³ Lady St. Helier Memories of Fifty Years p.150. By her first marriage Lady St. Helier was Lyulph Stanley's sister-in-law, being married to his brother John.

¹²⁴ The Journal of Education April 1895 pp.217-219. Magnus The Jubilee Book of the Girls' Public Day School Trust 1873-1923 pp.38-40. Stephen Girton College 1869-1932 p.79.

Bishop of Manchester refused to go to a meeting concerning the Women's College on the ground that a school in America had not progressed satisfactorily, she called him "a mean cuss".¹²⁵

It is probable that Lyulph Stanley's interest in education was fostered and widened by these activities of his mother. Certainly his early interests in education were similar to hers. On a journey through the U.S.A. in 1876 he visited a girls' high school¹²⁶ and examined the plans of a college for women to be built in association with Cornell University.¹²⁷ His concern for Girton is manifest in his letters: "I was glad to hear so good an account of Girton," he wrote.¹²⁸ And in the early days of the college his mother had enlisted his assistance in writing to possible benefactors.¹²⁹

But in the decade after being called to the Bar he did not pursue educational development with that singleness of purpose for which he was later to become renowned. Indeed this interest was only one among many.¹³⁰ His energies were employed on causes attractive to a young Radical. Thus, he shared in the work of the Jamaica Committee endeavouring to bring the infamous Governor Eyre to justice.¹³¹ And he was "one of the most active promoters" of the Century Club, which was unique in offering "nothing but talk on two nights a week."

¹²⁵ Rylands English MS.1092/157. Letter dated 24 January 1872 from HMS to ELS.

¹²⁶ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/3. Letter dated 6 June 1876 from Scarsdale, New York, from ELS to HMS.

¹²⁷ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/3. Letter dated 19 May 1876 from ELS to HMS.

¹²⁸ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/3. Letter dated 23 August 1876 from ELS to HMS.

¹²⁹ Rylands English MS.1092/121. Letter dated 24 November [1871] from HMS to ELS.

¹³⁰ The fifty-six items in Rylands English MSS.1095 show the variety of his interests.

¹³¹ The Manchester Guardian 19 March 1925.

This institution, regarded as very advanced in the sixties, was the precursor of the National Liberal Club.¹³²

Most of his tasks were only marginally concerned with education, but his duties as Assistant Commissioner to the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies brought him into contact with working class organizations in industrial England, and this insight into the condition of the poorer classes was invaluable in later years.

In connection with this work Oldham was one locality selected for special study¹³³ and it may be that his acumen in handling the inquiry unwittingly gave him another opportunity for service. When one of the Members for Oldham died in 1872, Stanley was chosen as the Liberal candidate in the by-election, although he was "all but a perfect stranger in the town".¹³⁴ Stanley was not new to electioneering having helped Amberley at Nottingham in 1866.¹³⁵

In his election campaign he proposed a more radical programme for education than the 1870 Act. All children should have access to "a good thorough education". It was as essential as food and clothing. Where parents failed to educate their children, the state should force them to do so. He viewed the elementary school merely as the first stage: significantly he wanted to see intermediate schools as "accessible as possible" to children capable of profiting by an extended course. Naturally he believed that the schools should be completely unsectarian - "But you can on the question [of provision of elementary schools] strike out two paths. You can take any young child, when its mind is

¹³² Harrison Autobiographic Memoirs vol.ii pp.82-83. Harrison The Century Club The Cornhill Magazine vol.xv (new series) (1903) pp.314-319.

¹³³ Stanley's report on the friendly societies in Oldham is at pp.92-105 of C.996 in Parliamentary Papers vol.23 part 2 of 1874.

¹³⁴ Editorial in The Oldham Chronicle for 1 June 1872.

¹³⁵ Armytage A.J. Mundella... p.118.

young and tender, and easily impressed and susceptible, and teach it distinctions and sectarian war cries so thoroughly that we will have little children, as we have some young lads in the streets of Manchester already, making party fights out of religion - we may have little children learning in youth that animosity against one another which would be greatly embittered when they grew up. Or we may take another course, and say, we are all citizens of one common country; you will meet hereafter one with another at the polling booth, at the market place, in the mill, at the workshop, in the common affairs of life, you are welded with one another by common usages as citizens, and common interests as burgesses of the same town, and we desire that that common feeling should be first of all instilled into you when young, and that you should meet in a common school, and recognise one another as fellow creatures and as brothers.... I think that a national unsectarian system of education.... is the true system for us to pursue; and I consider.... that the state would be stepping beyond its province if it endeavoured to promote schools of any particular denomination.... instead of bringing us all together."¹³⁶

He also attacked the Church itself - "I consider it a pernicious thing that the opinions imposed by a Tudor king upon this country ought to be regarded as the opinions that shall exist through all time. I consider that, at the present day, this state church is offensive to all who love freedom, because we see that this church, which was intended to be the bulwark against reactionary forms of belief and priestly intolerance, is filled by a large number of men who use their office for the purpose of bringing back opinions which were repudiated 300 years ago. I say I am a member of the Liberation Society, and I would disestablish

¹³⁶ In an address at the Co-operative Hall, King Street, Oldham. The Oldham Chronicle 1 June 1872.

the Church of England."¹³⁷

The election was closely fought and Stanley lost by a narrow margin. The reason A.J. Mundella the future Vice-President gave for Stanley's defeat illustrates the complexity of the relations between the denominations and the political parties. Stanley's religious views had offended many Wesleyans who had not voted Liberal¹³⁸ as was their custom, despite Stanley's attack on the Church and his advocacy of disestablishment as a logical solution to the problem of the relations between Church and State.

Although the monarch was the Church's Supreme Head, the Elizabethan and Restoration Settlements were not Erastian with the Church a department of state. Nor were they theocratic, though the bishops sat in the legislature. The Anglican Church held a unique position between these two extremes. Theoretically it was the nation at prayer: but punitive legislation was necessary to check those who did not conform with its doctrines. In local as well as national government there was an interpenetration of church and state. In the countryside the vestry as an instrument of local government consisted of the parishioners with the incumbent as a dominating chairman.¹³⁹

Nineteenth century developments had destroyed the balance of this compromise. Extension of dominion overseas meant that the majority of the sovereign's subjects were not even Christian. Repeal of the punitive legislation and emancipation of Non-conformists meant they could legislate in Parliament on church as well as secular affairs. The increase and redistribution of population accompanying the rise of factory-industry overwhelmed the institutions of local

¹³⁷ Stanley in answer to a question at a meeting at the Literary Institute, Royton. The Oldham Chronicle 1 June 1872.

¹³⁸ A.J. Mundella's letter dated 6 June 1872 in the Leader Correspondence at the University of Sheffield quoted in Armytage A.J. Mundella... p.118.

¹³⁹ Tate The Parish Chest pp. 22-23 of the 1951 edition.

government developed while England was primarily agricultural, and despite Hobhouse's¹⁴⁰ attempt to fit them to nineteenth century conditions, the vestries were made to yield up their powers to ad hoc bodies. The transfer of the care of the poor from the vestry to the Union in 1834¹⁴¹ was only the first in a series that produced a patchwork of overlapping authorities.

In spite of all these changes Churchmen often failed to admit that the Elizabethan and Restoration Settlements were outdated and that Anglicanism had become just another denomination. This is reflected in their vision of the Church's rôle in education. Remembering the biblical passage linking preaching with teaching,¹⁴² and mindful that church and school had been closely joined since missionaries came to Saxon England, they clung to their Established position. But Non-conformists, excluded from the affairs of state by two centuries of intolerance resented any Anglican control of national education. These two positions were irreconcilable.

That denominational bickering hampered the enactment of educational measures should not obscure the other forces opposing progress. Stanley's article on The Treatment of Indians in Mauritius¹⁴³ summarizing the Report of the Royal

¹⁴⁰ 1 & 2 Will.IV c.60.

¹⁴¹ 4 & 5 Will.IV c.76.

¹⁴² Acts 5⁴².

¹⁴³ Stanley The Treatment of Indians in Mauritius The Fortnightly Review vol.xvii (new series) (1875) pp.794-819.

Commissioners¹⁴⁴ illustrates the forces antipathetic to educational development in a situation where the religious difficulty did not exist. Mauritius had suffered the usual catalogue of inhumanities and natural disasters associated with the occupation of a tropical island. It had become British by conquest from the French and by one of the expedients in which Imperial administrators delighted, the inhabitants retained their French laws, and the status of their language.¹⁴⁵ After the freeing of the slaves in 1833 the sugar planters obtained indentured labourers from India. Few returned to the sub-continent and by 1871 the population density of the island which had been uninhabited when the Europeans first came, was higher than England's.¹⁴⁶ In this Crown Colony where nearly all the Christians were Roman Catholics, there was no denominational difficulty to obstruct legislation and a benevolent governor could pass an Education Ordinance¹⁴⁷ compelling the attendance at school of boys aged six to twelve and girls aged six to ten, twenty-three years before there was universal compulsion in the metropolitan country. The Commission appointed after allegations of brutality towards the Indians had been made, included a chapter on education in their Report. In 1871, fourteen years after the Education Ordinance, although there were 54 government schools and 32 schools run by Christian missions,¹⁴⁸ only 829 of the 39,112 Indian children aged five to fourteen were in school. And when the Commission investigated the schools on the sugar estates they found only two schools that were more than nominal. Several set down in

¹⁴⁴ Report of the Royal Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Treatment of Immigrants in Mauritius Parliamentary Papers vols. 34 and 35 of 1875.

¹⁴⁵ Eighth article of the Capitulation.

¹⁴⁶ Stanley The Treatment of Indians in Mauritius op.cit.p.794.

¹⁴⁷ No. 21 of 1857 despatched by Governor Higginson for confirmation 4 August 1857. Confirmed in Despatch No. 91 of 31 December 1857.

¹⁴⁸ The total of government schools includes the Royal College and the Normal School. Mauritius Blue Book 1871.

the returns to the Commissioners had become defunct without the knowledge of the plantation owner. In one case the school closed because the school-master worked in the sugar-mill from four in the morning till six in the evening. This inadequate provision of schools and meagre enrollment can be traced to the action of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. They protested that the French language was an unsuitable medium of instruction for Indian labourers. The Secretary of State for India believing in the validity of this argument gained the acquiescence of the Colonial Office so that the Ordinance was not put into effect. Lyulph Stanley set down the other reasons for the low enrollment of Indian children in the schools that were available:-

- "1. The indifference of the Indians themselves
2. The indifference, and possibly in some cases the hostility, of employers
3. The power of earning wages by children at a very early age."

This set of anti-educational influences might be paralleled in the metropolitan country.¹⁴⁹

It was in the metropolis itself, on the School Board for London that Stanley served the cause of education from 1876 onwards. With abundant leisure he was able to devote himself to the work to which he brought his deep learning in the classics, his eloquence and his legal experience on the Northern Circuit. Sprung from an aristocratic family known for its forthrightness he was relentless in debate. Always a logical but not impractical Radical he abhorred sectarianism: but influenced by his uncle, the Bishop of Norwich, by A.P. Stanley and by Jowett he remained well-disposed towards clergy trying to free their Church from the encumbrances of tradition.

¹⁴⁹ Stanley The Treatment of Indians in Mauritius op.cit. pp.802-803 using pp.496-498 of vol.34 of Parliamentary Papers for 1875.

CHAPTER TWO

Service on the School Board
for London, 1876-1885

Act. 37-46

Forster's Act was the descendant of a long line of Bills designed to secure at least a modicum of education for all children in England and Wales. Fought on ecclesiastical rather than educational grounds,¹ it did not systematize English education but supplemented voluntary effort where school provision was inadequate. It broke with the previous forms of local government in creating ad hoc school boards which were models of nineteenth century liberalism in their constitution. They were popularly elected. Women could be members. The cumulative vote protected minorities' views.

But the break with the past was incomplete: in the boundaries of the areas they administered the school boards borrowed from the past. Outside London the boundaries of the municipal boroughs and parishes formed the administrative units. London posed a special problem. "London" had long outgrown the confines of the City but no overall system of local government had developed for the new areas. The government's first scheme in 1870 was for twenty-three school boards to cover the metropolis but Forster was persuaded to drop this in favour of a single authority.² For this purpose London was defined as "the places for the time being within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works under the Metropolis Management Act, 1855."³ The legislators of 1855 had marked out the metropolis as an

¹ Eaglesham From School Board to Local Authority p.8.

² Lord Chilston W.H. Smith pp.67-68.

³ 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 § 3.

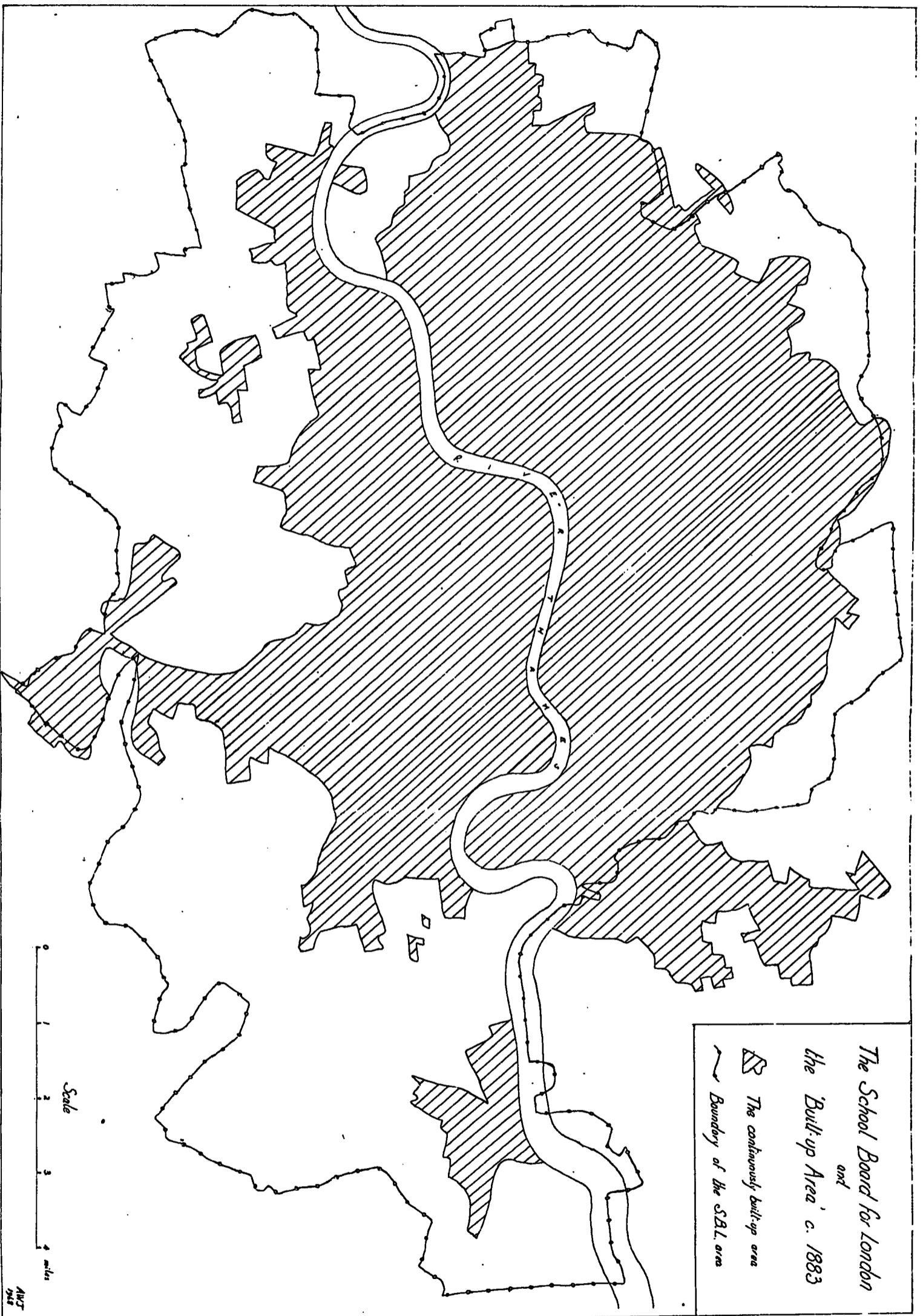


Fig. 2

agglomeration of parishes covering the layout of drains and sewers.⁴ So the parishes east of the Lea were excluded and this gave London the asymmetrical outline that was preserved not only for the School Board but also for the L.C.C. and the present Inner London Education Authority. (fig.2.⁵).

Definition was not the only special problem posed by the metropolis. Voluntary organizations had manifestly failed to match the growing population of London with increased school provision. So the cumbersome procedure used for setting up school boards in the provinces was curtailed for the capital. The Education Department was to appoint a day "as soon as may be after the passing of" the Act for the first elections to the School Board for London,⁶ and the S.B.L. was to "proceed at once to supply their district with sufficient public school accommodation."⁷

London's population exceeded three millions and the Act prescribed⁸ that the Department should subdivide the school board area. The Divisions formed in accordance with this requirement were shaped by using pre-existing boundaries, but when the S.B.L. created still smaller units termed "blocks", impassable barriers or main thoroughfares

⁴ 18 & 19 Vict. c.120 Schedules A and B. Briggs Victorian Cities p.333.

⁵ The base-map for fig.2 was London County Council... Density of Population of the Parishes in Greater London in 1881 (Greater London Council Map Collection 4416 AD). The data on the built-up area was derived from Davies's Map of the Environs of London, 1883 at a scale of 1:63,360 (Greater London Council Map Collection 4513 AD). The I.L.E.A. has inherited the boundaries of the School Board for London with only minor changes e.g. at Penge and Woolwich: and these boundaries are related not to educational considerations but to the layout of the early Victorian sewers.

⁶ 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 §37(4). The School Board for London is the statutory designation and is abbreviated S.B.L. infra.

⁷ 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 § 37 (7).

⁸ 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 § 37 (2).

were used.⁹ Each of the ten Divisions had on the average 325,180 people in 1871. This average - one-tenth of London - exceeded the population under any other school board in England except Liverpool (493,346), Manchester (355,665) and Birmingham (343,696).¹⁰

This pre-eminence in size was matched by the national reputation of the men and women who recognized the S.B.L. as a great venture in social service and consented to serve in its deliberations. The first Board included Emily Davies, T.H. Huxley and Lord Sandon. Lord Lawrence, the "Saviour of the Punjab", who had been Governor-General of India until 1869, was Chairman. This abundance of talent was not an unmixed blessing, for the more radical members tended to regard the ramshackle educational system of the metropolis as a measure of the ability of the Education Department. So it is possible to detect a tension in the relations between the S.B.L. and Whitehall from the very beginning. Kekewich, even after he had risen to be head of the Department was still wondering if he had been right to refuse Lord Lawrence's backing for the post of Clerk to the S.B.L.¹¹ surely an admission which measures the relative esteem with which the two bodies were regarded.

Stanley joined the School Board as one of the members for the Marylebone Division¹² in 1876. He was re-elected in

⁹ Final Report of the School Board for London 1870-1904. Second edition. [= Final Report infra] p.5 quoting the Report of the Board to the Education Department of March 1872.

¹⁰ The population figures are taken from pp.9-15 of C.381 in Parliamentary Papers vol.59 of 1871.

¹¹ Kekewich The Education Department and After pp.34-35.

¹² Stanley set up his home first at 82 Harley Street and later at 18 Mansfield Street, Portland Place. There is some evidence for his work for the Liberal party organization in Marylebone. e.g. British Museum Add. MSS.44461, ff.205-206. Letter dated 4 December 1879.

in the triennial elections until 1885 when he lost his seat. Work on the Board consumed an immense amount of time. Besides the weekly meeting of the Board there were committees and sub-committees to attend. That he put the work above private affairs is borne out by surviving letters, "I fear that the funeral being at 2 p.m. it is quite impossible for me to attend it as the School Management Committee is at 3. and there is much important business."¹³ Unassisted by a cadre of experienced officials, he devoted many hours a week to tedious administrative work. When fatigued by this toil, "he used to go down to a school, walk through the class-rooms, and watch the possibilities of good and evil in the faces of the children until the passion for work came back to him."¹⁴

His third campaign at Oldham in 1880 was victorious, and he was returned to Parliament. In an election speech he affirmed that he would have to relinquish his position on the School Board when he entered the House.¹⁵ In practice membership of the School Board and the House of Commons suited his tactics. For he could advance the S.B.L.'s case in any dispute with the Department by an awkward question to the Vice-President.¹⁶ Indeed he was upbraided for sitting as a "Member of the London School Board" and not as

¹³ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/4. Letter dated 8 January 1880 from ELS to HMS.

¹⁴ The Manchester Guardian 19 March 1925. This unsigned appreciation had been written "about 1910" by Graham Wallas and is reprinted under the title Lord Sheffield on the London School Board in Wallas (ed.) Men and Ideas pp. 80-85.

¹⁵ The Oldham Chronicle 27 March 1880. Meeting at Hollinwood.

¹⁶ Properly the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education.

Member for Oldham.¹⁷

Building the Schools

The initiative in providing accommodation came from the Board's Statistical Committee. This met for the first time on 30 January 1871 when Lord Sandon was appointed Chairman; but he soon resigned because of "the pressure of parliamentary work,"¹⁸ and was replaced by James Watson,¹⁹ who was still guiding the Committee's affairs when Stanley joined the Board in 1876. Immediately Stanley was placed on the Statistical Committee.²⁰ He found Watson insufficiently forceful. "He felt he might complain to a certain extent that Mr. Watson, as chairman of the Statistical Committee, was too inclined to put his convictions in his pocket, and to say that a peaceful and quiet life was best."²¹ It seems that by 1879 Watson was an ailing man and from 26 June of that year, Stanley regularly chaired the committee meetings, first as Chairman "for the day", then as Chairman "pro tem" and, after Watson's death, as substantive Chairman.²²

He toiled over the work, selecting sites personally

- ¹⁷ By Stanley Leighton M.P. for North Shropshire. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series. vol.282^{col. 847.} On 27 July 1883.
- ¹⁸ County Hall, London. SBL 908 Minutes of the Committee on Statistics pp. 1-2,6. Sandon resigned on 2 March 1871. The Committee's name varied but it was always referred to in conversation as the Statistical Committee.
- ¹⁹ On 16 March 1871. County Hall, London. SBL 908 Minutes of the Committee on Statistics p.15. Watson's obituary (The Times 15 September 1880) indicates he was an enthusiastic Presbyterian and a philanthropist. His occupation was publishing.
- ²⁰ The Minutes of the School Board for London [= The Minutes infra] vol.vii p.32.
- ²¹ Stanley at the meeting of the S.B.L., 30 October 1878. The School Board Chronicle 2 November 1878 p.417.
- ²² The Minutes vol.xi pp.131-134, vol.xii pp.162-168, vol. xiii p.586. Watson died on 1 September 1880 (The Times 2 September 1880).
- ²³ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/4. Letter dated 7 August 1880 from ELS to HMS.

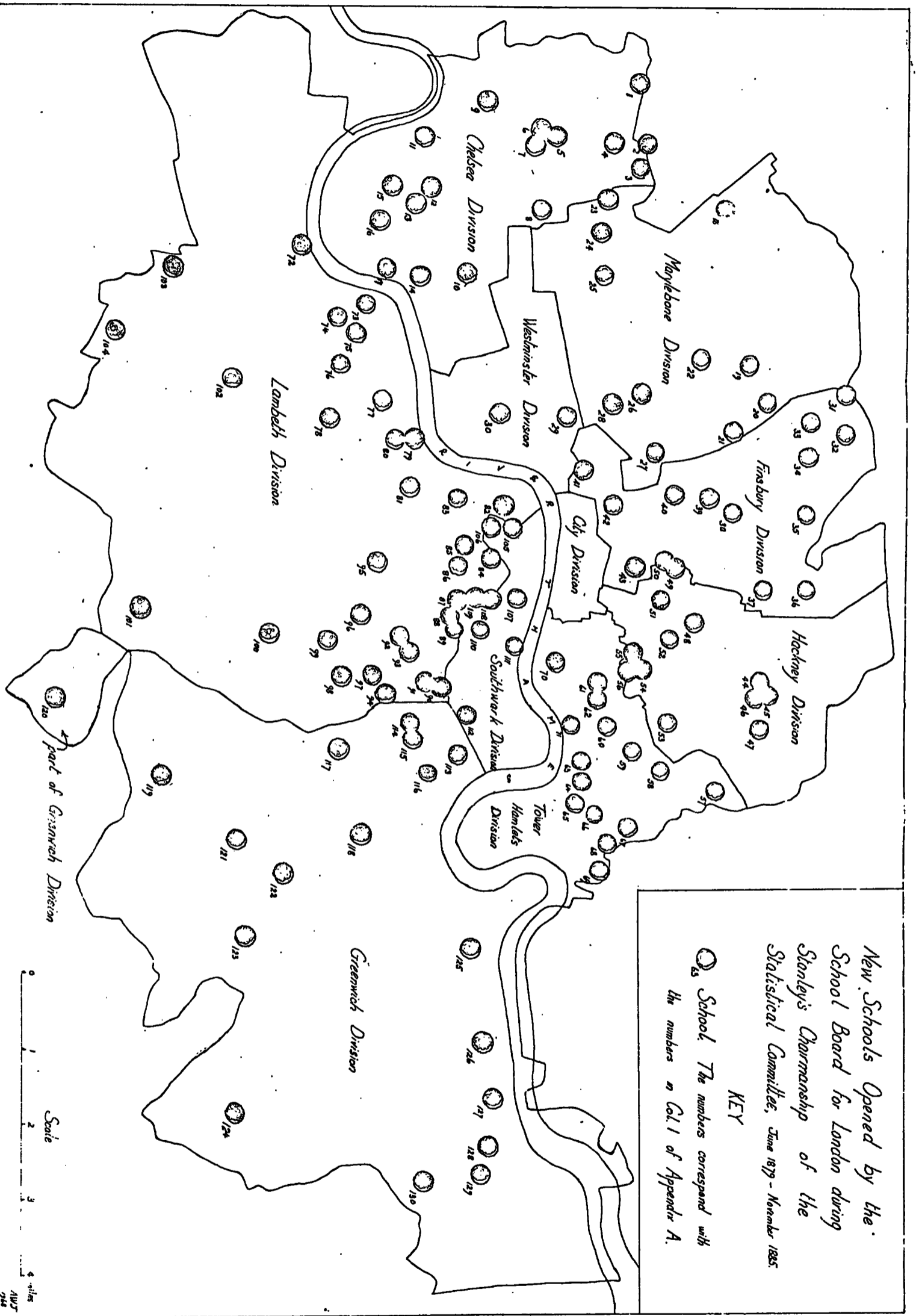


Fig. 3

"I am also very busy just now looking out sites for the new Board Schools next autumn. I was at it 4½ hours today. and have the same work on Monday and Tuesday".²³

The map (fig. 3) shows all new schools²⁴ opened by the S.B.L. while Stanley was Chairman of the Statistical Committee, that is from 26 June 1879 until the last meeting of the fifth Board on 19 November 1885. During this period of six-and-a-half years 130 new schools were opened, representing an average rate of one new school every eighteen days.

A comparison of the maps (figs. 2 and 3) shows that the schools were spread fairly evenly over the built-up area. Naturally the City and Westminster Divisions with their dwindling resident population needed little additional provision; and the greatest concentration of new schools was in the working class area along the boundary of Lambeth and Southwark Divisions. This is not unexpected: but the map also demonstrates quite clearly that provision was by no means limited to working class districts. Areas developing as lower middle class suburbs had many new schools provided. For example, Fulham and Chelsea had five schools opened (13-17 on fig. 3) and Peckham five (92-94, 97, 98 on fig. 3). The schools outside the continuously built-up area were smaller establishments to cater for the more rural communities (e.g. 124 on fig. 3 had accommodation for 200).

²³ See page 37.

²⁴ County Hall, London. SBL 1527. This file contains a List of New Permanent Schools dated 1899. Information on the sites of these schools was derived from the maps in the Final Report. The schools are listed in Appendix A.

The accommodation provided in each Division was:-

City Division	nil
Chelsea Division	15,581
Hackney Division	16,871
Lambeth Division	33,766
Greenwich Division	13,059
Finsbury Division	13,573
Marylebone Division	9,398
Southwark Division	6,844
Tower Hamlets Division	16,994
Westminster Division	1,605

This gives a total of 127,691 that is, an average of 982 per school.

The building of schools of this size specifically for elementary education and nothing else helps to explain Stanley's antipathy towards the transferred voluntary school. These were too small for efficient operation: and the designers of them had often thought more of their ecclesiastical functions out of school hours than their convenience for teaching.^{2 5}

Building on this scale and at this rate naturally produced outcries from voluntaryists that the S.B.L. was overbuilding. The case of Upper Kennington Lane School will illustrate their arguments. One of the opponents of the school was Canon Gregory.^{2 6} Quoting the Report of the Bye-

^{2 5} Stanley in the discussion of William Hughes' paper ...Voluntary and School Board Schools in The Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science [= T.N.A.P.S.S. infra] 1879 p.368. Also Stanley National Education and the London School Board The Fortnightly Review vol. xxvi (new series) (1879) pp.549-550.

^{2 6} His arguments are taken from his letter in The Times 24 March 1884. Gregory was Vicar of St. Mary-the-Less, Lambeth 1853-1873 and had been installed a Canon of St. Paul's in 1868. He had served on the S.B.L. from 1873 to 1876. D.N.B. Entry under Gregory, Robert (1819-1911).

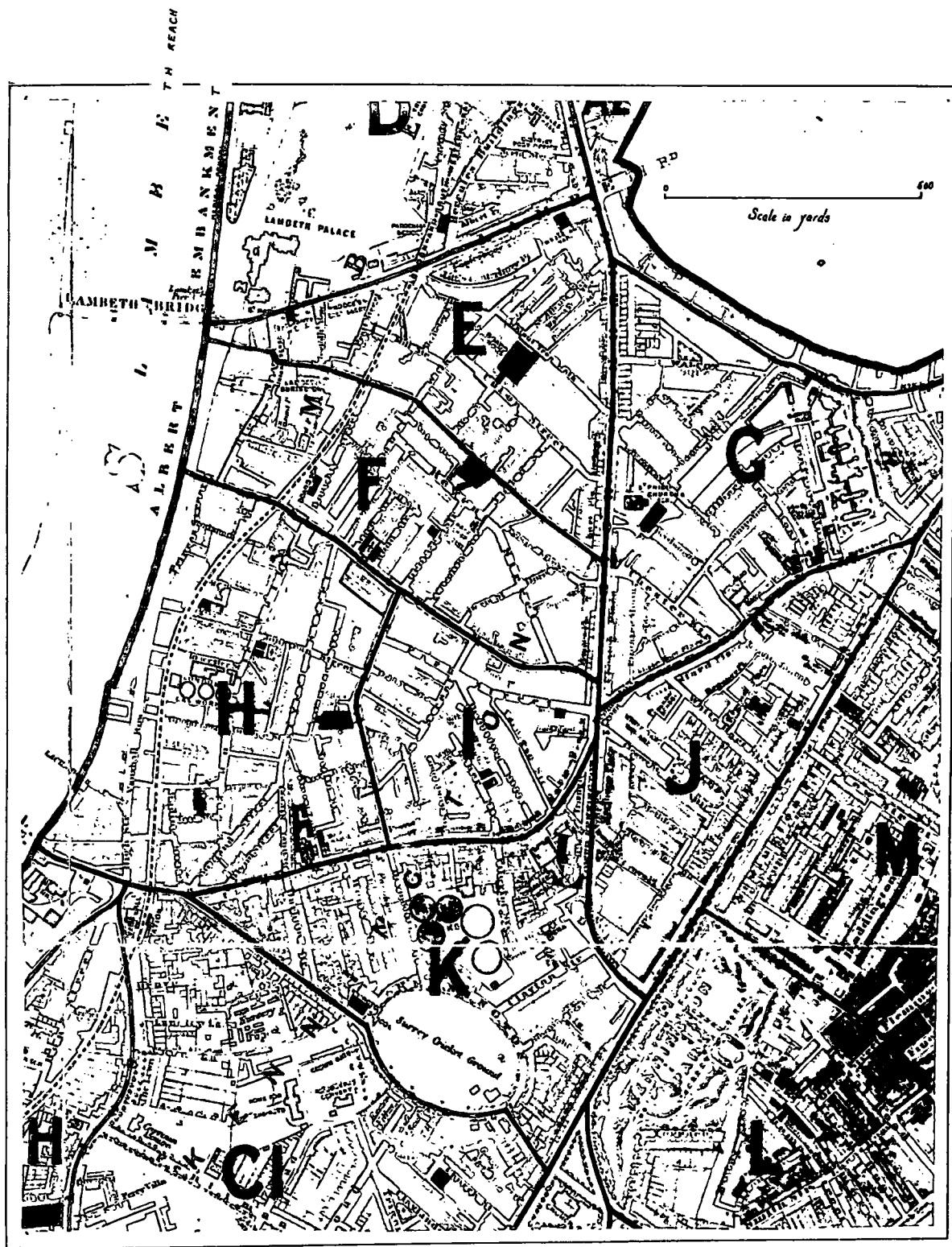


Fig 4 A Map of part of the Lambeth Division of the S.B.L. c. 1881

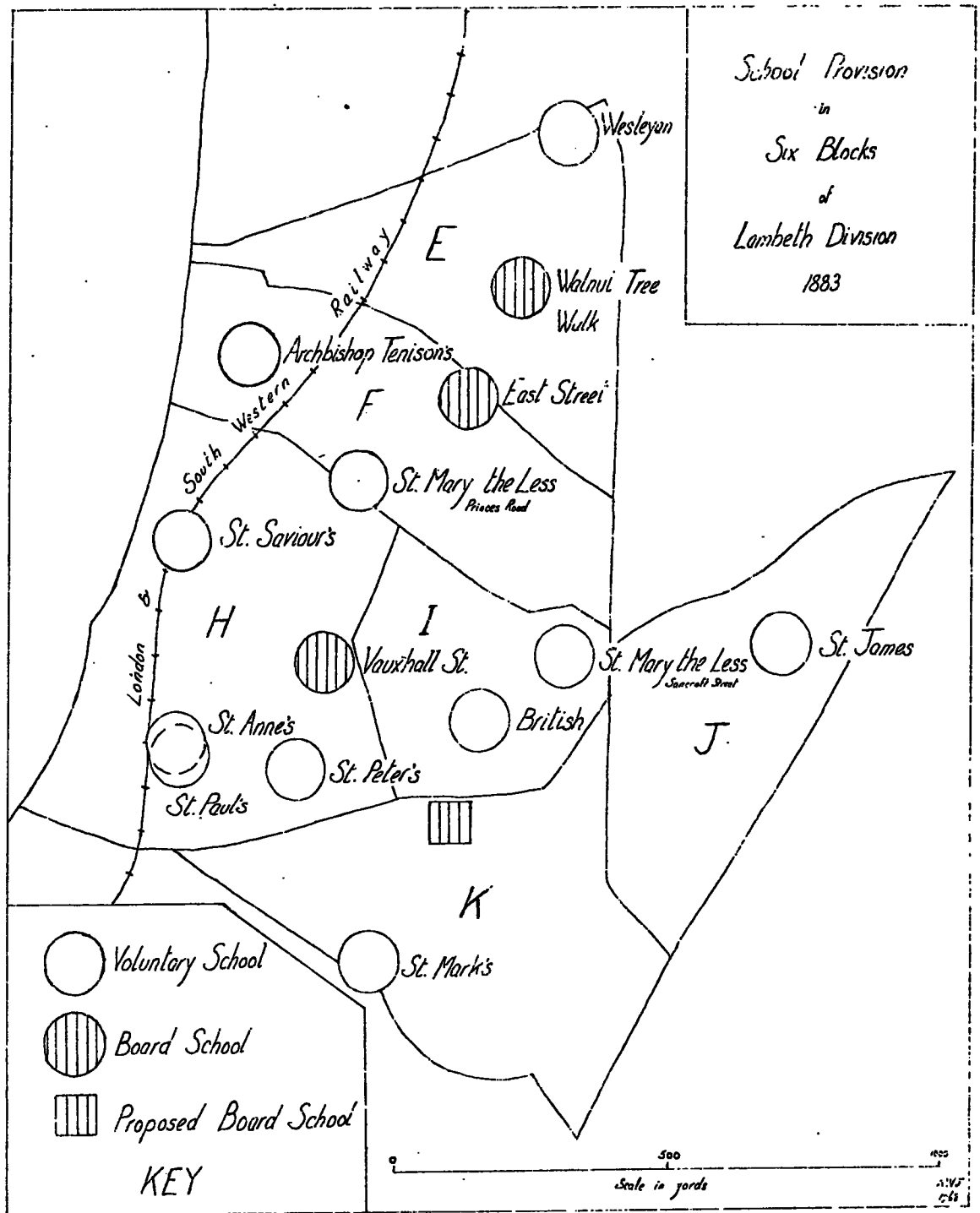


Fig. 5

Laws Committee he stated that there was accommodation for 8,183 children and an average attendance of 6,307 in blocks E,F,H,I,J and K of Lambeth Division (figs. 4²⁷ and 5).

"If the children attend in Lambeth at the same rate as they do all over London that would give the number of children on the books as about 7,800." He alleged that the district visitors had enumerated 477 children in these blocks who were not attending school. He whittled this down to 189. Some of his reductions were reasonable e.g. "6C had left the neighbourhood"; others were less so, "52 were sick, chiefly of infectious diseases". Existing schools, Gregory argued, could absorb these 189 children. Nor could an increase in population be expected as the entire area was built over. A reduction was more likely as the railway from Waterloo through Vauxhall was being widened. Canon Gregory concluded that the proposed board school with 1,200 places was being built out of hostility to voluntary schools.

In his capacity as Chairman of the Statistical Committee Stanley gave his answer in The Times the following day.²⁸ In actual fact there was a need to provide for 9,633 children aged 3-13 of the elementary school class in the blocks Canon Gregory had selected: as there were 8,183 places there was a large statistical deficiency. There was no need for Gregory's "hypothetical calculation" of 7,800 enrolled because the actual number was known. It was 8,306.

Besides the questionable selection of blocks - the proposed school in block K would clearly draw children from the south - the falsity of the voluntaryists' position in

²⁷ Stanford's School Board Map [1881]. Scale 6" to 1 mile.

²⁸ The Times 25 March 1884 where 8,183 is mis-printed 8,185.

this case is illustrated by the attendance figures five years later. The figures available at the time of the dispute, that is, for 1883, are also given²⁹

<u>Block</u>	<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Average Attendance</u>	
		<u>Six Months ending 21.12.83.</u>	<u>Year ending 22.3.89.</u>
E	Wesleyan, Lambeth Road	243	146
E	Walnut Tree Walk	1018	985
F	St. Mary-the-Less, Princes Road	281	291
F	Archbishop Tenison's, High Street	219	217
F	East Street	1038	1054
H	St. Paul's, Gye St., Vauxhall	455	385
H	St. Peter's, Miller's Lane (Lower)	432	368
H	St. Saviour's, Salamanca	288	232
H	St. Anne's, R.C., Vauxhall	188	211
H	Vauxhall Street	1165	1157
I	St. Mary-the-Less, Sancroft Street	145	149
I	British, Esher Street	130	108
J	St. James', Regency Square	325	309
K	St. Mark's, Kennington Oval	380	448
K	Upper Kennington Lane	Not built	1018
T O T A L		6307	7078

Not only did the new school have more than a thousand in average attendance, but the average at the schools in the blocks selected rose by 771.

²⁹ County Hall, London. SBL 1392 Report of the Bye-Laws Committee for the Half-year ended Christmas, 1883 pp. 104-105. SBL 1400 Report of the Bye-Laws Committee for the year ended Lady-Day, 1889 pp.220-221. The lettering of the blocks is that in use in 1883.

Stanley believed that the Education Department was just as opposed to educational growth. He had begun his duties as Chairman of the Statistical Committee deeply suspicious of the central administration. Lord Sandon was given grudging praise: he "knew something of the work of education - his service on the London School Board had educated him." The Duke of Richmond as President and Lord George Hamilton who became Vice-President in April 1878 Stanley regarded with a disdain approaching contempt. "The Duke of Richmond is certainly more congenially employed when he is limiting the importation of foreign cattle than when he is lost in the mazes of a new code, and it is doubtful whether he could enumerate the class subjects and the specific subjects paid for by the code which he administers. Lord George Hamilton, whose zeal for education was formed at Harrow and developed in the army, signalised his first appearance as Vice-President of the Council by a speech to a deputation, in which he expressed his joy that the voluntary system held its own and was resisting the inroads of School Boards."³⁰

At the time this was printed the S.B.L. and the Department were haggling over the disparity in accommodation requirements for voluntary schools and board schools. The article of the Code related to accommodation read "[no grant will be paid unless] the school premises are healthy, well-lighted, warmed, drained and ventilated, properly furnished, supplied with suitable offices, and contain in the principal school-room and class-rooms at least 80 cubical feet of internal space, and 8 square feet of area, for each child in average attendance."³¹

³⁰ Stanley National Education and the London School Board
op. cit. pp. 544,548.

³¹ Article 17c of the 1876 Code.

To this an apparently innocuous footnote was added in the 1878 Code. "In a school erected with the aid of a loan sanctioned by the Department, the average attendance should not exceed the number of children for which the plans were approved by the Department." As board schools but not voluntary schools were "erected with the aid of a loan," no doubt many board school supporters were irritated by the hint of a double standard. The oblique reference was also likely to annoy. Ostensibly the regulation checked overcrowding in board schools where a school board had underestimated the need.³²

In the 1879 Code the footnote was expanded. "If in the neighbourhood of any school there is a deficiency of accommodation, which the School Board are actively engaged in supplying, the accommodation of that school will, for the present, be calculated according to the usual rule." Since the eighty cubic feet and eight square feet were minima, the Department might demand any cubic footage and square footage while still keeping within the Code. In practice Whitehall required the S.B.L. to build accommodation well above the minimum requirements and many school board supporters welcomed the rise in standards. Yet where a school board was supplying a deficiency, the existing schools - which would often be voluntary schools - were reckoned on "the usual rule" i.e. eighty cubic feet and eight square feet. Therefore if there were a district with 1200 children and a voluntary school of, say 8000

³² e.g. Argyll Street School, Ipswich where the plans sanctioned by the Department were for 253 pupils but the Ipswich School Board introduced desks for 317 children. The Department threatened to withhold the grant if the average attendance exceeded 253. The School Board Chronicle 5 July 1879 p. 16.

square feet filled to capacity on the eight square feet basis, there would be a deficiency of two hundred places. If the capacity were calculated at, say, ~~ten~~ square feet per child, there would be room for only eight hundred children and a deficiency of four hundred places. So this ruling must have been particularly galling to members of the Statistical Committee itching to supply further board school accommodation.

All this could be seen or inferred by those troubling to read the Code and its footnotes, but behind the scenes the Department was insisting on a standard of accommodation above the minimum and at the same time setting a limit on expenditure per place. The Department notified the S.B.L. that they would no longer recommend loans from the Public Works Loan Commissioners where the cost exceeded £10 per child.³³ In a protracted correspondence the Board stated that Whitehall's ruling meant "that each boy and girl is to have 10.7 superficial feet and 150 cubical feet of space; an amount which is in excess of the 9 superficial feet and 125 cubical feet, which the Board think sufficient; which latter amount is again in excess of the 8 superficial and 80 cubical feet of the Code." The Board went on to state that the 161 schools that the Board had built cost on the average £9 19s. 11d. per head or £10 19s. 4d. with furniture; if the Department adhered to its ruling the cost was bound to rise.³⁴

³³ Letter from the Education Department dated 21 January 1879 and signed by Cumin to the S.B.L. Printed in The Minutes vol. x pp.293-294. The quarrel is further confused by the introduction of the individual classroom system by the S.B.L.: an improvement to which the Department only reluctantly agreed. In the same letter they wrote, "... My Lords must adhere to the rule which requires the breadth of School-rooms to be 22 feet, with 5 rows of dual desks."

³⁴ The Minutes vol.x. pp.762-765.

In the summer of 1879 an uneasy compromise between Department and Board was reached; the Department agreeing with proposals that where special circumstances existed the Board might borrow the excess over £10 per place (exclusive of site) from the Metropolitan Board of Works or on the open market.³⁵

The following spring saw the Liberal victory in the general election and A.J. Mundella appointed as Vice-President. Stanley wrote to his old "associate" elatedly - "I am heartily glad of your appointment not only on personal but on public grounds. I feel now that Education has a friend in high places and that we of the London School Board will no longer be thwarted by the department...."³⁶

With a friend of education "in high places", Stanley fought at three successive meetings³⁷ to have the Board approve a letter drafted by the Statistical Committee on Article 17c. The argument of the letter ran:- The Board agreed that eighty cubic feet and eight square feet were inadequate but board and voluntary schools should be treated in the same way. The department even used the eight-foot basis for rooms in voluntary schools "unusually wide" and "particularly inconvenient" in shape. This distinction between board and voluntary schools was contrary to the 1870 Act which "lays down the conditions on which a grant shall be given, and requires that such conditions shall not give any preference or advantage to any School, on the ground that it is or is not provided by a School Board."³⁸

³⁵ The Minutes vol. xi pp.29,138,433.

³⁶ University of Sheffield Library. Mundella Correspondence. Letter dated 29 April 1880 from ELS to A.J. Mundella. The letter is also printed in Armytage A.J. Mundella.... p.203 where "in high places" is rendered "in higher place". The word "associate" is derived from the same work, p.118.

³⁷ 2 June, 9 June, 16 June 1880. The Minutes vol.xiii pp. 29,57,87-8: the letter is on pp.27-28.

³⁸ An allusion to 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 § 97.

In their reply the Department claimed they wished to be impartial in the matter and pointed out that it would be "unfair" to allow the Board to fill up the board schools to a maximum permitted on the eight-foot basis while so reducing the enrollment in neighbouring voluntary schools that each child had twelve to fifteen square feet. The Department were unwise enough to use the phrasing "...the only question that My Lords have been considering in Their recent letter... is whether They should allow the Board Schools, built with a loan, to be overcrowded+ and their sanitary condition impaired, while the children with whom it is proposed to crowd them could find ample accommodation in some neighbouring public elementary Schools."³⁹

The Statistical Committee had a ready answer. If board schools were overcrowded when each child had eight square feet of space, then most voluntary schools were overcrowded and the minimum requirements called for revision.⁴⁰

Unable to reach a solution by correspondence a deputation with Stanley as spokesman went to the Department to secure equality of treatment. Permission to increase enrollment in specified S.B.L. schools to the maximum on the eight-foot basis was granted but it was made clear that this was not to be construed as a general relaxation of the rule.⁴¹

It would have been uncharacteristic for Stanley to be satisfied with a low standard in both types of school. In March 1881 he raised the matter in the House of Commons putting

+ Underlining mine. - A.W.J.

³⁹ Letter dated 7 July 1880 and printed in The Minutes vol.xiii pp.311-2.

⁴⁰ The letter is printed in The Minutes vol.xiii pp.389-390: the authorisation to send the letter is on pp.391-2.

⁴¹ P.R.O. Ed. 14/45. Minute dated 24 January 1881 by P.C[umin].

down questions for the Vice-President.⁴² Although Stanley did not receive the answers he wanted he let the matter rest there until he was working on the Cross Commission and the dispute burst forth again.

Running across this dispute from the time of Stanley's involvement in it were two further propositions: (i) that certain voluntary schools, notwithstanding the acceptance of a conscience clause, were unsuitable because of their high fees or the tone of their religious instruction, and (ii) that the emptiness of a school pointed to its unsuitability.

He had advocated or implied these propositions in print in 1879 and repeated them at the S.B.L.⁴³ They had been included in the letter of 29 July 1880 to the Department and pressed by Stanley as a member of the deputation to the Department in January 1881. After which the President had noted lamely, "I am uncertain whether I understand the point made by Mr. Stanley."⁴⁴ So Stanley tried to condemn the Education Department in the House of Commons. He claimed they were contravening Forster's Act by counting unfilled places in voluntary schools in areas with a statistical deficiency.⁴⁵

Afterwards in reply to Rev. J.R. Diggle, Stanley produced figures showing that a voluntary school might maintain a fairly even enrollment and have many unused places while the accommodation in the neighbourhood increased

⁴² Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.260 cols. 152,357. On 29 March and 31 March 1881.

⁴³ Stanley National Education and the London School Board op.cit. p.532. The School Board Chronicle 19 June 1880 p.583.

⁴⁴ P.R.O. Ed. 14/45. 24 January 1881.

⁴⁵ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.259 col.1803. On 24 March 1881.

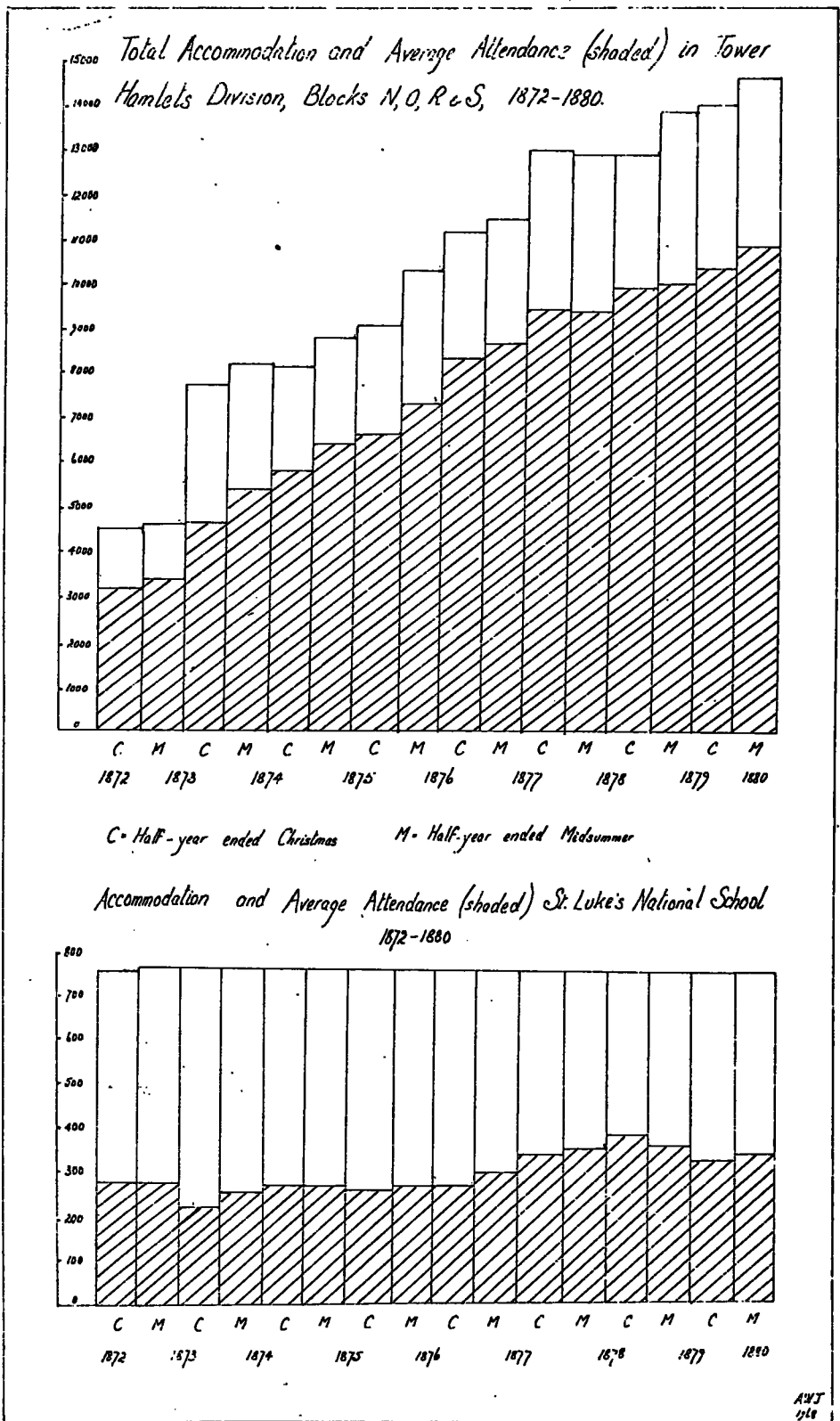


Fig. 6

enormously. At St. Luke's National School (fig.6) in block N of Tower Hamlets Division the average attendance increased during an eight-year period from 270 to 334. Even at 334 much space was unused for the accommodation was 768. Yet in block N and three neighbouring blocks accommodation rose from 4548 to 14417 and average attendance from 3180 to 10875 in the same period.⁴⁶

That there was reluctance to enforce attendance of poorer children at high fee'd schools or Non-conformists at High Church schools is understandable: but the feelings of a clerical manager who saw children drifting from "his" school to the board school and heard the suggestion that vacancies demonstrated the unsuitability of the church school may be imagined.

The problem of board versus voluntary schools can be translated into terms of free competition, with only the fittest surviving; but to afford no protection to the church school was politically impractical. That he advocated the impractical in this case should not detract from Stanley's achievement. In 1885, his last year as Chairman of the Statistical Committee, thirty-two new schools were opened. New openings dwindled to fifteen in 1886 and fifteen again in 1887 to six in 1888 and three in 1889.⁴⁷ When The Times referred ungraciously to Stanley on his defeat at the elections, a prominent member of the S.B.L. wrote, "It was on his appointment to that

⁴⁶ Stanley The Conduct of the Rev. Joseph Diggle on the London School Board and Some Remarks on His Pamphlet [= Conduct infra] pp.6-8. J.R. Diggle had graduated with a first in Modern History at Oxford and was Curate of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square from 1876 to 1879 when he "resigned to devote himself to public work." Who Was Who 1916-1928.

⁴⁷ Final Report table on p.41.

chair that the real work of supplying the deficiency of school places began. With more knowledge of the actual needs of London, and less timidity than his predecessor, he has successfully striven to overtake the arrears of school places. I believe no one will grudge him the honour of this recognition of his services; I am sure no one can claim so much for himself."⁴⁸

Stanley and the Administration of Industrial Schools

Education of destitute and criminal children had produced schools with a dual function. The relief of the very poor was often confused with the reform of criminal behaviour. That the destitute were often criminal and the criminal often destitute were the causes of this confusion. Provision of education for such children - outside the Poor Law - paralleled the development of elementary education. Individual charity and philanthropy started the first schools. As more schools were established a national organization blossomed out, but financial support was insufficient, so recourse had to be made to state aid. The changes in government responsibility for these industrial schools reflected their dual nature. Grants were paid by the Education Department until 1860 when responsibility was transferred to the Home Office.⁴⁹

Children sent to industrial schools were:-

"1. Those who are apparently under fourteen years of age, and who have been sent under a warrant from a magistrate or two justices, on account of -

- (a) Begging or receiving alms in the streets.
- (b) Having been found wandering about without proper guardianship or home.
- (c) Having been found destitute, either as orphans, or the children of imprisoned criminals.
- (d) Having been found in the company of reputed thieves.

2. Those under twelve who have been charged before

⁴⁸ The Times 5 November 1885.

⁴⁹ Barnett Young Delinquents: A Study of Reformatory and Industrial Schools pp.16-19.

a magistrate with an offence punishable by imprisonment, but who have not been convicted of felony.

3. Those apparently under fourteen who have been represented before a magistrate by their parents as too unruly to be controlled at home.

4. Those apparently under fourteen who are refractory in the Workhouse or the Pauper School, or whose parents (one or both) have been convicted of crime, and punished with penal servitude."⁵⁰

The 1870 Act gave school boards power to make a contribution to an industrial school just as a prison authority could make a contribution under the 1866 Act. When a school board was set up in a borough then the borough ceased to have that power.⁵¹ Forster's Act also enabled school boards to build industrial schools,⁵² subject to Home Office control, and Lord Sandon's Act of 1876 made it possible for them to establish day industrial schools "in which industrial training, elementary education, and one or more meals a day, but not lodging"⁵³ were provided.

Side by side with this provision were the establishments of the Poor Law - the Workhouse Schools and District Schools. In 1869 the Poor Law authorities in London gained powers to buy and fit up ships to train boys for the sea. First the "Goliath" and then the "Exmouth" took and trained boys with some success.⁵⁴ And the possibilities of this type of schooling were not lost on the members of the S.B.L.

⁵⁰ Bartley The Schools for the People.... pp.246-247.

⁵¹ 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 § 27.

⁵² 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 § 28.

⁵³ 39 & 40 Vict. c.79 § 16.

⁵⁴ Chance Children under the Poor Law: Their Education Training and After-Care p.30.

Stanley's interest in schools for the very poor ante-dates his election to the S.B.L. It may have sprung from his friendship with C.L. Brace the American philanthropist and founder of industrial schools. Stanley entertained Brace at Dover Street on the American's visit to England in 1872.⁵⁵ When in the U.S.A. for the American Centennial, Stanley went with Brace to look over homes for vagrant boys. "The boys are mostly newspaper boys match sellers &c. as soon as they can they get them to get regular lodgings of their own and often send them out west and settle them on farms. They have a night school in connection with the home. There is also a large school for the Italian poor of whom there are many in New York. about 900 of both sexes attend. These institutions have had aid from the state but are in private management."⁵⁶

This interest persisted after his election to the S.B.L. While travelling on the continent he visited a school at Hamburg where the unfortunate inmates (ten boys and a girl) were suffering the punishment of total silence.⁵⁷ Yet Stanley's first contribution in this field was to defend the Board from the attacks provoked by the unwise action of the Industrial Schools Committee.

On the 14 March 1877 the Committee reported to the Board that they were unable to place industrial schools cases in the training ships on the Thames, and they recommended the Board have an industrial schools ship. They ventured that a suitable vessel might be obtained

⁵⁵ [Brace] The Life of Charles Loring Brace p.318.

⁵⁶ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/3. Letter dated 26 May 1876 from ELS to HMS.

⁵⁷ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/3. Letter dated 31 August [?1877] from ELS to HMS.

from the government and could be fitted up for five hundred boys for £15,000. The Board obtained the sanction of the Home Secretary for a vessel to accommodate 350 boys including 70 Roman Catholics. Unable to borrow a ship from the Admiralty, the Committee recommended that the s.s. "Nubia" be purchased from the P. & O. at a maximum cost of £7,000. They still (16 October 1877) believed that £15,000 would suffice for the total cost including fitting up. But in the spring of 1878 Scrutton, the Chairman of the Committee began to hedge. The "Nubia", now renamed "Shaftesbury" had been built for tropical service which increased the cost of conversion: and this was the first time an iron vessel had been used for a training ship. By 30 April £14,000 of the £15,000 had been spent. On 26 June the Board was asked to authorize an increase to £22,000 but further information was requested and the debate adjourned. On 3 July when "an approximate estimate for £39,790" was laid before the Board, Stanley moved an amendment that the report "be referred to a special committee with instructions to inquire into the cost of fitting up the Training Ship and Tender and into the Staff, and to report thereon to the Board." The amendment was carried, the Committee appointed, and Stanley became Chairman.

The Committee consulted Mr. Ritherdon, "a shipbuilder and surveyor of shipping to the Secretary of State for India." He found "the Workmanship, and Materials employed in the alterations on board are of the highest class and calculated to last many years & according to my judgment she may be considered in every respect a model ship for the service for which she is required," but believed that the cost of fitting out could have been reduced if all requirements had been known beforehand and "a proper specification and drawings had been made of the entire work". When pressed he estimated that this procedure together with open public

competition might have saved 25% of the cost. The Committee of Enquiry made a detailed investigation into the expenditure on equipment. They took exception to many items in the staff quarters. For example twenty-eight oriental rugs at £29 18s. had been supplied even after the enquiry had begun.⁵⁸

Such a searching enquiry was in keeping with Stanley's dictum, "The cry of Liberals should be, Keep your schools as good as they are, and make them much better, and then practise all the economy you can consistently [sic] with that aim."⁵⁹ Admitting that the purchase and equipment of the "Shaftesbury" was the S.B.L.'s "greatest blunder", Stanley set the incompetence in its perspective. He compared the £5,000 - £6,000 which he believed might have been saved with the £20,000 spent on the equipment for the yacht for the Duke of Connaught's honeymoon and the £25,000 lavished by the City on an entertainment for the Prince of Wales when he returned from India.⁶⁰

Unwise expenditure was soon supplanted by alleged ill-treatment of industrial school-children as an accusation to be levelled at the Committee and the Board.

St. Paul's Industrial School was a voluntary industrial school but the S.B.L. maintained a number of the inmates. Scrutton, the Chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee, was the sole manager. It was alleged by some members of the S.B.L. that great cruelty had been meted out to the boys.

Stanley sat on the committee of investigation. He was quickly satisfied that there was "a monstrous amount of

⁵⁸ County Hall, London. SBL 381. Minute Book of the Special Committee to enquire into the cost of fitting up the Training Ship and Tender and into the Staff. 1878-1879.

⁵⁹ Stanley National Education and the London School Board op.cit. p.558.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p.557. He was willing to countenance estimates as high as £12,000 for the possible savings on the "Shaftesbury".

lying". It was alleged that a boy's toe had to be amputated after neglect, but the boy was produced with all his toes intact. Another had "asserted most positively" that a boy had been left to die on the stone steps but "We are told that the doctor will prove and his diary will confirm him that this boy was twelve days in bed before he died." Stanley thought the committee unsuited to the investigation. They "had shown a great deal of party spirit and animus, many of them openly assuming the attitude of prosecutors rather than of judges, and we felt that the proper person to enquire and if necessary prosecute was the Home Secretary - Harcourt is trying to shove on us the enquiry that we may bear the odium if the charges are true."⁶¹

Stanley's fears were well founded. Harcourt wrote to Mrs. Surr the leading instigator of the enquiry, pointing out that the S.B.L. had to protect the children that they had sent to industrial schools.

In his article defending the Board⁶² Stanley noted that the children were in fifty-one schools (twenty-nine for Protestant boys, thirteen for Protestant girls, six for Roman Catholic boys, three for Roman Catholic girls) at places as far distant as Cardiff, Macclesfield and York. Even if the S.B.L. could justify expenditure on travel, the inspectors had no right of entry. The authorities at Feltham industrial school - which took 160 boys, the largest number at one institution - refused to allow the Board's inspector to examine the children. Most damaging

⁶¹ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/4. Letter dated 12 November 1881 from ELS to HMS.

⁶² Stanley Industrial Schools and the Home Office The Nineteenth Century vol.x (1881) pp.913-919.

of all, Stanley pointed out that the Reports of the Home Office inspector even as late as 1880 were unexceptional. Certainly they contained nothing to cause suspicion of ill-treatment. Finally Stanley took the Home Secretary to task "for saying in his letter [to Mrs. Surr] that the London School Board could at any moment by the withdrawal of their children have closed St. Paul's School." Stanley observed that children were sent to a specified school by the magistrate's order⁶³ and the power of transferring children from one industrial school to another rested with the Home Secretary.⁶⁴ And as to the Home Secretary's intention to find a body of managers for each school, the statute clearly contemplated schools under one manager.⁶⁵

As tempers rose the allegations became more outrageous and eventually Scrutton sued Helen Taylor, another member of the S.B.L. for libel. He received damages of £1000 though it was observed that Miss Taylor acted from a sense of duty and not from malice.⁶⁶

Stanley used the opportunity that public interest in the affair created to put forward his ideas on the administration of industrial schools. He wanted these schools transferred from the jurisdiction of the Home Office to the Education Department. Their association with the policeman and magistrate was not beneficial. There was a tendency for the governors to behave towards the children like gaolers towards prisoners. "The industrial school should

⁶³ Referring to 29 & 30 Vict.c.118 § 18.

⁶⁴ Referring to 29 & 30 Vict.c.118 § 42.

⁶⁵ Referring to 29 & 30 Vict.c.118 § 45.

⁶⁶ The Times 1 July 1882.

be considered as growing out of the ordinary school, but with somewhat stricter discipline and somewhat wider powers, in order to secure for the child that full measure of education which either his own unruly nature or the neglect or vice of his parents has hitherto denied him". Stanley pointed out the absurdity of children under ten who had not even passed Standard I spending half their time at wood-chopping. He believed that no child should begin to learn a trade until he was twelve or had passed Standard IV. The four years from twelve to sixteen should be adequate to teach a trade.

In contrast to his evaluation of voluntary effort in other fields he thought that school boards being subject to "the caprice of the cumulative vote" would be less likely than voluntary bodies to secure the long-term sympathetic supervision of a number of the schools. A board might secure a good superintendent and matron, but a manager with missionary zeal was also needed.⁶⁷

Securing Universal Attendance

Compulsory attendance preceded free education in England and Wales. This paradox is reflected in the statutes. Mundella's Act which secured a measure of compulsion throughout the country preceded the "Assisted Education Act" by eleven years. Similarly the permissive powers given to the school boards in 1870 to enforce attendance by bye-laws were more used than their permissive powers to establish free schools. So parents were compelled to send their children to school but were charged fees for the schooling received. The more obstinate complained that this was an infringement of their liberty.

⁶⁷ Stanley Industrial Schools and the Home Office op.cit. pp. 916-919.

This paradox also contributed to the problem known administratively as capricious migration. Let us consider the case of a working man's child resident in Park Street, Lambeth (Lambeth Division. block I: figs. 4 and 5). All the schools shown were within walking distance of each other, the furthest apart being separated by no more than half-a-mile. When money was available the child might be sent to the British School (fee 6d. or 4d. for infants) gaining social distinction in the neighbourhood but when money was short he might be sent to the Vauxhall St. Board School where the fee was 2d.⁶⁸

Stanley gave a measure of the problem, "I may mention that in a school opened in Battersea about eight months ago 250 girls had been admitted to and had left the school in that time, and there are schools, especially in Southwark, where with a thousand names on the roll there may be as many as six or seven hundred new admissions in a year."⁶⁹

Free schools would help to solve this problem as well as being desirable in themselves. Stanley advocated them wholeheartedly. His phrasing is noteworthy; "I shall be curious to see the article on free schools in the Fort-nightly Review. I am in favour of them entirely and I have no doubt we shall have free schools some day - We should have them now in many places if the Education department were not allowed to interfere."⁷⁰ Previously⁷¹ he had accused Whitehall of protecting voluntary schools by refusing to allow school boards to establish free schools.

⁶⁸ County Hall, London. SBL 1392 Report of the Bye-Laws Committee for the Half-year ended Christmas, 1883 pp. 104-105 for the fees.

⁶⁹ Stanley French Elementary Education The Nineteenth Century vol.xiii (1883) p.467.

⁷⁰ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/5. Letter dated 14 January 1883 from ELS to HMS. Underlining mine. - A.W.J. Fees in board schools had to be approved by the Education Department under 33 & 34 Vict.c.75 § 17.

⁷¹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.261 cols.769-771. On 18 May 1881.

He believed that there ought to be fifteen to twenty of them in London at that time. The Department even obstructed the reduction of fees to a nominal amount such as the proposal by the Norwich School Board to charge a farthing a week at some schools. Free schools did not necessarily mean an increase in the rates. The cost for England would be £1.4 millions and could be raised by a penny on the income tax.

The argument used especially by voluntaryists that free schools pauperized the working-classes he treated with contempt. He said he did not feel pauperized by the endowments of Eton and Oxford. In any case the working-classes had made their sacrifice: they forfeited the money their children might have earned. Besides four-fifths of school income did not come from fees: payment of the remaining fifth from public funds would pauperize no one.

Stanley maintained that many endowed schools such as Christ's Hospital and Dulwich were specifically for the poor. "It would be a mischievous abuse of these charities to apply them to elementary education." This would only relieve the subscribers or ratepayers of expense but part of the endowment might be used to provide free education, especially in poorer districts.⁷²

Instead of free schools being established the scale of fees was often unscrupulously altered. Stanley suspected that some voluntary schools used this device to shoulder out those children less likely to earn government grant at the annual inspection. He referred to a church school in

⁷² Stanley The Organization of Secondary Education, Locally and by the State International Health Exhibition 1884 Health Exhibition Literature [= H.E.L. *infra*] vol.xvi. pp.369-370. The same volume was also issued as Proceedings of the International Conference on Education, London 1884 vol.iv.

⁷³ Stanley Conduct p.10. The section of the school in which a shilling a week was charged would be outside the definition of the Elementary Education Acts.

Marylebone which charged 1s. a week for backward children and 6d. a week for others.⁷³ And he accused voluntaryists of generally raising their fees to keep out the poorest children.⁷⁴ The answer⁷⁵ that a rise was necessary because teachers' salaries had risen, subscriptions had been diverted into rate-books and a decrease in enrollment had reduced the parliamentary grant revealed the defects in financing church schools.

To secure a high average attendance reducing or abolishing the fee was important, but so was the quality of the schooling given. He believed that children were good judges of the instruction imparted. If it were good, average attendance would be high. Even Coal Yard, Drury Lane School in a very poor area had an average attendance of 91% in 1878.⁷⁶ Instead of "setting the door ajar and then inflicting fines and penalties on those that did not come in", the door must be set wide open, and the children attracted inside.⁷⁷

Supplying the Teachers

The 1870 Act broke the Church's hold on elementary education but it contained no new provisions to increase the supply of teachers. The instruction that pupil-teachers received in the elementary schools remained the basis of

⁷³ See page 58.

⁷⁴ The Times 22 October 1877.

⁷⁵ By Rev. J.E. Kempe, Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly in The Times 27 October 1877.

⁷⁶ Stanley National Education and the London School Board op. cit. pp. 533-534.

⁷⁷ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.261 col769.

teacher-training. In addition the small training colleges established mainly by Church authorities provided a course for the abler recruits to the profession. Yet the Revised Code had so drastically reduced the attractiveness of teaching that in the late sixties the number of pupil-teachers had rapidly dwindled and some training colleges closed:⁷⁵ an inauspicious prelude to the staffing of board schools in the seventies.

Stanley repeatedly denounced the system of teacher-training. At the S.B.L., in Parliament and in his published works his position was essentially the same. The pupil-teacher system was absurd. The training colleges were insufficient and provided inadequate education. They were maintained largely by public funds; but they were mainly denominational and therefore unsuited to the undenominational school board system.

In his review of English education in 1879 Stanley admitted that the pupil-teacher system had certain good qualities in small rural schools where the pupil-teacher was really an apprentice. But in the great town board schools of 1500 pupils the pupil-teacher system was a survival of the past. And the Education Department just tinkered with it. They raised the minimum age for entry from thirteen to fourteen, which was an advance and ought to be fifteen at least, but mullified this by the introduction of stipendiary monitors. Referring to Holland whence the idea of pupil-teachers had been partly derived, Stanley noted that even in rural areas pupil-teachers were supernumerary and came from a radius of five miles to a centre to receive instruction.

The pupil-teacher there was doomed and England would "have the solitary distinction of setting those to teach who have scarcely begun to learn."

Stanley believed that the training college system

⁷⁵ Rich The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century pp.186-188.

needed "a through overhauling." Accommodation was inadequate because in 1878 only 693 males out of 1046 who passed the Queen's Scholarship Examination and only 866 females out of 1906 who passed were admitted to college. Finally the colleges were maintained largely by public money but were sectarian in operation being permitted to give preference to students of a particular denomination and to enforce attendance at denominational worship.⁷⁹

As soon as opportunity offered, Stanley re-iterated in Parliament his condemnation of the sectarianism of the training colleges. In the Supply Debate on 2 August 1880 he stated the arguments against them: "remarks" he had "been meaning to make for some time."⁸⁰ Only 14% of the running costs came from voluntary contributions and yet the colleges were privately managed. They should admit pupil-teachers in order of merit. The college authorities might impose "a special theological examination" and yet the boards were prohibited by law from giving denominational instruction to help their pupil-teachers enter college. Liberty of conscience ought to be allowed in the training-colleges just as it was in the universities: any argument that these were domestic institutions was unsound.⁸¹

His hopes that the Liberal government would deal with the problem in the 1880-1 Session were disappointed. And the next year when Henry Richard⁸² condemned the denominationalism

⁷⁹ Stanley National Education and the London School Board op.cit. pp.537-538,541-542. Article 98 of the Code allowed the authorities of each college to "settle their own terms of admission."

⁸⁰ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/4. Letter dated 2 August 1880 from ELS to HMS.

⁸¹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.254 cols.2005-6.

⁸² Henry Richard M.P. for Merthyr b. at Tregaron in 1812 had been a Non-conformist minister in Southwark. Dod's Parliamentary Companion 1884.

of the training colleges, Stanley supported him, but Mundella fobbed them off, saying that legislation would be necessary to effect a change, and in any case school board teachers did go to training colleges.⁸³

Meanwhile the S.B.L. had been presented with a memorial from the Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association concerning the "special disabilities" of board school candidates trying to enter training college. The Board referred this to the School Management Committee on 26 May 1881. The Committee investigated the complaints and the results of their enquiry were ready by August. Many pupil-teachers, although high on the pass list at the Scholarship Examination, had been unable to gain admission to college.⁸⁴

The Board debated the issue interminably in the autumn of 1881 and it was not until 26 January 1882 that any substantial progress was achieved. It seems that Stanley was behind the phrasing of the resolution that was eventually adopted. The amendment was down in the name of Dr. Angus but J.R. Diggle alleged that it had been drawn up by Stanley. Dr. Angus said Diggle's version of events was "not quite accurate" but did not dispute that the amendment was in Stanley's handwriting.⁸⁵

By this amendment the Board decided to approach the Department concerning the difficulties of board school pupil-teachers entering training colleges, and to urge equality of treatment for all pupil-teachers whether from board schools or voluntary schools.⁸⁶

⁸³ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.264 cols.1309,1313-1314,1325. On 8 August 1881.

⁸⁴ The memorial and the return are printed in The Minutes vol.xv pp.404-408.

⁸⁵ The School Board Chronicle 28 January 1882 p.79.

⁸⁶ The Minutes vol.xvi pp.258-261.

Accompanying the letter that was sent to Whitehall the next day was a copy of the Return showing the reasons given to S.B.L. pupil-teachers for being refused admission to college, although they had been successful in the Scholarship Examination. It received a cool reception at the Department and was minuted, "I do not think it worth while analyzing this return, as we cannot tell which Colleges gave which reasons for refusing admission, and it is suggested that the true reason was not given."⁸⁷

Irritated by the lack of progress, Stanley called Mundella's attention to the letter in the House of Commons on 21 March 1882.⁸⁸ The Vice-President replied that the letter was still "under consideration". He realised that there was a deficiency but it was in the colleges for women and the Department had plans for remedying this deficiency. He had been informed by the principals of the undenominational colleges for men that there was difficulty in placing the teachers.

On 3 April Stanley had this amendment down:-

"That the existing system of training colleges being mainly under denominational management, and the admission of students being entirely in the hands of the college authorities, is unsatisfactory and inadequate at the present day as affording no protection to the rights of conscience of the students, and as tending to exclude those students who come from Board Schools who are desirous and well qualified to pursue the career of elementary teachers; and that the School Boards of this country, which now educate a continually increasing proportion of all the children

⁸⁷ P.R.O. Ed.14/19. Letter of the S.B.L. dated 27 January 1882; the minute is dated 9th February 1882.

⁸⁸ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.267 col.1438.

attending public elementary schools in England and Wales, are entitled for their teachers to an unsectarian system of training, with the protection of a conscience clause."⁸⁹

Speaking for the amendment he pointed out⁹⁰ that numerous school boards including London, Bradford and Ipswich had taken up the matter of training colleges with the Department. In reply to Bradford the Department had said they contemplated the establishment of three more training colleges of which two would be undenominational. This was "quite inadequate". The denominational colleges were allowed to admit as they saw fit and were imposing religious tests before entry. Since there were often no alternative colleges the students had to accept the tests or remain untrained. He cited Yorkshire as an example. It was a county of "aggressive Nonconformity", yet it possessed only two training colleges and both were church establishments. There was the women's college at Ripon and the men's college at York. Those desiring admission were asked if they had been baptized and confirmed. The "Communion was practically re-imposed as a test." Yet academically the results were so bad that York came last in the 1880 Examinations.⁹¹ Young "Baptists from Bradford and Halifax must get baptized in dozens, like the conquered Saxons, and get up a Catechism they did not believe in in order, if they went to a Church College, to have their

⁸⁹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.268 col. 612. On 3 April 1882.

⁹⁰ Ibid. cols. 612-616.

⁹¹ Nettled by this observation, the Principal of York Training College wrote to The Times maintaining that his college was eighth in order of merit. Stanley replied that the figures quoted must refer to 1881, remarking tartly, "Any improvement in York Training College must be a satisfaction to all interested in education...." The Times 6 April and 7 April 1882.

intellectual ability spoiled and come out in the 3rd division."

This rhetoric did not move Mundella. He responded with the argument that the Church paid out half-a-million and more to educate children in the principles of the Church. It would be impossible to carry out the work without properly educated teachers. The corollary of this was denominational training colleges. Asking Church authorities to admit irrespective of creed would destroy the character of the colleges but he assured the House that no injustice was done. Although he would like to see day training colleges established in London, he repeated the assertion that there were sufficient training colleges and some certificated teachers were unable to secure posts.⁹²

Unwilling to let the matter rest Stanley explained this startling allegation in a letter to The Times. In an analysis of the results of the Government certificate examination held at Christmas 1881 he showed that untrained teachers passed the first year's papers thus:-

	DIVISION			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Men	17	85	104	411
Women	32	341	747	225

Grudgingly "setting aside" the candidates who had been placed in the first and second divisions "as having possibly some tincture of knowledge", he pointed out that the 636 teachers who passed in the fourth division would be allowed by the Department to work small schools single-handed and the 851 in the third division would also be permitted to instruct

⁹² Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.268 col.632. On 3 April 1882.

pupil-teachers. While these two groups numbered 1487 the total number of candidates from training colleges examined in the second year's papers amounted to 1501. In other words the untrained teachers who passed in the two lowest divisions on the first year's papers almost equalled in numbers the total output from the two-year college course.

Since the teachers with lower qualifications would accept a lower salary they would occupy positions that might have been filled by trained teachers. Stanley admitted that the Department was doing something to raise standards, for example the fourth division would disappear in the 1883 examination: but he contended that the real reason for lack of progress was the unwillingness to burden "poverty-stricken" voluntary schools with any more expenditure. "The sooner people recognize that good education costs money and that they cannot have an efficient teacher for less wages than a mechanic would earn, the better for this country."⁹³

In his work on the S.B.L. Stanley applied the tenets of the Manchester School to teachers' salaries. The payment teachers received should be governed by their market value.⁹⁴ The system adopted by the S.B.L. in 1872 was inherited from the days of the Revised Code.⁹⁵ Teachers were paid a small fixed salary and a fraction of the government grant. Naturally this tended to give lower salaries in difficult areas and put a premium on teaching in better districts as well as exaggerating the importance of the annual inspection.

⁹³ The Times 13 April 1882. The results of the 1881 Examination had appeared in The Schoolmaster for 8 April 1882.

⁹⁴ Stanley at the S.B.L. reported in The School Board Chronicle 2 March 1878 p.202.

⁹⁵ Final Report p.161.

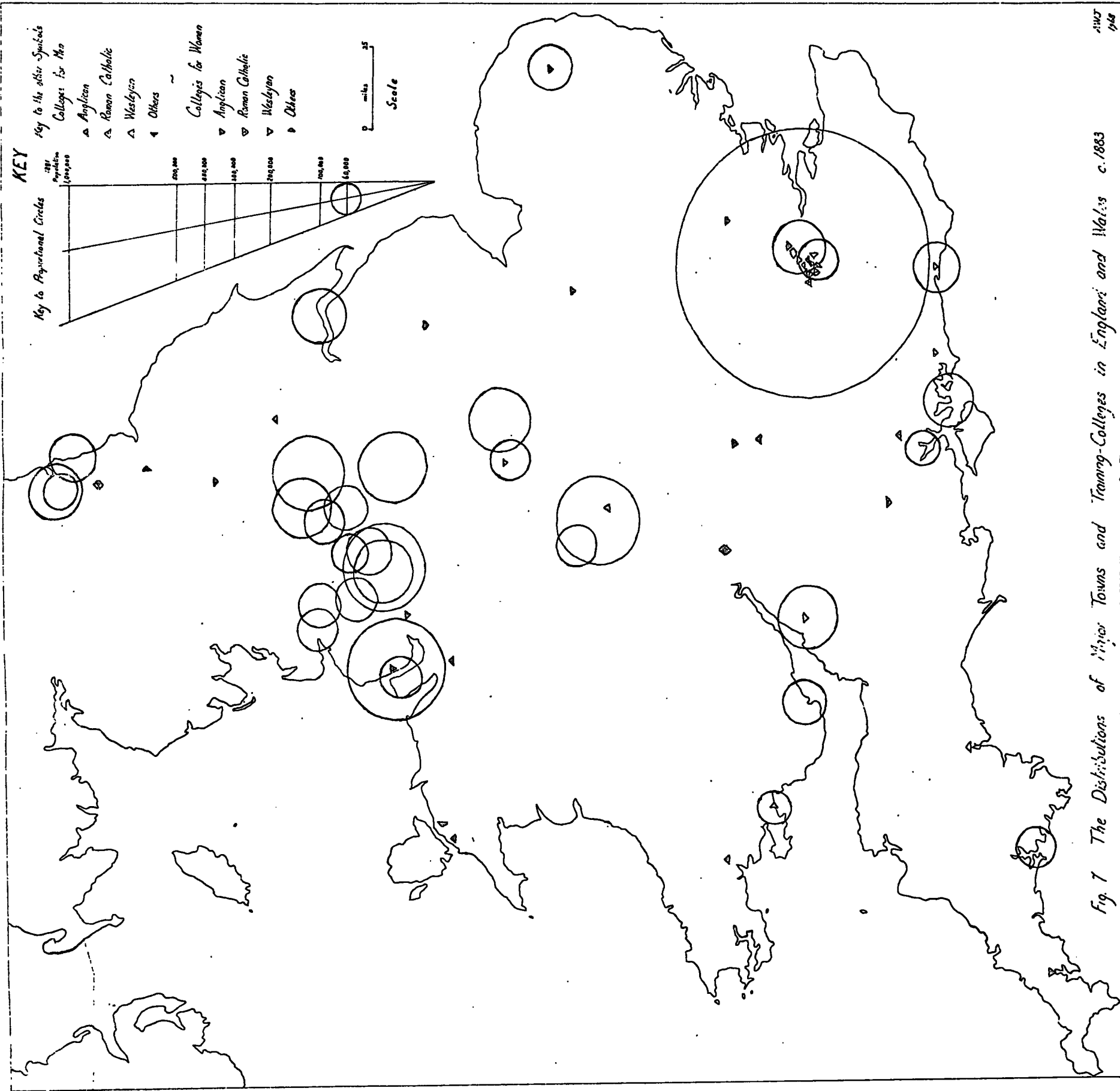


Fig. 7 The Distributions of Minor Towns and Training-Colleges in England and Wales c. 1883

When salaries were under review in 1879 Stanley, like others, advocated fixed salaries, but unlike others prepared a memorandum indicating his misgivings on the calculation of the cost.⁹⁶ The S.B.L. failed to agree on a revised scheme and in the early eighties a system of payment based on accommodation was put forward, but Diggle's attack⁹⁷ on Stanley accusing him of "endowing space" was unjustified. Although he had helped to formulate the scheme on the School Management Committee, he "did not agree with every clause". He even gave some support to Diggle's amendment.⁹⁸

With a Liberal government in power and nothing being done to liberalise the training college system Stanley eventually produced a pamphlet⁹⁹ reprinting the returns made at the S.B.L. enquiry, and forcibly advocating his own solution to the problem. He showed that the training college system was inadequate in distribution, supply and availability.

The inadequacy in distribution is illustrated by the map (fig.7) which shows all towns in England and Wales with a population greater than 60,000 in 1881. That is, it shows towns where there were more than 10,000 children of elementary school age by the Department's "one-sixth rule". All the towns shown except Brighton and Norwich are ports or manufacturing towns. The training colleges are also shown.

⁹⁶ The Minutes vol.x pp.898-900.

⁹⁷ Diggle The School Board for London: a Plea for Better Administration [= Plea infra] pp.10-14,28-29.

⁹⁸ The School Board Chronicle 26 June 1880 p.606.

⁹⁹ Stanley Denominational Training Colleges and Board Schools London 1883 27pp. The data for figs.7-9 were obtained from this work.

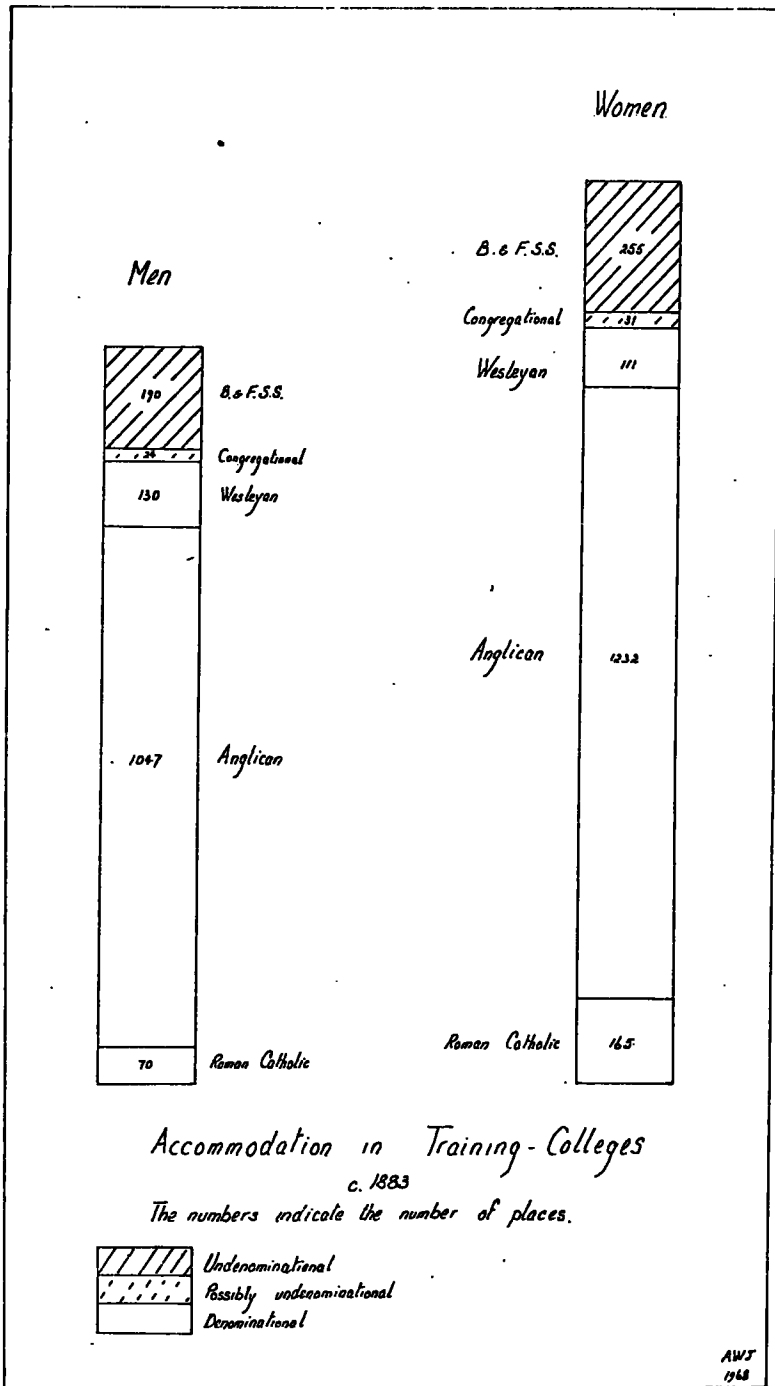


Fig. 8.

There were seven colleges in large provincial towns^{1.00} and a remarkable concentration in London, but elsewhere the distribution of training colleges and large towns was mutually exclusive. The lack of training colleges to serve the mill-towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire is particularly striking.^{1.01}

Stanley was concerned with the practical difficulties this created. No candidate had a right to sit at the college of his choice: nor did the Education Department provide additional centres.^{1.02} So there was this initial difficulty in travelling to sit the Scholarship Examination: which might involve real hardship for a humble and impecunious pupil-teacher.

Nor did the total accommodation reach satisfactory numbers (fig. 8). There were 3255 places providing for a theoretical intake of half that number for the whole of England and Wales. As he often did Stanley looked north of the border to justify an improvement: a trait rare in English educationists. He noted that Scotland had 717 students for 410,000 children. "At the same rate there ought to be more than 5,000 students in training in England for the 2,863,000 children in average attendance, instead of which there are only 3,121."^{1.03}

The situation was worse than the total figures suggest. Anglican colleges required an examination in religious knowledge in both Testaments and the Book of Common Prayer.^{1.04} A specimen paper for the Bible knowledge

^{1.00} Brighton, Bristol, Derby, Norwich, Liverpool, Saltley and Swansea.

^{1.01} Apart from practical considerations it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the distribution affords a telling commentary on a system oriented towards a rural England.

^{1.02} Stanley Denominational Training Colleges... p.4.

^{1.03} Ibid. p.10.

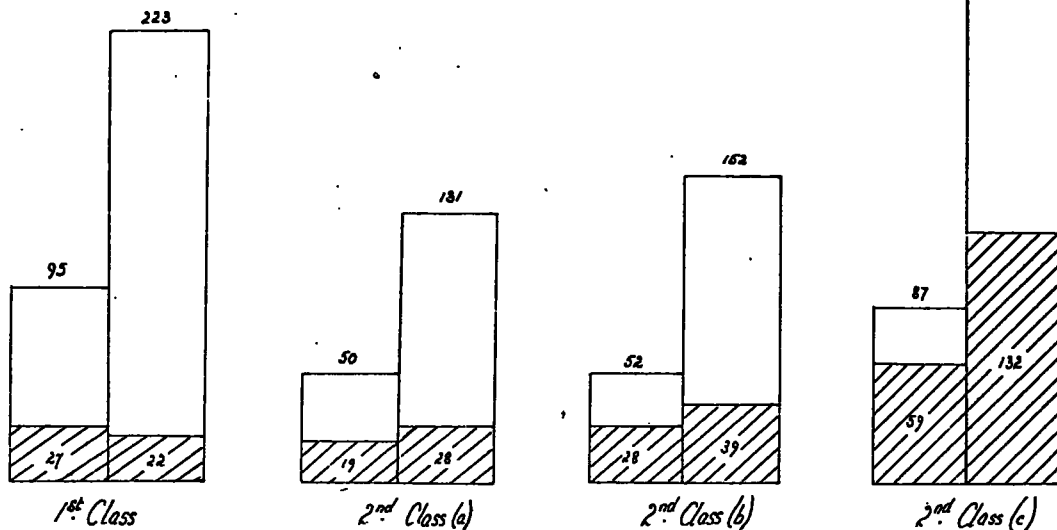
^{1.04} Ibid. p.19. Passing was essential to gain admission except at York, Saltley and Chichester.

Entry to Training-College: Candidates Successful at the Scholarship Examination July 1881

The left-hand column of each pair represents the board school candidates; the right-hand represents the others.

The shading shows the proportion refused admission.

Men



Women

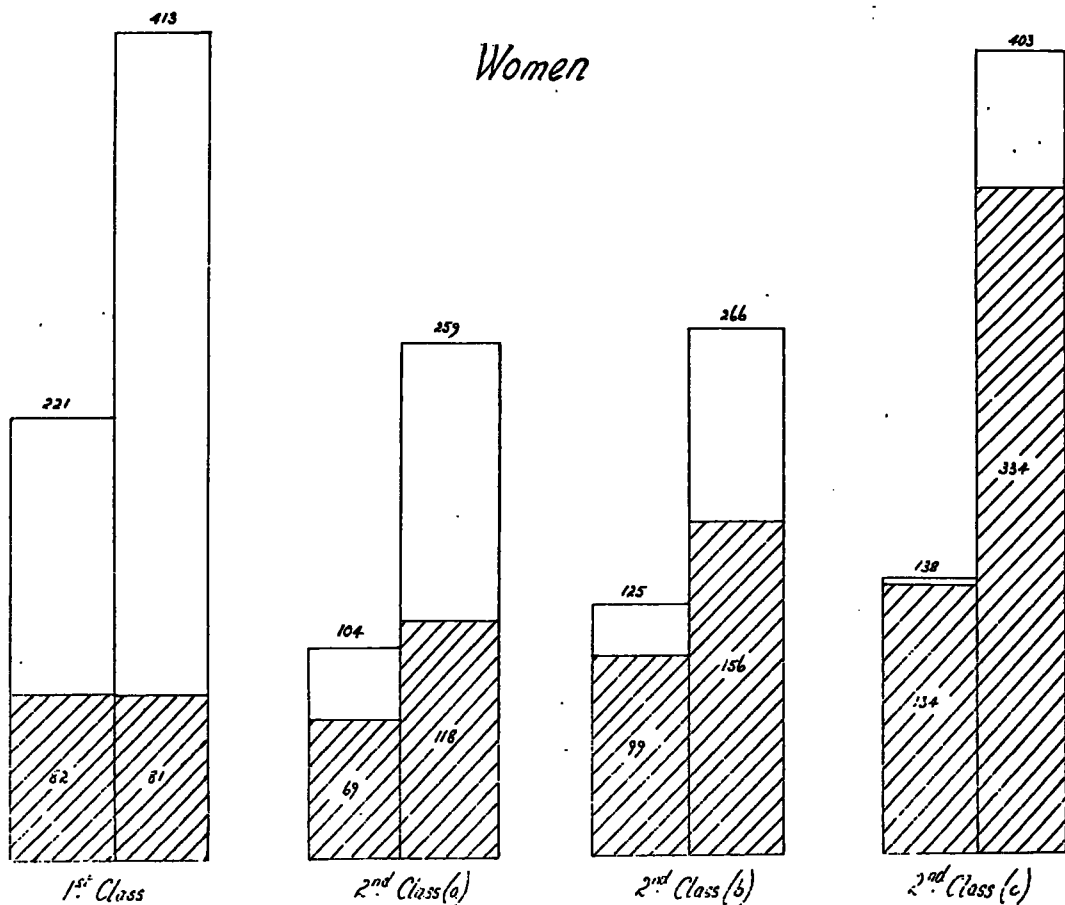


Fig. 3

examination (Appendix B) indicates that a fairly detailed knowledge was required. The two Wesleyan colleges required a comparable examination and a report from a Wesleyan Methodist Superintendent on the candidates religious character.¹⁰⁵ The colleges of the B.F.S.S. and possibly the Congregationalists', Stanley believed could be reckoned as undenominational. These colleges provided a total of 214 places for men and 286 for women for the whole of England and Wales (fig.8).

The returns give the ostensible reasons for rejecting candidates successful at the Scholarship Examination. Some of the reasons given by the college authorities were frivolous. W.Z. Payne of Keeton's Road School was refused admission at Exeter because of his height. Only occasionally would the candidate be refused admission because of his denomination. The unfortunate W.A. Raby of Harper Street School was refused at Westminster because he was not a Wesleyan and at Winchester because he was not an Anglican.¹⁰⁶

Using the returns for 1881 ¹⁰⁷ Stanley shewed quite conclusively that in that year the board school candidates were at a disadvantage. His analysis has been used in the columnar diagram (fig.9) which shows that a higher proportion of board school candidates had been refused admission than non-board school candidates in the same class. This applied to men and women, and to every class in the pass list. It is also noteworthy that board school candidates had a better overall performance. Thus, for women there were 221 board school candidates and 413 non-board school candidates in the highest class, but in the lowest class the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p.19.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p.21.

¹⁰⁷ Stanley used the results produced by the July 1881 Scholarship Examination contained in Parliamentary Return on Training Colleges in England and Wales part iv (dated 21 June 1882) which was not printed but deposited in the Library of the House of Commons. His analysis appears in Ibid. pp.5-6.

figures were 138 and 403.

Stanley also tabulated the recurrent expenditure¹⁰⁸ of the denominational training colleges:-

%		£	s.	d.
73.08	Grants from the State	112,908	4	3
.89	Endowments and Exhibitions	1,374	11	11
12.26	(Voluntary Subscriptions and Donations, Church and Chapel Collections) (£7,769 6s 11d) (Diocesan Boards and Other Charitable Bodies £11,164 10s 1d)	18,933	17	0
13.77	Students' Fees and Payments	21,276	2	11
		154,492	16	1

Stanley noted that the state provided three-quarters of the funds and the denominations only one-eighth. It was a scandal that control was not in public hands. He put forward two solutions. Either transfer some colleges to the school boards, or, better, give power to school boards to found colleges.¹⁰⁹

Without such power the S.B.L. had been trying over the years to improve the education of pupil-teachers by giving them instruction in central classes. When the scheme of pupil-teacher centres was proposed in 1877 Stanley opposed it,¹¹⁰ not because he disliked improving the education of teachers, but because he wished the whole pupil-teacher system to be reconsidered. He knew that it was impossible

¹⁰⁸ Stanley Denominational Training Colleges.... p.20.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. pp. 12-13.

¹¹⁰ Stanley at the meeting of the S.B.L. on 25 July 1877 reported in The School Board Chronicle 28 July 1877 p.79.

to abolish the system at once but he considered the ratio of one pupil-teacher to one adult teacher too poor to be countenanced and even one pupil-teacher to two adults was inadequate.¹¹¹ By 1884 Stanley had relented as far as advocating classes for ex - pupil-teachers, who would spend half their time teaching and half their time in class.¹¹²

Perhaps the gravest result of the controversy over pupil-teacher centres was the revelation that the law could be evaded. A report of the School Management Committee (Appendix C) signed by Stanley among others showed that expenditure on pupil-teacher centres was illegal: yet pupil-teacher centres were established. This revelation coloured Stanley's approach to educational administration.

Stanley's Contribution to Intermediate and Higher Education

Two sets of terms exist to distinguish the stages of the education system. One set - elementary, intermediate, higher - suggests a definition of stages by content. The other set - primary, secondary - has come to mean definition by age - though the best age of transfer is still in dispute. Late Victorian educationists not only used the terms as if they were inter-changeable but implied a third social definition e.g. elementary education was for the lower classes, secondary education was a middle-class prerogative.

If elementary education meant teaching the skills of reading, writing, simple calculation and nothing else, the S.B.L. was quick to exceed its powers. In 1879 Stanley noted with approval that work in the specific subjects was developing and cited the reports of five schools that had been

¹¹¹ He was also perturbed about the effect of their cost on future elections: but at that time he had been only eight months on the S.B.L. Cheshire Record Office.DSA 102/3. Letter dated 1 August 1877 from ELS to HMS.

¹¹² H.E.L. vol.xvi p.52. Stanley during the discussion of papers on the Training of Teachers for Elementary Schools.

received in one batch:-

Division	School	Boys		Girls	
		Average attend- ance.	Passes in Spe- cific Subjects	Average attend- ance.	Passes in Spe- cific Subjects.
Finsbury	Blundell Street	264	158	253	57
Greenwich	Blackheath Road	231	147	226	109
Greenwich	Clifton Road	340	190	316	99
Marylebone	Medburn Street	267	157	263	143
Southwark	Monnow Road	403	300	363	196

Eight specific subjects had been studied and the passes were distributed in this fashion:-

	Boys	Girls
Literature	335	212
Physical Geography	305	-
Domestic Economy	-	343
Animal Physiology	143	6
French	72	43
Botany	73	-
Mechanics	11	-
Mathematics	13	-

Advocates of foreign language teaching in primary schools may be surprised that five London board schools could produce a total of 115 passes in French less than a decade after the passing of the first Elementary Education Act.¹¹³

The teaching of French at Medburn Street School gained notoriety because the auditor surcharged the unfortunate head-

¹¹³ Stanley National Education and the London School Board
op.cit. pp. 534-535.

master, J. Payne for £34 13s. 1d.¹¹⁴ being fees charged for the teaching of French. The money had been paid to the teachers instead of into the school fund. The auditor did not question the legality of teaching French. Indeed when the Local Government Board passed on Payne's appeal to the Education Department the documents were minuted "I propose to say that the extra 1d f[or] French was not approved by us, but that had it been submitted, we should not have refused to approve it."¹¹⁵ Though this reply does not appear to have been sent.

The matter having been raised in this fashion, the S.B.L. decided to dispense with the extra fee and extend French teaching to low fee'd schools. Supporters of voluntary schools such as J.J. Coxhead¹¹⁶ fulminated against the proposal - "This appeared so preposterous, so absurd, so unjust to ratepayers, that I and others resisted the proposal for about four hours, but with no avail." When he questioned whether teaching French was elementary education, Coxhead was on more reasonable ground. Stanley did not answer this question^{directly}, but in his letter of reply¹¹⁷ referred to the fourth schedule of the Code where French was

¹¹⁴ Diggle (Plea p. 9) states that "£35" was collected "over a period of six months"; but this is hardly possible. It would require over three-quarters of the children in average attendance to be learning French.

¹¹⁵ P.R.O. Ed. 14/24. L.G.B. to Ed. Dept. dated 30 May 1881: the minute is dated 16 June [1881]. Payne's action contravened 33 & 34 Vict.c.75 §§ 17 and 53.

¹¹⁶ The Times 18 December 1880. Coxhead graduated at Oxford in 1860 (3rd. Cl.Lit.Hum.) and was ordained priest 1861. In 1868 he had become Vicar of St. John, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square which office he still held at this time. Crockford's Clerical Directory 1885.

¹¹⁷ The Times 22 December 1880.

listed as a specific subject. The Code also envisaged the appointment of special instructors for particular subjects and the S.B.L. had already made use of this article to teach practical cookery. Stanley believed Coxhead wanted the board schools "limited to bare rudimentary education, while a better elementary education should be confined to the voluntary schools mainly connected with the Church of England...." How far the process of teaching specific subjects could go without invading the field of intermediate education Stanley left undiscussed.

It is a measure of his standing that he was invited to be President of the Education Section at the Social Science Congress at Manchester in 1879. His Presidential Address was on intermediate and higher education.¹¹⁸

As the first point of his address he insisted that the education of girls should be considered equally with boys. He based his argument not on justice but on national necessity. No nation should allow half its members to remain uneducated. He argued that Catholic countries injured themselves by allowing their civilization to be dominated by men. He even thought it possible that provision for girls was more important: for men would be educated out in the world but women would spend their lives in the seclusion of the home. He hoped that future legislation would "insist" on "equality in the provision of educational facilities" for boys and girls.¹¹⁹

In financing this provision the old endowments should be re-applied in the spirit of the founders, which he believed to be bringing "liberal education to the door of all, so that all might profit to the full extent of their mental ability." It was regrettable that so many ancient foundations had been captured by those least in need. The wealthy should provide

¹¹⁸ T.N.A.P.S.S. 1879 pp.52-69.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. pp.53-54.

their own schools. Nor was the granting of scholarships to poor boys to go to existing schools a way of solving the problem because the "atmosphere of luxury and self-indulgence" of the public school was an inadequate preparation for the life the boy would lead. Any attempt to maintain the endowments for the Church of England should be resisted. For these endowments had often been made when endowments to other churches were illegal,¹²⁰

Turning to contemporary methods of financing intermediate education he found that the system of the Science side at South Kensington was unsatisfactory. It was too open to fraud, too likely to lead to cramming and the selection of subjects "that pay best" instead of those which "educate best". In Ireland the Board set up by legislation to stimulate intermediate education by examinations and prizes was financed by the Commissioners for Church Temporalities. Stanley thought this pattern of using church funds for educational purposes should be copied in England.¹²¹

Stanley praised the efforts of private enterprise to establish new schools. He noted particularly the work of the Girls' Public Day School Company and Cowper Street School, London established by Rev. W. Rogers but contended that despite their efficiency they were unable to bring intermediate education within the reach of parents able to afford £4 to £6 per annum. He would like to see municipalities or county boards empowered to raise a rate (perhaps a penny) for intermediate education. "My great object now is to urge that, if not everywhere at any rate in those places where the population desires it, they should have the power, mainly at

¹²⁰ Ibid. pp.55-57.

¹²¹ Ibid. pp.57-58. The allusion is to the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878 41 & 42 Vict.c.66 §§ 5,8.

their own expense, to establish advanced schools."¹²²

Between this address of 1879 and his next paper on intermediate education, the Education Department had incited school boards to establish higher grade schools.¹²³ Nothing had been done to provide a coherent system of intermediate education.

At the conference on education in 1884 Stanley regretfully re-capitulated the recommendations of the Taunton Commissioners (eleven districts, each with an educational council to regulate and co-ordinate endowments, boards for counties and for towns of more than 100,000, a permissive rating power to supplement endowments to build three grades of school). He noted how little had been done. The Commissioners had recommended provision at the rate of sixteen places per thousand people. Therefore there should have been 430,000 places available including 200,000 places in third grade schools for lower middle-class children.

He suggested that higher grade schools like those at Manchester and Bradford should be established throughout the country. "If the school boards should gradually discharge this duty, either singly, or in rural districts by association, pending the formation of larger areas, we should then require a new organization only for the second and first grade schools...." In passing he objected to the categories of first and second grade schools, preferring to describe them "as scientific and literary, differing in aim but equal in thoroughness": a fore-runner of "parity of esteem". He was certain that control should be local with a minimum of interference by the central authority. Two-thirds of the money should be raised by the rates but he did not envisage a rate

¹²² Ibid. pp.60-61.

¹²³ Eaglesham From School Board to Local Authority p.104.

greater than twopence in the pound. As yet his ideas on the nature of the local authority were fluid. It might be "county board, town council, school board, or new body created for the purpose."¹²⁴

In the field of higher education Stanley's most interesting suggestion was for an association between the universities and the elementary school teacher as in Scotland. He argued that as the state paid £100 for each student leaving training college, it would be no more expensive to pay £50 per annum for an unattached student at Oxford. There was already a Chair of Paedagogy at Edinburgh and there was no reason why English universities should not give similar recognition to the value of instruction in the art of teaching.¹²⁵

+ + +

In the general dissatisfaction with Liberalism in 1885 Stanley lost his place on the S.B.L. His interests ranged over the whole of school board activity. "He is the only man who knows the whole work of the Board in all its departments. To a greater extent than any member he has been the brain, the thinking power of the Board. That he has been rejected is a calamity for the elementary education of London."¹²⁶ His ideas on local public control of education with a minimum of interference from the central administration and on teacher training divorced from clerical domination were to be pressed repeatedly in the following decades.

The year 1885 also closed his career in the House of Commons. Although this had been his first Parliament and

¹²⁴ Stanley The Organisation of Secondary Education, Locally and by the State H.E.L. vol.xvi pp.363-371.

¹²⁵ Stanley National Education and the London School Board op.cit. p.539. H.E.L. vol.xvi, p.52.

¹²⁶ Mark Wilks in his letter to The Times. The Times 5 November 1885.

he was still in his early forties, his name had been mentioned for ministerial office, though not in the most flattering terms: "Lyulph Stanley represents political garlic. Put him in the ministerial dietary and the whole party would reek of him, but he has a great fund of energy and much knowledge."¹²⁷ The people of Oldham did not return him in the 1885 elections and he wrote colourfully to Gladstone: "Allow me as one of your soldiers who has got a bullet through his head in the battle, nevertheless [sic] to keep enough vitality to write to you to express my regret for the failure of the country thus far to respond to your appeal...."¹²⁸ The next year Stanley ^{withdrew} from the candidature at Oldham for fear of a split with his fellow candidate over Home Rule.¹²⁹ But by that time he had joined the Cross Commission.

¹²⁷ Hamer (ed.) The Personal Papers of Lord Rendel....
p.220. Letter dated 10 November 1882.

¹²⁸ British Museum Add. MSS. 44493, ff. 153-156. Letter dated 29 November 1885.

¹²⁹ Marcroft Landmarks of Local Liberalism p.143.

CHAPTER THREE

On the Cross Commission 1886-1888

Act. 46-49

On 12 June 1885 Gladstone announced the Queen's acceptance of his resignation and the following day Lord Salisbury began to form a Conservative administration. Within a few weeks J.G. Talbot a member of the National Society's Committee and a Conservative Member of Parliament was asking for a "Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts." He had two objects: to develop an efficient educational system and to save the rate-payers from financial strain¹ This request was refused at the time, but by the end of the year, Cranbrook the new Lord President, who, incidentally had been on the Committee of the National Society from 1862 to 1874 and a Vice-President since 1875, was selecting possible Commissioners.

One of the men he approached was A.J. Mundella² The former Vice-President admitted the need for a Commission but wanted re-assurance about its impartiality and cautiously asked for the names of the Chairman and the other Commissioners before accepting.³ In his answer Cranbrook put the minimum number on the Commission at seventeen. He had received acceptances from Cardinal Manning, Dr. Rigg, Canon Gregory, C.H. Alderson, Rev. T.D.C. Morse, T.E. Heller, Dr. R.W. Dale and Sir John Lublock, Lord Harrowby and Lord Beauchamp

¹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.299 cols. 1053-4. On 17 July 1885.

² University of Sheffield. Mundella Correspondence. Letter dated 17 December 1885 from Cranbrook to Mundella.

³ University of Sheffield. Mundella Correspondence. Letter dated 19 December 1885 from Mundella to Cranbrook.

would probably serve. He had invited S. Rathbone to be a member and the Bishop of London to be Chairman, but he had not received replies. He proposed to add some M.P.s, such as J.G. Talbot. Cranbrook admitted that the opinions of some of the Commissioners were "pronounced".⁴

Mundella then put his objection in stronger terms. "The names given are with two exceptions very pronounced in the direction of more money for less work + the whole composition of the Commission will be regarded as highly denominational unless you introduce more Nonconformists." Sir Bernhard Samuelson, Sir Henry Roscoe and Professor Huxley were educationists Mundella would have liked to include, but, "Of all men who would be most useful on the Commission especially in the work which can reasonably be expected from the Teachers, I should name Lyulph Stanley. You may think him very pronounced but he is much less so than some of the names you have mentioned + he is the hardest worker + the most complete master of detail I have ever met with. I think if you enquire of the Prime Minister he will bear testimony to the value of his work on the Commission on the Dwellings of the Poor. He has nothing to do, + his appointment would be very acceptable to the Non-cons."⁵

Cranbrook was less enthusiastic about Stanley's inclusion and wrote in a postscript to his reply, "I will think over Mr. L. Stanley to whom personally I have no objection."⁶

Mundella was right about Stanley's acceptability to the Non-conformists. Henry Richard (p. 61 supra) wrote

⁴ University of Sheffield. Mundella Correspondence.
Letter dated 20 December 1885 from Cranbrook to Mundella.

⁵ University of Sheffield. Mundella Correspondence.
Letter dated 21 December 1885 from Mundella to Cranbrook.

⁶ University of Sheffield. Mundella Correspondence.
Letter dated 22 December 1885 from Cranbrook to Mundella.

to R.W. Dale the Congregationalist theologian and associate of Chamberlain in the days of the National/^{Education} League, expressing his suspicions of the "extreme position" of many of the Commissioners. He acknowledged his own frailty in front of such opposition: "... we want somebody who is conversant with all the details of the Bills and Codes and modes of operation, for we should have to deal with very subtle adversaries, who are well up in all those points on which I am at present very imperfectly informed." He had put forward to Cranbrook "the names of Illingworth and Lyulph Stanley, who, though not a Nonconformist, shares their views, and is, moreover, more perfectly master of our whole educational system than perhaps any man outside the Education Department."⁷ In this appraisal Dale concurred, preferring Stanley to Illingworth.⁸

This mastery of the system and acceptability to the Nonconformists did not prevail with Cranbrook and Lyulph Stanley's name did not appear in the Commission issued on 15 January 1886.⁹ Only a fortuitous circumstance gave him a place. On 25 January the government was defeated and

⁷ Miall Henry Richard M.P.: a Biography Letter dated 25 December 1885 pp.362-363.

⁸ Dale The Life of R.W. Dale of Birmingham Letter dated 28 December 1885 p.549.

⁹ The Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Working of the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales [= Cross Commission infra] First Report pp. iii-iv. The Reports etc. of the Cross Commission are to be found in Parliamentary Papers thus:- the First Report in vol.25 of 1886, the Second Report in vol. 29 of 1887, the Third Report in vol. 30 of 1887, the Final Report in vol. 35 of 1888, the Statistical Report etc. in vol.36 of 1888, and the Digest of Evidence etc. in vol. 37 of 1888.

Commissioner	Ecclesiastical Position (or equivalent)	Parliamentary Career	Work for Education (see 61)
Viscount Cross	Archdeacon of Chichester 1850-52; received into Church of Rome 1857; Archbishop of Westminster 1865; enthroned Cardinal 1875.	M.P. (Cons.) Preston 1857-62, S.W. Lancs. 1868-85, Lancs. (North) 1885-86; Home Secretary 1874-80, 1885-86; Sec. of State for India 1881-82; known 1886.	Factory Act (1875) including regulation of child labour passed while he was Home Secretary. Supported residence to government grants to elementary schools 1869; established Westminster Diocesan Education Fund 1866.
Henry Edward Manning	Sent by Queen as special envoy to Pope Leo XIII 1867.	'A Liberal-Conservative' (Dod)	Supported residence to government grants to elementary schools 1869; established Westminster Diocesan Education Fund 1866.
Duke of Norfolk (see 64)	President of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1886; Vice-President of the National Society 1886-87.	M.P. (Cons.) Lichfield 1856-59, Liverpool 1868-82; President of the Board of Trade 1878-80.	Member of first S.B.L.; Vice-President 1874-78.
Earl of Harrowby	Member of the National Society Committee 1888.	M.P. (Cons.) Tewkesbury 1857-63, W. Worcs. 1863-66.	Helped in the founding of Kibble College.
Earl Beuchamp	Ordained priest 1847; Bishop of Exeter 1869-85; Bishop of London 1885; as Bishop ex-officio member of National Society Com. #	M.P. (Cons.) North Staffs. 1841-78; Under Secretary of State for the Colonies 1846-48; President of the Board of Trade 1874-78; Sec. 1878.	Examiner in Education Dept. 1848-49; Principal, Kneller Hall, Tottenham, 1849-55; H.M. Insp. 1857-59; an Education Commission 1864-68.
Frederick Temple	Member of the National Society Committee c. 1849.	M.P. (Cons.) North Staffs. 1841-78; Under Secretary of State for the Colonies 1846-48; President of the Board of Trade 1874-78; Sec. 1878.	Introduced various Bills on Education 1847-48; helped to found St. John's Training College and St. John's Reformatory 1852; Vice-President 1858-59 in Education Office 1848-48; Secretary, Education Department 1870-84. (also responsible for Scotland and Science & Art during part of this period)
Baron Norton	Ordained priest 1846; Chaplain to the Archbishops of Canterbury 1852-53; Archdeacon of Maidstone and Canon of Canterbury 1881-82.	M.P. (Cons.) North Staffs. 1841-78; Under Secretary of State for the Colonies 1846-48; President of the Board of Trade 1874-78; Sec. 1878.	Diocesan Inspector of Schools
Francis Sandford	Entered Wesleyan Methodist Ministry 1845; President of Wesleyan Conference 1872; Treasurer Wesleyan Missionary Society 1881.	M.P. (Cons.) North Staffs. 1841-78; Under Secretary of State for the Colonies 1846-48; President of the Board of Trade 1874-78; Sec. 1878.	Principal, Westminster Training College 1868; member of the S.B.L. 1870-76; published 'National Education' 1872.
B. F. Smith	Vicar of St. Mary-the-Less, Lambeth 1853-73; Canon of St. Paul's 1868-70; Secretary of the National Society 1870-72.	M.P. (Cons.) North Staffs. 1841-78; Under Secretary of State for the Colonies 1846-48; President of the Board of Trade 1874-78; Sec. 1878.	Member of the S.B.L. 1873-76.
James H. Rigg	Ordained priest 1852; held various livings 1855-68, 1872-82.	M.P. (Cons.) North Staffs. 1841-78; Under Secretary of State for the Colonies 1846-48; President of the Board of Trade 1874-78; Sec. 1878.	Diocesan Inspector of Schools 1855-64; Lecturer at Queen's College, Henry St. 1868-72; member of the S.B.L.
Robert Gregory	Member of the National Society Committee 1865.	M.P. (Cons.) North Staffs. 1841-78; Under Secretary of State for the Colonies 1846-48; President of the Board of Trade 1874-78; Sec. 1878.	H.M.I. 1857-62; chief H.M.I. 1882-85; Second Charity Commissioner 1885.
Thomas D. C. Morse	Pastor of Carl Lane Chapel, Birmingham 1854-55; Chairman of the Congregational Union 1869.	M.P. (Cons.) North Staffs. 1841-78; Under Secretary of State for the Colonies 1846-48; President of the Board of Trade 1874-78; Sec. 1878.	Chairman Liverpool School Board.
Charles H. Alderson	Minister of Marlborough (Independent) Chapel, Southwark.	M.P. (Lib.) Oldham 1880-85.	Member of the S.B.L. 1876-85.
John G. Talbot	[Dealt with in the text.]	M.P. (Lib.) Oldham 1880-85.	Member of Birmingham School Board.
S. G. Rathbone	Minister of Marlborough (Independent) Chapel, Southwark.	M.P. (Lib.) Oldham 1880-85.	Secretary N.U.E.T. (later N.U.T.) 1873-74; Member of the S.B.L.
E. Lyolph Stanley (see 10)	[Dealt with in the text.]	M.P. (Lib.) Oldham 1880-85.	On Departmental Committee on Welsh Intermediate and Higher Education 1880-81.
R.W. Dale	[Dealt with in the text.]	M.P. (Lib.) Oldham 1880-85.	[Dealt with in the text.]
Thomas Edmund Heller	[Dealt with in the text.]	M.P. (Lib.) Oldham 1880-85.	Vice-Chancellor, London University; President of the British Association 1881.
Henry Richard	[Dealt with in the text.]	M.P. (Lib.) Oldham 1880-85.	Chairman, House of Commons Committee on Technical Education 1884; Member of the Education Commission 1884; Member of the S.B.L.
George Shipton	[Dealt with in the text.]	M.P. (Lib.) Oldham 1880-85.	Member of the S.B.L.
Sir John Lubbock	[Dealt with in the text.]	M.P. (Lib.) Oldham 1880-85.	Member of the S.B.L.
Sir Bernhard Samuelson	[Dealt with in the text.]	M.P. (Lib.) Oldham 1880-85.	Member of the S.B.L.
Sydney Charles Denton	[Dealt with in the text.]	M.P. (Lib.) Oldham 1880-85.	Member of the S.B.L.

Notes
 (a) Replaced B.C. Malby
 (b) Replaced A.J. Mumbelle
 (c) Membership etc. of the National Society as given under 'Ecclesiastical Position'...

Fig. 10 The Cross Commission: an Analysis of the Careers of its Signatories, down to June 1883

Gladstone formed his third ministry, in which Mundella was President of the Board of Trade. So Mundella resigned his place on the Commission and it was given to Stanley.¹⁰

Despite Cranbrook's illiberal attitude the analysis of the careers of the Commissioners down to 1888 (fig. 10¹¹) does not reveal any startling bias in the composition of the Commission. There were five Liberal M.P.s and five Conservative. Six Commissioners were Vice-Presidents of the National Society or on its Committee. This was not excessive considering the large numbers of children in church schools. Sectional interests gained representation. The teachers had Heller, the trades unions Shipton, and technical education Samuelson.

It was not so much the statistical representation of denominations or interests but the lack of flexibility and ability to compromise that precluded a unanimous report. While Cranbrook was still shaping the Commission, Dale wrote to Richard lamenting the implacable attitude of the voluntarist leaders and saying, "My present judgment is that we should work for the extreme position - universal School Boards, free education, and pure secularism..."¹²

The addition of Stanley gave vigorous leadership to the exponents of these ideas. His willingness to take the lead in controversies is shown by the number of amendments he proposed and which came to a division during the compilation of the Commission's Final Report. An enumeration¹³

¹⁰ Cross Commission First Report p.v.

¹¹ D.N.B. Who Was Who. The Annual Reports of the National Society. Rathbone William Rathbone: a Memoir.

¹² Dale The Life of R.W. Dale of Birmingham. Letter dated 28 December 1885 on p. 549.

¹³ Cross Commission Final Report List of Recorded Divisions... pp. 446-488.

of such amendments proposed by each Commissioner demonstrates Stanley's leading position:-

Stanley	29
Gregory	14
Sandford	12
Beauchamp	11
Rathbone	11
Dale	9
Harrowby	9
Lubbock	9
Norton	7
Samuelson	5
Rigg	4
Temple	4
Heller	3
Buxton	2
Cross	2
Manning	2
Smith	2
Alderson	1
Morse	1
Norfolk	-
Richard	-
Shipton	-
Talbot	-
Name omitted	1

In twenty-five of the twenty-nine divisions on Stanley's proposals Stanley was directly out-voted: a result which might have exasperated a more placid man, especially when eleven of Gregory's fourteen amendments were carried.

By the summer of 1887 Stanley was anticipating difficulty in reaching any kind of agreement on the Commission's recommendations. "The meeting of the Commission

was very instructive," he wrote to Henry Richard. "It developed an extreme and narrow form of Tory ecclesiastical reaction, which augurs ill for any agreement on the report." Cross had brought forward two ambiguous resolutions, so Stanley "asked him for an explanation. whether he meant by these two resolutions to indicate that some kind of religious instruction was to be obligatory in all schools and that he would not admit secular schools to annual grants. He said he did not mean that. I then said I should have to move an amendment and pointed out that this was a serious interference with the Act of 1870 by which the state had become neutral and only interested in secular results, while the discretion as to religious teaching was made local &c. &c. However as he took the opinions all round the table the great majority supported his resolutions and some of them declared their wish for the state to exact religious teaching. However the Bp of London Archdeacon Smith and Rigg indicated that it would be impracticable for the state to enforce religious teaching on reluctant boards and Cross said he did not wish to re open the settlement of 1870."¹⁴

So great was the cleavage that three reports were produced. The report considered over several months was signed on 27 June 1888 by fifteen members of the Commission and became known as the Majority Report. A short Minority Report of fourteen pages was signed on 12 July 1888 by the other eight Commissioners, five of whom set forth their views at much greater length in a document which R.W. Dale called the Extended Minority Report.¹⁵ This term has not

¹⁴ National Library of Wales [= N.L.W. *infra*]. 5505. Letter dated 27 July 1887 from ELS to Henry Richard.

¹⁵ Miall Henry Richard M.P.: a Biography p.367. The Majority Report forms pp.1-236 of Cross Commission Final Report; the Minority Report, pp.237-250; and the Extended Minority Report, pp.251-393.

gained wide acceptance but it prevents confusion and is used here.

The Authorship of the Extended Minority Report

On stylistic grounds twentieth-century educationists have inferred a dominant contribution by Stanley to the Extended Minority Report. L.A. Selby-Bigge notes that Stanley's "characteristic style is conspicuous":¹⁶ and J.W. Adamson, writing of the minority group, maintains that "... the uncompromising logic and the stark assertions of their report betray the pen of the man whose name comes first in the list of signatories, the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley."¹⁷

Nineteenth-century sources confirm this assessment. Henry Richard's biographer, C.S. Miall states that Stanley "... eventually drafted the larger part of the [Extended] Minority Report."¹⁸ Aid to the definition of this "larger part" is found in the biography of Dale; "Dale with Mr. Lyulph Stanley signed the draft on which this report was based; he wrote the chapters on Religious Instruction, Moral Training and Nonconformist Grievances, and also a Memorandum on the Attendance at Sunday Schools of Children attending Public Elementary Schools."¹⁹

So it seems highly probable that the rest of the draft was Stanley's work. There is one exception: the chapter on technical education prepared by Viscount Cross but rejected by the Commission in favour of Canon Gregory's draft

¹⁶ D.N.B. Entry under Stanley, Edward Lyulph.... (1839-1925).

¹⁷ Adamson English Education 1789-1902 p.386.

¹⁸ Miall Henry Richard M.P.: a Biography p.365.

¹⁹ Dale The Life of R.W. Dale of Birmingham p.578. The memorandum (Cross Commission Final Report pp. 298-301) bears Dale's signature but the chapters do not.

was used by the minority to express their views.²⁰

Three other men, Richard, Shipton and Heller signed the Extended Minority Report. How far did they amend the draft?

Henry Richard died on 20 August 1888 only weeks after the Report's completion. He had been infirm for "many months" and had found service as a Commissioner very trying. At each meeting in Richmond Terrace he had been obliged to pause for medication before ascending the stairs to the Commission's Office. After Richard's death R.W. Dale praised the Welshman's pertinacity in the interests of Nonconformity and education in the Principality but did not suggest that his contribution to the Report was extensive. "I think I am betraying no confidence," Dale declared, "in saying that he wrote some of the sentences that seem to me most admirable in the Extended Minority Report."²¹

George Shipton was primarily a trade unionist. He had been secretary of a union of house-painters and decorators since 1866, secretary of the London Trades Council since 1872, and a member of the Parliamentary Committee of the T.U.C. at intervals since 1875.²² Evidence of his interest in education is fragmentary. When standing for parliament in 1880 he had advocated disestablishment to provide funds for free education.²³ In 1882 he had been Chairman of the Helen Taylor Indemnity Committee which set out to raise the £1000 that had to be paid to Thomas Scrutton.²⁴ In 1883 he

²⁰ Cross Commission Final Report p.311n and p.466.

²¹ Miall Henry Richard M.P.: a Biography p.367.

²² Clegg, Fox and Thompson A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889 vol.i p.256n.

²³ Maccoby English Radicalism 1853-1886 pp.236-237.

²⁴ Bishopsgate Institute. Howell Collection. 923/19. The preliminary circular of this organization, dated 5 July 1882.

gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction.²⁵ But from the analysis (p. 83 supra) of the divisions during the compilation of the Final Report it seems unlikely that he would have proposed amendments to the draft.

T.E. Heller, the son of a schoolmaster, has served his apprenticeship as a pupil-teacher and had been trained at Cheltenham. He had been a headmaster, first in that town, and then at a parochial school in Lambeth.²⁶ Always concerned for the advancement of the profession, he was "a foundation member of the London Church Teachers' Association and the National Union of Elementary Teachers." He became secretary of the national union in 1873 and still held the post at the time of the Commission. Although he was a "staunch churchman" he spoke out against the church when he thought it necessary: at the Church Congress at Cardiff in 1882 he had advocated the transfer of church schools to the boards if the church could not maintain them properly.²⁷ That Heller had an extensive and detailed knowledge of the educational system is shown by his annotated version of the Code produced first in 1882. It was a popular guide to that administrative labyrinth and within four years had reached its fourteenth edition,²⁸ though this probably included some reprintings. So the possibility that Heller made significant amendments to the Extended Minority Report cannot be entirely discounted. He had the knowledge and

²⁵ [Tate] London Trades Council 1860-1950 p.63.

²⁶ The Schoolmaster 23 February 1901 pp.306-307 and
The Schoolmaster and Woman Teacher's Chronicle 13 April
1933 p.579.

²⁷ Tropp The School Teachers.... p.115n and p.173n.

²⁸ Heller The New Code (1886-7) of Minutes of the Education
Department....

forthrightness to do so.

Although Stanley made a dominant contribution to the Extended Minority Report, it was not exclusively his. In assessing his contribution to educational development at this stage, not only the Report itself but also the trend of his questioning witnesses is considered.

School Accommodation

According to the Department the number of school places had risen to 5.1m in 1886 but Stanley revealed the unreliability of this figure.

Anti-school board legislators led by Pell²⁹ had inserted a clause in Lord Sandon's Act of 1876³⁰ permitting the abolition of a school board and the substitution of a school attendance committee where the board owned no school or site and where the Department was satisfied that there was sufficient public elementary school accommodation. The abolition of Stockport School Board was the most substantial example of the use of this clause.³¹

William Leigh the Chairman of the Stockport School Attendance Committee was called before the Cross Commission. He admitted under Stanley's questioning³² that there were in the town principal school rooms as much as forty-six feet wide and that they were included in the returns of accommodation at eight square feet per child. But Leigh's admissions concerning other rooms which contravened the

²⁹ Albert Pell (b. London 1820) educated at Rugby and Cambridge, sat as a Conservative for South Leicestershire and was interested mainly in agricultural matters. Dod's Parliamentary Companion 1877.

³⁰ 39 & 40 Vict. c. 79 § 41.

³¹ Cross Commission Third Report Appendix A Table XVIII p.709 lists eight school boards dissolved down to 15 November 1886.

³² Cross Commission QQ.46,755, 46,757.

Department's rules were even more damaging:-

Stanley I turn again to the class rooms, and I find that if the large rooms err on the side of size, the class rooms err on the side of being cramped. I find that there are three cases returned here with class rooms less than 10 feet high. You have one room 19 feet by 19 feet and 9 feet high; another 50 feet by 37 feet and only 8 feet high; another room (if it can be called a room) 9 feet long, 8 feet wide and 9 feet high. In your judgment, can such a room be considered in any sense a class room?

Leigh I am not very familiar with the interior of the schools; I know more of their situation and of their general capacity; but I do not know that my judgement would be worth very much upon these points that you are mentioning now.

Stanley Still such rooms as those are reckoned as furnishing accommodation, and are included in the totals of accommodation?

Leigh No doubt.³³

In this Stanley was not being unfair, selecting isolated cases of excessive width and crampedness. The Statistical Report shows that 29 of the 42 principal rooms in Stockport schools were wider than twenty-five feet and 22 of the 94 class rooms were less than fourteen feet wide.³⁴ No doubt Stanley made the unfavourable comparison with the standards on which the Department was insisting for the S.B.L.

The Extended Minority Report gives a succinct

³³ Cross Commission QQ. 46,760-61.

³⁴ Cross Commission Statistical Report p.209.

evaluation of the room 50' x 37' x 8' which would supposedly house 231 children at eight feet apiece. "It is difficult to think of any educational use to which it could properly be put, except as a sheltered playground or drill shed in wet weather." This and other rooms which broke the Department's building rules are listed. Excluding these as unsuitable and re-calculating the remainder at ten square feet the accommodation was reduced from 13,825 to 8,619. This evaluation put the accommodation well below one-sixth of the estimated population (i.e. approximately 10,000) and even below the average attendance (8,867).³⁵ Perhaps the most disturbing feature of the situation in Stockport was the Inspector's evaluation of the school accommodation in the district. Lomax the Inspector had stated that there was no deficiency in any part of the school district.³⁶

On the adequacy of the eight-foot rule, Stanley gained the admission of an experienced inspector, Warburton,³⁷ that a school packed to the limit on the eight-foot basis would be "quite unfit for teaching in,"³⁸ and even the Majority Report recommended new schools be built on the ten-foot basis and that existing schools should be gradually brought up to standard. They believed that this should be done by pressure from the inspector.³⁹ Though if other inspectors were satisfied with low standards like Lomax at Stockport the goal would never be reached.

One member of the majority dissented. Sir Francis Sandford argued that many existing buildings had been built

³⁵ Cross Commission Final Report pp.263-7.

³⁶ His report for 1886 is in Parliamentary Papers vol.28 of 1887 p.293.

³⁷ Rev. Canon Warburton had been an inspector from 1850 to 1885.

³⁸ Cross Commission Q.8,780.

³⁹ Cross Commission Final Report p.64.

to plans suggested by the Education Department when the promoters had been willing to provide more space per child. It was the school boards that had requested the introduction of the ten-foot rule. Besides "Some of our best and most popular voluntary schools would be the first to suffer from the imposition of a 10-foot rule".⁴⁰ This attitude may explain why Stanley made little progress in 1879-82 during Sandford's secretaryship at the Education Department.

The Extended Minority Report made three other recommendations which would require more accommodation if implemented. In industrial districts there should be provision for one-fifth of the population and not one-sixth. Increasing consideration should be given to provision for three to five-year-olds. And finally, accommodation should not be related to average attendance; the "true measure" should be the number of places available.⁴¹

Educational Finance

Voluntary schools were run on voluntary subscriptions, school fees and the government grant. Board schools had the rates substituted for subscriptions as a source of income. In relation to educational finance three questions were widely asked. Should the existing structure of grants continue? Should fees be abolished? Should voluntary schools qualify for rate-aid? Stanley was concerned with the answers to these problems but he posed two more questions that were just as important. How great was the voluntaryists' financial contribution? Was it large enough to justify their extensive power on English education?

Illustrative of Stanley's concern with these aspects of educational finance is his questioning of A.D.C. Henderson,

⁴⁰ Cross Commission Final Report p.226.

⁴¹ Cross Commission QQ.42,250-52 and Final Report pp.252, 257-258.

Head-master of St. Luke's Church of England School,
Chadderton, Oldham.

Stanley What is the subscription list in your school?

Henderson We have none.

....

Stanley Therefore the school is maintained by the fees
of the children and the grant?

Henderson Yes; and at the end of each year there always
has been a deficit, in my experience, and I
have been there fourteen years next June.

Stanley How is that met?

Henderson Out of the Government Grant for the following
year.⁴²

Nor was this an isolated case. In Newcastle-upon-Tyne ten out of twenty-five voluntary schools answering Circular B had no voluntary subscriptions.⁴³ In some areas schools were "farmed" to the head-teacher who appointed the assistants and paid them, collecting the fees and the annual grant, and keeping any surplus himself. That such a situation could arise was a condemnation of the system, even if leading voluntaryists deplored the practice.⁴⁴

The widespread claim that voluntaryist finances were being over-strained in competition with the school boards cannot be sustained. It is true that total subscriptions were tending to rise. Donations to all public elementary schools were £717,000 in 1883 and £757,000 in 1885,⁴⁵ but the subscribers were failing to increase their donations in proportion to the increase in the school-population. The

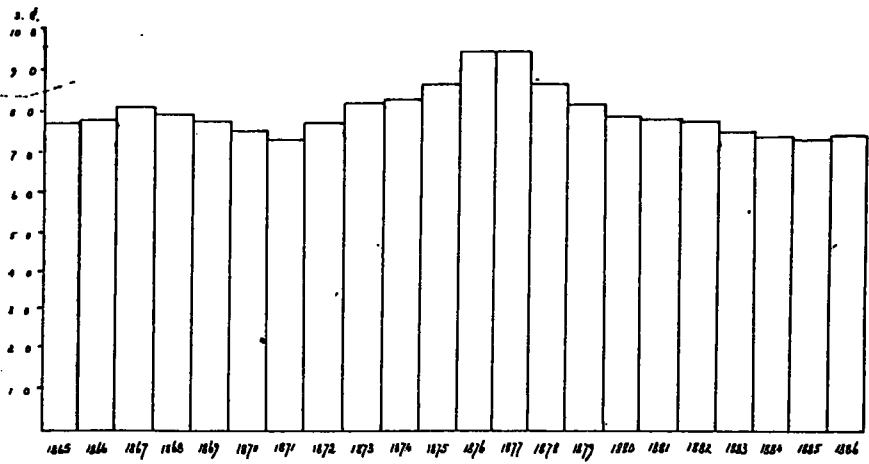
⁴² Cross Commission QQ.28,978, 28,986-7.

⁴³ Cross Commission Statistical Report p.247.

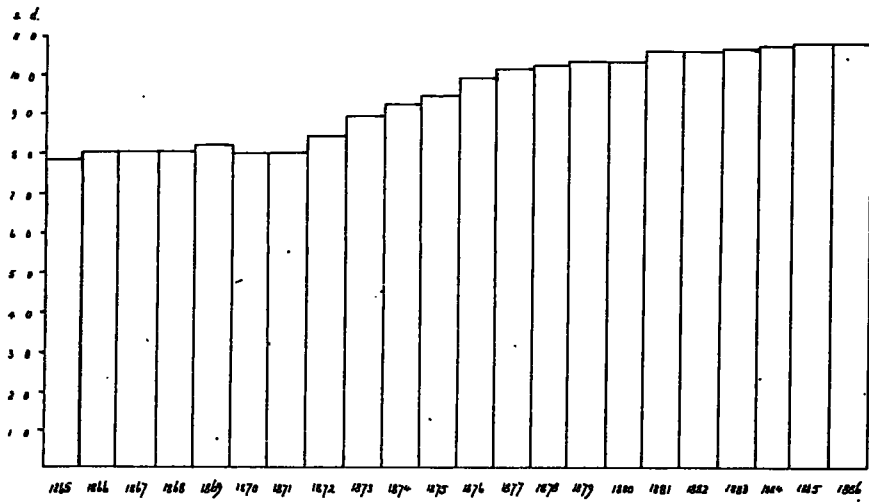
⁴⁴ e.g. The answer of Rev. D.J. Waller, Secretary of the Wesleyan Education Committee, to Stanley. Cross Commission Q.7,690.

⁴⁵ The 75th Annual Report of the National Society... 1886 p.9.

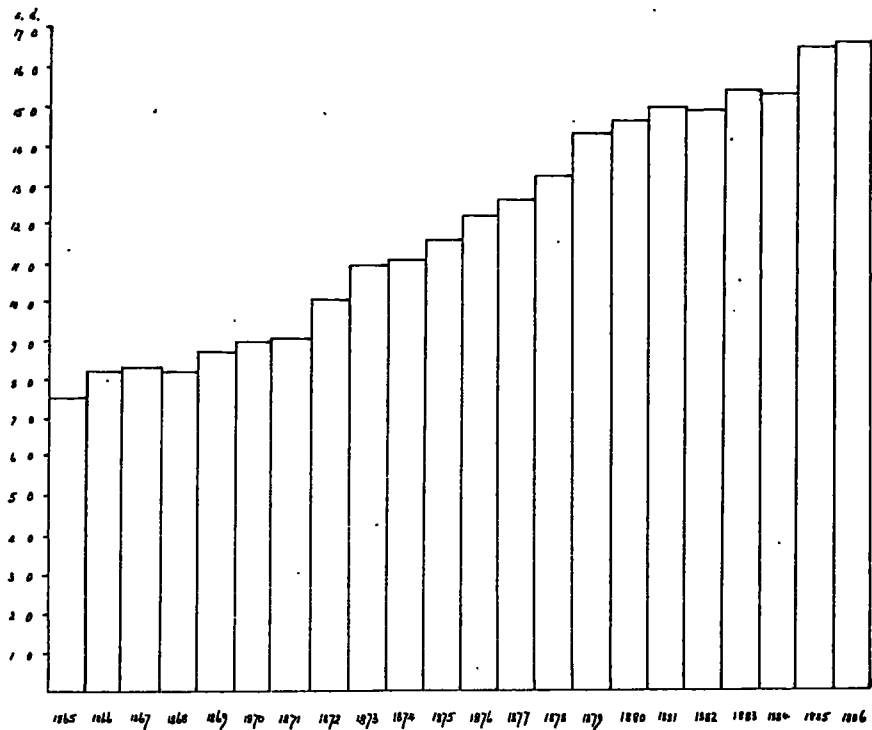
*Voluntary
Contributions*



Fees



*Government
Grant*



Income per Child in Church of England Elementary Schools - 1865-1886

Fig. 11

analysis of the finances of Anglican elementary schools (fig. 11⁴⁶) shows that the voluntary contributions per child in average attendance had actually declined steadily during the preceding decade and at 7s. 3d. per child in 1886 were actually lower than in 1865 when they were 7s. 8d. During the same period (1865-1886) the average fee had increased by a third and the government grant had doubled. The Extended Minority Report implied that the decline in voluntary subscriptions was caused by the working of Lord Sandon's Act.⁴⁷ Forster's Act had required that parliamentary grants should be matched by other sources of income,⁴⁸ but the 1876 Act had repealed this, subject to a limit of 17s. 6d.⁴⁹ Certainly the occurrence of a peak in 1876-77 is highly suggestive.

Nor was it only Anglican schools that showed this diminution of contributions. Stanley put the voluntary contribution in Wesleyan schools at the low figure of 2s. 7d. per head, and the Secretary of the Wesleyan Education Committee did not deny it, though he claimed that some donations in kind were not tabulated in the balance sheets.⁵⁰ Subscriptions in Wesleyan Schools amounted to 3s. 1d. per head in 1878 and fell to 2s. 5d. in 1886. Similarly subscriptions in Roman Catholic schools had declined from 9s. 5d. per child in 1876 to 7s. 2d. in 1886.⁵¹

The conclusion that Stanley drew from the meagreness of voluntary contributions is clear from ~~this~~ exchange about

⁴⁶ Figures taken from Cross Commission Final Report p.367.

⁴⁷ Cross Commission Final Report pp.367-368.

⁴⁸ 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 § 97.

⁴⁹ 39 & 40 Vict. c.79 § 19.

⁵⁰ Cross Commission Q.7,276.

⁵¹ Cross Commission Final Report pp.368-9.

the state of affairs in Stockport:-

Stanley I find, from this return, that the voluntary subscriptions were under £600, and that the Government grants were £7,800?

Leigh Last year, as you probably know, the Government grant was £8,528.

Stanley That shows that those who have the complete management of those schools find less than £600 a year towards their management out of a total income of £16,000?

Leigh Yes.

Stanley And that the parents, who have no voice in the management, find upwards of £7,000, that is to say, from eleven to twelve times as much as the managers?

Leigh Yes.

Stanley You are aware, I suppose, that the proportion of the expense levied upon the parents at Stockport is very much higher than the proportion of the expense which would be levied in a district under a school board with board schools?

Leigh I believe so.

Stanley Therefore, the management of the schools at Stockport goes in direct opposition to the principle that taxation without representation is tyranny?

Leigh I suppose that must be conceded.⁵²

Such amenable witnesses were rare. When H. Parker the Chairman of the Birkenhead School Attendance Committee was questioned by Stanley he gave more spirited replies.

⁵² Cross Commission QQ.46,739-43.

Stanley used the same argument: the voluntaryists contributed only £1,000 out of £17,000 spent on elementary education in the town in 1884-85. Parker retorted that in one year £17,000 had been raised by voluntaryists to build schools.⁵³

On investigation their motives seem questionable. When the Education Department tried to impose a school board on Birkenhead in 1882 a "great anti-school board meeting" was called. William Laird the ship-builder and mayor presided. He called for contributions to make good the deficiency in buildings. He told rate-payers to regard contributions as a voluntary rate levied for a year or two to forestall a school board rate levied compulsorily year after year. He did not mention furthering Christian education.⁵⁴

The question of building funds raised by voluntaryists is important. Clearly if they provided the buildings they had made a significant contribution and were entitled to a voice in educational administration. The National Society calculated that six millions had been raised for voluntary school buildings in the fifteen years after 1870: and sites valued at another million had been donated^{since 1871}. This giving was mainly at diocesan or parochial level for the income of the Society in 1885 was only £12,138. During that year £6,423 was voted for building grants, the highest grant being £220 and the lowest £8.⁵⁵ In Parliament

⁵³ Cross Commission Q.47,918.

⁵⁴ The Birkenhead News.... 7 October 1882.

⁵⁵ The 75th Annual Report of the National Society....1886 pp. 10, 17, 57-59.

Stanhope the Conservative Vice-President⁵⁶ had given an estimate of £6.3 m spent by the voluntaryists on school buildings in the period 1870-84⁵⁷ which agrees reasonably well with the National Society's estimate, but the Department's calculation for the period 1839-1882 was £4.9m.⁵⁸ Even if one accepts the highest figure it falls far below the sixteen millions borrowed up to 1884 by the school boards. No doubt it was easier to raise a loan on the strength of the rates than to obtain voluntary contributions, but the effect on education is obvious.

In matters of educational finance more commonly debated, re-structuring the parliamentary grants involved an assessment of payment by results. Stanley realised that any evaluation of this system depended upon the inspectors. Even in the 1870s he was commenting on their inadequacy. Accustomed to the parochial school with its large principal room with the pupil-teachers and assistants under the eye of the head-teacher, they could not adjust to the new type of town school of a thousand scholars and more, distributed among a number of class-rooms.⁵⁹ When Mundella had become Vice-President in 1880, Stanley had written, "I feel now.... that we of the London School Board will no longer be thwarted by the department nor annoyed by some of the inspectors (to whom by the way far

⁵⁶ The Hon. Edward Stanhope was related through his mother to the Egertons of Tatton, neighbours of the Stanleys in Cheshire, and was Stanley's contemporary at Oxford. Like Stanley he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1865. He sat as a Conservative for a Lincolnshire constituency and was the first Vice-President to be given a seat in the Cabinet immediately on appointment. D.N.B. Entry under Stanhope, Edward (1840-1893).

⁵⁷ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.299 col.667. On 14 July 1885.

⁵⁸ Cross Commission First Report p.518.

⁵⁹ Stanley National Education and the London School Board *The Fortnightly Review* vol.xxvi (new series) p.542.

too much has been referred in the late administration.)⁶⁰

The tenor of Stanley's questioning shows that he believed the inspectors often applied a double standard, not merely to buildings but in other fields. This sequence of questions to Dr. Crosskey, Chairman of the School Management Committee of Birmingham School Board and Secretary of the Central Nonconformist Committee shows Stanley's attitude.

Stanley Do you find it at all common in going about the schools at Birmingham to find that children admitted into your board schools from voluntary schools are often represented to you as very much more backward for their standard than children who have been educated in your board schools?

Crosskey Yes, it is so.

Stanley That is a common thing, is it?

Crosskey It is not at all uncommon.

Stanley And you find the teachers express astonishment that, with their attainment, they could ever have passed the standard they had passed?

Crosskey I have frequently heard that feeling expressed.

Stanley This evidence of experts would seem to indicate, would it not, that the children had passed on a more indulgent scale than any that you are accustomed to in your board schools?

Crosskey It looks that way.⁶¹

When T.W. Sharpe the chief inspector for London was questioned by Stanley, he denied that inspectors were more

⁶⁰ University of Sheffield. Mundella Correspondence. Letter dated 29 April 1880 from ELS to A.J. Mundella. Part of the quotation is also given in Armytage

A.J. Mundella.... p.203.
⁶¹ Cross Commission QQ.41,957-60.

lenient with poor schools struggling under adverse conditions including a scarcity of subscriptions,⁶² but H.E.B. Harrison, H.M.I. in the Liverpool District gave very different answers.

Stanley You said that you applied the standard more leniently to schools working under difficulties: what do you mean by that; did you mean that you gave them the class grant on easier terms, although they have not answered as well; or what did you mean by it?

Harrison I meant certainly in the merit grant.

Stanley In any other part of the grant?

Harrison I think it might affect one's judgment perhaps partly unconsciously in other matters.⁶³

Despite this variation in standard the Extended Minority Report did not advocate abolition of payment by results but saw it as the corollary of a voluntary sector in education. Stanley's questioning of Cumin, Sandford's successor revealed that there had been "some very bad cases" of fraud in voluntary schools.⁶⁴ Although the minority recommended that voluntary schools' accounts be audited in the same way as board schools', a variation in the grant according to the efficiency of the school would give some additional assurance of an educational return for the outlay of public money.⁶⁵

As to the abolition of fees Stanley secured Cumin's agreement to a principle he had long advocated. School boards should be free to fix fees or to abolish them as they saw fit.⁶⁶ Free schooling was not advocated by the majority.

⁶² Cross Commission Q.6,778.

⁶³ Cross Commission Q.49,647-48.

⁶⁴ Cross Commission Q.59,662.

⁶⁵ Cross Commission Final Report pp.331-332.

⁶⁶ Cross Commission Q.59, 691.

They thought it undesirable, arguing that parents valued more highly what they paid for directly.⁶⁷ The minority did not agree among themselves about free schools, nor did they advocate a system of making schooling free. To give a grant equivalent to the existing fee would penalize those who were doing most and help those who were doing least. To give a grant - say 10s. a head - equal to the average income from fees would reduce educational standards in high-fee'd voluntary schools. "We are therefore compelled in the interest of education to conclude that no practical scheme of free education compatible with the continuance of the voluntary system has presented itself to us."⁶⁸

Advocating rate-aid for voluntary schools was the most controversial recommendation of the majority, but the disadvantages of this course were well understood by church-men.

The Bishop
of London

Do you think it would be advisable to put the voluntary schools in any degree upon the rates?

The Arch-
deacon of
Stoke-upon-
Trent

(Ven. Sir Lovelace Stamer who was also Chairman of the Stoke-upon-Trent School Board) No, indeed, because putting them upon the rates would involve the loss of their independence of management. I foresee that at once, and I would much sooner that we should face our own difficulties and keep our own independent management.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Cross Commission Final Report pp.199-200.

⁶⁸ Cross Commission Final Report p.349.

⁶⁹ Cross Commission Q.24,155.

Nevertheless the majority recommended that the local authorities be given the power to aid voluntary schools from the rates. There were to be two limits: this aid should not exceed the subscriptions, nor should the amount exceed ten shillings per child in average attendance.⁷⁰

The minority believed this course impractical for two reasons. "First, there is the religious difficulty of directly subsidising schools where varying theological dogmas are taught, and where the teachers are limited to distinct denominations.

Secondly, there is the still greater difficulty of giving local aid without local control. The State has the fullest power of regulating the conditions on which its aid is given, and from year to year the ministry, subject to the check of the House of Commons, can vary or put an end to its payments.

But if aid were given by the locality it must be either optional or compulsory. If optional, we should see revived in every school district the old Church rate controversy, and the managers of voluntary schools would hardly wish to depend upon so uncertain and so unpopular a means of support. If compulsory, it would be necessary to give the local contributors, that is the ratepayers, that power of management which the present managers consider the chief advantage for which they are willing to bear the burden of their voluntary contributions."⁷¹

The Development of the Teaching Profession

Stanley's questioning of witnesses confirmed the well-known defects of the training-system and he continued to fight for the reforms he had advocated in the early 1880s.

⁷⁰ Cross Commission Final Report p.195.

⁷¹ Cross Commission Final Report p.354.

He was also concerned with the disparity between the preparation of pupil-teachers in board and voluntary schools.

Stanley Do you find, as a rule, that in the voluntary schools the head teacher devotes a great deal of time to the training and teaching of the pupil teachers, or do you find that he rather utilises the pupil-teacher by giving him charge of a class?

Stewart I am afraid that the tendency is always to give him a class on account of the difficulty of getting staff.⁷²

Nor did there seem much prospect of a change:-

Stanley Would you have the code altered so as to compel managers to give more time for study to the pupil teachers, and to use them less in their school?

Warburton You cannot compel people to ruin themselves. I do not see how they can do it; it is a question of money.⁷³

However, school boards being able to obtain money by issuing a precept were raising the standards of pupil-teacher instruction. At Stanley's request some sets of statistics were handed in, which tended to show the superiority of pupil-teachers from board schools in the capital. The numbers in the tables are small but the figures tend to show that board school pupil-teachers were better trained than those from voluntary schools. At least a higher proportion of them earned the 60s. grant.⁷⁴ These figures might also be used to justify the pupil-teacher

⁷² Cross Commission Q.2,456.

⁷³ Cross Commission Q.7,939.

⁷⁴ Cross Commission Third Report Table XIX p.710.
Stanley's request is in Q.59,651.

centres. Even more hopeful was the attraction these institutions had for secondary school pupils. Over fifteen per cent of the boys and girls on the rolls of London's pupil-teacher centres had been to secondary schools.⁷⁵ It is significant that Stanley had now become an enthusiastic supporter of the centres and contributed a note to the Extended Minority Report on the low costs of them per pupil-teacher.⁷⁶

The standard histories of English education regard the establishment of day training colleges as one of the most important results of the Cross Commission's deliberations.⁷⁷ These institutions embody the concept of relations between university and teacher-training that Stanley had previously advocated and which he still maintained:-

Stanley May I take it that you think such a system as the joining on the training of teachers to a place like your college would make the higher education in itself better and more liberal in its character than the existing training college system?

L. Williams (Chairman of Cardiff School Board and a leader in the foundation of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire at Cardiff). Certainly; a healthier tone would be secured.

Stanley And with your excellent schools in Cardiff, which could be used as practising schools there would be no difficulty you think in

⁷⁵ Cross Commission Second Report Table VIII p.1036.
Stanley's request is in Q.29,950.

⁷⁶ Cross Commission Final Report pp.276-277.

⁷⁷ e.g. Barnard A Short History of English Education from 1760 to 1944 p.206 and Curtis History of Education in Great Britain pp.288-289.

adding what I would call the faculty of pedagogy to the other branches of your colleges?

Williams As I have already intimated, we have in view some of the most suitable persons in the kingdom for taking charge of such work who are quite prepared to come to us if encouragement is given them to do so.⁷⁸

The Extended Minority Report also made recommendations designed to raise professional standards by altering the Code. It was noted how new regulations in the 1883 Code had caused a great increase in the number of acting teachers taking the second year's papers. The Report recommended that all pupil-teachers be compelled to sit the Scholarship Examination in the July after their indentures expired, and if they failed to reach the standard required to enter training college, they would no longer count on the school's staff after the following Christmas. Further, if they did not go for training they would be disqualified when they reached the age of twenty-three unless they passed the first-year's papers. And within another two years they would have to pass the second-year's papers. In any case they should not become head-teachers and recognition should be dependent upon the inspector's report from year to year.⁷⁹

A rise in professional status was envisaged in the Report's recommendations about inspectors. All ranks of the inspectorate were to be open to elementary teachers: promotion was to be by merit: and Chief Inspectors were to be relieved of ordinary inspection duties.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Cross Commission QQ. 39, 481-82.

⁷⁹ Cross Commission Final Report pp.284-285.

⁸⁰ Cross Commission Final Report pp.325-326 and Cross Commission Q.5,567, 5,575.

Curriculum Development

In curriculum development Stanley was concerned primarily with the poorest and smallest schools. He wanted to see a wider curriculum obligatory in them. He questioned Mathew Arnold on the curriculum for an elementary school:-

Stanley May I take it that you are still of the same opinion as you were in 1876, as to what the proper curriculum of an elementary school should be? You were speaking then of specific subjects, and of what were popularly termed at that time extra subjects, which are the class subjects?

Arnold Yes.

Stanley You were complaining that such a word as extra should be applied to class subjects, which ought to be a necessary part of the instruction in every school?

Arnold I think so.

Stanley You said, speaking of the schedule of specific subjects, "That is a schedule of extra subjects; it ought to be small. The excuse for making it large was that our range of obligatory subjects was so miserably narrow. But when grammar, geography, English history, and natur-kunde are added, as they ought to be, to reading, writing, and arithmetic, as part of the regular school course, little more can be with advantage asked for from the school children with whom they may have to deal." I suppose you are still of opinion that those four subjects, grammar, geography, English history, natur-kunde should be a necessary part of the programme of an elementary school?

boards and the community's desire for distinctive religious teaching.

In his questioning Stanley elicited evidence that pupils in the elementary schools were being drawn from a higher social class. There were many instances in East Lambeth where children from homes rented at £70-80 per annum were being sent to board schools.⁶⁴ And the minority asserted emphatically that public elementary schools were available to all children in England and Wales. The Act for Scotland stated in its preamble that education be "made available to the whole people of Scotland" and the same principle should hold good in England. Nor did the minority believe it was the intention of the legislators of 1870 to limit provision to children of a particular social class: Col. Beresford had attempted to limit the provision to children whose parents had an income of less than £150 per annum, but this amendment had been lost. Indeed Forster at one stage interjected "...The Bill ensures that elementary instructions should be given to the whole community."⁶⁵ Though the majority admitted that legally all parents might be entitled to send their children to a public elementary school, this was an unforeseen and regrettable consequence of the 1870 Act.⁶⁶

Problems of educational administration were linked with the proposed re-organization of local government and no firm recommendations could be made until Parliament had

⁶⁴ The answers to Stanley's questions (Cross Commission QQ.40,923, 40,927) by R.B. Williams, Superintendent of Visitors for East Lambeth.

⁶⁵ Cross Commission Final Report pp.241,255. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.202 col.922. On 24 June 1870.

⁶⁶ Cross Commission Final Report p.61.

reached a decision. Yet the suggestion of universal school boards and the minority's insistence⁵⁷ on the letter of Section 18 of Forster's Act must have given the voluntaryists cause for apprehension. This section read, "The school board.... shall from time to time provide such additional school accommodation as is in their opinion necessary in order to supply a sufficient amount of public school accommodation for their district." In other words universal school boards armed with the powers of Section 18 could convert Forster's tag, "Fill up the gaps" into "Fill up the gaps and all future gaps shall be filled by board schools."

Stanley realised that the great weakness of the school board system was the unsatisfactory unit in rural areas, which would have to be altered if the system were made universal.

Stanley Excluding towns, do you think that the unit should be something like the Poor Law Union, a Parliamentary division of a county, or a county, or what is your idea as to the area of school boards, supposing you had universal school boards?

Crosskey Something similar to what you would have by having a local government board sufficiently small to be manageable, and yet sufficiently large to be able to group the schools.

Stanley Would you have 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants?

Crosskey Yes, perhaps more.

Stanley Perhaps with 60,000 to 80,000 or 100,000 acres in the rural district?

Crosskey Yes.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Cross Commission Final Report p.255.

⁵⁸ Cross Commission QQ. 41,941-43.

The majority believed that a great deal of the opposition to universal school boards came from a dislike of unsectarian religious teaching. They thought this more likely a cause than fear of the rate-payers interfering in the management of voluntary schools.⁶⁹

This belief may have sprung from the concept that religion and education were indivisible: a point of view most strongly put by T.W. Allies, Secretary and Treasurer of the Catholic Poor Schools Committee.

Stanley Then may I take it that you object to them [i.e. board schools] in toto, but that you do not object to them being good if they must exist?

Allies I object in toto to the principle that religion and education, either for the poor or for the rich can be severed. That is my objection. It is the objection of the Catholic Church from beginning to end. I simply state that objection, and so long as that is the principle which rules the schools I object to them. I think it might be altered. I think it ought never to have existed."⁷⁰

Yet it is doubtful if the people at large subscribed to this. Dr. Crosskey stated, "It is very common in all classes to engage governesses ... of other denominations than their own."⁷¹ And although church-going is not a reliable guide to Christian action, the

⁶⁹ Cross Commission Final Report p.203.

⁷⁰ Cross Commission Q.9,673. The Roman Catholic position cannot be reconciled with Dale's view:- "Let the school be secular: let the churches find how to draw the children to Christ." Letter dated 1 July 1887 to Lord Norton in Dale The Life of R.W. Dale of Birmingham p.558.

⁷¹ Answer to Stanley's question, Cross Commission Q.41,945.

census of church-attendance carried out by The British Weekly indicates that a large portion of London's population at least were not regular church-goers. In Bethnal Green for example, with an estimated population of 127,000 there were only 7,285 at morning worship and 9,939 at evening worship of all denominations on the day of the census (24 October 1886). Admittedly this poor working class area had one of the lowest attendance figures in the capital, but The British Weekly estimated that only a quarter of London's inhabitants went to worship on the day of the census.⁹² In the provinces it is likely that church-going was practised by a higher proportion of the population, but clergymen could hardly claim any longer to speak for the nation.

The majority seemed oblivious of the changes that had been wrought in society. No inkling of the political unrest in the country is apparent from their position. During the period of the Commission this unrest culminated in "Bloody Sunday" (13 November 1887) which J.W. Mackail, already a member of the Education Department has described: "No one who saw it will ever forget the strange and indeed terrible sight of that grey winter day, the vast sombre-coloured crowd, the brief but fierce struggle at the corner of the Strand, and the river of steel and scarlet that moved slowly through the dusky swaying masses when two squadrons of the Life Guards were summoned up from Whitehall.... For an hour or two the danger was imminent of street-fighting such as had not been known in London for more than a century."⁹³

Although Stanley's radicalism, which had hardly changed since his days at the Oxford Union in the sixties,

⁹² The British Weekly 17 December 1886 pp.5,13.

⁹³ Mackail William Morris vol.ii p.191.

may have seemed inadequate to a member of the S.D.F., it did contain the basis for the development of a democratically managed educational system.

Stanley and Heller appended a note to Dale's chapter on Non-conformist grievances "...We are further of opinion that no conscience clause, however stringent, and however largely used, would meet the case of those whose grievances are stated in this chapter, and that nothing short of popular representative management will secure that the teaching shall be thoroughly satisfactory to the community for whom any school should be maintained."⁹⁴

Stanley fought for this popular representative management until the end of his life.

⁹⁴ Cross Commission Final Report p.388.

CHAPTER FOURThe Struggle for a National System, 1888-1897

Act. 48-57

Stanley was re-elected to the S.B.L. in November 1888¹ and remained a member for the rest of its existence. Work on the Board no longer provided opportunity for anything so spectacular as the building programmes of the seventies and early eighties. Stanley still gave his time unsparingly to the work but his main achievements in the period 1888 to 1897 lie outside the routine work of the school board. For one thing, he was always in opposition and unable to press home his schemes.

In the country as a whole the period was marked off from earlier decades by a change in the pattern of educational problems. The basic difficulty of accommodation no longer loomed so large and few English children were entirely unlettered for want of a school building. So the rising tide of publicly-provided education began to encroach upon new areas. Enthusiasts for technical education, intermediate education, and the education of the blind, deaf and dumb now met with some success. At the same time the more adventurous school boards were working up to and beyond the limits of their statutory powers, increasing the scope and calibre of the education they provided. And since in the same summer that the Cross Commission reported, the Conservative government had reformed English and Welsh local government by setting up the county councils, there was a new force to be reckoned with in administration.

The worst feature of this Act of 1888 was the re-

¹ The School Board Chronicle 1 December 1888 pp.597-598.

tention of the traditional county boundaries. The mid-land counties, for example, had been formed at the Saxon re-conquest of Mercia around towns strategically situated on waterways.² These units were often totally unrelated to nineteenth-century reality. Thus, Staffordshire with its two coalfields and substantial manufacturing industry was no longer a convenient unit to be administered from Stafford. Elsewhere, regard for the past produced results even more ludicrous. The Fen Country was treated as if it had never been drained, for the Isle of Ely and the Soke of Peterborough became units in the new order. Where sub-division of large counties was attempted it was usually a revival of old units, as in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire where the ancient "thridings" were resurrected. Fortunately London was treated as a special case and given a county council with boundaries co-terminous with the school boards.¹

The other innovation was the creation of the county borough. At first it was conceived as a town with more than 50,000 people but even here tradition was influential. Though well below the minimum population, Chester (37,000), Exeter (37,000) and Gloucester (39,000), for example, were given the new status.

So the administrative units created in 1888 were needlessly diverse in size. Rutland had a population of 21,000, Radnor 22,000 and Canterbury 23,000 but the West Riding had 1.4 million and Lancashire 1.8 million. London was a class on its own with 4.2 million.³ This diversity made future legislation difficult. Devolving identical

² Mackinder Britain and the British Seas pp.205-207.

³ The population figures are for 1891, and are taken from . C.6948 Census of England and Wales.... p.vii in Parliamentary Papers vol. 104 of 1893-4.

duties and powers on all counties⁴ would overwhelm the weaker but not fully exert the stronger.

Yet the counties had one advantage over the school boards. They covered the country, but the school boards did not. So school board supporters might rejoice that local government was reformed, but their joy was mingled with apprehension. Stanley had advocated local government reform, particularly in London,⁵ but he devoted much energy in the next decade to prevent educational administration falling into the grip of the new authorities.

The enthusiasts for a particular facet of education, say technical education, might advocate giving powers to the counties, not because the counties showed any particular merit for educational administration but simply because they covered the whole country with a uniform system. The opponents of school boards were not slow to appreciate this. From 1888 to 1902 they attempted to circumscribe and then extinguish the powers of the school boards by transferring responsibility for education to the counties, at the same time securing the most favourable terms for voluntary schools.

The first attempt was a direct frontal assault. When the Local Government Bill reached the Committee stage in the Commons and the House was dealing with the clause transferring powers from other bodies to the counties,⁶ Sir Francis Sandford wrote to The Times enclosing a lengthy memorandum on educational administration.⁷ His proposed

⁴ In this thesis the term "counties" includes the county boroughs.

⁵ E.g. at a meeting in St. James's Hall, 5 June 1883. Lloyd London Municipal Government p.47.

⁶ This was the eighth clause of the Bill and it eventually became 51 & 52 Vict. c.41 § 10. This clause was reached in Committee on 19 June 1888. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.327 cols.623 et seq.

⁷ The Times 21 June 1888. Sandford's letter was dated 20 June 1888. His memorandum was also printed in Cross Commission Final Report pp.204-7.

reforms included the abolition of all school boards and school attendance committees and the transfer of their powers to the counties. In London and the ten largest boroughs the county councils would be the sole local authority; elsewhere they would supervise the work of the proposed district councils.⁸ Sandford thought these reforms could be incorporated in the 1888 Bill or achieved by subsequent legislation. School board supporters were ready to fight and Mundella acted as their spokesman in the Commons. The President of the Local Government Board who was piloting the Bill through the House, was re-assuring: "...the Government were willing to accept words to exclude the school boards. The Government had never intended to transfer to the Councils the powers of the school boards..."⁹

So the first attack failed completely. Yet it was symptomatic of the antipathy towards the school boards. Voluntary school supporters fortified by the Majority Report of the Cross Commission were ready to combat the growth of the school board system and to use the most devious methods to gain their ends.

The National Education Association

Since the demise of the National Education League, supporters of undenominational education had felt the lack of a country-wide organization. The initiative in filling this gap came from the Liberation Society. Stanley was a member of this organization¹⁰ but did not participate in its

⁸ In the event, urban and rural district councils did not replace the urban and rural sanitary authorities until the Local Government Act, 1894. 56 & 57 Vict. c.73. Sandford emphasized the devolution to district councils in The Times for 23 June 1888.

⁹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.327 col.1027. On 22 June 1888.

¹⁰ Speech at Oldham p. 29 supra.

administration at this time. When its Executive Committee met on 24 September 1888 objections to the recommendations of the Majority Report of the Cross Commission were formulated and in the October issue of The Liberator a conference was proposed as the next step.¹¹ Fifty representatives of school board and Non-conformist interests did convene a conference, but Stanley was not one of the fifty. The conveners met on 16 October under the chairmanship of A.J. Shephard¹² and formed themselves into a committee. There was an air of permanence about it: offices were taken, a paid secretary appointed and plans were made for the committee to continue after the conference to implement any recommendations made.

It seems that Carvell Williams¹³ played the leading part in arranging the conference, and it was he who submitted the draft programme on 23 October. Not until 30 October was it decided to invite the signatories of the Minority Report to the conference. Nor was it until 5 November that a decision was made to invite Stanley to speak. There remains one mystery. Stanley did attend a meeting of the committee on 12 November, although apparently not a member of it.¹⁴

¹¹ The Liberator October 1888 p.159.

¹² A.J. Shephard (b.1843) a solicitor, was educated at London University. He was an active Congregationalist The Argus Guide to Municipal London 1898-99 p.169.

¹³ John Carvell Williams b. at Stepney 1821; Secretary of the Liberation Society and its predecessor, the British Anti-State Church Association, 1847-1877; founder of The Liberator, 1853; Chairman of the Liberation Society's Parliamentary Committee, 1877- ; Liberal M.P. for South Nottinghamshire, 1885-6. D.N.B. Entry under Williams, John Carvell (1821-1907).

¹⁴ Education Conference Committee Minutes. These minutes and the minutes of the N.E.A. survive at the offices of the Free Church Federal Council (Incorporated), 27 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. The circular letter convening the conference is printed in The Liberator November 1888 p.163.

He came to the conference and spoke in favour of education under popular control and as a function of local not central government. Quoting Matthew Arnold he said that "we could not have a proper system of education in England until the working people of England rose to the consciousness of what was demanded by the necessities of the situation, and that their self-respect and dignity required that the schools should no longer be the schools of the parson, or of the squire, or of the millowner, but that the schools used by the people should be schools belonging to the people and under popular management." Yet it could not be said that Stanley made the most prominent contribution to the conference. It was Carvell Williams who proposed that a "National Education Committee" be set up. It would be a standing committee "not exclusively Nonconformist, or even exclusively Liberal...." to disseminate information to the working classes about the education question and to "stop if possible all infractions of the law in letter or in spirit." He put forward names for a preliminary committee and included Stanley's among them.¹⁵ Again it was the motion of Carvell Williams at the meeting of this preliminary committee on 22 January 1889 that established the National Education Association.¹⁶ So it seems difficult to sustain the proposition that "Stanley was also largely responsible for the formation of yet another pressure group, this time the National Education

¹⁵ The proceedings of the conference were reported in a supplement to The Nonconformist & Independent for 22 November 1888, where Stanley's remarks appear on pp. 3,6,8 and 10: Carvell Williams' proposal is on p.10. This report was re-issued, - amended and re-arranged - under the title The Royal Commission on Education. Report of the Conference at the Exeter Hall, November 20 & 21, 1888.

¹⁶ Education Conference Committee Minute Book.

Association."¹⁷

Though he was not responsible for its formation, Stanley did more than anyone to make the N.E.A. function. The Constitution provided for a Council of three hundred and an Executive Committee of fifty, twenty-five of whom were to be country members¹⁸. The Council was too unwieldy to transact business and at its annual meeting simply approved the work of the Executive Committee. Stanley was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee at its first meeting¹⁹ and was re-elected annually.

An analysis of the Executive Committee Minutes shows that in practice it was much smaller than the Constitution envisaged. The highest attendance at any meeting from 1889 to 1897 was twenty-four,²⁰ and the average attendance rather less than nine. Even these few did not attend regularly. Names of those who attended at least two-thirds of the meetings in any year within the period have been tabulated and their attendance recorded:-

Name	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897
E.L. Stanley (Chairman)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
H.S. Cornish						x		x	x
G. Gladstone	x								
R. Gowing	x	x	x	x	x				

¹⁷ Armytage A.J. Mundella.... p.275. Underlining mine - A.W.J.

¹⁸ The Constitution and Objects of the Association are printed in extenso in the Annual Reports.

¹⁹ N.E.A. Executive Committee Minutes 5 February 1889.
It was Carvell Williams' motion.

²⁰ N.E.A. Executive Committee Minutes 16 June 1891.

	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897
J.F. Green						x	x		
Mrs. Maitland							x		
B. Olding			x			x			
G. Wallas						x			
E. West	x								
J. Carvell Williams	x	x	x						x
Total (ex- cluding Stanley)	4	2	3	1	1	4	2	1	2
x = attended at least two-thirds of the meetings in that year									

With the Executive Committee so small and irregular in attendance it is likely that Stanley with his clear-cut views, forceful approach and great reputation as an educationist dominated it.

It regarded itself as a vigilance committee²¹ protecting the best interests of education from unjust administration and unfavourable legislation. Since the Committee had this function the offices of the Association in Outer Temple, Strand - only a short distance from the S.B.L. on the Embankment - became a clearing house for information. Aggrieved educationists would put their case to the N.E.A. and seek advice on a remedy. By 1895 the two Secretaries were dealing with fifty personal applications and almost two hundred letters a year.²² This wealth of easily accessible material on the grievances of the school board party helps to explain Stanley's minutely detailed knowledge of the administrative workings in the remoter parts of the country.

²¹ Ibid. 21 October 1890.

²² N.E.A. Annual Report 1895 pp. 18-19.

The N.E.A. aimed to "promote a system of national education which shall be efficient, progressive, unsectarian and under popular control."^{2 3} With this in view it conducted an endless pamphleteering campaign^{2 4} and Gowing who was on the Executive Committee as well as being editor of The School Board Chronicle gave extensive coverage to its affairs.

So Stanley was in a position to exert considerable pressure on public opinion in favour of the school boards.

"The Time Has Come for a New Departure":
The Codes of 1889 and 1890

Sir William Hart Dyke was Vice-President when the Cross Commission reported, and so had more opportunity than any other man to implement or reject its recommendations. Two years older than Stanley, Hart Dyke had been educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford, where he had been Stanley's contemporary, graduating B.A. in 1859 and M.A. in 1861. He had distinguished himself as a sportsman, playing racquets against Cambridge and cricket for I. Zingari and Kent. Giving up a desire to join the navy in deference to his father's wishes, he had entered Parliament in 1865 and had represented a constituency in Kent ever since. He had been an intimate friend of Disraeli, but was without any vaulting ambition, and preferred the relative calm of educational administration to the turmoil of the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland which he had held in Salisbury's first administration. "Billy Dyke" - his nickname in the House of Commons - typified his easy-going character.^{2 5}

^{2 3} e.g. on a 4-page leaflet on the Association issued in 1898. A copy survives in the British Museum.

^{2 4} Please see Appendix D.

^{2 5} D.N.B. Entry under Dyke, Sir William Hart (1837-1931).
The Dartford Chronicle & Kentish Times 10 July 1931.

A phrase had been lifted from the Commission's Final Report - "the time has come for a new departure"²⁶ - and spoken hopefully during the winter of 1888-9. By the spring there was anxiety to see what the New Code would bring and on 25 March Hart Dyke was asked when it would be issued. He replied that it would be distributed to M.P.s the following day - the twenty-sixth²⁷. On the twenty-seventh Stanley's criticism of it appeared at length in the Manchester Examiner & Times. This speed had other educationists gasping²⁸.

It is hardly possible to quarrel with Stanley's basic contention: "To secure efficiency in a school we need good premises, good and ample staff, a liberal curriculum, and intelligent inspection." The fundamental rule about school premises had been altered. The standard had been raised from eight square feet and eighty cubic feet to ten square feet and a hundred cubic feet. Stanley noted the change approvingly and it must have seemed to him that victory was in sight after a ten-year struggle.

The proposed Code might raise the standard of the premises but it did little to provide a "good and ample staff". Stanley quoted the number of children in average attendance allowed for each teacher:-

²⁶ Quoted in a leaflet The National Education Association March 1889 4pp. 10" x 7". No printer's name. A copy survives in the N.E.A. Executive Committee Minutes.

²⁷ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.334 col.732.

²⁸ The School Board Chronicle 6 April 1889 p.371.

	Under the existing Code	Proposed by the New Code
Per head-teacher	60	60
Per certificated assistant	80	70
Per ex-pupil-teacher	60	50
Per pupil-teacher	40	30
Per candidate	20	20

As schools were generally staffed well above the minimum the effect of this new provision would be negligible. Or as Stanley put it: "There is no doubt that this paltry nibbling at the numerical value of the staff in our schools is worthless for the purpose of reducing the excessive size of our classes...."

Nor did the New Code do much to improve the quality of the teachers. Stanley complained that the Code merely tinkered with the pupil-teacher system and left it as unsatisfactory as ever. The grant of 60s. or 40s. dependent upon the pupil-teacher's success in the yearly examination was abolished. Nothing replaced it to encourage the better instruction of pupil-teachers. There were no provisions for increasing the hours of their instruction and diminishing the hours they had to teach. The improvements incorporated were only slight. A "strict weeding out" of the worst pupil-teachers at the end of their second year was promised, and all pupil-teachers had to pass the Scholarship Examination if they wished to continue as assistants. Stanley did not consider this "worth much" for they were to be allowed to pass in the third class. And he noted disapprovingly that it was still possible for ex-pupil-teachers to take charge single-handed of small village schools: for teaching in these establishments was among the most difficult of assignments. He noted that schools in this category might still be staffed in this way although the managers received the £10 or £15 special grant to help districts with sparse

population.

Acting teachers were to be required to take both the first and second years' papers before they received a certificate. If they wanted to be responsible for pupil-teachers, they had to pass in the two upper divisions. "This is a slight improvement but not sufficient," Stanley complained, "especially as they are still allowed to act at the age of 20; it would be better if the age of these students were raised to 21."

Stanley noted with approval that recognition had been given at last to day training colleges, although he reserved judgment until the Department issued the regulations under which they would work. He thought that four or five hundred students should be the minimum number enrolled in them immediately and this should rise to over a thousand as acting teachers and ex-pupil-teachers were displaced. He noted that the proposed per capita grant for the day training colleges was less than the existing grant per student in the established training colleges. It should be the same for both types of institution.

The proposed Code did very little to establish the third requirement - a good curriculum, because the Department had failed to do anything substantial to provide a good staff. It was still possible for a school to satisfy the Code by teaching nothing more than the skills of reading, writing and elementary calculation. Something was done to compel the teaching of drawing in the smaller schools for boys. "No compulsory provision is made for teaching geography, history, or elementary science. Nothing is done to recognise simple manual training. In short, the continued recognition of the existing meagre curriculum, at a time when the recommendations of the Commission called for a new departure, is simply deplorable."

The New Code would influence inspection by restructuring the grants-system. There would be grants of 12s., 14s. or 15s. 6d. per child awarded on the assessment by the inspector of the school as a whole. This grant could be augmented by grants for singing and for the class subjects. As Stanley pointed out it would be the merit grant under another name. Until inspectors who had a practical knowledge of teaching in elementary schools were appointed, Stanley thought this system liable to criticism.

He also noted that the worst schools would benefit, for this general grant would not be subject to deductions as in the existing Code. There was power, however, to give really bad schools a year's warning and then close them down if they failed to improve. Stanley had doubts about the implementation of this rule. "If this power is really used it may do good, but there is reason to fear that the Department will not have the courage to use their power, judging by the sluggishness it has shown in years past in dealing with local educational failure, and by the extreme indulgence of inspectors in dealing with bad schools."

Fining for failure to comply with the regulations was retained, e.g. for having an inadequate number of teachers. Stanley found such fines "so ludicrously inadequate that it is cheaper by far for an indifferent manager to pay the fine than to provide the staff."

One small point in the Article on grants to schools in sparsely populated areas Stanley noted with approval. Suitability of the fee was to be a condition of grant. "It is essential," he commented, "that the present arbitrary power of managers to levy varying fees should be reviewed and abolished."

Evening schools hardly benefitted by the New Code. Stanley wanted adults over twenty-one to be eligible for these schools but the regulations did not allow them to

attend. Nor did the New Code secure that "wide measure of liberty of instruction which is essential to their success."

Stanley concluded that the Code was "inadequate". He condemned it for not achieving the aims stated in the Cross Commission Reports "that national education should be broader, more liberal, more intelligent, and directed by teachers of a higher stamp and more intelligent training. It will do nothing to settle the education question, and clearly, as want of funds is the cause of the degradation of education, we must look to public management and public support to supply the impulse and the means of further advance."

The N.E.A. Executive Committee met on 2 April. Eight members attended and authorized the printing of five thousand copies of the Association's Report on the New Code.²⁹ This Report is really Stanley's article shortened and re-phrased, with two additions. One gave approval to Article 88. This required that school managers "publish a copy of the last school account furnished to the Education Department, and the last annual report of Her Majesty's Inspector...." While the report called this provision "useful", it was thought that the accounts would give an inaccurate picture because of the absence of public audit. The closing sentences of the report repeat word for word³⁰ the scathing conclusion of Stanley's article.

The formulation of a memorial to the Department was the next move. This memorial³¹ re-iterated the defects of

²⁹ N.E.A. [no. 1??] Report on the New Code 2 April 1889 4pp. 10½" x 8" C.P.S. no.7,562. A copy survives in the British Museum.

³⁰ Omitting the word "clearly".

³¹ To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. The Memorial of the National Education Association. 18 May 1889 12" x 8" no printers name. It is signed by Stanley and the two Secretaries. A copy survives at Dr. Williams's Library W.J. Rowland Collection, Bundle 1.

the Code, omitting the evaluation of the proposed grants-system, and including more detailed suggestions for raising standards in the profession, e.g. those teachers recognised under Article 68 because they were over eighteen and female should not be regarded as equivalent to pupil-teachers unless they passed an examination. There was one major change of emphasis. The question of accommodation which seemed to have been settled at last, arose again. "In every case," read the proposed Article 85(a), "the Department will endeavour to secure at least 100 cubic feet of internal space, and 10 square feet of internal area, for each unit of average attendance." This seemed clear enough; yet on 2 May, Hart Dyke had said, "in cases in which the Department has sanctioned a certain amount of accommodation for a certain number of scholars such arrangements will not be disturbed": and when asked whether board schools would be treated in the same way as voluntary schools Hart Dyke had said, "I cannot answer that question at this moment."³² The words of the proposed Article repeated those in the existing Code. Only the figures "100" and "10" had been substituted for "80" and "8". So the memorial urged "that a strained interpretation of a legal document having already a well understood meaning, would have a most unsettling effect on school managers, and would be in effect a legislative usurpation by the Department, whose duty it is to construe in their plain sense words which have been laid before Parliament and have thereby acquired the force of law."

Stanley, as leader of the N.E.A. deputation to the Vice-President, re-iterated the main points of the memorial but admitted that the proposed Code was "a step in the right direction." In his reply Hart Dyke suggested that

³² Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.335 col. 970.

some concessions might be given. The Article on pupil-teachers would be re-worded to facilitate the entry to the profession of children from non-elementary schools. In evening schools it was proposed to permit scholars to "take one standard subject, instead of the three, along with two class subjects." But he complained he was "being bombarded from both sides - from those who thought with Mr. Stanley that the Code had not gone far enough, and from his own friends, who feared that it would have the effect of destroying some of the Voluntary Schools of the country."³³

Hart Dyke's friends won the day, for the proposed New Code was withdrawn on 11 July on the pretext that it had aroused so much criticism "in different parts of the House."³⁴ In fact there was only one motion down in the name of a Liberal member, and the motions by Conservatives included one making it compulsory for the Department to be satisfied with the eight-foot rule in voluntary schools.³⁵ Stanley did not attribute this withdrawal to the leaders of the Anglican Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had advised against such a course. They had argued that putting sectarian before educational interests would harm the Church's reputation. "These Church dignitaries [sic]," Stanley declared, "were defeated by the fanatics of the ecclesiastical party, and Sir William Hart-Dyke [sic], forced by his own side, climbed down from the position he had taken up, and in the most humiliating manner withdrew the whole code. I am very sorry, for though it was a poor little thing, it was his own child." Stanley believed that the Church party meant to do their

³³ The School Board Chronicle 1 June 1889 p.573.

³⁴ W.H. Smith, First Lord of the Treasury. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.338 col.137.

³⁵ The School Board Chronicle 6 July 1889 p.17-18.

utmost to secure better terms for voluntary schools, either by reducing educational efficiency or by obtaining more money from the public purse.³⁶

This lengthy treatment of the fortunes of the Code of 1889 illustrates the difficulty of introducing reforms into the dual system of the late nineteenth century. Even the implementation of these inconsiderable, almost trivial proposals were thwarted, and it is not difficult to understand the growing sense of frustration in the school board party: a frustration that was to express itself in ever more vehement terms.

Although the Code of 1889 might founder, Stanley did not give up hope of securing some of its benefits. In October 1888 the Luton School Board had written to the Department raising the question of a higher grade school and the deficiency of accommodation.³⁷ The Department had given the letter an unusual welcome. They found "many strong points in favour of the Board's view." The deficiency might be calculated on the ten-foot basis even in voluntary schools, and this would reduce accommodation in them by 20 % .³⁸ It would, however, be applicable only to senior departments.³⁹ Nor did it mean that the number of children on the roll in the voluntary schools would dwindle, for this rule applied to the calculation of the deficiency and not to the award of grant. But the case drew from Hart Dyke a parliamentary déclaration in quite unequivocal terms:

³⁶ The Manchester Examiner & Times 6 September 1889. Stanley's words have been returned to direct speech to avoid ambiguity. Stanley maintained this view e.g. at the next N.E.A. Annual Meeting he accused Canon Gregory and the National Society: Hart Dyke had been "set aside for the more militant and pugnacious policy of Lord Cranbrook and other powers outside." The School Board Chronicle 25 January 1890 p.97.

³⁷ P.R.O. Ed. 16/3. Letter dated 17 October 1888.

³⁸ P.R.O. Ed. 16/3. Minute dated 22 October 1888.

³⁹ P.R.O. Ed. 16/3. Minute dated 30 October [1888].

"There is no interference with voluntary schools as to space, so far as the Code and the grant are concerned. The rule laid down in the Luton case is the same which has been acted upon since the passing of the Act of 1870 - namely, that a School Board may calculate the deficiency in school places on the assumption that 10 square feet is a reasonable allowance for each child."⁴⁰

This can hardly be reconciled with the difficulties Stanley had in the early 1880's, but naturally he did not let it pass unused. When the Chairman of the S.B.L. Statistical Committee presented his annual report in November 1889 and congratulated the board on the amount of school accommodation under their control, Stanley referred to the Department's letter to the Luton School Board and pointedly remarked that the calculations for London needed drastic revision.⁴¹ This went unheeded.

In 1890 the Department produced another New Code which was an attenuated version of the proposals of 1889. Stanley comparing it with its ill-fated predecessor noted that requirements for efficiency in voluntary schools had been relaxed. His blunt comment was: "The children were sacrificed to please the Denominational managers."⁴²

Fighting for the School Board System:

"The Education Department is itself in default...."

In 1870 in a spurt of enthusiasm the Town Council of Salisbury had asked for a school board.⁴³ This was set

⁴⁰ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series. vol.339 cols. 322-323. On 5 August 1889.

⁴¹ At the meeting on 14 November 1889. The School Board Chronicle 16 November 1889 p.514.

⁴² At the N.E.A. Annual Meeting. The School Board Chronicle 31 January 1891 p.124.

⁴³ A borough council could ask for a school board even if there were no deficiency. 33 & 34 Vict.c.75 § 12(1). The Salisbury School Board was not actually constituted until 1871.

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up, but enthusiasm waned and after eighteen years it had not erected a single school. It might have continued its unruffled existence indefinitely had not two British schools been closed by their managers in 1888-89.⁴⁴ As these schools provided accommodation for 527 pupils there was a sizeable gap for the Salisbury School Board to fill. Instead of building schools to remedy the deficiency the Board decided to accept the offer of the Salisbury Church Day School Association to do the work for them and communicated their intentions to the Department on 16 May 1889.⁴⁵ Non-conformists were angered by this acceptance and it was called an "utter betrayal" of their rights.⁴⁶

Cumin was perturbed, fearing "a grave scandal" if the voluntaryists did not succeed in supplying the accommodation. Yet the Department was inclined to allow them to go ahead but to fix stringent time-limits. In a letter drafted in mid-June the voluntaryists were allowed till the end of the month to provide plans and until the end of July to execute contracts. Hart Dyke however extended the time: one month for the plans, and until mid-August for the contracts.⁴⁷

The churchmen of Salisbury did not raise the money in time. On 9 August the Bishop⁴⁸ went to the Department

⁴⁴ P.R.O. Ed.16/322. The notification that Scots Lane British School would not re-open after the Christmas holidays is dated 5 December 1888: the notification of the impending closure of Fisherton British School is dated 29 March 1889.

⁴⁵ P.R.O. Ed.16/322.

⁴⁶ J. Hirst Hollowell reported in The School Board Chronicle 15 June 1889. p.623.

⁴⁷ P.R.O. Ed.16/322. Cumin's minute is dated 16 June 1889 and Hart Dyke's 19 June 1889.

⁴⁸ Rt.Rev. John Wordsworth b.1843 and educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford (B.A.1865: Fellow of Brasenose 1867) where he was acquainted with Stanley: Deputy Regius Professor of Divinity 1877-79: published numerous works of scholarship: consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, 1885: "an efficient ecclesiastical lawyer, and was fearless in risking litigation." D.N.B. Entry under Wordsworth, John (1843-1911). The Salisbury Times.... 19 October 1889.

to arrange for an extension, after which he travelled to Marienbad but continued to correspond with Cumin.⁴⁹ The time-limit was extended, first to 31 August and then to 31 October.⁵⁰

Stanley went down to Salisbury and addressed a meeting in the Assembly Rooms on 14 October.⁵¹ He argued that the need for public management was admitted in secular matters, such as paving the streets or keeping trim the market-place: and education was much more important than these mundane affairs. He quoted the Bishop as saying, "I will never allow a board school [in Salisbury] so long as I have a penny in my pocket." Stanley acknowledged the Bishop's generosity, especially in putting up a building for a higher grade school, but claimed that such an attitude displayed the "power of the purse against the power of the people." The energy in subscribing funds and in applying to the Department had not come from the masses of the people of Salisbury. The proposed schools were to be run by the Kilburn Sisters, an Anglican Order which maintained a belief in more than two sacraments, in the Real Presence in the elements and the necessity of confession to a priest. Stanley maintained that opening such schools did not give a real choice to the people of Salisbury. He did not say that the closed British Schools contained a high proportion of Non-conformists but it was quite likely they did: the unsuitability of the proposed provision for the displaced children needs no comment.

Naturally Stanley's solution was to fill the deficiency with board schools. The existing schools in Salisbury were limited to teaching the basic skills of

⁴⁹ P.R.O. Ed. 16/322.

⁵⁰ The Daily News 26 November 1889.

⁵¹ The proceedings are in The Salisbury Times... for 19 October 1889.

reading, writing and arithmetic and a few class subjects because they were skimped for funds and under private management. He estimated that a school for 500 would cost the town £250 a year in rates; that is, a rate of 1½d. to 1¾d. in the pound. Allowing voluntaryists to do the work might be cheaper but it was not better: it amounted to putting up the children's souls for auction to the highest bidder.

Stanley claimed that the Bishop's higher grade school would hardly give a better education to working-class children in Salisbury. It would probably draw its pupils from "the academies and bad inferior guinea-a-quarter places." The Bishop's reason for fixing the fee at the maximum of ninepence a week infuriated Stanley. The "whole and sole object" as the Bishop put it, was to "get boys of cultivation and good character.... They did not want in any school of that kind all the roughest boys of the place - but they wanted to have rather a selecter class." Stanley "had no patience with middle-class prejudice" that prevented the mixing of working-class and middle-class children at school.

The time-limit expired at the end of October. Still the Department did not order the school board to provide accommodation. So Mundella led a deputation to the Department but Cranbrook told them that he was not bound to compel the school board to fill the deficiency.⁵² Stanley summed up the situation: after many months of unnecessary delay the money for the buildings had not been raised, funds for maintenance had not been provided, the contract to build one of the schools had not even been signed. "The Education Department," Stanley concluded, "is itself in de-

⁵² The Daily News 26 November 1889.

fault in doing its plain statutory duty."⁵³

Nor was this a unique case. At York there had been intermittent allegations concerning the shortcomings of school provision in the city but the Department did not issue a final notice demanding the provision of 1000 places till May 1888. Although under Forster's Act the maximum duration of the final notice was six months,⁵⁴ the York School Board was not formed until February 1889. In April of that year the board wrote to the Department requesting instructions about the accommodation to be supplied. The Department replied that provision must be made in accordance with the final notice. Yet when the Kilburn Sisters expressed a willingness to supply part of the deficiency the Department accepted the offer, and so the school board was no longer required to provide the full 1,000 places. Worse, the school opened by the Kilburn Sisters and known as York Commercial High School had a weekly fee of 1s. (including school material), yet was reckoned as suitable in a town noted for its high fees.⁵⁵ Stanley called it "the most scandalous page in the educational history of the country."⁵⁶

Although this is certainly going much too far, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in these cases the Department was willing to interpret its duties in a way favourable to the anti-school board party. And Stanley's anger can arouse only sympathy.

⁵³ The Daily News 28 November 1889. Stanley expressed similar sentiments at the N.E.A. Annual Meeting in January 1890. The School Board Chronicle 25 January 1890 p.97.

⁵⁴ 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 § 10.

⁵⁵ N.E.A. Annual Report 1890 pp.16-18.

⁵⁶ At the N.E.A. Annual Meeting in January 1891. The School Board Chronicle 31 January 1891 p.125.

Fighting for the School Board System:
Stanley v. the legislators.

The addition of drawing to the curriculum of elementary schools had been advocated by Stanley - the meeting from which the Royal Drawing Society grew had taken place at his mother's town house⁵⁷ and with J.H. Gladstone, Frederick Leighton and A.J. Mundella he had fostered the society's early growth⁵⁸ - but when other forms of technical education were to be provided by legislation, he insisted that the administrative basis accorded with Liberal principles.

Sir Henry Roscoe was one of the enthusiasts for technical education, and, not daunted by the lack of success in previous sessions, introduced a Bill in 1889. This proposed to give powers to school boards to provide technical education. Where there were no school boards, or where school boards failed to make sufficient provision, other local government bodies could do so if they wished;⁵⁹ yet in Stanley's eyes it was "not a satisfactory Bill".⁶⁰

The session dragged on and little progress was made. It was read a second time on 8 May.⁶¹ After W.H. Smith had stated on 11 July that the session would not be "unduly prolonged", A.H. D. Acland, calling the Bill "a quasi Government measure" appealed for its enactment - at least in part - and Sir Henry Roscoe added that there was a large benefaction lying idle in Manchester because there were no

⁵⁷ The Royal Drawing Society. Report of the Annual General Meeting. 15 January 1932.

⁵⁸ Armytage A.J. Mundella... p.369 note 7. In its early days it was called the Drawing Association.

⁵⁹ Bill 27 in Parliamentary Papers vol. 8 of 1889. These local government bodies would be "in any borough the council of that borough, and elsewhere the district council, if district councils are established under any Act of the present session of Parliament, but if not then the urban sanitary authority or where there is no urban sanitary authority the county council". Part of § 13(2).

⁶⁰ The Manchester Examiner & Times 6 September 1889.

⁶¹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.335 col. 1480.

powers to use rates for technical education.⁶²

The Bill reached the Committee stage on 15 July. Then the Vice-President moved an amendment which altered the administrative character of the Bill. It would still be permissive, but either the school board or the local authority could provide technical education.⁶³ The Bill was not formally withdrawn until 6 August,⁶⁴ but it was really dead when the amendment was put down.

Meanwhile the Government had introduced their own Technical Instruction Bill⁶⁵ on 23 July.⁶⁶ This proposed permissive powers for county councils, borough councils, urban and even rural sanitary authorities to "supply or aid the supply of technical or manual instruction". No powers were to be given to school boards. Nor could aid be given to children in elementary schools. But so little time remained that few imagined that it could become law. In any case W.H. Smith had assured the House "that no other Bills of importance will be pressed if determined opposition is raised."⁶⁷ So there was a listlessness about the debate for the Second Reading: Liberals would state their objections but give a reluctant acquiescence.⁶⁸ The Second Reading was completed on 14 August.⁶⁹

Already Stanley and his associates were perturbed at the prospect of the Bill becoming law. The Secretary of the N.E.A. wrote to The Daily News complaining that he

⁶² Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.338 cols.135 and 152-154.

⁶³ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.338 cols. 481-482.

⁶⁴ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.339 col. 651.

⁶⁵ Bill 350 in Parliamentary Papers vol.8 of 1889.

⁶⁶ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.338 col. 1232.

⁶⁷ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.338 col. 143. On 11 July 1889.

⁶⁸ E.g. A.J. Mundella. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.339 cols. 991-992. On 9 August 1889.

⁶⁹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.339 col. 1258.

could not call together the Executive Committee at short notice at that season of the year, and protesting against the character of the Bill.⁷⁰ Stanley was also writing to M.P.'s condemning it. During the Second Reading, H. Cossham the Member for East Bristol declared, "I hold in my hand a letter from one of the most distinguished educational authorities in the country, Mr. Lyulph Stanley, and he says the Bill is a bad Bill...."⁷¹ Stanley redoubled his efforts when the Committee stage was reached, and was writing repeatedly to Members.⁷²

This stage was marked by the defection of some Liberals. To integrate school boards into the scheme for technical education, William Mather M.P. for Gorton⁷³ drafted amendments which the Government accepted. Stanley called them "chaotic".⁷⁴ But Sir Henry Roscoe, after labouring so long for technical education was unwilling to let this chance slip, saying "Half a loaf is better than no bread."⁷⁵ More than a decade later he declared that he had "gladly accepted" the Bill and he still had no regrets for doing so.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ The Daily News 13 August 1889 and reprinted in The School Board Chronicle 17 August 1889 pp.160-161.

⁷¹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.339 col.1257. On 14 August 1889.

⁷² F.A. Channing. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.340 col. 506. On 26 August 1889.

⁷³ William Mather (b.1838) of the firm of Mather & Platt represented the industrial suburb of Manchester containing the locomotive works of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway and of Beyer, Peacock and Co.

⁷⁴ In a letter to Channing and quoted by Channing in the House on 27 August 1889. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol. 340 col.686.

⁷⁵ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.340 col.496. On 26 August 1889.

⁷⁶ Roscoe The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe.... p.209.

In Committee the Liberals led by Channing and urged on by Stanley vehemently attacked the proposals. But it was too late, and the Bill became law.⁷⁷ However the struggle for the school boards did provoke an interesting comment from Hart Dyke: school boards could run technical instruction classes under the Act in their existing buildings.⁷⁸

Shortly afterwards Stanley gave his opinion of the Act at the inaugural meeting of the Manchester and Salford Branch of the N.E.A.⁷⁹ He characterised the Act as "full of pitfalls, traps, and confusions, and, in addition, raising the most contentious principles which Liberals for the last forty years had strongly opposed." The Act gave rate-aid to schools not under public management and it set up a "dual authority" in the worst possible way, which was bound to cause friction. On lesser points the Act was equally unacceptable. No limit had been set to the fees voluntary schools might charge. The audit clauses were unsatisfactory as they did not compel voluntary schools to produce their entire accounts. Nor was it clear how far school boards could set up technical schools outside the standards. When an amendment had been put down to clarify the powers of the school boards the Government had opposed it. In short the Act was "more reactionary in principle than any educational legislation" of the previous twenty years.

Stanley was also outspoken about the Government's motives. Roscoe's Bill had been withdrawn because of the activity of the "clerical faction", and Hart Dyke had forced the Bill through Parliament "at the instance of the

⁷⁷ Third Reading completed on 28 August 1889: Royal Assent on 30 August 1889. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.340 cols.817,825.

⁷⁸ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.340 col.718. On 27 August 1889.

⁷⁹ Proceedings reported in The Manchester Examiner & Times 6 September 1889.

Denominational party" by the most questionable methods.

Stanley was not over-suspicious, imagining intrigue where none existed. Substantial evidence that in fact the Bill was pushed through by the denominational interest comes from George Wyndham,⁸⁰ private secretary to Arthur Balfour - at that time responsible for Irish affairs. Balfour was contemplating introducing a Bill to establish a Roman Catholic University in Ireland and Wyndham wrote to his father: "As to the forces at his command, Arthur can count almost without exception upon the English Conservatives. No Government has ever been backed as this one has by its followers, and now not only will the Bill be in the hands of the most popular member of the Government, but the regular "stalwarts".... go further than the Government in their wishes to entrench Denominational Education by all and any means against the future attacks of the Secularists. They practically pushed the Government into passing the Technical Instruction Bill, instead of being led by the latter."⁸¹ And in view of his position⁸² it is highly probable that Wyndham wrote with sufficient knowledge to justify his assertion.

⁸⁰ George Wyndham b.1863 educated at Eton and Sandhurst, was gazetted into the Coldstream Guards (1883) and served in the Sudan (1885). He became Balfour's private secretary in 1887 and Conservative M.P. for Dover on 12 July 1889. Mackail and Wyndham Life and Letters of George Wyndham vol.i pp.18,24,26,30,37,44.

⁸¹ Ibid. Letter no. 92 dated 7 September 1889 on p.236 of vol.i.

⁸² That he was still Balfour's private secretary at this time is confirmed by Who Was Who 1897-1916.

That the Technical Instruction Act was a defeat for the school boards was widely recognised. The denominational press was jubilant. The Weekly Register, a Roman Catholic journal, observed presciently: "It is the beginning of the end of the School Board System. It inaugurates the transfer of power over the education of the country to public bodies elected by the ratepayers on broad principles of national policy. The establishment of County Councils has rendered the abolition of School Boards only a matter of time. As it is, the electors as a body will hardly vote for School Board candidates: and the cost of separate elections for this or that purpose is one which the constituencies will not long consent to bear." On the principle of funds being disbursed by the counties to school boards and voluntary schools the comment was: "a precedent is established by which the whole Education question can be satisfactorily and permanently settled."⁸³

Naturally the Liberal M.P. whom Stanley blamed most roundly for helping to pass such a Bill was William Mather; "who in his zeal for getting something passed rushed in with an amendment which he had privately concocted with the Government," and who was "mainly answerable for the Bill having become law."⁸⁴

Mather, holidaying in Switzerland, replied at length, claiming that in fact the school boards had been given an additional function. His claims for the powers vested in school boards by the Act were immense: "distinct recognition of the School Board as a secondary educational authority is now made, and the promotion of science and art classes, hitherto carried on by the boards as voluntary

1889

⁸³ The Weekly Register 31 August/p.273. Part of the quotation (with variant punctuation) is in The School Board Chronicle for 7 September 1889 p.233.

⁸⁴ Stanley reported in The Manchester Examiner & Times 6 September 1889.

managers, having no funds but the fees and the South Kensington grants, will henceforth be an acknowledged and legal function of the school boards." The funds for school board expenditure on technical education would come from the counties, but Mather left unexplored the relationship between county and school board. He claimed that all Liberal M.P.'s were just as anxious as Stanley for the school boards, but believed that Stanley saw difficulties where none existed.⁸⁵

Returning to England Mather was still unrepentant. Addressing the Manchester branch of the N.E.A. he claimed that the school boards had previously conducted their Science and Art classes "surreptitiously". Under the Act school boards would be able to "establish and conduct science classes and technical departments for children above the obligatory standards, namely, those not receiving instruction from the school board rate." The boards would obtain funds from the local authority, "if the local authority agreed to find the money."⁸⁶

One of Mather's listeners commented, "....If, indeed, school boards have these powers, why our representatives of progressive education in London distinctly opposed Mr. Mather and all his works passes my wit to conceive...."⁸⁷

It is not necessary to look far ahead to substantiate Stanley's fears for the future of technical education under school boards. In the very next year (1890)

⁸⁵ The Manchester Examiner & Times 14 September 1889. Letter dated 10 September from Monte Generoso.

⁸⁶ Mather Address on the Technical Instruction Act . . . Delivered in the Concert Hall, Manchester to the Manchester, Salford and District Branch of the N.E.A. on 18 November 1889, p.21.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p.29.

the Science and Art Department issued a circular⁸⁸ intimating that pupils on the registers of elementary schools would no longer be eligible for the Science and Art examinations. Since the school boards depended on South Kensington grants to run their higher grade schools (e.g. £1,740 in grants were received for the 1,500 pupils for the central school in Manchester⁸⁹) the circular would wreck that interesting development. Ostensibly its purpose was to prevent payment of overlapping grants. That it was merely a shallow device to prevent the growth of the school board system was shown by the issue on the same day of a circular proposing grants for manual training by South Kensington to public elementary schools. Indeed Stanley believed that this was to enable voluntary schools to escape deductions under the 17s. 6d. rule "and even to use this Parliamentary grant as a source of income to be placed to the credit of the school and enable it to escape from the deductions which the law would enforce."⁹⁰

The major school boards produced such vigorous opposition to the proposal that their pupils would no longer be eligible for Science and Art examinations that the objectionable part of the circular was withdrawn.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Circular 40, dated 5 June 1890. It is printed in The School Board Chronicle for 14 June 1890 p.649.

⁸⁹ N.E.A. no.13 Observations.... on Circular 40, Science and Art Department, of 5th June, 1890 17 June 1890 4 pp. 10½" x 8" no printer's name. A copy survives in the British Museum.

⁹⁰ [Stanley] N.E.A. [no.28??] The Circular on Manual Training 9 July 1890 a single sheet 10" x 8" no printer's name. The attribution to Stanley rests on the N.E.A. Minute of 8 July 1890 given in Appendix D. A copy of the leaflet survives in the British Museum.

⁹¹ By Circular 42 dated 25 June 1890. The School Board Chronicle 5 July 1890 p.17.

But the episode gives a further reason why, in Stanley's estimation, the impartiality of the central authority was suspect.

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Stanley opposed similar but much less important attempts made to divest school boards of their powers in the early nineties. The proposed legislation on industrial schools and Stanley's opposition may serve as an example.

In 1889 an Industrial Schools Bill had been introduced in the House of Lords, but it had not become law.⁹² Another similar Bill was presented by Viscount Cross on 28 March 1890.⁹³ At the next meeting of the N.E.A. Executive Committee with Stanley in the Chair, the significance of the Bill was considered. It was resolved that Stanley be asked to provide "a Report upon the lines of the Report of last year, with such alterations as may be necessitated by the provisions of the present measure."⁹⁴

The resulting leaflet⁹⁵ issued by the Association condemned the radical change in relations between school boards and industrial schools. The Bill would repeal the powers that school boards had gained under Forster's Act. In 1870 the powers of a borough council to build and maintain

⁹² Introduced on 14 May and withdrawn on 22 July 1889. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.336 col.1 and vol.338 cols. 949-950.

⁹³ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.343 col. 129.

⁹⁴ N.E.A. Executive Committee Minutes 6 May 1890.

⁹⁵ [Stanley] N.E.A. no.12 Industrial Schools Bill, 1890 3pp. 23 May 1890 10½" x 8" no printer's name. The attribution to Stanley rests on the minute of 6 May 1890. A copy of the pamphlet survives in the British Museum.

an industrial school had been transferred to the school board. At the same time school boards had been empowered to establish and keep up industrial schools. These powers⁹⁶ would now be lost.

Under the Bill school boards would not even be allowed to maintain the industrial schools they had already established, though truant schools and day industrial schools could continue. Admittedly there were only eight industrial schools established by school boards, but extracts from inspectors' reports showed that they were very efficiently run. For example, the report on the "Shaftesbury" noted: "The ship as usual in very excellent order [sic]. General appearance of the boys entirely satisfactory. General tone satisfactory. Boys are carefully and specially prepared for the profession of a sailor."

No longer would school boards have the power to contribute to privately managed industrial schools. This power would be transferred to the counties. This too was objectionable. "School Boards are far more likely to take an interest in the case of these waifs and strays than County Councils or Borough Councils whose work is mainly of a material, and not of a moral character, and who if they deal with these children, will have a tendency to consider them from a police, and not an educational, aspect." But this argument has a certain weakness. For, having excluded county councils from educational administration on other grounds, the school board party could not justly accuse them of lack of interest in the welfare of children.

The power to contribute to privately-managed industrial schools had been optional for the school boards, but it was to be compulsory for the counties. Yet the only security the counties would have would be the Home

⁹⁶ Derived from 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 §§ 27,28.

Office certificate. So the rate-payers would make compulsory contributions without sharing the management.

Stanley stated other less important objections in the leaflet, but these are sufficient to show in whose interest the Bill was framed and how antipathetic it was towards school boards. Fortunately, although it was sent to the Commons,⁹⁷ it was withdrawn on 21 July 1890.⁹⁸

Stanley and the Abolition of Fees

The title of Stanley's first article on this subject - Free Schools and Public Management⁹⁹ - shows his concept of the problem. Further exchequer grants to abolish fees should be linked with demands for popular representative management of all elementary schools accepting the grant. He claimed no originality for this policy. When Joseph Chamberlain had included the abolition of fees in his "unauthorized programme" of 1885 and had suggested that elementary schools be made free by means of a Parliamentary subsidy without altering the management of voluntary schools, the National Liberal Federation meeting at Bradford that autumn had demanded public management for schools "freed" in that way.¹⁰⁰

Conservatives had traditionally opposed "free" education and Lord Salisbury's declaration at the Conservative Conference at Nottingham in the autumn of 1889 in favour of assisted education was unexpected, but his attitude to the voluntary schools was clear. "If it is to suppress the Denominational Schools," Salisbury declared, "free education would be not a blessing, but a curse."¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ On 12 June 1890. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.345 col.642.

⁹⁸ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.347 col.468.

⁹⁹ The Contemporary Review vol.57 (1890) pp.440-453.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p.441.

¹⁰¹ The School Board Chronicle 30 November 1889 p.585.

According to Stanley the change in Conservative policy was caused by the action of Scottish M.P.'s.¹⁰² When county councils had been set up in Scotland provision had been made for the reduction of school fees.¹⁰³ Stanley disliked the scheme framed for Scotland. It freed the lower standards but allowed fees in the upper standards. If it were impossible to abolish fees throughout a school he would have preferred the upper standards to be freed first. Then the scheme permitted fee-charging to continue at some schools provided there were sufficient free places in the district. Stanley contended that in such circumstances the free school would not be socially equal to the school where fees were paid. The latter might be better staffed and better equipped as well.¹⁰⁴

Stanley discussed the methods of distributing a grant in lieu of fees. To make a grant equivalent to the existing fees would give excessive help to schools with high fees i.e. to lower middle-class schools or schools whose managers had put an excessive burden on the parents. It would do little to help schools where the voluntary managers or rate-payers had made efforts to keep the fees low. Such a method of distributing the grant "would be too outrageous a proposal for any one to listen to."¹⁰⁵

There was the alternative of a uniform grant per capita. Stanley calculated that the average fee-income per child for the whole country was 10s. 2½d. and thought that a grant of 10s. in lieu of fees would be "very liberal".¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Chamberlain believed that he stimulated Salisbury into activity. Chamberlain A Political Memoir 1880-92 p.288.

¹⁰³ From the Probate Duty and License Duty estimated at £246,500. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol. 338 col. 593. On 16 July 1889.

¹⁰⁴ Stanley Free Schools and Public Management The Contemporary Review vol.57 (1890) pp.442-444.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p.441.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p.446.

Suggestions had been made that an optional scheme should be introduced, that is, the voluntary managers should be free to accept or reject the offer. Stanley saw two objections. First, Parliament would not vote a subsidy which might be accepted only by schools with fees less than the average. "This would be merely making an extra present to the schools with low fees." Secondly, it could not be left to the managers of voluntary schools to decide whether children should have free education. He referred to northern towns without board schools where the subscriptions were low and the fees very high. In Preston, Birkenhead and Stockport the average fees were approximately 15s., 14s. and 19s. per child in 1884-85. Voluntary managers in these towns accepting a 10s. grant and abolishing fees would not be able to meet the deficiency by increasing subscriptions and the rate-payers would have to take up the duty through a school board. In less extreme cases such as Liverpool or parts of London like Bethnal Green or Walworth where there was a large provision by voluntaryists, the argument would still hold good.¹⁰⁷

There was also "a curious suggestion" that the grant might be used to reduce but not necessarily to abolish the fee. Stanley condemned it outright. There "is no official supervision of the fees of voluntary schools, and if this were permitted, a school now charging 4d. would raise the fee, say, to 8d. or 9d., and then take the Government grant, and go on charging the 4d. Moreover, a grant to lower, not to abolish, the fee would be a waste of public money, as it would not secure the object aimed at, the complete opening of the school-doors to the children. Such a plan, in short, would be a subsidy to the managers, not to the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. pp.447-448.

parents."¹⁰⁸

Having discussed the possible methods of giving the grant, Stanley turned to the links between free education and public representative management. He quoted the Rev. J.R. Diggle at the Church Congress at Cardiff in the month before Salisbury's Nottingham declaration. Diggle had noted that the state contributed 46% of the sum needed to run Church of England elementary schools and that the fees brought in another 30%. "It is obvious", Diggle had said, "that if the contribution from the State is increased from 46 per cent. to 76 per cent., that increase of contribution must be accompanied by such an increase of control as to render them practically State schools." The declaration of Lord Salisbury at Nottingham had naturally thrown the voluntaryists into disarray. Archdeacon Smith who had served on the Cross Commission had called the abolition of fees "the death-knell of voluntary schools" in the summer of 1889 but had written to The Times early in 1890 disclaiming that further grants implied local representative management.¹⁰⁹

Stanley held that the connection between the two proposals was "intimate and necessary" and examined the possibilities in this reform of the management. Religious and secular teaching might be severed, with the religious instruction still managed by the denomination. Stanley argued that most Non-conformists did not want it, and he judged that most Anglican parents did not want it either. In his evidence before the Cross Commission, the Secretary of the National Society had said that his society had issued

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p.447. The "curious suggestion" came from the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Dover who suggested a reduction from 6d. to 2d. or 9d. to 5d. in The Times for 3 February 1890.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p.448 referring to The Guardian of 17 July 1889 and The Times of 3 February 1890.

a circular in 1875, saying that when schools had to be transferred to school boards, there should be a condition that they were reserved for denominational religious instruction in the first hour. Such arrangements often ended in failure, and he preferred that the school board should take over all the teaching, since something was better than nothing.¹¹⁰

Another suggestion was dual management. Stanley thought five elected managers and two representatives of the former managers would be "a moderate proposal" but he did not support it because in country districts two of the five elected would probably support the incumbent, and combined with the two denominational representatives would form a majority. In effect it would be the same as before.¹¹¹

Teachers would still be appointed, not on purely professional grounds but on account of their churchmanship and they would still be required to perform additional ecclesiastical duties such as playing the organ; with a salary offered on that understanding. "Even with a purely elective body of managers," Stanley complained, "unless the area of administration is largely extended, such oppression and fraud may still be practised. Nothing short of representative management over considerable areas will secure that in our elementary schools the teacher shall be selected for his professional merit and efficiency, and for that alone; that he shall be fairly paid, and that no unprofessional services shall be exacted from him."¹¹²

In the debates on Assisted Education, Morley on behalf of his party accepted the principle that there should be public representative management when the school was catering for the whole community, but where the school

¹¹⁰ Ibid. pp.449,451 quoting Cross Commission QQ.11,528-33.

¹¹¹ Ibid. pp.451-452.

¹¹² Ibid. p.452.

was intended for a particular sect, such as the Roman Catholic or the Jews, the management could still be denominational: such a system worked well in Scotland. Sexton immediately accepted this principle on behalf of the Parnellites.¹¹³

Joseph Chamberlain denounced this "New Concordat". He accused the Gladstonians of buying Roman Catholic votes at the expense of Protestant schools.¹¹⁴ Stanley defended Morley's policy. In Scotland the former parochial schools were placed under public management but new private schools could receive grants if the Department were convinced that the requirements of the locality warranted them. "I can only say of myself," Stanley wrote, "that for many years past I have recognised the need of combining considerate treatment of minorities with the just claim of public management for the schools of the nation, and that I look to a system very similar to that of Scotland for the solution of our educational difficulties."¹¹⁵ Chamberlain took up the reference to the Scottish system. In the board schools there, Presbyterian formulæ were taught. Therefore if the system were imported into England, Anglican formulæ would be taught in English board schools. Besides, it would lead to the unnecessary multiplication of schools in country districts to give a choice of school.¹¹⁶ Stanley gave his answer in a speech at the Savoy Hôtel. The first essential was to abolish the dual system, and "make education thoroughly national" under popular representative management. Morley "had been grossly misrepresented". There would still be a conscience clause. If there were a national system,

¹¹³ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol. 341 cols. 990-991. On 21 February 1890.

¹¹⁴ The Times 24 February 1890.

¹¹⁵ The Times 25 February 1890.

¹¹⁶ The School Board Chronicle 1 March 1890 p.228.

there would be no objection to a few schools under private management.¹¹⁷

By the time Stanley made this speech the Government had shelved the question of "Free Education": but they pressed it again in 1891.

Stanley was brutally frank on their motives. "It was horrible hypocrisy for the Government to say they were bringing in their assisted education scheme in the interests of the children, when it was in order to strengthen the Voluntary system."¹¹⁸ Later Stanley referred to Salisbury's speech at the Carlton Club in March 1890¹¹⁹ as evidence for this allegation. Salisbury rejecting the pauperizing argument against free schools, had maintained that assistance should be given since education was compulsory. Further, if the Conservatives did not act, another Government might introduce "free" education in a way that would destroy the voluntary schools. If the Government brought in a suitable scheme, it might place denominational schools so securely that "no future hostile majority could dislodge them."

In 1891 Stanley was even more emphatic that there should be a link between an increased grant and public control. He "insisted on the proposition that any extension of public aid to our elementary schools must be coupled with a very large extension of public local representative management, including as an absolutely necessary condition the universal establishment of School Boards of sufficient area and the transference to them of the power of appointing and removing teachers...." He referred to the recommendations

¹¹⁷ At a Parliamentary Breakfast convened by the Liberation Society. The School Board Chronicle 8 March 1890 p.258.

¹¹⁸ At the N.E.A. Annual Meeting in January 1891. The School Board Chronicle 31 January 1891 p.125.

¹¹⁹ Stanley Organisation of Public Elementary Education and the Free Question The New Review vol.iv (1891) p. 242, quoting The Times of 21 March 1890.

of the Wesleyans in 1872-73 that the population for a school board area should be 7,000: Stanley thought this the minimum. And he was still as anxious that a teacher should be judged on professional qualities alone. "A good teacher who is not subservient to the clerical needs is liable to be dismissed;" he wrote, "a bad teacher who is useful in the Sunday-school or in parish work is likely to be retained."¹²⁰

Stanley was more cautious in arguing for the minorities, and although he still advocated the Scottish system, he put the claims of the majority first. But he was quite clear in his own mind about the reasons for the survival of Church schools. It was the fear of high rates, not desire for distinctive denominational teaching which maintained the Anglican schools.¹²¹

As to the methods of distributing the grant, Stanley noted that even the Wesleyans who charged the highest fees, and who would therefore lose most by a standard grant based on the average fee, had accepted that principle. He thought it scarcely necessary to argue further for it. However, a variation on the optional implementation scheme had been put forward. This new scheme envisaged at least one fee-free school within the reach of every child, but other schools might continue to charge fees. Country schools would then become "free" but there would still be fees at some town schools. Stanley chose to illustrate his belief in the unsuitability of this scheme by quoting figures for three schools in Stockport:-

¹²⁰ Ibid. pp.245-246.

¹²¹ Ibid. pp.243-244.

	Average attendance.	Fee-income	Fees per child p. a.	Subscriptions
)	1,468	£1,639	£1 2s. 4d.	£3 15s. 6d.
)				
)				
)				
s)	1,335	£1,541	£1 3s. 1d.	£22 12s. 6d.

The demand for free schools were so great that only charging fees could be permitted. Then the De- would have to decide whether the Anglican or the school should "go to the wall". Raising subscrip- over the income lost in accepting the fee-grant child would hardly be possible.¹²²

Stanley noted the less obvious advantages that would abolishing fees. Accounts would be simplified and no longer bothered by the collection of school- school boards would be saved the trouble of dealing of remission. Attendance would improve and would be more likely to stay on for upper standard

When the Bill was published, Stanley lamented that opportunity to reform educational administration had . He thought it essential that the Bill be ten points.¹²⁴

the fee grant exceeded all previous charges made then all charges must be abolished.

, where books had been charged for separately, now be provided free, if the fee-grant covered

pp. 247-249.

p. 247.

points are taken from Stanley's article The Education Bill in The Contemporary Review vol.60

pp. 139-147. Additional illustrative material is related as shown in the foot-notes.

ld in a school where fees were retained should
a fee greater than the fee fixed by the De-

the Department had allowed voluntary schools to
ever fee they liked provided the average fee
ceed 9d. "Those who do not know the way in
Education Department is accustomed to circumvent
liament...." would think the Bill plain enough,¹²⁵
y had been infuriated by the Shardlow¹²⁶ case.
ardians of Shardlow Union sent children from the
to the local voluntary school, the managers at
sed objections to receiving them," but at length
em, charging 1s. a week instead of the usual

When asked about this in Parliament, Hart
aid such a procedure was "usual". So long as
raise the average fee above 9d. the Department
ject.¹²⁷ "This reply," Stanley maintained, "was
utterly to abolish the provision of the Act and
that children should not be refused admission
elementary school on other than reasonable

There was apparently no limit to the fees that
managers might charge: it could be half-a-crown
illings. "Such conduct as this by the Depart-
"in violation of all traditions and of Parlia-
rights secured to the children."¹²⁸

should not vary with the standard.
once abolished should be re-imposed, and no fee
ould be raised."

's contribution to Two Aspects of the Free
on Bill [= Two Aspects... infra] in The New
vol. v (1891)pp. 9-10.

ow is in Derbyshire, seven miles south-east of
nty-town. O.S. Grid Reference SK 4330.

's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.349
54-655. On 5 December 1890.

N.E.A. Annual Meeting in January 1891. The School
hronicle 31 January 1891 p.125.

ection of the Bill expressly allowed the re-
n or increase of fees.¹²⁹
ols where the former income was less than the fee-
ncreased income should be used to improve education:
ot be used to reduce subscriptions or rates.
, there were many low-fee'd voluntary schools
at would receive far more from the grant than
ncome. Then in rural Somerset voluntary schools
their income raised by about 4s. a head. This
based on the evidence given to the Cross
³⁰ by Prebendary Roe¹³¹ whom Stanley called "as
witness as any that exists."¹³²
o noted that the Bill contemplated crediting the
s local income, and in this way the ceiling fixed
6d. limit would be raised. "Thus, to take an
e, a free endowed school with no fee income will
. ahead [sic], and will be credited with that
reason why it should receive another 10s. from the
epartment."
lities where some schools were free and some were
ee schools should "be equal in all respects" to

ects....pp.7-8.

ommission Q.54,858. It was Stanley who asked
stion.

oe Tutor and Government Lecturer in Mathematics
opolitan Training Institute, Highbury 1853-65:
d priest 1866: combined headship of Kineton
School, Warwickshire with local curacy 1865-76:
nt Diocesan Inspector of Schools, Diocese of
d Wells 1877-84: Rector of Poyntington and
n to the Sherborne Union 1876-88: Rector of
on 1888 - Crockford's Clerical Directory

ects.... p.8.

all stands the worst schools in a district, bad
s, bad in staff, scamped in their curriculum,
in their management, may be proffered as a
satisfaction of the popular demand."¹³³
on of a new school board should not be avoided
ng as a free school a building falling short
of the Department's building requirements.
lay of a year should intervene before parents
nt to claim free schools."
believed that the delay was to give voluntary
ppportunity to provide free education and prevent
ion of additional school boards."¹³⁴
hools accepting the grant should be subject to
board schools: their accounts should be open
ion by the public and should be published.
a group of schools was under one body of managers,
rs were to apply any profits they might obtain
ting the fee-grant in a low-fee'd school to
fees in high-fee'd schools.
s irritated that Hart Dyke proposed to allow the
n of the fee-grant by departments."¹³⁵ This would
gers to make an additional profit. Thus in an
school of six hundred children:-

No. of Children	Under the Fee-Paying System		Under the Fee-Grant System		
	Fees per child p.a.	Fee income p.a.	By Depts.		Not by Depts.
			Fee Grant	Fees.	
200	12s.	£120	£100	£20) £300
200	10s.	£100	£100	-	
200	7s.	£70	£100	-	
600	-	£290	£300	£20	£300

p. 9.

p. 8.

income had been £290 the managers would gain
case by accepting the fee-grant. If they were
claim by departments, they would still receive
they could then continue to obtain £20 from the
fees.¹³⁶

Nevertheless Stanley believed that the Bill with
imperfections would lead toward the growth of a
system. For the school boards would make their
choice. So would the Roman Catholics: they had
the principle that voluntary control implied
subscriptions. So had the Anglican clergy of
the countryside. "But the town schools, as a
rule in the North of England and the schools in populous
manufacturing districts have recently been administered,
efficiently say managed, at a minimum cost to the
state, and with a resolute determination to get as
much as possible out of the parents. No one can suppose
the energetic mechanics of Tyneside, the pitmen of
the South Yorkshire, the operatives of the woollen
manufacturing districts, will consent to pay fees for the
education which too often passes muster under the name
of a school. Hundreds of schools in Yorkshire, Lancashire
and the West Riding are places of business, not places of education.
The schools will perish, and that deservedly, and there
will be a large increase in the number of School Boards
and many have ^{been} already created in many places by the
act on account of the disgraceful state of the
school premises."¹³⁷

Stanley was too hopeful. He chose as an example¹³⁸
the West Riding hemmed in by the
counties of Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Huddersfield and

Subjects.... pp.10-11.

The Free Education Bill The Contemporary Review

(1891) pp.145-146.

p.147.

There, the townships of North Bierley, Hunsworth, Wyke, Cleckheaton, Hipperholme and Clifton with population exceeding 60,000 had no board. Fees were high and subscriptions low. Stanley in the 1884-85 Report on Cleckheaton. "The rough interior of St. Luke's resembles a stable more than a school-room.... The British school is so inconspicuous that the number of scholars in attendance is very small but its present teacher despair, while the headmaster's class-room at Westgate drives the reading lesson into the air." Yet the voluntary schools survived. After Stanley wrote this, the provision in the Education Act of 1880 was still entirely voluntary.¹³⁹ Assessing the value of Stanley's contribution to the development of English education it is impossible not to be struck by the reasonableness of his demand that those who were to be asked to do so should also manage. This does not mean that in the case of voluntary schools should have been handed over to local authority. But when voluntary school supporters were told that they could obtain the bulk of their income from local authority without yielding up control of their schools, they were less likely to maintain their subscriptions. Further deterioration of the finances of denominational schools would be a necessary consequence. In fact, as is well known, a decade later a leading voluntarist was of the opinion that the fact that there were no school boards in the West Riding is shown by their absence from the Alphabetical List of School Boards and Contributions in the Districts in England and Wales which forms part of Cd. 1038 in Parliamentary Papers vol. 1. 79 of 1902. (The Clifton-with-Norwood School Board in Wharfedale.) The conclusion that these townships were still served by voluntary schools is confirmed by reference to the 1877 Board of Education: Lists of Schools under the Administration of the Board: 1901-2 (The West Riding with an appendix on pp.283-301) in Parliamentary Papers vol. 1. 2. The county borough of Bradford which was the first to have a school board had been extended in 1899 (The Year Book of Bradford: 1847-1947 map) but this did not annul the voluntary schools e.g. Wyke National School which survived Cd. 1277. p. 267.

argue that any arrangement whereby the public could insist on any financial support being given to voluntaryists to their own schools would be unsatis-

n of Country Children

reform of educational administration which should have been coupled with a scheme of education had included universal school in every efficient area, taking as a minimum the population of 1000 suggested by the Wesleyans in 1872-73.¹⁴⁰ If small parishes were retained as the administrative units of the countryside, maximum efficiency could not be achieved. It was "absurd" to believe that small parishes could elect five capable members for their school board. Money was spent on elections and the clerk's salary was proportionately high. And Stanley calculated that 2,112 parish school boards had a population of a thousand apiece. "It is essential for national progress," he wrote, "that these rural school boards be consolidated; and if we had, as in Scotland, a map, showing existing School Board areas, is a patchwork, indicating the maximum of inconvenience in administration with the minimum of effective results." Stanley selected specific areas particularly in the north to illustrate his contentions. The village of the districts chosen typify rustic obscurity, and a million people lived in such country districts, but the inconsequence should not detract from the force of the principles he illustrated.

supra.

The Free Education Bill The Contemporary Review (1891) p.141.

Listing of village names follows the Ordnance Survey Seventh Series, now current: variant spellings are given in the footnotes.

*Parishes in Devon and Somerset to Illustrate Stanley's Concept of
Location of School Districts in the Countryside*

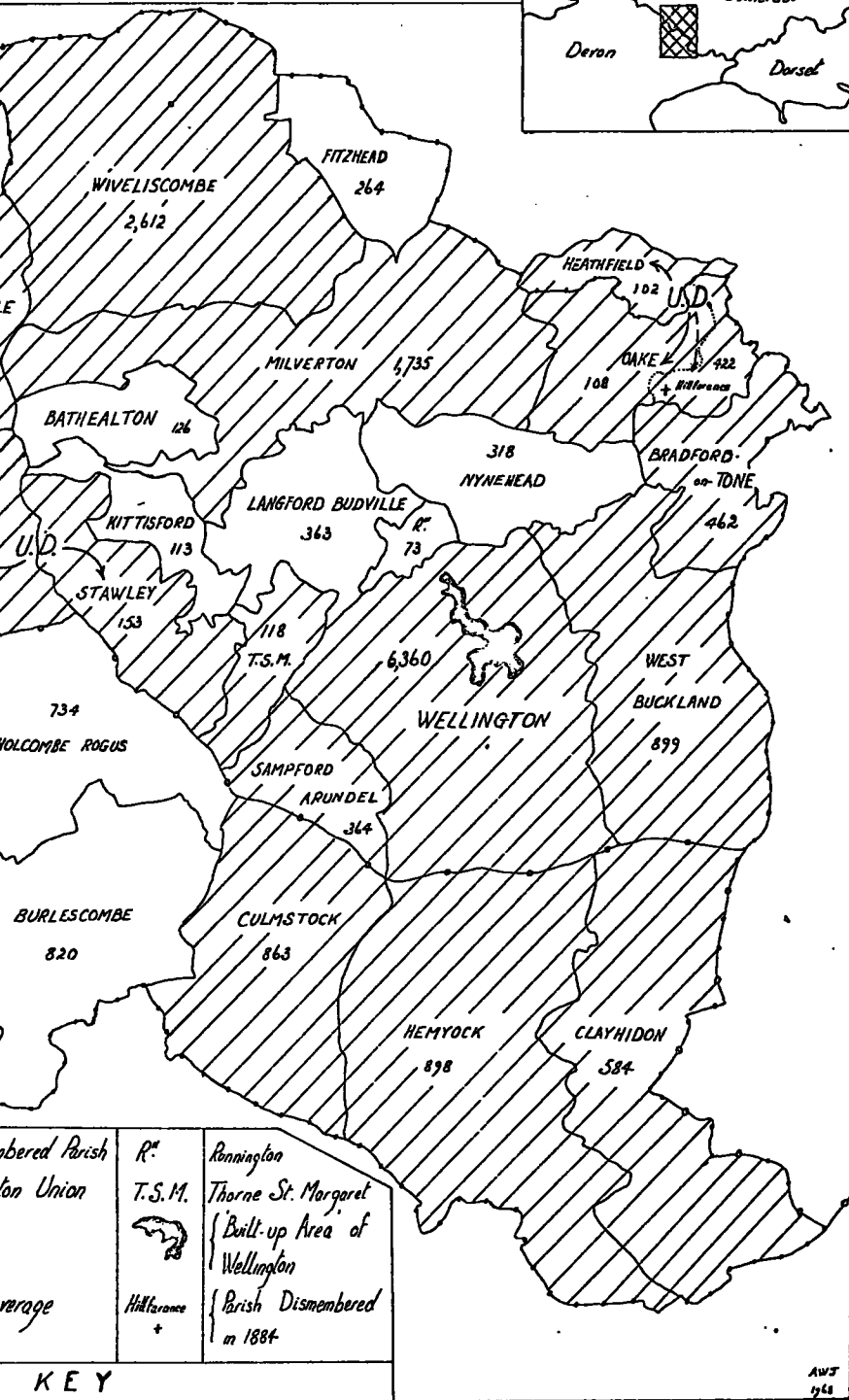
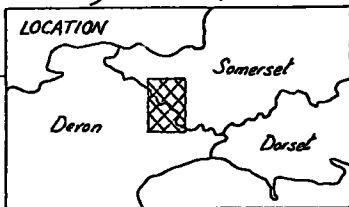


Fig. 12

ea he chose was the Poor Law Union of
The parishes of this union, partly in
partly in Devon have been mapped in fig.12¹⁴³.
figures obtained at the 1881 census, which
t available to Stanley have been included.
rishes were absurdly small: Thorne St.
mere 118 people, yet it had its own school
anley noted, there were thirteen school
s claim that they were "practically con-
re than borne out by the map: in fact
school boards was completely isolated.
ed that the whole district should have been
ol board.¹⁴⁴
p shows that the Department had made sparing
owers to form united districts.¹⁴⁵ Ashbrittle
d been united: so had Oake, Heathfield¹⁴⁶ and
7 though why just these parishes should have
is not readily apparent.

Statement of the Names of the Several Unions
Law Parishes in England and Wales.... in
ary Papers vol.70 of 1887. C.5992 List of
rds and School Attendance Committees in
d Wales. 1 April 1890 in Parliamentary Papers
1890. The population figures given in C.5191
supplemented from Parliamentary Papers vol.78
The parish boundaries etc. were from the 1"
urvey "Second Edition", surveyed 1884-88,
,295,310,311. The boundary of the dismembered
Hillfarence was taken from Greenwood's Map of
of Somerset, 1822. Variant spellings:
Bradford, Hillfarence, Hillfarrance, Thom
et.

the Free Education Bill op.cit. p.141.
34 Vict. c.75 §§ 40-48.
e Wellington Union.
of Hillfarence was dismembered on 25 March
91 op. cit. p.396) and so ceased to be a
district. However, its name was retained in
of the school board.

y had his explanation for the Department's
establish school boards of sufficient area
"The Education Department has long felt
all rural School Boards are most inconvenient,
determination of the Denominational party to
read of School Boards, for fear it should pave
spread of Board schools, is the obstacle to
f universal educational authorities with
,"¹⁴⁸
ance to the remote rural school had been given
s Act. "Where the population of the school
ich the school is situate, or the population
es, measured according to the nearest road,
l is less than three hundred, and there is
e elementary school recognised by the Education
available for the children of that district, or
n (as the case may be), a special parliamentary
ade annually to that school to the amount, if
ation exceeds two hundred, of ten pounds, and,
exceed two hundred, of fifteen pounds...."¹⁴⁹
of this was incorporated in the Code¹⁵⁰ and
on the recommendation of the inspector.
e,¹⁵¹ similarly worded, gave ten-pound grants
ving a population of less than five hundred
led certain other conditions of efficiency.
E.A. pamphlet on these grants¹⁵² drew its
ne Free Education Bill op. cit. p.41.
ict. c.79 § 19 (2).
l of the 1891 Code.
s of the 1891 Code.
et al.?] N.E.A. no.58 On the Operation of
04 and 105 of the Code, Giving Special Grants
for Small Populations. n.d. 20 pp. C.P.S. no.
or possible attribution to Stanley please see
In any case Stanley subscribed to the con-
rawn and publicized them at the next N.E.A.
ting. A copy survives in the Howell Collection
nopsgate Institute.

the Parliamentary Return of 1892.¹⁵³ In the accusation was made that there had been "a word of facts" when claims were submitted. and its inspectors were also blamed for¹⁵⁴ When the average attendance at a school total population the suspicions of the most had been aroused. Thus, the managers of Macefen¹⁵⁵ returned a population of 44 but the had been built for 135, had an average 70. As there were no schools in the five ships it was likely that the Macefen school children of six villages, but as the population villages had approached 1,300 in 1881 the grant 104 had been "improperly paid".¹⁵⁶ There were cases where the population appeared decimated several times over. North Hinksey¹⁵⁷ of 527 in 1881 but the managers gave the and so received £10 small population grant.¹⁵⁸ , managers might confuse the school district siastical district. Thus the managers of Bush End returned a population of 289 when Bush ally a school district at all but an ecclesia- t within the parish of Hatfield Broad Oak.¹⁵⁹

mentary Education (Schools receiving special Parliamentary Papers vol.60 of 1892.
et al.?) N.E.A. no.58 op.cit. pp.2-3.
Wiltshire two miles east of Malpas and thirteen n-east of the county town. O.S. Grid Reference
In the pamphlet the Welsh spelling "Mæsfen"

et al.?) N.E.A. no. 58 op.cit. pp.16-17.
Wiltshire then a Berkshire village rather more than th-west of Carfax, is now really one of burbs. O.S. Grid Reference SP 4905.
et al.?) N.E.A. no. 58 op.cit. p.4.
Hatfield Broad Oak in Essex is four miles of Bishop's Stortford. O.S. Grid Reference

KEY

- Parish Boundary
- Public Elementary School
- (115) Population in 1891
- £15, £10 £15 grant under Act. 1844 and £10 grant under Act. 1854
- ⊕ Disused School
- — $1\frac{1}{8}$ miles from school to school BY ROAD (correct to nearest furlong; distances above 3 miles NOT shown)

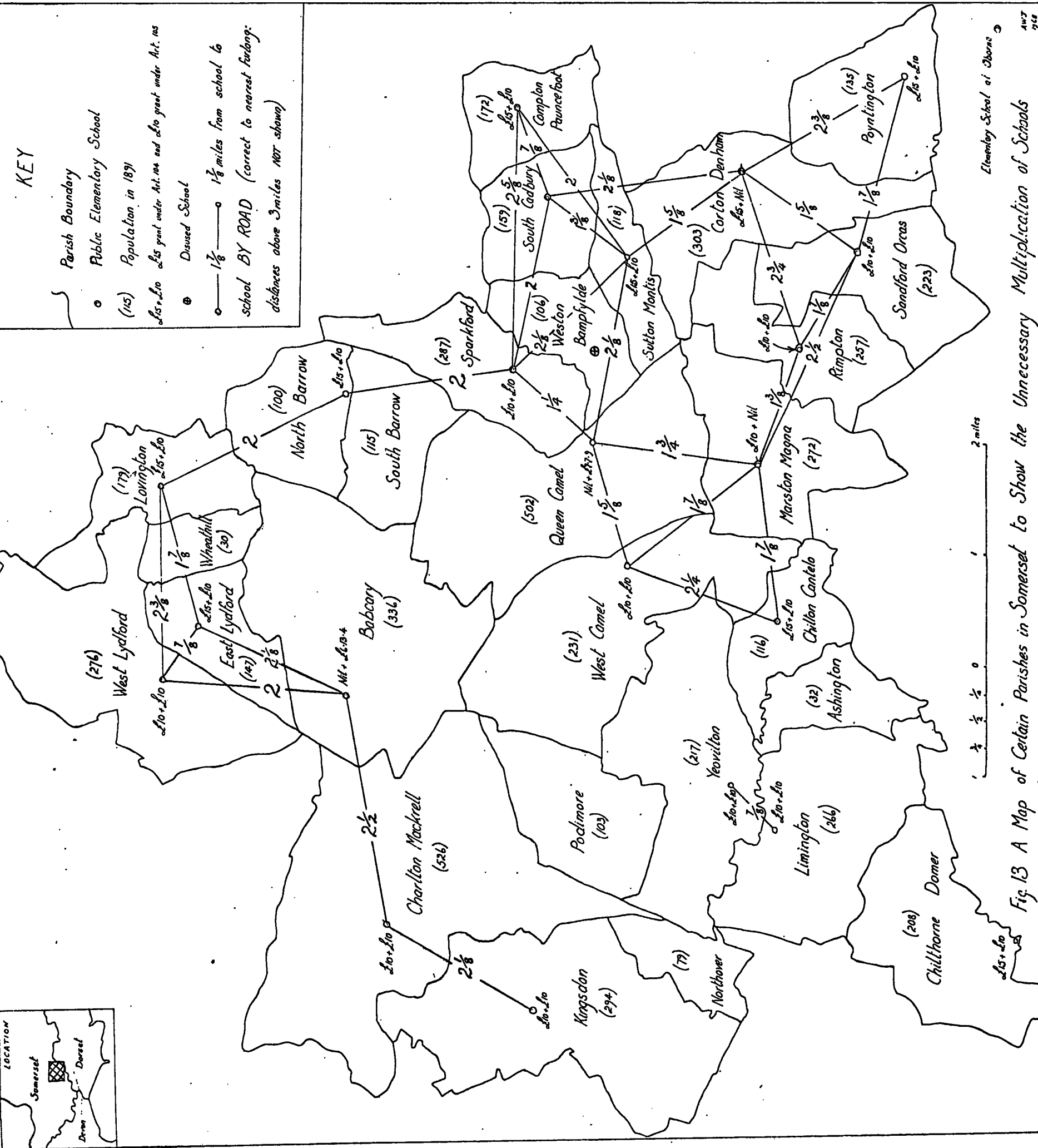


Fig. 13 A Map of Certain Parishes in Somerset to Show the Unnecessary Multiplication of Schools

2 miles

Elementary School at Dorn

Or, they might return the population "of the school district" and "within two miles" as identical. The pamphlet lists twenty-six examples from Wiltshire alone.¹⁶⁰

The manager, who was very frequently the clergyman, was placed in an invidious position. "In a district where the census discloses a population of some 220 or 320, he has the strongest temptation to believe that there has been a material diminution of population, and when he has counted 200 or 299, is it surprising if he fail to use excessive pains to find one sheep in the wilderness, whose discovery will cost him five or ten pounds?"¹⁶¹ Nor was there any information about the timing of this "amateur census". In any case it was unsatisfactory for the beneficiary to carry out an unchecked enumeration. The checking by the H.M.I. would be an enormous task - "Even if the Government Inspector combined the ferocity of Cerberus with the vigilance of Argus, he would be unequal to the task of checking the parochial census every year:" - but he need not pass glaring inconsistencies.¹⁶²

This laxity in the administration of the small population grants was deplorable in itself but there was also evidence that it multiplied small schools unnecessarily. A map of some Somersetshire parishes¹⁶³ chosen to illustrate this appears as fig. 13¹⁶⁴. The schools are shown¹⁶⁵ and the population figures given.¹⁶⁶

Application of Article 104 appears simple enough on paper, but unless the road pattern has the geometric regu-

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. p.4.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. p.3.

¹⁶² Ibid. pp.3-4.

¹⁶³ Variant spellings: Charlton Mackerell, Pudymore Milton, Sandford Otras, Weston Bamfylde.

¹⁶⁴ Based on Ordnance Survey 1" "Second Edition" surveyed 1884-87 sheets 295, 296, 311, 312.

¹⁶⁵ From the Ordnance Survey 6" maps, First Edition 1882-88.

¹⁶⁶ Parliamentary Papers vol. 104 of 1893-4.

larity of the Great Plains of the U.S.A., complications supervene. Though in theory schools receiving the grant should be set at four-mile intervals, on the map distances of three miles or less have been shown to give a reasonable allowance for local difficulties. These distances are by road: footpaths which would in some cases reduce the child's walk to school have been neglected.

Even a cursory inspection of the map shows how closely set these schools were. From the East Lydford school to the West Lydford school was only seven furlongs. A similar distance separated the schools of South Cadbury and Compton Pauncefoot. Sometimes the school in the next-parish-but-one was less than three miles off: thus, it was only two-and-a-half miles from Sandford Orcas school, through the parish of Rimpton to the school at Marston Magna. A total of thirty-two cases of schools less than three miles apart by road are shown. In only one case is a valid reason for this proximity apparent. The parishes of Limington and Yeovilton are separated by the River Yeo and although there was a bridge, to make the children of one village walk to school across land subject to flooding would be a needless hazard.

The grants under Articles 104 and 105 are shown.¹⁶⁷ Every school received something.¹⁶⁸ Even where the schools were closely set, maximum grants were received. Thus Compton Pauncefoot, South Cadbury and Sutton Montis received £25 apiece. The average attendances for these schools were: Compton Pauncefoot 40, South Cadbury 35 and Sutton Montis 22, giving a total of 97.¹⁶⁹ As the villages were so close, an obvious improvement would be a

¹⁶⁷ Return 336 op.cit.

¹⁶⁸ At Babcary the grant was for eight months. At Queen Camel the inspector made a deduction under Article 107 b. This explains the odd amounts in these two cases.

¹⁶⁹ [?Stanley et al.?] N.E.A. no.58 op. cit. p.7.

single school for all three parishes. Yet the managers were reluctant to amalgamate their schools. Prebendary Roe, the incumbent at Poyntington,¹⁷⁰ had told the Cross Commission that if he had united his school with the school of a neighbouring parish he would have had to employ a larger staff while his small population grant would have dropped from £15 to £10.¹⁷¹ Stanley identified the other parish as Osborne in Dorset (fig.13) and condemned the administration of the small population^{grant} (as tending to the unnecessary proliferation of small inefficient schools.¹⁷²

"The present system of making the parish the unit," Stanley wrote summing up his views on educational administration in the countryside, "and giving grants to small populations where grouped parishes would be well served by one school is a direct incentive to the deterioration of public education. Had the Education Department freely used their power of uniting districts, our rural schools would to-day be far stronger and better than they are. But isolated management and denominational rivalry have stood in the way of progress."¹⁷³

Certainly it was not Forster's intention that the powers to form united districts should be so little used. In 1870 he had "looked forward to the action of the Department in the union of parishes as one of their greatest responsibilities...."¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ And later at Yeovilton (p.53 supra). Both parishes are shown on fig. 13.

¹⁷¹ Cross Commission Q.54,973. It was Stanley who put the question.

¹⁷² Stanley The Free Education Bill. op. cit. p.142 and [?Stanley et al.?] N.E.A. no. 58 op.cit. pp.7-8.

¹⁷³ Stanley N.E.A. no.65 The Advantages of the School Board System p.14. Please see Appendix D.

¹⁷⁴ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.203 col.264. On 14 July 1870.

Stanley seems to imply that the Department should have used their powers to unite school districts even where there were no school boards. Indeed, the Department's practice of limiting the union of school districts to places that had or needed a school board caused injustice. To take an example: in Oxfordshire there were the three parishes of Ambrosden, Arncott and Blackthorn.¹⁷⁵ They had been formed into a united district and given a school board. The union made for more efficient working but it cost the people £55 in grants. So public management for the education of the children in these villages prevented the inhabitants drawing £55 from public funds.¹⁷⁶

Even if it is submitted that uniting non-school board districts was putting a strained interpretation on the 1870 Act, Stanley showed quite clearly that the Department's methods of administration were not in the best interests of the children in the country.

In Opposition on the School Board for London

A curiosity of English political history is the electoral success of Conservatives in London in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century. Although the Parliamentary franchise was wider than ever, about half the London constituencies returned Conservative M.P.'s at every General Election from 1885 to 1900: but only four out of fifty-eight consistently returned Liberals in the same period.¹⁷⁷ Success also attended conservative forces in

¹⁷⁵ These villages are some ten miles north-east of Oxford. O.S. Grid References SP 6019, SP 6117, SP 6119.

Variant spellings: Ambroseden, Blackthorne.

¹⁷⁶ [?Stanley et al.?] N.E.A. no.58 op.cit. p.11.

¹⁷⁷ Thompson Liberals, Radicals and Labour in London Past and Present no. 27 (April 1964) map p.100.

the S.B.L. elections until 1897. In the 1888 election the Moderates with a policy dedicated to economy and led by the Rev. J.R. Diggle secured 32 seats, while the Progressives, as the more liberal element was called, had 23. The results in 1891 were similar: Moderates 32, Progressives 20, others 3:¹⁷⁸ and in 1894, Moderates 29, Progressives 26.¹⁷⁹ So Stanley spent his energies opposing the more reactionary policies, and The School Board Chronicle with the tendency to regard the S.B.L. as a Parliament instead of an administrative body gave him the title Leader of the Opposition.¹⁸⁰

To reconstruct all the details of the petty controversies and the minutiae of administrative work would be unilluminating, but three aspects of Stanley's work are noteworthy. He was always concerned that the S.B.L. should provide ample accommodation, achieve a better pupil:teacher ratio, and develop higher grade schools and evening classes. Yet the majority on the board was often content with a deplorably low standard. In November 1893 he claimed that the building programme had suffered from "great neglect" for eight years. Often the board resisted the demands of the Department, and was eventually forced into "spasmodic activity."¹⁸¹ There was "terrible overcrowding" in London's schools. When the S.B.L. reluctantly built a new school it was filled immediately. For example, Arthur Street School, Peckham was opened in August 1893 and was so packed to its capacity of 800 that an enlargement increasing it by half

- ¹⁷⁸ Progressive School Board Election Council The Lesson of the Past passim. (The summaries contain inaccuracies.)
¹⁷⁹ The School Board Chronicle 1 December 1894 pp.642-643.
¹⁸⁰ The School Board Chronicle 20 December 1890 p.663.
¹⁸¹ Stanley Religion at the London School Board The Nineteenth Century vol.xxiv (1893) pp.741-742.

had to be carried out.¹⁸²

As for the pupil: teacher ratio, the figures convey an incredible state of affairs. Gathering information to try and force some improvement Stanley went "all over London in all weathers" taking the schools "at haphazard".¹⁸³ He found seventy, eighty, ninety and even a hundred scholars on the roll in one standard and under one teacher in schools that were supposedly "upper-standard schools". For example, visiting the so-called upper-standard school in Surrey Lane, he found 96 pupils present out of 112 on the roll in Standard IV of the boys' department.¹⁸⁴ Small wonder that he called the H.M.I.'s Report "a terrible indictment" of the Board's work.¹⁸⁵

This niggardliness naturally extended to the more promising developments of school board work. Practical evening classes suited to London's needs were satisfactory in theory but when classes were advertised and suitable equipment was not provided (e.g. type-writing classes without type-writers) interest waned.¹⁸⁶ And as for Diggle's claim that there were forty-nine upper standard schools in London, Stanley quoted the H.M.I.'s Report, - "only in three cases is there much to distinguish them from the ordinary schools."¹⁸⁷

Only one aspect of his work in connection with the S.B.L. achieved positive results in this period. Stanley was one of the school board members placed on the Technical Education Board of the London County-Council. The Board

¹⁸² Stanley The Present London School Board and the Coming Election The New Review vol.xi (1894) p.455.

¹⁸³ The Times 16 February 1894.

¹⁸⁴ The Times 5 February 1894.

¹⁸⁵ Stanley The Present London School Board and the Coming Election op.cit. p.456.

¹⁸⁶ Stanley Religion at the London School Board op.cit. p.742.

¹⁸⁷ Stanley The Present London School Board and the Coming Election op.cit. pp. 458-459.

first met on 28 April 1893 and Stanley quickly interested himself in the development of a system of scholarships. Sidney Webb usually presided at the early meetings of the Scholarships Sub-Committee but Stanley chaired the meetings regularly after the middle of 1894.¹⁸⁸

A little more than two years later¹⁸⁹ they were planning to spend about £40,000 on some nine hundred scholarships made up like this:-

600 Junior County Scholarships - 300 were to be awarded following an examination in May 1897, with a probable further 300 after another examination in October or November 1897: available for pupils not over 13 for one year: renewable for a second year.

70 Intermediate County Scholarships - awarded to pupils under 16; valued at £20 per annum (with increments of £5) plus tuition; could be renewed annually until the pupil was eighteen years old.¹⁹⁰

- 5 Senior County Scholarships
- 20 Artisan Art Scholarships
- 20 Schools of Art Scholarships
- 100 Evening Art Exhibitions
- 100 Evening Exhibitions in Science and Technology
- 2 Horticultural Scholarships
- 12 Training Scholarships in Domestic Economy

Perhaps this was a derisively small programme for the largest city in the world, but at least it was not retrogression.

¹⁸⁸ County Hall, London. TEB 17 and TEB 38.

¹⁸⁹ County Hall, London. TEB 39. Minutes of the Scholarships Sub-Committee 25 November 1896.

¹⁹⁰ County Hall, London. TEB 38. Minutes of the Scholarships Sub-Committee 25 September 1895.

Finally the dispute over school board religious instruction shows Stanley's attitude to this important question and reveals a facet of his character not usually apparent in his writings.

The policy of the S.B.L. on scripture teaching had been settled in 1871 and had worked effectively for more than twenty years. But in the recrudescence of High Church Anglicanism in the 1890's - of which the works of the Kilburn Sisters were another manifestation - there came a determination to attack the system of undenominational Bible teaching.

It was J.J. Coxhead who sparked off the controversy in London when he was scandalised to hear a child say that Joseph was the father of Jesus and go uncorrected.¹⁹¹ But it was the Anglo-Catholic Athelstan Riley¹⁹² who led the campaign for a change. It was proposed to require teachers to teach the doctrine of the Trinity.

Naturally Stanley opposed this. He did not believe that the parents wanted the change, for the School Management Committee had not received complaints. He challenged Riley even with the aid of the parochial organisation to get the signatures of a hundred parents of children in one large S.B.L. school to invoke the conscience clause. If there was a desire for distinctive teaching, Anglicans could follow the same course as the Jews and use a classroom in out-of-school hours.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Stanley The Present London School Board and the Coming Election The New Review vol. xi (1894) pp.448-449.

¹⁹² Athelstan Riley b. 1858 and educated at Eton and Pembroke College, Oxford; Chairman of the Anglican and Eastern Church Association; travelled in the Near East in the 1880's; published Athos, or the Mountain of the Monks 1887. Who Was Who 1941-1950

¹⁹³ Speech delivered by the Hon. Lyulph Stanley at the meeting of the School Board for London on Thursday, January 25th, 1894.... [= Speech.... infra.] p.4.

If the board insisted on the teaching of dogma Stanley predicted the institution of religious tests for teachers. They would no longer be so spontaneous in their work; insincerity would be encouraged; and the teacher's self-respect lowered. "It seems strange that it should be necessary to plead against the introduction of obligatory dogmas and tests for teachers in the case of elementary schools, where the age of the scholars makes them unfit recipients for specific dogmatic teaching, when we have emancipated our Universities from all such restrictions."¹⁹⁴ In any case the teachers presented Christ to the children according to the concepts of popular theology. They taught that His life was miraculous and His mission Divine: they showed Him as a revelation to man of an unknowable Divinity. Adding the definitions of fourth century theologians did not further religious teaching.¹⁹⁵

In his speech to the S.B.L. Stanley showed a spirit of conciliation. "I cannot say, Mr. Chairman," he said, "with how grave a feeling of responsibility I have taken part in this discussion. I hope I have said nothing to wound those whom I am opposing, though I cannot hope that they have agreed with all that I have said.... But on this Board we ought to try and remember the cause of education as a whole, and not merely the triumph of our own view. I see such infinite injury to the cause of education if we persist in the present course, that I earnestly appeal, at any rate to some of the other side. Your policy stakes the whole of what you believe to be a great humanising, civilising,

¹⁹⁴ Stanley Religion at the London School Board op.cit.
pp. 745-747. Also later in The Times for 18
September 1894.

¹⁹⁵ Speech.... p.6.

moralising force, for the sake of a small apparent gain in the direction of more universal dogmatic teaching..."¹⁹⁶

The controversy dragged on through 1894 and in the autumn became an issue in the election campaign. Stanley refuted the charges that it was the Progressives who had re-opened the question,¹⁹⁷ and that he advocated only secular teaching in the schools.¹⁹⁸ At this time he was writing to Gladstone: "May I say that while no doubt the principles laid down in your recent letter are logically unassailable yet it would be a great loss to exclude the Bible from the day school...."¹⁹⁹ And much later, an accusation by Diggle that the Progressives' policy tended towards secularism,²⁰⁰ produced the most withering retort from Stanley:-

"To pursue Mr. Diggle through all his changing moods is as hard as the binding of Proteus, and less profitable when accomplished.

Allow me in the briefest way to deny his allegation that those with whom I am associated are taking action in the direction of secularism."²⁰¹

Stanley's Service on the Metropolitan Poor Law Schools Committee

Stanley maintained his interest in the education of very poor children. When the Local Government Board set up a departmental committee on 18 September 1894 to enquire

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. p.7.

¹⁹⁷ The Times 20 November 1894.

¹⁹⁸ The Times 17 November 1894.

¹⁹⁹ British Museum Add. MSS. 44519, f. 210. Letter dated 12 November 1894.

²⁰⁰ The Times 12 October 1897.

²⁰¹ The Times 14 October 1897.

into London's schools run under the Poor Law,²⁰² Stanley was made a member. A.J. Mundella was Chairman. The other members²⁰³ included Sir John Gorst and Mrs. Henrietta Barnett who worked with her husband at Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel.

A great diversity of methods for dealing with children under the Poor Law was in use. Originally these children had been sent to the workhouse, and were taught in the workhouse school. To remove them from the unwholesome influence of the adult pauper a policy of building schools away from the workhouse had been instituted. If these were established by a parish or union they were called "separate" schools: the Hackney Board of Guardians, for example, had a separate school at Brentwood with over four hundred children in it in 1894. Then unions or parishes might be combined into school districts.²⁰⁴ There were six of these in the London area and each had at least one "district" school. For example, the South Metropolitan District made up of Camberwell, Greenwich, St. Olave's, Woolwich and Stepney had four schools. The largest of these was Brighton Road, Sutton which had over 1,500 inmates.

²⁰² The full title was "The Departmental Committee Appointed by the Local Government Board to Inquire into the Existing Systems for the Maintenance and Education of Children under the charge of Managers of District Schools and Boards of Guardians in the Metropolis and to Advise as to any Changes that may be Desirable." The short title "Metropolitan Poor Law Schools Committee" [= M.P.L.S.C. infra] has been adopted in preference to the more frequent but rather loose "Poor Law Schools Committee".

²⁰³ M.P.L.S.C. Report.... p.iii. The Report... (C.8027), the Minutes of Evidence (C.8032) and the Appendices to Minutes of Evidence (C.8033) are in Parliamentary Papers vol.43 of 1896.

²⁰⁴ Under 7 & 8 Vict. c.101 § 40 and 11 & 12 Vict. c.82 § 1.

The lack of home life in barrack schools of this size was recognized, and a few schools - both "separate" and "district" - had been built on the "cottage home" principle. Children were also being boarded out for the same reason. And lastly, the training ship "Exmouth" had been provided to prepare boys for a life at sea.

As well as this provision by the Guardians, voluntary bodies, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, had established certified schools to receive Poor Law children.

On 24 November 1894 the numbers of London children provided for in these various ways were:-

In workhouses	1,179
In infirmaries	972
In district schools	6,818
In separate schools	4,721
In Roman Catholic certified schools) 2,265
In other certified schools) 302
In the "Exmouth"	582
Boarded out	968
	<hr/>
	17,807

The large number in the infirmaries testifies to the scourge of contagious diseases, particularly ophthalmia, amongst these children. And as most observers agreed that retaining children in the workhouse was the worst approach and boarding out the best, the way in which those in the workhouse exceeded those boarded out is particularly noteworthy.²⁰⁵

In Stanley's opinion the educational requirements of the Local Government Board were too low, and he pressed home his criticism:-

²⁰⁵ N.P.L.S.C. Report.... pp.3-10.

- Stanley Do you not know that the Education Department requires, that at least one class subject shall be taught, and that all the Local Government Board demand is reading, writing, and arithmetic? I am not talking of what you do of your own free will in these schools, but what the Local Government Board requires?
- Miss E.S. Lidgett (a member of the St. Pancras Board of Guardians) It is a matter of arrangement. Could not they require these things as much as the Education Department?
- Stanley But they do not?
- Miss Lidgett But they could; there is no reason why they could not.
- Stanley I am not asking you what they might do; I am only asking you what they are now doing? Is not the standard of the Education Department wider, a more stimulating curriculum, and therefore more likely to stimulate the intelligence of the children?²⁰⁶

This view prevailed and the Committee recommended that Poor Law Schools be subject to the Education Department and conducted like other public elementary schools.²⁰⁷

Efforts were made to give the children some industrial training but much of this degenerated into doing chores around the school, such as splitting wood or cooking. Stanley was particularly concerned lest the industrial training was excessive and academic works would suffer as a result:-

²⁰⁶ H.P.L.S.C. QQ. 1,405-1,407.

²⁰⁷ M.P.L.S.C. Report.... p.45.

Stanley Do you mean that some children are taken from all standards, or that all the children even down to the First Standard are actually employed half-time in industrial work?

Rev. T.E. Howlett (formerly Chairman of the Managers of the Schools at Brentwood) I mean that children of all standards are sent to do this work in the establishment.

....

Stanley You say that individual children are put to half-time even if they are not in any standard at all. May I ask whether there is any age limit. For instance, I suppose you would not take a child from the First Standard under 10 or 11. I should like to know what limit of age there is, if not the limit of standard?

Howlett I am afraid there is no limit of age.²⁰⁸

As the law had specified for almost twenty years that the lower age limit was ten, and as this had been raised to eleven in 1893 it is not surprising that the Committee called for more stringent law enforcement. They recommended twelve as the lower age limit for half-timers but full-time education should continue for children who reached that age without completing Standard IV.²⁰⁹

The deadening routine in one of these institutions was well realised by Stanley and he was concerned that they should employ good teachers free to move between poor law institutions and ordinary public elementary schools.

StanleyDo you think it would be a good thing for the teaching in these poor law schools,

²⁰⁸ M.P.L.S.C. QQ. 8,168, 8,173.

²⁰⁹ M.P.L.S.C. Report.... pp.54-58.

if the teachers were freer to pass backwards and forwards into the ordinary schools, and dip into the general life?

H.J. Cook (Chairman of the Managers of Forest Gate District Schools) Yes, I was in favour of that two years ago, and moved to get it, I thoroughly believe in such interchange.

Stanley You find that the life in an institution tends to be a little deadening to the staff as well as to the children?

Cook Yes, I think it is.²¹⁰

This proposal was included in the Committee's recommendations.²¹¹

Stanley wanted the boarding out system extended²¹² and properly arranged emigration to Canada developed.²¹³ He wished to reform the administration of this part of the educational system by the creation of a single authority for London, but realised the lack of capable public-spirited men. "I agree," he wrote to Mundella, "that the Central London Authority will have to be something connected with the Poor Law. Say the Asylums Board.... On the other hand I fear from what I hear that even the cream of the Guardians on the Asylums board is rather a narrow and un-intelligent element. I do not think you can well take existing bodies like the School Board and made them with advantage put on four or five of their number on an outside Board. The School Board is too busy and their best members can not find time. Their worst members are not worth having.

²¹⁰ M.P.L.S.C. QQ. 1,876-77.

²¹¹ M.P.L.S.C. Report.... p.45.

²¹² M.P.L.S.C. QQ. 10,227 et seq.

²¹³ M.P.L.S.C. QQ. 16,339 et seq.

All our local bodies are too large they demand a larger supply of good men than exists ready and willing to work gratuitously for the public[.]"²¹⁴

Before the Bryce Commission

Stanley contributed a paper to the Oxford Conference on Secondary Education in 1893.²¹⁵ He still maintained that secondary education should be defined by the age at which the pupil was expected to leave school. It seemed to him that the Taunton Commissioners' third grade of schools, which were to educate children up to fourteen were "generally admitted" to be part of primary, not secondary education. To Stanley secondary schools educated children up to sixteen or to eighteen, but such schools should be within the reach of the people at moderate fees.

His concept of secondary organization was this. There should be a Minister of Education, probably assisted by an advisory Educational Council as a central authority to arrange for the inspection of schools, the granting of teachers' certificates and to perform other similar functions. But management should be mainly local. The local administrative body would be constituted for educational purposes and would "not receive this duty as a mere addition to functions of a different nature." The members would be elected in the main, but some could be nominated to represent particular educational interests. In the county boroughs and possibly in the municipal boroughs the school board could be the secondary authority, provided cumulative

²¹⁴ University of Sheffield. Mundella Correspondence. Letter dated 5 December 1895 from ELS to Mundella.

²¹⁵ Stanley Secondary Education and How it Should be Organized pp.127-132 in Report of a Conference on Secondary Education in England.... held in the Examination Schools, Oxford October 10 and 11, 1893.

voting were abolished. "The cumulative vote," Stanley declared, "is such an objectionable mode of election as to endanger the harmonious working of a scheme for Secondary Education." In rural areas the unit ought to be "as extensive as the ordinary county area" and schools could then be sited appropriately e.g. at railway centres. Even in the countryside and in the smaller towns where existing school boards served too small a population to be entrusted with secondary education they ought to be given substantial representation on whatever authority was created.

The Conference reached general agreement on one point: the need for a Royal Commission. As one delegate put it: "It is remarkable to find men who differ so much as the Dean of St. Paul's and Mr. Lyulph Stanley supporting the same result of our deliberations."²¹⁶

Acland,²¹⁷ the Vice-President in the Liberal administration of 1892-95 did set up a Royal Commission under James Bryce. Bryce and Stanley were not unknown to one another as they had competed for the Oriel Fellowship in their Oxford days.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ Report of a Conference on Secondary Education.... p.198. Canon Gregory had been installed Dean of St. Paul's in 1891. Stanley, of course, made no secret of his antipathy towards the Dean's views. At the N.E.A. Annual Meeting in 1892, when Mundella was reading part of a letter from Gregory, Stanley interjected, "That is enough to hang him." The School Board Chronicle 20 February 1892 p.207.

²¹⁷ During a dispute at the S.B.L. about free places and the transmission of information to the Department, a Moderate wrote, "I need only add that in many ways it is a matter of infinite amusement to members of the School Board to see the manner in which Mr. Stanley pulls the string and Mr. Acland, marionette-like, dances to his tune." The Times 20 June 1893.

²¹⁸ Fisher James Bryce (Viscount Bryce of Dechmont) vol.i p.57.

On 26 February 1895 Stanley gave evidence before the Commission, not as Chairman of the N.E.A. Executive, though that was offered,²¹⁹ but as a member of the S.B.L.²²⁰ This was a particularly trying time for Stanley as his mother to whom he was so deeply attached had just died.²²¹

His evidence added the detail within the outlines he had sketched at Oxford. He admitted the difficulties in attempting to draw a line between elementary and secondary education. It was "like the shading of a piece of paper from black to white." He amplified his previous definition by age at which schooling ceased. It was not merely this age but also the intended occupation of the pupil. Thus the education of pupils intended for business or the professions and staying on at school until they were 16½ would be classed as secondary, but children going into industry and leaving school at 14 or 15 (the extension of age is noteworthy) would be receiving elementary education. He was adamant that the work of the higher grade schools was not secondary, but "the completion of primary education." Nor was the difference between primary and secondary established merely by the subjects taught: the distinction lay in the approach. Thus, French was taught in elementary schools but the aims and thoroughness of the teaching would be different from the French-teaching in the secondary schools. There "you would aim at giving some facility of language or speech, and therefore you would begin to teach French younger, when the vocal organs are pliable.

²¹⁹ N.E.A. Executive Committee Minutes 23 October 1894.

²²⁰ Royal Commission on Secondary Education [= Bryce Commission infra.] Minutes of Evidence vol. iv p. iii (in Parliamentary Papers vol. 46 of 1895).

²²¹ On 16 February 1895. D.N.B. Entry under Stanley, Edward John.... (1802-1869).

Accordingly the whole curriculum of study would come differently, and that would modify the whole course of teaching." Stanley also believed that secondary education should be kept distinct from technical education which was "rather getting some skill or art which will enable you to earn money." Thus, technical education would vary according to the sex of the scholar. Needlework for girls would not be technical education because it prepared them for their household duties; needlework for men would be classed as technical education because it prepared them for a trade.²²²

Stanley wanted provision of secondary education to be the duty of a local authority, and that authority should be an educational authority. "I feel very strongly," he declared, "that Secondary Education, if it is to become a public function, ought to be under a board elected for [sic] educational grounds, it ought not to be an appendage to some board merely constituted for other purposes, and I feel that in London the school board could do the work well." The work of the S.B.L. had familiarised its members with educational problems and their solution. A school board would be far more likely to solve problems from an educational standpoint than an authority such as the county council; but if necessary, secondary education could be administered "at two or three removes from the school board", that is, by a committee of the board on which outsiders would serve.²²³

If an administrative body selected solely on educational considerations proved to be politically impossible, then the school board should be strongly represented as of right on the new authority. Stanley resented the S.B.L.

²²² Bryce Commission QQ. 16,832, 16,835, 16,848-49, 16,914.

²²³ Bryce Commission QQ. 16,853, 16,855, 16,859-60, 16,884-85.

representation on the Technical Education Board being dependent on the good will of the county council. The remaining members could represent the "popular element of the county council" and "educational experts" representing the teachers for example. He thought each division - school board, county council and educational experts - might each have a third of the seats.²²⁴

Stanley had moved from his position of 1893 in favour of larger authorities. He no longer advocated the smaller town as a suitable unit for secondary education. He thought it should be the county borough or the county and he advocated powers for the smaller counties to associate themselves. "Nothing would be more mischievous than to have a small body and a small area." In London the school board was co-terminous with the administrative county and he wanted to retain that advantage. "London" might be extended to include West Ham or Willesden but the boundaries of the S.B.L. and L.C.C. should be extended simultaneously, and in an identical way.²²⁵

Whatever the area of the secondary education authority, the method of election to school boards should be changed. "I think it is about as bad a method as you could have," he declared, "but not specially with a view to Secondary Education." For the S.B.L. he advocated tentatively the election of aldermen by single transferable vote with some rules to prevent manipulation by party cliques. This would bring in outsiders with valuable experience who were unwilling to face an election.²²⁶

Just as there had been a survey of existing elementary school accommodation after the 1870 Act and an estimate formed of the deficiencies, so there would have

²²⁴ Bryce Commission QQ. 16,862-63, 16,986.

²²⁵ Bryce Commission QQ. 16,863-67.

²²⁶ Bryce Commission Q. 16,859.

to be a survey of existing secondary school accommodation. Then the local authority would be charged with remedying the deficiency in first and second grade school accommodation. "Every one admits now, I think," he added, "that schools of the third grade belong to elementary education." In this survey all day secondary schools would be counted whether they were worked for a profit or not, provided the buildings were satisfactory and the teaching efficient. A high fee'd school would only be recognised "for the scholars who use it at present." The limitation to day schools was for practical not social reasons. "It is obvious that a boarding school like Eton, Harrow, or Rugby to which people send their sons from all parts of England is not local: you could not say that there are a thousand places in Eton available for Bucks or Berks, it is available for all England."²²⁷

Stanley felt "very strongly the importance" of teacher-training for secondary schools. This should not be the same training nor even in the same institution as elementary teacher-training. Insistence on training would so stimulate demand that it might be possible to maintain institutions out of the fees, but his experience on the council of Maria Grey Training College made him believe that some aid to provide buildings would be necessary. The denominations might be allowed to establish their own colleges if they provided all the funds.²²⁸

Stanley did not think that secondary education need be free, if scholarships were liberally provided. He was able to speak with authority on this from his experience with the Technical Education Board. He was convinced that the management of a system of scholarships to enable children to proceed from elementary to secondary education should be in

²²⁷ Bryce Commission QQ.16,887, 16,897-98.

²²⁸ Bryce Commission QQ.16,903-05, 16,920-21, 16,974.

the hands of the body controlling elementary education. "Anybody knows that a large scheme of scholarships is one of the most powerful weapons of modifying the system of instruction" in the schools entering pupils for the examination. Giving powers to run the scholarship scheme to the secondary education authority would "entirely distort and injure" the whole system of instruction in the upper parts of the elementary schools, especially in the best schools. The main function of the elementary school course was to fit the pupils for industrial life but if the secondary school teachers were consulted the scheme would be framed to fit the scholars for a secondary course. His evaluation of the problem of the age at which scholarships should be awarded has an almost contemporary tone: "... if a boy or girl is to enter upon a course of Secondary Education which is to last up to sixteen or seventeen years of age, they will do better to enter the secondary school at eleven rather than thirteen, because during those two years the subjects will be taught from the point of view of a long curriculum, and not from the point of view of a curriculum ending at fourteen years of age; that I have no doubt of. But it is a great question whether you can wisely award scholarships at such a tender age as eleven. I think that most people would agree, that to introduce the element of competition at eleven years of age was undesirable, that children are too young to be put into that strain; and I think that at eleven years of age it is rather premature to judge of their ability. I agree that those who happened to turn out able would be better for going in at eleven, but it is such a lottery to say that by the time they are fourteen, they will really show a high development of ability. It is a practical question."^{22 9}

^{22 9} Bryce Commission QQ. 16,872-73.

Giving evidence about the work of school boards on the boundary between elementary and secondary education, Stanley regretted that only a small proportion of S.B.L. pupils were in higher grade schools. He mentioned two organized science schools with a third to be added in a short time. He estimated that there were twenty-five departments with "a separate teacher for the ex-seventh class." Unlike higher grade schools elsewhere, the provision in London had grown up unsystematically, so that the ex-VII class had been added to existing schools taking children of all ages. He would prefer buildings specially planned for the purpose and thought that children should be sent to them from "the ordinary elementary schools" after they had completed Standard IV and before they began Standard V. Then, just as secondary schools had preparatory classes, so the work in the standards above the fourth would be preparatory to the higher elementary school.^{2 30}

Stanley thought supply would create a demand. "If London to-morrow were to build, say, 18 schools like the Leeds Central Higher Grade School so as to be within easy reach of the great mass of the population of London, I think they would rush into them." But an increase in higher grade schools would not cause a heavy increase in rates. Although the buildings would be more costly, these schools would be cheaper to run than ordinary elementary schools because of the grants from South Kensington.^{2 31}

The evening continuation schools which the S.B.L. had set up worked with disappointing results. "Whether

^{2 30} Bryce Commission QQ. 16,836, 16,844-46, 16,902, 16,975-76.

^{2 31} Bryce Commission QQ. 16,943, 16,946, 16,948, 16,975-76.

it is something in the temperament of London people, or whether it is our fault on the school board, I do not know, but we do not get the numbers to our evening schools that they get in the northern towns, not in regard to the population." Although Parliament had relieved evening schools of the requirement that they must be mainly elementary and although the work might be "more advanced", he thought it "distinctly in the region of elementary work". His grounds were basically social. The students were mainly aged 14 to 18 earning their own living and wishing to improve themselves.^{2 32}

He was well aware of the great problem of overlapping authorities but his view of the legislation of 1889 had not changed from the time it was passed. "I think that the whole of that technical instruction legislation was very mischievous; it was put through in a great hurry, and it is an Act which nobody understands, but there it is. And every fait accompli you know leaves its consequences that you cannot get away from."^{2 33}

Admitting that eventually English secondary education would probably be in the hands of some composite body with representatives of the school board and other existing authorities, he looked north of the Border for illumination and tersely summed up his hopes. In the parent Act for Scotland, school boards had received powers over secondary education, though no duty to supply it.^{2 34} England's school

^{2 32} Bryce Commission QQ.16,907-08, 16,955.

^{2 33} Bryce Commission Q. 16,936.

^{2 34} An allusion to 35 & 36 Vict. c.62 §§ 62,63. Significantly the short title of the Act was The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 without the qualifying "Elementary".

boards should receive not only the powers but also the duty.²³⁵

"Re-opening the Education Settlement of 1870"

With the Conservative victory at the polls in 1895, Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister once more. Sir John Gorst was appointed Vice-President. The development of English education from 1895 to 1902 and Stanley's part in it cannot be explained without reference to Gorst's character and his relations with other members of the Conservative government.

Gorst had been Third Wrangler and after his adventures in New Zealand he had been called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in the same year as Stanley.²³⁶ By chance both had been in chambers in the same building, though not simultaneously:²³⁷ both had practised on the Northern Circuit. A capable organizer, Gorst had engineered the Conservative victory in 1874 and was "perhaps embittered" that his efforts went politically unrewarded. In the 1880 Parliament he had "developed into the guerilla chief" who so irritated Gladstone. But he had not even been satisfied in becoming Solicitor-General in 1885, and when Salisbury had offered him the same post in 1886 on condition he would accept the next puisne judgeship to fall vacant, Gorst refused it "with asperity". He hankered after cabinet office.²³⁸

On the death in 1891 of Cecil Raikes the Postmaster General, Gorst had wanted not only that post but also Raikes'

²³⁵ Bryce Commission QQ. 16,884, 16,935.

²³⁶ Gorst was called on 1 May 1865 and Stanley on 17 November. The Law List 1866 pp.53,127.

²³⁷ At 1 Paper Buildings, Temple. The last entry for Gorst at this address is in The Law List for 1868; the first for Stanley is in The Law List for 1871.

²³⁸ Baumann The Last Victorians pp. 243-248.

safe Conservative seat - Cambridge University - instead of his own marginal constituency at Chatham. Balfour had told Gorst it was "impossible" "in rather uncompromising terms".^{2 39} In late September 1891 Gorst was in Ireland and at Cork he visited schools run by the Christian Brothers. There he condemned the government for withholding grants to these schools "because religious emblems were displayed during school hours."^{2 40} Balfour, reading of this, wrote to his uncle, the Prime Minister, saying "It is not I think possible to tolerate a member of the Govt. going to Ireland and committing himself to opinions on the details of Irish Administration without consulting me, and in opposition to my views."^{2 41} Two days later he wrote again suggesting explanations for Gorst's conduct. None of them was complimentary: one possibility was "He means to rat. and turn Home Ruler."^{2 42} Salisbury was just as condemnatory in his reply: "Gorst has played you a very ugly trick - & I have no doubt it was intentional."^{2 43} All this was some four years before Gorst became Vice-President but it is unlikely that wounds so deep would have healed without leaving scars.

^{2 39} Viscount Chilston W.H. Smith p.355.

^{2 40} The Glasgow Herald 21 September 1891.

^{2 41} British Museum Add. MSS. 49689, f.125 provisional. This letter dated 21 September 1891 is in Balfour's hand. (As the foliation of the Balfour Papers is provisional a fairly full description of each document is given.)

^{2 42} British Museum Add. MSS. 49689, f.126 provisional. This letter dated 23 September 1891 is in Balfour's hand.

^{2 43} British Museum Add. MSS. 49689, f.128 provisional. This letter dated 24 September 1891 is in Salisbury's hand.

Perhaps Canon Barnett and his wife at Toynbee Hall had the best opportunity for assessing Gorst's character: for after 1890 Gorst visited them weekly while the House was in session.²⁴⁴ "Under his cynical manner," wrote Mrs. Barnett, "and often contemptuous words, under his dour silences or suspicious sentences, Sir John [Gorst] had a deeply religious nature, a capacity for enthusiasm, and a dogged sullen loyalty to his hopes for the future. The contradictions between the real and the apparent man were exceedingly annoying to those of his friends who cared for him, and all the more so because a certain strain of impishness in his nature made him enjoy puzzling people, and take pleasure in their not always courteous confusion."²⁴⁵ Stanley lacked the tact to deal with such an enigma. When Gorst behaved badly towards Mundella on the Metropolitan Poor Law Schools Committee,²⁴⁶ Stanley told his friend how to handle the new Vice-President: "I have known Gorst long on the Northern Circuit and am not surprised at his behaviour[.] You must not notice him. Bluff is best met by indifference[.]"²⁴⁷

Whatever Gorst's abilities, his character hardly fitted him for the administration of a dual system of education like England's. Perhaps that was hardly considered for the Conservative régime displayed an antipathy towards the board school system. How deeply the government supported the voluntary schools can be gathered from Salisbury's address to the members of the National Society. "It is your business to capture the Board Schools," he said, "to

²⁴⁴ [Barnett] Canon Barnett: His Life, Work, and Friends p.439. The Toynbee Hall Visitors' Book (County Hall, London. Toynbee Hall 43) does not confirm this, but like most visitors' books it seems to contain the signatures of interested strangers rather than regular visitors. It also appears to have been badly kept.

²⁴⁵ [Barnett] Canon Barnett: His Life, Works, and Friends pp.440-441.

²⁴⁶ Armytage A.J. Mundella..... pp.309-310.

²⁴⁷ University of Sheffield. Mundella Correspondence. Letter dated 5 December 1895 from ELS to Mundella.

capture them, in the first instance, under the existing law, and then to capture them under a better law which shall place you under no religious disability."²⁴⁸

To such a sympathetic administration a memorial on the future of English elementary education was presented by the Anglican Church in November 1895. The Archbishop of Canterbury led the deputation which included twenty-eight bishops and many lesser dignitaries to the Foreign Office and was received by Lord Salisbury and the Duke of Devonshire, the Lord President. The main propositions embodied in the memorial were:-

1. The 17s. 6d. limit should be abolished
2. Voluntary schools should be exempt from rates
3. Further Exchequer grants were preferable to rate-aid for voluntary schools
4. The Parliamentary grants should be re-arranged so that "poorer schools" should "share equitably"
5. "School Board precepts" should be revised "by some superior public authority"
6. There should be "increased facilities for federation of Voluntary Schools"
7. Facilities for separate religious instruction where the parents desired it should be provided both in board and voluntary schools.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ At the A.G.M. of the National Society, 12 June 1895. The Times 13 June 1895. This passage is quoted by Rogers in Churches and Children - A Study in the Controversy over the 1902 Education Act The British Journal of Educational Studies [= B.J.E.S. infra.] vol. viii (1959) p.36 and by Gosden The Development of Educational Administration in England and Wales p.169.

²⁴⁹ The full text is given in The School Board Chronicle 23 November 1895 p.599.

So the proposals combined further assistance to voluntary schools with the financial subordination of the school boards to some other authority. A tone of acceptance marked Salisbury's reply. He sympathised with the rate-payers in school board districts, and, referring to school board expenditure unwisely said, "I feel that some check is necessary....",²⁵⁰ a phrase which was lifted from its context and bandied about by his opponents.

Stanley naturally fought against the principles embodied in the memorial. He commended the Duke of Devonshire's moderation when receiving the deputation but declared that "Lord Salisbury, as usual, said many things which were rash if not reckless, and seemed to contemplate with a light heart a religious controversy and legislation imposing sectarian teaching in our public schools."²⁵¹ Salisbury might accept the policy that religious teaching should be given in accordance with the parents' wishes, but Stanley noted that in the country the clergy and the squirearchy had set up denominational schools, uninfluenced by the parents' wishes. In Wales even though most of the children were Non-conformist, many of the village schools were Anglican. This brought many injustices. The terms of the trust deed would prevent a Non-conformist from becoming the manager of a Church school: nor could a Non-conformist become a teacher there.²⁵²

As before Stanley conceded that once representative public management had been secured, facilities for denominational teaching could be allowed where a sufficient number of parents demanded them, but the leaders of the

²⁵⁰ Ibid. p.602.

²⁵¹ Stanley Re-opening the Education Settlement of 1870
The Nineteenth Century vol.xxxviii (1895). p.930.

²⁵² Ibid. pp. 917-919.

Church of England had been captivated by Athelstan Riley, "a young man who has succeeded in leading an ecclesiastical mob," and the policy that had been advocated was fraught with danger. If dogmatic teaching were permitted in board schools, not merely would the spirit of the Test Act be revived, but there would be an inquisition even into the prospective teacher's Churchmanship²⁵³

The real intention of the proposals was to maintain the clergy's autocratic management. Stanley speculated that if rate-aid were given to Church schools and the Anglican rate-payers in a given town elected a Church school board, while the non-Anglican rate-payers continued to elect the ordinary school board, the clergy would find little joy in the arrangement.²⁵⁴

Stanley also dealt with the proposed financial arrangements. He had always dealt contemptuously with the argument - being revived at this time - that Churchmen paid for educational facilities they did not use: that is, Churchmen paid rates to support board schools but made voluntary contributions to the schools that educated their own children. When Cardinal Manning had argued like this several years before, Stanley had retorted: "He who paid rates, in London say, shared in the benefit in this way, the people were instructed better and turned into intelligent citizens. According to Cardinal Manning's argument, all who paid poor rates must go to the workhouse, and all who paid police rates to prison."²⁵⁵

Now the Church proposed the abolition of the existing grants. Instead the state would pay the teachers' salaries

²⁵³ Ibid. pp. 927-928.

²⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 921.

²⁵⁵ Stanley in a speech at Brampton, Cumberland. The School Board Chronicle 12 January 1889 p.40. Stanley was probably visiting his brother-in-law and sister, the Earl and Countess of Carlisle whose country seat was Naworth Castle 2 miles from Brampton. O.S. Grid References NY5261, NY5562.

and give a capitation grant of 5s. per child. Stanley condemned the proposal concerning teachers' salaries on the grounds of cost and the excessive central control it would entail. As the point of the scheme was to equalize salaries in board and voluntary schools, and as it would be very difficult to reduce the salaries of teachers employed by boards, it followed that expenditure would rise. Stanley calculated that the salaries of teachers in voluntary schools would rise by one-fifth. Excessive centralization would develop because the central authority - which paid - would have to fix the number of teachers in each school. Every school ought to be treated individually in this matter according to its weaknesses e.g. "the size and shape of the schoolroom and class rooms.... on the difficulties of the neighbourhood...." Unless the central authority fell back on some rule "based on a mechanical application of average attendance", it would have to rely on the recommendations of the H.M.I. This would give much scope for bitterness and recrimination when one school was granted a better pupil: teacher ratio than another. It would also put badly planned schools at a premium.²⁵⁶

To refute the voluntaryists' demands for more funds Stanley re-capitulated the steady and progressive decline in subscriptions. He maintained that many questionable practices had been used to avoid deductions under the 17s.6d. rule.²⁵⁷ Science and Art grant grants were treated as local

²⁵⁶ Stanley Re-opening the Education Settlement of 1870 op.cit. pp. 921-923.

²⁵⁷ Stanley had been particularly incensed by the practice of charging fictitious rents for the school-buildings. A sum equivalent to the "rent" was then paid back as a "subscription". Managers were incited to do this in Hints on Art. 114 of the Code issued by the Huddersfield and Saddleworth Church Day School Association and referred to in Stanley's The Advantages of the School Board System op.cit. pp.17-18. There was a similar subterfuge with salaries. A large salary would be paid on the understanding that part would be returned as a "subscription".

income: so was the fee-grant even where this exceeded the previous income from fees. Stanley took the accounts of a Church school in Birkenhead to show how minimal the voluntaryists' contribution might be:-²⁵⁸

Summary of the Accounts of St. John's National School, Birkenhead for the Year Ending 31 December 1894

<u>Income</u>	£	s.	d.	<u>Expenditure</u>	£	s.	d.
Balance at 31. 12.93	22	18	1½	Salaries	1493	14	4
Annual grant for 1893	977	7	6	Books, apparatus etc.	59	17	5
Fee grant for 1893	563	0	10	Fuel, light cleaning	169	5	0
Voluntary subscriptions	7	7	0	Furniture replacements etc.	28	13	6½
School fees - from pupils	261	7	8½	Miscellaneous	27	16	7
-from Guardians	11	2	11				
Cookery Class receipts		9	4				
Science & Art grant	37	6	6				
Rent of Rooms	17	5	6				
Bank interest	3	18	6	By balance 31.12.94.	122	17	0½
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	1902	3	11		1902	3	1½

²⁵⁸ Stanley Re-opening the Education Settlement of 1870 op.cit. pp.923-929. The accounts have been supplemented by reference to N.E.A. no.76 "The Intolerable Strain" November 1895 2 pp. 10½" x 8" no printer's name. A copy survives in the British Museum.

Even a cursory inspection reveals several startling facts. Of the £1800 needed to run the school the voluntary supporters provided a mere seven guineas. For this derisory sum they were able to exclude representative management. Over £270 was still raised from school fees despite the introduction of assisted education, and fees were still being paid on behalf of needy children by the Guardians. Stanley also noted that the H.M.I. complained in his report that the managers had failed to carry out the structural alterations previously requested, and yet they had increased the balance at the year's end by £100.

Stanley selected a deplorable example to make his point, but this school was not atypical of Anglican schools in Lancashire and Cheshire. An analysis of the income of all Church of England elementary schools in the Lancashire boroughs in the year ending August 1893²⁵⁹ gives this result:-

<u>Source</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Per Pupil</u>
Grants	£211,879	£1 7s. 7½d.
School fees/books	£32,364	4s. 2¾d.
Subscriptions	£24,532	3s. 2½d.
Miscellaneous	£4,013	6¼d.
Total	£272,788	£1 15s. 7¼d.

Although subscriptions per child were not as low as at St. John's, Birkenhead, they are still lower than the amount collected from fees - after the introduction of "free" education. Even the argument that rates levied by school boards deprived voluntary schools of their subscriptions was not borne out by the facts. In Lancashire boroughs

²⁵⁹ N.E.A. no. 72 The Finance of Voluntary Schools October 1895 4pp. 10½" x 8" no printer's name. A copy survives in the British Museum.

without school boards²⁶⁰ the average subscription per child was only marginally higher at 3s. 8½d.

It is difficult to disagree with Stanley's conclusion that voluntary schools deserved no further assistance from public funds. His contempt for Balfour's allegation that they were subjected to an "intolerable strain" financially also seems deserved.²⁶¹ It also raises the larger question of how far these deserved the name "voluntary" at all. Such a title implies that a significant portion of their running costs should be met by voluntary subscription but that was far from the case in Lancashire.

Stanley and the Education Bill of 1896

In the month following the presentation of the memorial, a memorandum²⁶² was prepared in the Education Department outlining most of the proposals eventually incorporated in the Education Bill. It traced the advocacy of a county system of administration and included a reference to the Sandford Memorandum. In tone it was not so opposed to school boards as the subsequent Bill e.g. it expressed concern for school boards already worked economically if some restraint were placed on school board expenditure by a higher authority. A Draft Bill apparently based on this

²⁶⁰ Accrington, Blackpool, Bury, Chorley, Clitheroe, Eccles, Harlingden, Heywood, Lancaster, Middleton, Mossley, Nelson, Preston, Rawtenstall, St. Helens, Southport and Warrington. Boroughs with school boards were eliminated by reference to C.6900. Education Department. List of School Boards and School Attendance Committees in England and Wales. 1st April 1893 in Parliamentary Papers vol.68 of 1893-94.

²⁶¹ Stanley Re-opening the Education Settlement of 1870 op. cit. p.929.

²⁶² British Museum Add. MSS. 49781, ff.34-41 provisional. Type-written on eight foolscap sheets of Departmental paper. Dated 5 December 1895. Initialled G.W.K. - unlike Kekewich's normal initialling, but the manuscript immediately above appears to be his hand.

memorandum was then drawn up.²⁶³

Before he received his copy Balfour wrote to Bernard Mallet,²⁶⁴ his private secretary:-

"Personally I care not at all about the Cowper-Temple Clause, though I think it an extremely absurd one. I shall be content if we succeed in saving the Voluntary Schools: I shall not be content if we fail in this object; and, in my opinion, the whole question should be looked at from this point of view, and no extraneous provisions should be introduced into it except with the object of smoothing the passage of an effective measure through the House.

Let me add that I am disposed to think that the very large suggestions made by Kekewich and others (with the spirit of which I heartily agree) may, in spite of their magnitude, help, rather than hinder, the progress of the Bill."²⁶⁵

²⁶³ Dated 20 December 1895. A copy survives in the Balfour Papers. British Museum Add. MSS. 49781, ff.42-56 provisional.

²⁶⁴ Bernard Mallet b.1859 and educated at Clifton and Balliol (1st in Modern History); civil servant at the Foreign Office and the Treasury in the 1880's; Balfour's private secretary 1891-92, 1895-. In 1891 he had married the Hon. Marie Constance Adeane of the family that produced the biographer of the earlier Stanleys. Who Was Who 1929-1940. Burke's Landed Gentry p.4.

²⁶⁵ British Museum Add. MSS. 49781, ff. 57-58 provisional. Letter dated 21 December 1895 on 10 Downing St. note-paper, with that address deleted and "Whittingehame" inserted. Marked:- (Dictated) Private: initialled A.J.B.

Which reads strangely from the politician whose name has become attached to the Act that established our national system of secondary education.²⁶⁶ It also suggests a larger rôle for Kekewich²⁶⁷ than is usually accorded him.²⁶⁸

While these proposals were being shaped for presentation to Parliament, the state of affairs at the Department was quite lamentable. Kekewich wrote to Mallet:-

"Thank you for the draft clauses -

I should like to know whether I am at liberty to show them to Sir John Gorst. He instructs me that it is my official duty to communicate to him everything relating to the Education Bill, of which I have knowledge or which passes through my hands.

On the other hand Sir H. Jenkyns²⁶⁹ strongly objects to Sir J. Gorst seeing the draft clauses on the grounds that they are (1) confidential (2) crude.

I do not see how it is possible for me to do otherwise than to act on Sir J. Gorst's instructions. He is my immediate chief, & Vice President.

²⁶⁶ Kenneth Young in Arthur James Balfour... claims that the Bill eventually presented was completely Balfour's creation (p.177): but some of the statements about education in this work are imprecise at the very least, e.g. "At the same time, an Education Committee was to be set up by each County Council to control all National Schools, both Board and Voluntary" (p.178) and on p.206 Morant's service oversea is translated from Siam to Spain.

²⁶⁷ Kekewich, who had succeeded Cumin as Secretary on the latter's sudden death in 1890, had gone up to Balliol in 1859 - two years after Stanley (p. 8 supra.)

²⁶⁸ Kekewich's memory, otherwise unusually good, failed him at this point in his reminiscences. Kekewich The Education Department and After p.102.

²⁶⁹ Sir Henry Jenkyns' "work as a draftsman left a deep impression on the Statutes of the Victorian era." Obituary notice in The Times 11 December 1899.

At the same time I am most anxious to meet Mr. Balfours [sic] wishes in every way."²⁷⁰

This feuding may account for some of the inconsistencies in the Bill which the House of Commons ordered to be printed on the last day of March 1896.²⁷¹ Within a fortnight Stanley had written a withering criticism of it. This article, written in Rome, where he was almost certainly visiting his brother Algernon, a Roman Catholic priest who had left St. James's, Spanish Place for the headquarters of Roman Catholicism in 1893,²⁷² was printed in The Contemporary Review for May.²⁷³ Stanley called the article a "hasty examination" and noted that it was "written... away from all books of reference on the subject."²⁷⁴ yet it is a penetrating analysis of the proposed legislation.

The counties were to be the local authorities and devolution of administration from the Education Department to them was the principal development envisaged. It was easy to criticize the minute superintendence exercised by Whitehall over the elementary schools. At the First Reading of the Bill, Sir John Gorst had amused the House with his calculations. "Last year the Education Office inspected 19,789 day and 3,421 evening schools. From each of these schools the office received direct communications, a return from the managers, and a report from the inspector;

²⁷⁰ British Museum Add.MSS. 49781, ff.121-122 provisional. Letter dated 20 February 1896 on Departmental notepaper and in Kekewich's hand.

²⁷¹ Bill 172 in Parliamentary Papers vol.1 of 1896.

²⁷² The Times 24 April 1928.

²⁷³ Stanley The New Education Bill The Contemporary Review vol.69 (1896) pp.741-760.

²⁷⁴ Ibid. p.759.

and, as each pair of day school returns has 1,659 blank spaces that have to be dealt with, it follows that the department had to do last year with 32,829,951 blank spaces."²⁷⁵ Casting aside any remaining vestiges of patience, Stanley took up the phrasing. "Sir John Gorst," Stanley wrote, "in his panic at the over minute supervision of the Education Department, makes a calculation that there are 32,000,000 blank spaces which have to be looked into by his officials. In their enumeration they have omitted one blank space so vast that it figures as a Sahara in the map of their intelligence - the blank failure to understand that it has for years been in the power of the Department to simplify without abdicating...." Instead of examining each pupil, the Department could rely on a general inspection to evaluate the qualities of each school. Besides the Department had not tried to develop local responsibility. To Stanley the cause of excessive central control was clear. "It is the pampering and preserving of a State-aided system under private, irresponsible management which has naturally led to the mechanical methods of the Education Department."²⁷⁶

Stanley thought, that the proposed system of administering elementary education was "ludicrous". He had always maintained that the school board system was imperfect. The cumulative voting should be abolished. Instead of the entire board retiring simultaneously, there should be a system of partial replacement. In the country, the boards covered too small an area, but the boundaries of the district councils established in 1894 would give areas large enough. With this enlargement the country boards would be able to recruit a sufficient number of able administrators, yet they

²⁷⁵ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol. 39 col.538. On 31 March 1896.

²⁷⁶ Stanley The New Education Bill op.cit. p.746.

would not be so large that board-members would be ignorant of parts of the district covered. This area would also be sufficient to ensure an equitable spread of taxation. Finally - and very characteristic of Stanley's thought - the board would have sufficient schools "to educate the board by a comparison of their respective efficiency."²⁷⁷

Previously the area had been too small: now it was going to be much too large.²⁷⁸ The education committee of the county council would take over the function of the school attendance committees and become the school board when new school boards were required. It would absorb most rural school boards, yet the small units would not really be superseded. Separate accounts were to be kept for each parish: so that the committee would have to sit as the school board first for one parish and then another until it had dealt with all the parishes under its control.²⁷⁹

Like the other administrative counties the county boroughs would receive large powers of superintendence,²⁸⁰ and some of these authorities had given little indication that they were fit to exercise them. Stanley thought these new authorities might be worse than Whitehall. His opinion of elementary education in certain northern towns and ecclesiastical headquarters was as low as ever. The "twilight of the Education Department" might be "better than the outer darkness of such county boroughs as Wigan, or Stockport, or Birkenhead, or" - a telling thrust - "Canterbury". Even

²⁷⁷ Ibid. p.743.

²⁷⁸ Travelling to the county towns would be immensely tiresome. For example, in the West Riding, from an outlying town, say, Sedbergh, thus: leave Sedbergh 7.52 a.m., change trains at the junction and change stations in Leeds to arrive at Wakefield at 12.26 p.m. Bradshaw's Monthly Railway Guide May 1896 pp.247,343,433. The difference in convenience between this plan and Stanley's (fig.12 supra.) is immediately apparent.

²⁷⁹ Stanley The New Education Bill op.cit. pp.742,743,746.

²⁸⁰ §§ 1,28.

where school boards had worked well, they were to be extinguished or subordinated to another council. Stanley cited Hull as an example. There the school board had developed higher grade schools^{2 81} but had kept expenditure to a minimum.^{2 82} "What has the Town Council of Hull done that it should be thought more fit to represent the interests of the ratepayers and the interests of education than the School Board of Hull, equally elected by the people?"^{2 83}

This sacrifice of the ad hoc principle would hamper educational progress. For the Bill gave power to the municipal authorities to limit the spending of the school boards as the memorial presented by the Archbishop had suggested. Stanley predicted that at elections the councillors would display their economy in educational expenditure to hide their other shortcomings. If the proposal were the other way round and expenditure above a certain limit by the municipal authorities had to be approved by the school board, it would be regarded as ridiculous: "but not more ridiculous than to let these local authorities, engrossed in sewage [sic] and paving, judge of the propriety of" some given piece of educational expenditure.^{2 84}

However the survival of any school boards seemed unlikely. For where a school board had defaulted or where the Department decided that it had failed to perform its duties

^{2 81} There were three higher grade schools in Hull: Brunswick Avenue, opened 1891; Craven Street, opened 1893; and Boulevard, opened 1895. Lawson Middle-Class Education in Later Victorian Hull: The Problem of Secondary Education, 1865-1895 in Studies in Education July 1958 p.46.

^{2 82} Confirmed by Kckewich's memorandum.

^{2 83} Stanley The New Education Bill op.cit. p.746.

^{2 84} Ibid. p.754. The powers were in § 26.

properly, then the Department would make the education committee the school board. Thus the transgression, however minute, of one of the articles of the Code in any one of its schools could end the life of the school board. "Since James II arbitrarily used corrupt and subservient judges to crush municipal liberty there has never been so sweeping a proposal."^{2 85}

Hostility to the school boards was also manifest in the attempt to deprive them of their best schools. Significantly this is the only instance in the article where Stanley quotes the text of the Bill at length. "The Education Department," ran § 12(3), "on the application of the Education Authority, or of a School Board, may, if they think fit, make an order, transferring to the Education Authority for any county, any school or department of a school within the county, maintained by a School Board, and providing education which, in the opinion of the Education Department, is other than elementary...." As Stanley commented there was no clause compelling the new authority to continue to maintain the school. Nor was elementary education defined. Falling back on the parent Elementary Education Act, Stanley repeated its highly imprecise definition of an elementary school: one in which the principal part of the instruction was elementary.^{2 86} But he was also prepared to suggest a parliamentary definition by age. He noted that the Code recognised pupils up to fourteen who had passed through the standards, and parliamentary grant was payable for them, and he also remembered the debates over "free" education in 1891. Mundella had put down an amendment to set no limit to the age of pupils eligible for fee-grant. Chamberlain had argued for the amendment

^{2 85} Ibid. p.747. The powers were in § 9.

^{2 86} 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 § 3.

and W.H. Smith on behalf of the Conservative government had agreed to raise the limit to fifteen. Stanley argued that the Conservatives were honourably bound to recognise elementary education up to fifteen years of age.^{2 87}

"It cannot be too much insisted on," he wrote, "that classes beyond the standards which enable parents who are willing to keep their children at school up to 14 or 15 are not in any proper sense a part of secondary education, but merely a continuation and completion of primary education." He believed the higher grade schools to be part of the elementary system just as the Bürger Schulen in Germany or the Écoles primaires supérieures or classes supplémentaires in France. He noted that even Hart Dyke^{2 88} disliked the idea of dissociating the higher classes from the rest of the elementary school. If this dissociation were carried out, Stanley believed that many of the pupils who had previously benefitted from the extended course would leave school altogether. They would not go to secondary school. Social disabilities and the ignorance of a foreign language would hamper them. Even if they went, they would only participate in a "truncated fragment" of the course.^{2 89}

The provisions for secondary education in the Bill Stanley considered "obscure, indefinite and imperfect." They should have been incorporated in a separate Bill, not confused with such controversial matters. He acknowledged that the county would be a suitable area for the administration of this part of the educational system, but

^{2 87} Stanley The New Education Bill op.cit. p.748 confirmed and extended by Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series vol.354 cols. 1915-16, 1931-34. 30 June 1891.

^{2 88} Confirmed by Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol. 39 col. 557. On 31 March 1896.

^{2 89} Stanley The New Education Bill op.cit. pp.748-749.

disliked the proposed second clause. This echoed the compromise of 1870 stating that the new authorities should supplement not supplant existing organizations. Stanley thought this "absolutely unmeaning as a definite operative enactment." He recalled how school boards such as Manchester's and Salford's had tried to fill the voluntary schools before building their own, and how this policy had failed. "We know by experience that in education supply must generally precede demand, and that supply of good and suitable schools creates demand." The clause would also mean that even the most extreme denominational schools would have to be filled first before provision was made by the local authority: and under clause thirteen the authority might be required to aid such a school.²⁹⁰

Just as unfriendly to undenominational education was the proposed distribution of the special-aid grant. Stanley calculated that about 125 school boards would qualify for this. Yet all voluntary schools would receive it. Put another way, about £30,000 out of some £500,000 would go to the board schools and the remainder to voluntary schools.²⁹¹

Later, when the Bishop of Chêster complained that the aid offered was too meagre, Stanley showed how unfairly it was to be distributed by reference to Cheshire. Neglecting areas served by both board and voluntary schools, he produced the following figures:-

	School districts served solely by board schools	School districts served solely by voluntary schools
Population	38,661	682,370
Average attendance	2,495	93,771

²⁹⁰ Ibid. pp. 742, 750-751, 760.

²⁹¹ Ibid. p. 751. The proposals about special-aid grant were in § 4.

Rates per child	11s. 3d.	NIL
Subscriptions per child	NIL	4s. 11d.

So, where the inhabitants were bearing a heavy burden of rates, they would probably receive no special-aid grant; but in the districts served entirely by voluntary schools where there was less financial effort per child there would be additional aid from public funds.²⁹²

Stanley, in his article, declared that conditions should have been imposed on the voluntary schools before the special-aid grant was given. The subscription should reach 7s. 6d. per child: the school should be free: in single school areas at least, public management should be imposed. He suggested two persons to represent the parish council, two representing the county council and three in place of the former managers. When the grant was given, it was essential that it be spent on education, not on relief of the managers. For example, it could be required in any school receiving the grant that the head-teacher be fully qualified and competent to superintend pupil-teachers.²⁹³

Stanley noted that the Bill envisaged the payment of the special-aid grant to federations of voluntary schools. He feared that these associations would not be free and that the special-aid grants might be accumulated to form a building fund.²⁹⁴

As a final break with the 1870 settlement the Bill abolished the Cowper-Temple clause and required all managers - board and voluntary - to arrange for denominational religious teaching, if a sufficient number of parents requested it. Stanley saw little objection to this if it were also provided

²⁹² The Times 8 and 10 June 1896.

²⁹³ Stanley The New Education Bill op.cit. p.751-752.

²⁹⁴ Ibid. p.759.

that elementary schools throughout the country were under public management and the dogmatic teaching were given by outsiders. But he noted that the Education Department was left to decide what was reasonable. Perhaps they would think it reasonable for managers to select teachers according to their religious beliefs.²⁹⁵

His appraisal of the whole measure was: "never have proposals been made more thoroughly reactionary, more hostile to education and to public self-government, more favourable to private, autocratic, and clerical denomination than those which pervade this Bill."²⁹⁶

Returning to England Stanley mobilised the forces of the N.E.A. The whole of the next Executive Committee meeting was taken up with his statement on the Bill and the resulting discussion. It was resolved that the Bill could not be made tolerable by amendment and that "it should be resisted in every way possible both in and out of Parliament."²⁹⁷

Resistance in Parliament became quite frenzied:-

Sir William Harcourt I venture to say, and I think a great many people will agree, that the existing authority is more competent in every respect than the new authority. [Cheers.] How is this going to work? We know perfectly well that the ideal of the First Lord of the Treasury is that all School Boards are ultimately to disappear. [Cheers.] This is a Government of ideals. [Laughter.] They have ideals in Africa and ideals in education, but I venture to tell the First Lord and the right hon. Gentleman the Vice-

²⁹⁵ Ibid. p.759, referring to § 27.

²⁹⁶ Ibid. p.760.

²⁹⁷ N.E.A. Executive Committee Minutes 28 April 1896.

President that they will have a pretty tough battle in this country before they destroy all the School Boards. [Cheers.] The School Boards will have something to say for themselves - ["Hear! hear!"] - and this process of painless extinction is not going to be so easy as task as the First Lord fancies. [Cheers.] You will have a good deal to do before you abolish the School Board of London. [Cheers.] I do not know whether London Members opposite think that will be an easy task to accomplish?

An Hon. Member
Sir William
Harcourt

We do not want to.
Then why is this rival authority to be erected side by side with the School Board? [Cheers.] I venture to say that all this pretence of decentralisation is a delusion - I was going to say an imposture. ["Hear! hear!"] That is not the object of the creation of this new authority. The object was revealed by the Bishops and Lord Salisbury last December. [Cheers.] It was to fight the School Boards. It was, to use the phrase of the Prime Minister, to "check" the School Boards. [Cries of "Capture!"] No, "capture" was an earlier phrase. [Laughter.] They were recommended a good deal before December to "capture" the School Boards, but they did not succeed in doing that. Failing that you intend to check the School Boards by statute...²⁹⁸

²⁹⁸ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol. 41 cols. 1170-71. On 16 June 1896.

There is evidence that Stanley supplied Harcourt with ammunition for the defence of the school boards. On 16 June Harcourt inferred that under clause thirteen school boards would be subordinated to the new authority which would disburse the funds, but Gorst claimed that clause thirteen applied simply to secondary schools, to voluntary schools and possibly a few board schools "in a peculiar and exceptional position."²⁹⁹ This thirteenth clause included a reference to the special-aid grant which was to be given where a threepenny rate produced less than £20 or less than 7s. 6d. per child.³⁰⁰ On 17 June Stanley wrote to The Times pointing out that Gorst was "in error". Stanley named eight county boroughs where the school boards were receiving aid under section 97 of the 1870 Act. They were Gateshead, South Shields, West Ham, Norwich, Hanley, Kingston-upon-Hull and Swansea. Stanley also gave figures showing that these school boards provided for nearly three times as many children as the voluntary schools in the same towns. The next day - the eighteenth - Harcourt quoted these figures in detail in Parliament,³⁰¹ but as The Times did not publish Stanley's letter until the twentieth,³⁰² Stanley must have communicated them independently to the Liberal leader.

When a Bill gets a majority of 267 at the Second Reading, as the Education Bill did in 1896, it is rare for disaster to overtake it, but disaster did come to this Bill. Sir Albert Rollit, an enthusiast for developing local government moved an amendment to make municipal boroughs of more than 20,000 inhabitants education authorities. The Vice-President rejected this as it would create too many small units, but a few minutes later Balfour

²⁹⁹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol. 41 cols. 1169, 1177. On 16 June 1896.

³⁰⁰ Clause 13 referred to clause 4 which followed section 97 of the 1870 Act. (33 & 34 Vict. c.75 §97).

³⁰¹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol. 41 col. 1337.

³⁰² The Times 20 June 1896. Letter dated 17 June 1896.

accepted it on the Government's behalf.³⁰³ As Stanley noted, this concession "materially altered the character" of the Bill.³⁰⁴ Indeed, Balfour, "by throwing over Sir John Gorst" and accepting the amendment made the devolution of authority "unworkable". Despite a party meeting and a decision to proceed on 22 June Balfour formally moved that the Speaker "do now leave the Chair":³⁰⁵ thus killing the Bill. How far lack of cohesion amongst the Conservatives, exacerbated by the personal antagonism between Balfour and Gorst, was responsible for the Bill's demise is a matter for conjecture: but Stanley's contribution to the fervid Liberal opposition was not inconsiderable.

Stanley v. the Education Department 1896-97

The demise of the Education Bill provided no respite in the struggle. In fact the relations between Stanley and his opponents steadily deteriorated. The first incident was caused by Sir John Gorst's article on the Prospects of Education in England³⁰⁶ which deeply angered the school board party.³⁰⁷ Characteristically Gorst was "very happy" at the "sensation" it caused.³⁰⁸

He argued that the counties should be the areas for new education authorities: because the county was the unit in the existing legislation on technical education. Gorst also believed that the counties should control primary as well as secondary education. He gave two reasons: first,

³⁰³ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.41 cols.896, 901-2, 906-7. On 11 June 1896.

³⁰⁴ Letter dated 14 June 1896 in The Times for 17 June 1896.

³⁰⁵ N.E.A. Annual Report 1896 p.13.

³⁰⁶ Gorst Prospects of Education in England The North American Review vol. clxiii (1896) pp.427-437.

³⁰⁷ That Gorst's article was widely read is shown by The School Board Chronicle of 31 October 1896 (p.476) quoting from an anti-Gorst article in The Morpeth Herald.

³⁰⁸ [Barnett] Canon Barnett: His Life, Work, and Friends p.440. On 24 October 1896.

it was impossible to divide the two and "secondly, because the higher grade schools, which are processes of the elementary education system, already occupy the ground..."³⁰⁹

Gorst made no secret of his attitude to the higher grade schools, nor of the difficulties involved in eliminating them by legislation. Referring to them he wrote, "The school boards are in this particular exceeding the functions for which they were originally designed; but in the absence of any more regular mode of providing the people with that secondary education which the necessity of the times so urgently demands, their proceedings are undoubtedly highly approved by the people for whom they act; and any attempt to curtail by legislation† the operation of school boards in this direction, without providing some better alternative method by which the wants of the public could be supplied, would be unpopular."³¹⁰

Gorst praised the work of the school boards in the towns, going so far as to say that generally the secular instruction they gave was better than the equivalent in their voluntary counterparts. He fell back on the argument of voluntaryist supporters being prevented from improving their schools because they bore the double burden of rates and subscriptions to justify additional aid. He would prefer rate-aid which would be "adequate and permanent" to an additional parliamentary grant which might vanish after an election.³¹¹

The country school boards he attacked unmercifully. They were "costly and inefficient" and needed additional funds to attain the level of rural voluntary schools. He claimed that in many country districts the inhabitants would

³⁰⁹ Gorst Prospects of Education in England The North American Review op.cit. p.437.†Underlining mine. - A.W.J.

³¹⁰ Gorst Prospects of Education in England op.cit.p.436.

³¹¹ Ibid. p.430.

pay a voluntary rate to exclude a school board.³¹²

The N.E.A. produced a leaflet³¹³ to refute this charge of inefficiency. Twelve rural unions were chosen at random³¹⁴ and data about the schools in them tabulated. First, all the public elementary schools in the twelve unions were taken and averages computed (Column A): then the public elementary schools in purely rural localities outside the minor towns were taken separately (Column B):-

	A		B	
	In Voluntary Schs.	In Board Schs.	In Voluntary Schs.	In Board Schs.
Average size of school	99	109	77	95
Average net grant (per child)	16s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	17s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	16s. 7d.	17s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Average teacher's salary (per child)	£1 9s. 9d.	£1 11s. 9d.	£1 11s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	£1 12s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Average income (per child) from subscriptions, endowments, rates	10s. 11d.	12s. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.	12s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.	13s. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
Average total cost per child	£1 18s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	£2 0s. 0d.	£1 19s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	£2 1s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
The unions were:- Newport Pagnell, Bucks; Wigton, Cumberland; Crediton, Devon; Faversham, Kent; Caistor, Lincs; Erpingham, Norfolk; Wellington, Somerset; Blything, Suffolk; Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire; Howden, Yorks; Aberystwyth, Cardigan; Caernarvon, Caernarvonshire.				

³¹² Ibid. p.434.

³¹³ [?? Stanley et al.??] N.E.A. No. 84 Sir John Gorst and the Rural School Boards January 1897 4 pp. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 8" no printer's name given. A copy survives in the British Museum. For possible attribution to Stanley please see Appendix D. In any case Stanley accepted the leaflet's conclusions and publicized them at the N.E.A. Annual Meeting.

³¹⁴ Stanley at the N.E.A. Annual Meeting in January 1897. The School Board Chronicle 30 January 1897 p.123.

At the N.E.A. Annual Meeting Stanley claimed that the result showed these country school boards at an advantage. They spent more on teachers' salaries than their voluntary counterparts. They spent more in rates than the voluntaryists raised in subscriptions. And the children in these board schools earned higher grants than the children in the corresponding voluntary schools. Incidentally Stanley was as concerned as ever for country schools and was suggesting scholarships reserved for village children and advocating rural pupil-teacher centres to which pupil-teachers came by bicycle.³¹⁵

Any doubts concerning Stanley's estimate of Gorst's administration were dispelled at the N.E.A. Annual Meeting. Stanley "had no hesitation in saying that the forces at work at the Department were systematically set to thwart and misrepresent and even violate the existing law.... That was a very serious charge, but he made it deliberately.... He wanted to give one or two instances of what he called the systematic violation of the law under the guidance of Sir John Gorst. He would not like to blame the Duke of Devonshire." He chose the Heywood, Wimbledon and Buckfastleigh cases to illustrate his argument.³¹⁶

Stanley alleged that at Heywood³¹⁷ in Lancashire the town council had voted for a school board and, having done this "they were entitled to have it." Instead of granting this request, the Department had gone outside the law and asked for a plebiscite. Stanley admitted that the plebiscite

³¹⁵ C.8762 The Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System vol.ii Minutes of Evidence.... in Parliamentary Papers vol.26 of 1898. Stanley gave evidence (Q.3,794-4,021) on 25 February 1897.

³¹⁶ The School Board Chronicle 30 January 1897 p.123.

³¹⁷ A local branch of the N.E.A. had been formed in Heywood in 1895. N.E.A. Annual Report 1895 p.19.

had failed to show a majority for the creation of a school board, but after the municipal election the town council had re-affirmed their decision. Their wishes had been transmitted to the Department and a letter of acknowledgment received, but nothing further heard, although "some weeks" had passed. Stanley commented caustically: "They could get a cheap clerk at 10d. an hour to write letters of that kind."

The allegation about the Heywood case was by no means baseless, though Stanley over-stated it. The clause of Forster's Act dealing with the formation of school boards upon application was permissive i.e. "Where application is made to the Education Department the Education Department may+..... cause a school board to be formed.." ³¹⁸ Nevertheless, when the first application had been received from the Heywood Town Council, the Department had replied on 25 June 1895 that an order for the formation of a school board would be issued "forthwith". ³¹⁹ The Department was then deluged with letters and memorials from aggrieved Churchmen and ratepayers. Kekewich, "the well-meaning drifter" ³²⁰ suggested that the matter be shelved until after the municipal elections due in the November, ³²¹ and Gorst felt justified in refusing to form a school board because of the reaction of the ratepayers. ³²² Irritated by the delay,

+ Underlining mine. - A.W.J.

³¹⁸ 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 § 12. The Department had always granted the request, except at Winchester in 1875. P.R.O. Ed.16/139. Memorandum on the Heywood Case by R.W[alrond] July 1895.

³¹⁹ P.R.O. Ed.16/139. Memorandum on the Heywood Case by R.W[alrond].

³²⁰ Eaglesham From School Board to Local Authority p.116.

³²¹ P.R.O. Ed.16/139. Minute dated 29 July 1895.

³²² P.R.O. Ed.16/139. Minute dated 1 August 1895.

the Heywood Town Council asked the Vice-President to receive an official deputation, but Gorst refused to do this, though he offered to see townsmen "privately at his room in the H. of C."^{32 3} This artifice to avoid committing himself officially did not carry much weight even at the Department, where it was recorded, "A deputation saw the Vice President, who suggested that a poll of the ratepayers should be taken,"^{32 4} giving substance to Stanley's allegation of going outside the law. As not one but two municipal elections passed and the Heywood Town Council was still asking unsuccessfully for a school board, Stanley's accusation of dilatoriness also seems justified.^{32 5}

In the Wimbledon case Stanley complained that a final notice to supply the deficiency had expired on 30 November 1896 but the Department had failed to set up a school board. "The law is that at the expiration of the final notice it is the duty of the Education Department to constitute a School Board, and send a requisition to the School Board to find accommodation. No requisition had been sent, and no School Board had been organized.... Nothing had been done to carry out the Act."

Although the law^{32 6} was substantially as Stanley stated it, the Department was not compelled to order the creation of a school board to supply a deficiency after the expiration of the final notice, provided it was satisfied that the deficiency was being filled with "due dispatch". The Department carefully considered this phrase. If the voluntaryists' plans had been approved, if sites had been

^{32 3} P.R.O. Ed.16/139. Letter from the Heywood Town Clerk dated 23 August 1895, and associated draft reply.

^{32 4} P.R.O. Ed.16/139. Memorandum on Heywood Case between July 1895 and 18 February 1897.

^{32 5} Ibid. Stanley also referred to the Heywood case in The Position of the Education Question in The Contemporary Review vol. 72 (1897) p. 650.

^{32 6} 33 & 34 Vict.c.75 § 10.

acquired, if the buildings were "approaching completion" or at least were "in a forward state" and if funds were adequate when the final notice expired, then the Department would feel justified in not setting up a school board.³²⁷ Yet five weeks after the expiration of the final notice, some of the schools required to remedy the deficiency were still in the planning stage.³²⁸ Stanley's strictures seem justified.³²⁹

Buckfastleigh a small town on the eastern slopes of Dartmoor in Devon had a school board serving not only the town itself but also the outlying hamlet of Buckfast. Stanley complained of the injustice meted out to the people there. "Some refugee monks from Belgium or France came and set up their tabernacle there,³³⁰ and, having established a monastery there, determined to have a school. What with the reluctance of farmers to pay rates, proselytism and souping, and other things which went on with those ecclesiastical organisations, they got some children to attend their school. They made application to the Department that their school should be admitted to the grant. The School Board for Buckfastleigh had no idea that for a rural parish population in England a Roman Catholic School, managed by refugee monks, would be held suitable for the needs of the community. They therefore built their own school, in spite of strong opposition both from the Anglican clergy and very powerful political influences, so that the convent school of French or Belgian monks was in no way needed. Sir John Gorst had now admitted that school to grants, and the School Board of Buckfastleigh found children

³²⁷ P.R.O. Ed.16/290. Minute dated 1 July 1896.

³²⁸ P.R.O. Ed.16/290. Visit of the H.M.I. 4 January 1897.

³²⁹ He re-iterated them in The Position of the Education Question op.cit. p.650.

³³⁰ The Abbey is at Buckfast, though this is not clear from the report of Stanley's speech.

drawn away from them, after they had raised a loan and built a school for the locality."

From the surviving records it seems that the Buckfastleigh School Board was hesitant at first to build a school at Buckfast. In late 1893 they were asking for recognition of an infants' school in a temporary building there for twelve months.³³¹ However, they did raise a loan with the Department's permission and build a school.³³² Meanwhile the Abbey School was being run without grant,³³³ but in August 1896 the Department reversed their decision and admitted it to annual grants - the first grant would be received in June 1897.³³⁴ Naturally the board asked the Department why the grant had been refused at first and why they had not been consulted about the change in policy. The Department replied that the Act did not require a reason to be given for regarding a particular school as necessary: the Abbey School had been refused ^{grant} in the first instance because there was no deficiency at that time.

This was received by the board with understandable bewilderment and irritation:-

Mr. M - No deficiency!

Mr. P - The Education Department do as they please and no one can ask any questions.

Mr. H - It's strange there was no deficiency before we built a school there, and when we did there was.³³⁵

However much this thwarting of school board aspirations might exasperate N.E.A. members, a far greater injustice was threatened by the government. Dropping their previous pro-

³³¹ P.R.O. Ed.2/106 Buckfastleigh. Unfortunately this file has been so thoroughly weeded that nothing after 19 May 1873 and before 10 November 1893 remains.

³³² The School Board Chronicle 31 October 1896 p.437.

³³³ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.39 col.1521. Sir John Gorst on 23 April 1896.

³³⁴ The School Board Chronicle 5 September 1896 p.226.

³³⁵ The School Board Chronicle 31 October 1896 p.437.

posals for administrative re-organization and secondary education, an attempt was to be made to save the voluntary schools. Under the proposed Bill they were to receive an additional per capita grant and formed into federations. The 17s.6d. limit was to be abolished. Attempts for appearance' sake to help necessitous board schools were dropped.

The folly of assisting those who made no financial effort had been frequently re-iterated by Stanley. Now he used another line of attack as well. He attempted to divide Conservative support in the constituencies. For a Conservative ratepayer in a school board district might be none-too-pleased when he realised that his school board rate would remain as high as ever, while in a neighbouring district without a school board there was the prospect of additional exchequer grants rendering the small subscriptions his counterpart paid even less necessary. As Stanley noted in his letter showing the injustice of the proposals and counselling strenuous opposition, "Members of Parliament are specially sensitive to appeals from their own supporters."³³⁶

The associated attempt to obtain something for the school boards is significant more for the concepts it emphasized than for the assistance it might give. Many school boards unfamiliar with the intricacies of the legislation had not realised that they were entitled to grants under section 97 of the 1870 Act.³³⁷ The N.E.A. campaigned for the payment of all arrears. This would provide a pleasant windfall for some smaller boards and embarrass the government. Unfortunately as early as 1881 the Department had issued a circular limiting the time in which claims would be entertained. However, the case was submitted to counsel. It was argued that the Act contained no time-

³³⁶ Dr. Williams's Library. W.J. Rowland Collection, Bundle 1. Manuscript letter, dated March 1897; probably a draft circular.

³³⁷ p. 207 supra.

limit, so the Department's regulation could not apply. The lengthy opinion of counsel contained the following: "... it is not inconsistent with Section 97 of the Education Act that the Department should make regulations refusing to recognise any claim for arrears beyond such time as in its discretion the Department thinks reasonable:"³³⁸ which may well have emphasized the supremacy of the Code to Stanley and his followers.

Nevertheless the Voluntary Schools Act was passed under Balfour's direction. Gorst sat in the House, "a silent and detached spectator". Asquith called this "a grave Parliamentary scandal."³³⁹

The Act did save the voluntary schools. It exempted them from rates, abolished the 17s. 6d. rule and gave them a grant of 5s. per pupil. It stimulated the establishment of associations of voluntary schools, for the Department could refuse this special - aid grant to a school which "unreasonably refuses to join such an association."³⁴⁰ Stanley was able to derive some comfort from the mode in which the Bill passed the Lords. The Liberal peers were dissuaded by the Lord Chancellor from putting their amendments on the ground that the Bill was a money Bill. Stanley called this a "singular but satisfactory precedent" because "it will be quite easy for Liberals hereafter so to associate requirements of efficiency with financial aid that the House of Lords will be unable to meddle

³³⁸ N.E.A. Arrears of Grant under Section 97 of the Act of 1870. Copy of Case Submitted to Counsel, and of their Opinion Thereon. Ex parte Handsworth and Other School Boards....

no N.E.A. number n.d. a single sheet 10½" x 8" no printer's name. A copy survives at Dr. Williams's Library, J.J. Rowland Collection, Bundle 1. The Counsel were R.B. Holdcane and J. Scott Fox.

³³⁹ Mansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.47 col.1336. On 25 March 1897.

³⁴⁰ 6C & 61 Vict.c.5.

with the details of their proposals."³⁴¹

Naturally Stanley condemned the provisions of the Act including the assistance it gave to the formation of associations of voluntary schools. He also complained that the Department had failed to give guidance about the basis for these federations. Indeed he believed the Department thwarted the desires of the local managers and allowed a diocesan organization to supervene. Occasionally county gentlemen might secure "the secular unit of the county,"³⁴² but generally it would be "the diocesan wirepullers and managers who will frame and administer the new policy."³⁴³

There were two further cases of Departmental administration which Stanley found unjust. The first was at Liverpool where the school board had reluctantly built some new schools in an area previously served by fee-charging voluntary schools. To prevent "the obnoxious spectacle of a free Board school raising dangerous ideas in the minds of parents" the board had asked the Department for permission to charge fees. "They were unable, in the terms of the Act, to show any educational advantage that would accrue to the children from these fees, but they represented that it was an educational advantage that the Voluntary schools should not be inconvenienced by the existence of free schools near them." Incredibly the Department had permitted the charging of fees.³⁴⁴

The other case substantiated all his worst fears about voluntary managers manipulating rents and the special-aid grants to create virtual building grants.³⁴⁵ This case

³⁴¹ Stanley The Position of the Education Question op.cit. pp. 653-654.

³⁴² In Berkshire and Dorset. Elsewhere the diocese or arch-deaconry was the unit for the federation of Anglican schools. Return 300 in Parliamentary Papers vol.70 of 1898. It was Carvell Williams who secured this return.

³⁴³ Stanley The Position of the Education Question op.cit. pp. 649-650.

³⁴⁴ Ibid. p.651.

³⁴⁵ p.204 supra.

at Eastbourne involved the Duke of Devonshire for whom Stanley had previously shown some cordiality.³⁴⁶ It is unfortunate that Kekewich's picture of the Lord President as a humourless ignoramus has been so widely accepted. Others, as well placed to observe the Duke formed a different opinion. To Margot Asquith he "had the figure and appearance of an artisan, with the brevity of a peasant, the courtesy of a king and the noisy sense of humour of a Falstaff. He gave a great wheezy guffaw at all the right things and was possessed of an endless wisdom."³⁴⁷

At Eastbourne the demand for elementary education had outrun the supply of voluntary schools and a final notice had been served. To remedy the deficiency a private company was formed, which proposed to charge rent for the schools it built. The claim that the Duke of Devonshire supported the venture "in his private capacity as a Local Landlord and property owner" is substantiated by the use of his estate office for the initial meetings. The Department was a trifle apprehensive about the affair but raised no difficulty provided the managers of the schools had no financial interest in the company and the schools were not subject to trust deeds.³⁴⁸

At the council meeting of the Liberation Society in the autumn Stanley called the Department's action "a fraud on the Act of 1870". Although the people of Eastbourne had been under notice to provide further accommodation, they had been unwilling to subscribe funds. The Limited Company set up to provide schools expected their investment to yield 4% and the Duke of Devonshire had bought shares. It expected

³⁴⁶ pp. 189, 211 supra.

³⁴⁷ The Autobiography of Margot Asquith vol.i p.123 of the 1936 Penguin edition.

³⁴⁸ P.R.O. Ed.16/301. Letter dated 22 May 1897 from the Hon. Sec. of the group at Eastbourne together with the associated unidentified newspaper clipping and minute.

to build a school at £5 per place, but if this were done, the school "would be miserably inadequate in construction and equipment." Stanley pointed out that the Department was allowing grant to be used to pay rent and he believed that at least part of the grant at Eastbourne would be used in this way. He thought the extension of this system "likely" and its approval by the government "a great scandal".³⁴⁹

Voluntaryists might claim that it was the "usual practice" for the Education Department to allow rent to be paid when the building was not held in trust for educational purposes,³⁵⁰ but Stanley maintained his position. Had a school board been formed, all grants would have gone to aid education: any interest on a loan raised to build schools would have been paid by the ratepayers. "As it is, the whole of the interest called rent may be paid by the taxpayers, and in that case the children of Eastbourne will get an education less good by 5s. or 6s. a child a year than they would have got had the school been built from local funds."³⁵¹

Thus, although Forster's Act had brought an end to building grants for voluntary schools, Stanley accused the Department of making these grants "indirectly". The school managers would be able to pay the interest to the "Ducal Limited company" out of the special-aid grant, and if the diocesan federation wanted to prevent the establishment of a school board, it could "declare the new school specially necessitous, and give even a larger sum." Stanley was quite categorical about motives: "... the Government prefers to keep the children of Eastbourne under the clergy of Eastbourne."³⁵²

³⁴⁹ The Times 19 October 1897.

³⁵⁰ The Hon. Sec. of the Winchester Elementary Schools Council in The Times for 27 October 1897.

³⁵¹ The Times 28 October 1897.

³⁵² Stanley The Position of the Education Question op.cit. pp. 650-651.

It is difficult to see how relations between Stanley and the Parliamentary leaders could have been worse. Yet the effect on the history of English education need not have been profound. Stanley's pronouncements as a leader of the Liberal, Non-conformist interest might irritate Gorst and Devonshire, but he held no great office in the educational hierarchy: nor did it seem likely that he would. In November Stanley quoted Sydney Smith's phrase that a Liberal government seemed "as remote as a thaw in Nova Zembla"³⁵³ but elections placed the Progressives in power on the S.B.L. and Stanley, after nearly a decade of frustrating opposition, became the Vice-Chairman of the greatest of all school boards.

³⁵³ Ibid. p.654.

CHAPTER FIVE

Development or Re-organization?

1897-1904

Act.58-65

The bitter religious controversy in London had damaged the school board cause: for many people had come to believe such a spectacle to be inseparable from the ad hoc system of administration. To help reduce party strife Stanley had publicly promised before the 1894 election that if returned, the Progressives would appoint an impartial chairman from outside.¹ He believed the combination of the chairmanship with partisan leadership lowered the tone of the board. The chairman should be someone not only interested in education, but noted for his moderation and impartiality, whose name would "reassure the friends of religious education."² There seems to have been general agreement on the soundness of this policy because from 1894 onwards the Chairman of the S.B.L. was appointed in this way.

In the last seven years of the Board's existence, that is from 1897 to 1904, the Chairman was Lord Reay. He had been born Donald James Mackay in 1839 in Holland where he was educated in the University of Leyden. He had entered the Dutch parliament and had assisted in the enactment of the first legislation on child labour in the Netherlands. In 1877 he had been naturalised a British subject and four years later had been honoured with the title Baron Reay. He was titular head of Clan Mackay whose domain is centred on

¹ Under 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 § 37 (9).

² Stanley The Present London School Board and the Coming Election The New Review vol.xi (1894) pp.459-460.

Strathnaver in Sutherland but derived little wealth from that barren land. From 1885 to 1890 as Governor of Bombay, he had devoted much attention to developing the educational system of the province particularly by the inclusion of technical education. As for his religious beliefs he was a staunch Presbyterian.³

Stanley had become acquainted with Lord Reay through a common interest in education and their friendship had extended over many years.⁴ Their acquaintanceship extended at least as far back as 1879 when they were both at the Social Science Congress, Stanley as President of the Education Section and Lord Reay as President of the Section on Economy and Trade.⁵ And five years later Stanley was planning to stay at the Reays' country house when he had to travel north for a political meeting at Galashiels.⁶

While Lord Reay was the School Board's Chairman, Stanley was its Vice-Chairman. Showing his concept of school board administration by the use of parliamentary terms, Stanley assigned the Chairman the rôle of Speaker,⁷ but he left no record of his views on the function of the Vice-Chairman. Sometimes he acted as though he were Prime Minister instead of Deputy Speaker. Algernon Stanley at least expected a dominant, partisan approach. "I am sure you will govern the Board as Vice Chairman with wisdom,"⁸

³ D.N.B. Entry under Mackay, Donald James... (1839-1921). The Times of India 4 August 1921. Hunter Bombay 1885 to 1890.... Bryce Lord Reay 1839-1921 The Proceedings of the British Academy vol. x (1921-23) pp.533-539.

⁴ The School Board Chronicle 4 December 1897 p.617.

⁵ T.N.A.P.S.S. 1879 pp.xxi-xxii.

⁶ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/5. 15 September 1884. ELS to HMS.

⁷ Stanley The Present London School Board and the Coming Election op.cit. p.460.

⁸ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 172. 11 December 1897. ACS to ELS.

he wrote from Rome: and then, "I wish you all success in managing your following on the Board."⁹ Perhaps it is not surprising in view of Stanley's dominant personality and unrivalled knowledge of educational administration that another member of the S.B.L. looking back, should mistakenly refer to Stanley as the Chairman of the Board¹⁰ - a misapprehension that still persists.¹¹ And The School Board Chronicle stated that circumstances made him "the working head of the Board."¹²

Two problems dominated English educational administration in these years of Stanley's Vice-Chairmanship. How could the *denom*i national schools be placed on a sound financial basis when the voluntary contributions of their supporters continued to dwindle? And how could the state best provide secondary education when quasi-secondary education was already being given both by the counties under the 1889 Act and by the school boards in their higher grade schools and evening classes? So large were these questions that answers to them might involve the re-casting of the whole system.

The Relationship with the Central Authority

In the twelve years before becoming Vice-Chairman Stanley had worked immensely hard but he had not achieved progress commensurate with his efforts. The recommendations he had made as a Cross Commissioner were still largely unimplemented. The timorous attempts by Hart Dyke in 1889 to

⁹ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 172. 22 December 1897.
ACS to ELS.

¹⁰ Gower Years of Endeavour 1886-1907 p.197.

¹¹ Armytage Four Hundred Years of English Education pp.145-146.

¹² The School Board Chronicle 26 March 1898 p.324.

introduce reforms administratively had been thwarted by the denominational party, though something had been achieved by subsequent Codes. On the N.E.A. Executive Stanley had often used his energies to remedy injustice and to defend the school board system: and similarly on the S.B.L. he had frequently been engaged in wrangles with the Moderates to prevent a decline in standards rather than assisting in an orderly planned progress.

So it is not surprising that after 1897 Stanley gave up his more time-consuming work for the N.E.A.¹³ and, backed by a Progressive majority on the S.B.L. he put forward sweeping proposals to make up for the years of frustration. For example, in March 1898 he suggested spending £100,000 p.a. on the systematic improvement of older schools; 175 London board schools lacked halls and a scheme should be drawn up to remedy this within a dozen years.¹⁴ The Board approved, but the Department tended to demur. Stanley pressed his point at an interview in Whitehall.¹⁵

Stanley's attitude to the Department, and after 1899 to its successor the Board of Education, was naturally coloured by his earlier experience in dealing with the central authority. The Department's denial of a school board to Wimbledon, their acquiescence in the manipulation of rents at Eastbourne, their request for a plebiscite at Heywood, their refusal to interfere in the juggling with fees at Shardlow and their questionable recognition of the voluntary school at Buckfastleigh showed an excessive sympathy with the denominational cause involving a strained

¹³ The School Board Chronicle 26 March 1898 p.324.

¹⁴ Memorandum signed by Stanley. The School Board Chronicle 12 March 1898 p.267.

¹⁵ P.R.O. Ed.14/44. S.B.L. letter dated 9 January 1899 and associated minutes.

interpretation of the Acts of Parliament. It would be going too far to say that the Department satisfied Goodhart's definition of a tyranny: "If in any nation there is a group of men who are capable of disregarding the established law, then we can say that here there is a tyranny."¹⁶ But these cases and Stanley's involvement in them, help to explain, though not to excuse, the truculence of the S.B.L. towards Whitehall during the period of Stanley's leadership.

Three sources of deterioration in the relations between the Department and the S.B.L. have been noted: the attitude of the school board to audit, the board's lack of courtesy to the Department when securing sites for schools and the board's presentation of "sudden large-scale demands" for a re-calculation of school accommodation.¹⁷ Stanley was involved in two of these issues: the acquisition of sites and the re-calculation of accommodation.

In 1898 the S.B.L. needed thirty new sites for schools, and after lengthy negotiations with the Department, a Bill was introduced into Parliament to give appropriate powers to the school board. No opposition was offered in the Commons and so it was referred to the Unopposed Bills Committee. Yet at this late stage one of the sites - no. 10 in Cuthill Road, Camberwell - was struck out of the Bill on the authority of the Government.¹⁸ Gorst defended this action. After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain the site two sessions previously, the S.B.L. had been allowed to build a temporary school nearby to prove that further accommodation was needed: "after this, unknown to the heads of the Government, site 10 was again reinserted in this Bill."

¹⁶ Goodhart English Law and the Moral Law p.57 quoted in Eaglesham From School Board to Local Authority p.175.

¹⁷ Eaglesham From School Board to Local Authority pp.109-111.

¹⁸ Gorst on 25 July 1898. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.62 col.1120.

When the discovery was made at the last moment, the Government struck out the name of site 10 from the list.¹⁹

Stanley resented the inference of sharp practice,²⁰ and gave his answer in The Times. After permission had been granted in 1896 to build temporary schools, the H.M.I. had complained of overcrowding, and the Department had forwarded his complaint to the Board. Naturally the Board pressed for the acquisition of the site previously denied them and on 18 August 1897 the Department had written: "... my Lords hereby authorize the board to secure a site either in sub-division W or X of East Lambeth upon the understanding that the question as to the size of the school to be erected on it shall form the subject of a future communication." So in November 1897 the Board gave notice in six newspapers of their intentions to apply for powers. "It seems to me an unheard of proposition," Stanley concluded, "that a Government department should now come forward and say they did not know what they were doing when they were promoting an important piece of legislation, and official declarations lose much of their weight and credibility when we find the vice-president of the Council totally ignoring the letter of August 18 1897, which I have quoted."²¹

The simplest explanation of the Government's action is incompetence in the Department, and this is not impossible, for Lord Reay remarked a year later: "The chaos in the Education Department is amusing."²² But if Gorst's object

¹⁹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol. 63 col.244. On 28 July 1898.

²⁰ Explicitly stated in The Times for 29 July 1898.

²¹ The Times 30 July 1898.

²² Letter dated 6 September 1899 from Lord Reay to Gower in Gower The Years of Endeavour 1886-1907 p.213.

were to exert the Government's authority upon a recalcitrant school board, he was singularly unsuccessful; indeed the reverse happened and in the autumn the board acquired a site for a higher grade school without waiting for Departmental approval.²³ No doubt this strained relations still further, but perhaps the blame should not rest entirely with the School Board.

As for the problem of calculating school accommodation, no one had been more insistent than Stanley on an identical standard for board and voluntary schools. By the time he became Vice-Chairman almost twenty years had passed since he first advocated both on the S.B.L. and in Parliament the formula of ten square feet per child in all public elementary schools. He had pressed it as one of the Cross Commissioners and he had tried to enforce it at the S.B.L. after Hart Dyke's statement in the Luton case.²⁴ So it is hardly possible that the Department was unaware of Stanley's emphatic denunciation of a double standard.

With a Vice-Chairman of these beliefs it is not surprising that the S.B.L. resolved that accommodation in all senior departments whether in board or voluntary schools should be calculated on the ten-foot basis, though it was the Rev. W. Copeland Bowie,²⁵ a Unitarian minister, and Chairman of the School Accommodation and Attendance Committee who moved the resolution.²⁶ But the re-calculation resulted in

²³ Eaglesham From School Board to Local Authority pp.109-110.

²⁴ pp. 127-128 supra.

²⁵ Bowie had first met Stanley c.1885 and claimed to be "closely associated" with him in school board work. Bowie's obituary of Stanley in The Inquirer reprinted in The School Child and Juvenile Worker April 1925 p.3. Stanley also trusted Bowie's judgment. When Stanley became the patron of three livings - such are the administrative byways of ecclesia anglicana - he sought Bowie's advice on filling a vacancy. Gautrey "Lux Mihi Laus": School Board Memories p.53.

²⁶ The Minutes vol. 1 p.714. On 2 February 1899.

a drop of 34,000 places in voluntary schools. This the Department would not accept and insisted on judging each case individually on its own merits. Whitehall's refusal to consider the general application of the rule was mainly attributable to the S.B.L.'s "method of presenting sudden large-scale demands of a nature calculated to produce a feeling of helpless dismay in the Department."²⁷

Presentation of "sudden large-scale demands" was certainly one of Stanley's characteristics. His plan for re-modelling older board schools is an example of this approach. Had his breadth of vision been matched by a certain diplomatic skill, all might have been well. But in the "explosive administrative situation"²⁸ of these years, with Devonshire loftily indifferent, Gorst resentful and Kekewich contemptuous of both his superiors, Stanley's approach, however well-intentioned, however psychologically explicable after his years "in the wilderness", and however much exacerbated by Gorst's high-handedness, was too provocative. Lord Reay thought Stanley "reckless"²⁹: and the Progressives' chief whip afterwards wrote, "His marvellous knowledge, swift comprehension and decision, and defiance of difficulties would have been still more effective had it not been for his impetuosity and impatience. During the latest years of the [School] Board [for London] it became my duty, as chief whip of the party, to seek to moderate these drawbacks in counsel and to counteract their effects on his party and on the Board of Education."³⁰

²⁷ Eaglesham From School Board to Local Authority p.111.

²⁸ Ibid. p.109.

²⁹ Gower Years of Endeavour 1886-1907 p.213. Letter dated 6 September 1899 from Lord Reay to Gower.

³⁰ Lidgett My Guided Life p.174: an earlier variant of this passage is in Lidgett Reminiscences at p.40.

To counsel Stanley to moderate his demands would have been no easy matter. "There is nothing like caution, Mr. Stanley, nothing like caution," a kindly friend urged. "There is nothing like caution," he repeated a few minutes later. "Yes there is," retorted Stanley. "Stupidity is sometimes very like caution."³¹

Stanley's Plan for English Education

At this time of deepening suspicion towards the central authority Stanley produced a series of articles which were later re-published as a volume entitled Our National Education.³² From internal evidence these articles can be dated to the early months of 1899,³³ but the book did not appear till the October of that year.³⁴ It was intended for a lay, non-specialist audience and gives an outline of the English education system as Stanley would like to have seen it develop. From its nature this work lacks the precise detail of Stanley's other writings, and so fig. 14 can not have a mathematical accuracy, but is meant to be a diagrammatic summary of his views.

To Stanley the structure of the English educational system should be built upon the foundation of the elementary schools, and the courses provided should be related to the probable after-school life of the pupils.

No pupil would normally leave school until he was fourteen and there should be provision of higher elementary classes for 10% to 20% of the scholars who would stay on

³¹ An obituary notice of Stanley by G.L. Bruce in The Educational Record.... June 1925 p.459.

³² Stanley Our National Education J. Nisbet & Co., London 1899 8° vi + 150 pp. It is a shorter work than the bibliographical details suggest, its estimated length being 15,000 words.

³³ e.g. p.24 "The Duke of Devonshire the other day, speaking at Derby...." He spoke there on 19 January 1899. The Times 20 January 1899.

³⁴ It was reviewed in The School Board Chronicle for 28 October 1899 pp.463-464 and 4 November 1899 p.493.

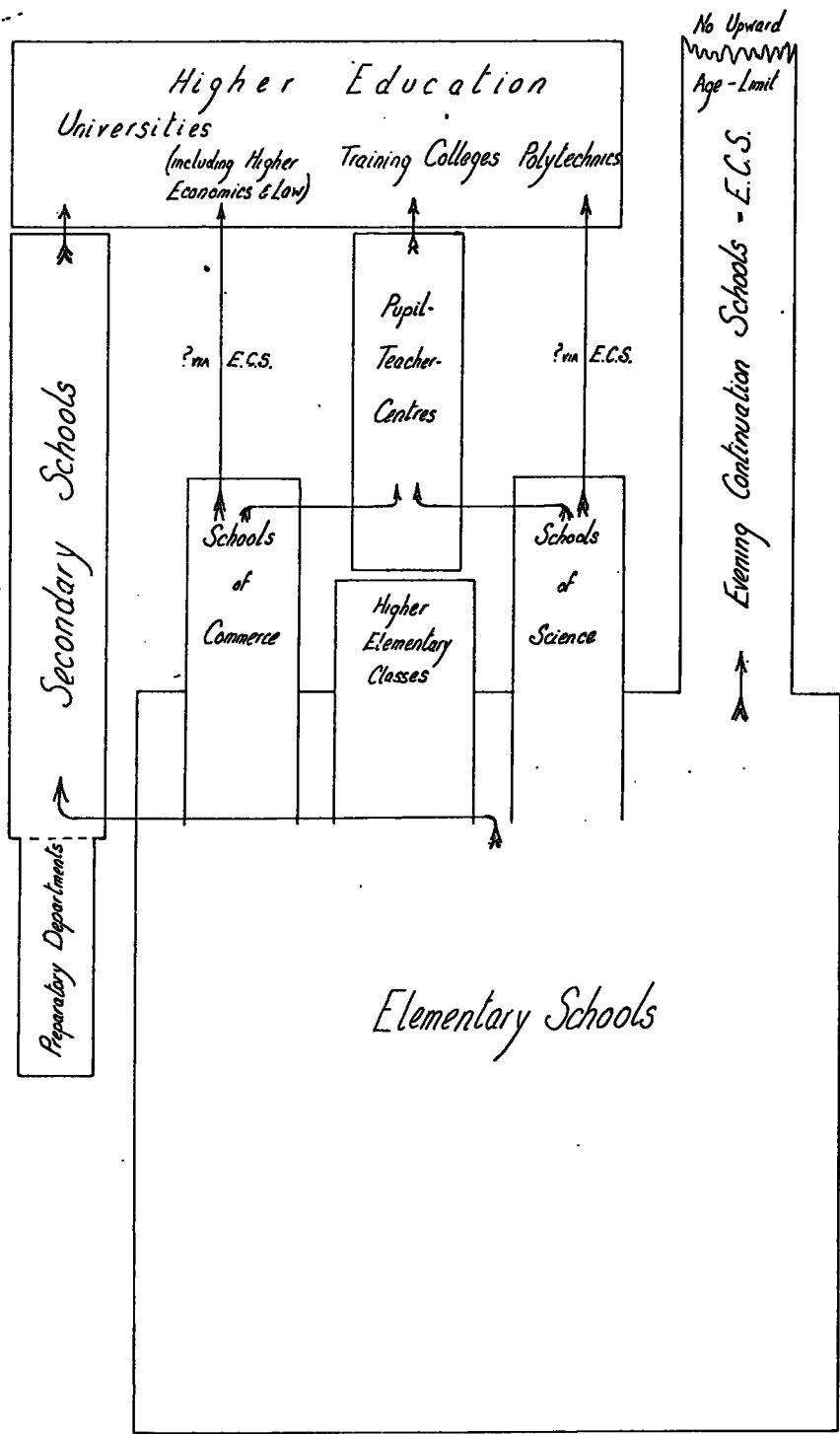


Fig. 14 Schematic Diagram to Show Stanley's Plan for English Education

for at least a year longer. Just as schools of science had been built up, so school boards should also develop schools for children who would be entering commerce. These schools would be "grafted on to the ordinary elementary school" and would provide a course from 12 or 13 to 16. The existing regulations required that sixteen hours a week be devoted to scientific subjects in schools of science. What is needed is the recognition of a curriculum in which sixteen hours will be given to English, languages, literature, shorthand, geography, book-keeping, and such subjects, with perhaps ten hours a week to science and drawing." If this were done, and grants as liberal as those for schools of science were given, the more advanced work under school boards would not be so exclusively scientific. Both the scientific and commercial curricula might be provided in the same school. It should be made the duty of school boards to establish such schools or classes according to the needs of the community - at least in towns with 20,000 inhabitants or more.³⁵

The better pupils from these schools of science and schools of commerce should go on to higher institutions, though Stanley did not make it clear whether they should proceed direct or via the evening continuation schools. In any case it should be the school boards that provided the evening schools.³⁶

The pattern of Birmingham with its vigorous school board, the King Edward School under "popular and largely municipal government" together with Mason's College should be repeated in each major city. Secondary education up to eighteen should be not only classical and "non-classical" but commercial as well. "These latter schools, at very

³⁵ Stanley Our National Education pp. 35, 57-59, 63-64.

³⁶ Ibid. pp. 14, 58.

moderate fees, with a fair proportion for free places and maintenance scholarships, should be to a great extent recruited from the elementary schools, while free to have preparatory departments of their own to which scholars may be admitted as young as 9 or 10."³⁷

Far more should be spent upon higher education. The "pittance" that was given to the University Colleges was embarrassingly small when compared with the state support given in Germany or France. Nor were the financial resources of the ancient universities adequate to the needs of the moment. "Cambridge has to sue for alms to enable it to perform a national duty." Stanley implied that Parliament ought to vote substantial sums for university education.³⁸

The function of the universities should be extended to train not only scientists but also the leaders of the industrial world. Faculties of Economic and Social Studies should be established for this purpose. He acknowledged the difficulties in providing this type of higher education caused by the successful man of business who had never enjoyed it and failed to comprehend its value, and the Philistinism of public bodies which prevented funds being made available.³⁹

One of his reasons for reforming the universities was the need for a better supply of teachers: "...if we are to get an adequate supply of teachers for our secondary, and even for our elementary schools, we must thoroughly reform and extend our highest places of learning."⁴⁰ Few of his contemporaries could comprehend the value, even the need,

³⁷ Ibid. pp. 33-35.

³⁸ Ibid. pp. 26-27.

³⁹ Ibid. pp. 28-29, 64-68.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p.28.

of a university education for a board school teacher.

Even if teachers were not trained in a university their "knowledge of English should be thorough, literary, and cultivated." All teachers, even those who taught the very youngest should have a "feeling of good taste in the use of simple language." As elementary science was becoming part of the curriculum, "the teacher should have gone through a severe and exact course of scientific training," though the range need not be very wide. Stanley deprecated the insecure foundations of the pupil-teacher system. "Any one who takes the trouble to think for two minutes," he wrote, "will recognise that no person can teach that which he does not know. And yet English elementary education has suffered for sixty years from the contrary belief." The 1870 Act had made no provision for teacher training, and in consequence unqualified people were being recognised as teachers. In the preceding ten years women recognised under Article 68 had increased from 5,000 to 14,000. If the state decided to provide secondary education, Stanley re-affirmed that there must be provision for the training of secondary school teachers.⁴¹

Bodies to administer education should be elected ad hoc, and "the more elementary the teaching the more local should be the burden of the cost and the right of management, the higher the education the more national the maintenance and supervision." He asserted that in England it had often been the other way round: namely, that the ancient universities were a law unto themselves - though their income was not locally derived - while remote village schools were controlled from Whitehall.⁴²

In the large towns there would be one authority for primary and secondary education, but in each rural county,

⁴¹ Ibid. pp. 37-38, 119-120, 124-125.

⁴² Ibid. p. 32.

while there would be one authority covering the whole county for secondary education, elementary education would be administered by other authorities covering smaller areas. These would have a population of not less than 8,000 to 10,000 each as in the case of the rural district councils. These smaller authorities would be strongly represented on the body administering secondary education.⁴³

Stanley repeated his former rather weak argument against county councils: namely, that in view of their other commitments, they would view education from too materialistic a standpoint.⁴⁴ He also claimed that they were not really interested in education for, although they had powers to raise a penny rate, they rarely did so,⁴⁵ and relied on the residue grant⁴⁶ from the central government to finance technical education. There seems to have been much more substance in this, because Devonshire stated in 1899 that the total amount raised by the counties in rates for education was then £57,000 p.a.⁴⁷ Stanley wanted to spend almost twice this sum just in remodelling older schools in London.

Basically Stanley wanted an educational system to meet contemporary needs. It would grow from the board school system already established and might incorporate other existing institutions, but in this system the child of working class parents could soar as high as his ability would allow him without entering an institution of alien middle-class traditions. The elementary school would be the root of the system.

⁴³ Ibid. pp. 23, 103.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 108.

⁴⁵ Under 52 & 53 Vict., c.76 §1. Stanley Our National Education p.49.

⁴⁶ Colloquially "beer money" or "whisky money". Under 53 & 54 Vict. c. 60 §1 (2).

⁴⁷ The Record of Technical and Secondary Education vol. viii (1899) p.255.

The Elementary School as the Root of the System

The school boards were already providing education beyond the standards both in day schools and in evening classes. Although the doubtful legality of using rates on higher grade schools had long been recognised, the Department had continued to allow school boards to develop such schools and enter the pupils for the examinations of the Science and Art Department. Then after Parliament had passed an obscurely-worded Act in 1890,⁴⁸ the boards, encouraged by the central authority had extended the range of their evening classes. These differed in intent from the evening classes of the seventies, which had given rudimentary instruction to the unlettered or semi-literate. Sometimes the classes were frankly recreative, but often they provided instruction in vocational subjects, such as book-keeping, for ambitious young people who wished to better themselves.⁴⁹

Attempts to check this growth had been made in the Bill of 1896. County authorities would have been set up to provide secondary education, and those school boards which survived would have lost their most advanced work to the new authorities. In the following year a new Directory was issued by the Science and Art Department, which attempted to do administratively what the government had failed to attain by legislation. The most important clause was the seventh which read: "In Counties and County Boroughs in England possessing an organization for the promotion of Secondary Education, the Authority so constituted may notify its willingness to be responsible for the Science and Art Instruction within its area. In such case, while the rights of the Managers of existing Schools and classes will be pre-

⁴⁸ An Act for the purpose of making operative certain Articles in the Education Code, 1890. 53 & 54 Vict.c.22 [= 1890 Code Act infra.]

⁴⁹ Eaglesham From School Board to Local Authority pp. 36,40, 46-48, 55, 57, 58.

served, no Managers of a new School or class will, except under special circumstances, be recognised unless they are responsible to such authority...."⁵⁰ School board supporters were not slow to realise the implications. On 15 May 1897 a lengthy and penetrating letter appeared in The School Board Chronicle over the pseudonym "Lex".⁵¹ The title provided was The Proposed Destruction of the Higher Grade Board Schools. And the next month the N.E.A. denounced the new Directory in a leaflet,⁵² which observed tartly that no county or county borough in England possessed an organization to promote secondary education and that legislation would be required to create such bodies.

Gorst recognised Stanley as a leading opponent of the scheme. On 5 February 1898 S.A. Barnett recorded: "Gorst is with us. He is as despondent as ever and is now angry that Stanley and the School Board people are blocking his attempts to establish educational authorities under the Science and Art Department."⁵³

The Department was well aware of the doubtful legality of much of the more advanced school board work, and later that year in the House of Lords, the Duke of Devonshire made a public declaration of the position, "...We have, next, the school board, with no statutory authority, extending the operation of elementary and evening schools, under the Evening School Code, into the region of science and art, and applying rates to that purpose."⁵⁴

⁵⁰ A Revised Directory.... in Parliamentary Papers vol. 33 of 1897.

⁵¹ The School Board Chronicle 15 May 1897 pp.564-565.

⁵² N.E.A. no.87 The Proposed Alterations in the Science and Art Directory June 1897 4 pp. 10½" x 8" C.P.S. no.41,707. A copy survives in the British Museum.

⁵³ [Barnett] Canon Barnett: His Life, Work, and Friends p.440.

⁵⁴ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.63 col. 672. On 1 August 1898.

The whole of the Duke's speech reads like a prepared statement: indeed his unfamiliarity with educational terms would seem to have precluded anything else, as this exchange shows:-

Stanley (as a member of a deputation to the President)
.... Some expansion might then be provided in the day colleges, or in some residential sections of the other colleges. Time does not allow me to dwell on the need for improving the qualifications and status of teachers, the elevation of the ex-p.t.

Devonshire What do you mean by ex-p.t?

Stanley Ex-p.t. means ex-pupil-teacher, and is very well known to those familiar with the Department...⁵⁵

So it must be concluded that there was a desire in the Department to make publicly-known the doubtful legality of the advanced work of the school boards several months before a challenge of the S.B.L. accounts in front of the auditor was contemplated.

Naturally Devonshire's statement did not pass unnoticed. When Macan the secretary of Surrey County Council's Technical Instruction Committee repeated in The Times⁵⁶ the Duke's statement, Stanley claimed, that the school boards had full statutory authority to run evening schools regardless of subject matter, cost or pupils' age. He rested his case on the 1890 Code Act.⁵⁷ This letter of Stanley's is usually quoted without reference to the words of Devonshire or Macan, as if Stanley were making a sudden aggressive claim, when in fact, his letter was meant as a defence of the school board position.

⁵⁵ The School Board Chronicle 12 May 1900 supplement p.522.

⁵⁶ The Times 12 August 1898.

⁵⁷ The Times 16 August 1898 quoted by Allen William Garnett...
... p.74 and Armytage Four Hundred Years of English Education
p.183.

In a lengthy correspondence Stanley tried to show the superiority of school board administration and produced these figures⁵⁸ concerning organised science schools:-

	No.	No. on roll	Grant
In Board Schools	56	9,629	£32,360
In Other Schools	87	8,383	£30,598

Macan was unimpressed. He believed that Devonshire was referring not only to evening schools but also to the higher grade schools working as organised science schools: "if any School Board," Macan wrote, "tries to spend any of its rates in the maintenance of such schools the auditor would soon convince them of the correctness of the dictum of the President of the Council."⁵⁹

Yet in the Education Department the conduct of business had so deteriorated that the Secretary publicly incited a school board to do what the President said was illegal.

The Rhondda Valleys were served by an energetic school board known by the parish name of Ystradyfodwg. In October 1898 Kekewich went down to the formal opening of the board's higher grade-organised science school at Fern-dale. In his speech he emphasised that higher grade schools were not luxuries, and he claimed that a "good deal of nonsense had been talked of overlapping": though naturally care was essential to prevent interference with the intermediate schools. Moreover, the fine buildings put up for the higher grade school should not stand idle in the evenings. Properly arranged evening continuation schools might be very popular, for there were many interesting subjects in the Code, and for those to attend regularly they could have games like draughts and chess, or social and

⁵⁸ The Times 16 August 1898.

⁵⁹ The Times 27 August 1898.

political talk either before or after classes. In such a way the evening continuation school "would become the centre of social life of the locality."⁶⁰

Meanwhile the vagaries of the elections had caused an important change of circumstance. When Gorst introduced the new Directory in 1897 the Moderates had a small majority on the S.B.L. while the Technical Education Board was controlled by the more liberal element. Within a year the positions were reversed. The school board was in the hands of the Progressives, while the L.C.C. elections - although a "dead-heat" - had given a Moderate the chairmanship of the Technical Education Board.⁶¹

This new chairman was Edward Bond. He had secured a double first at Oxford and had been called to the Bar in 1871: his administrative experience in education included work as an Assistant Charity Commissioner from 1884 to 1891. He was not only a member of the L.C.C. but the Conservative M.P. for East Nottinghamshire.⁶²

With such a person in charge at Spring Gardens the probabilities of an application by the L.C.C. to be recognised as the authority for secondary education under Clause VII were multiplied. In fact Bond quickly raised the matter,⁶³ and to the steady stream of applications made by county authorities in 1898 London's was added late in the year. Stanley and the other representatives of the S.B.L. on the Technical Education Board naturally opposed this circumscription of school board activities but were outvoted. An enquiry to examine the S.B.L.'s appeal against

⁶⁰ Glamorgan Free Press 15 October 1898.

⁶¹ Allen William Garnett.... p.70.

⁶² The Times 20 August 1920.

⁶³ Allen op.cit. p.70.

the application was held in Gorst's presence on 1 February 1899, and Stanley opened the school board's case.⁶⁴ A brief report of the proceedings appeared in The Times but Stanley complained of its inaccuracy.⁶⁵

The following week when the issue was debated at the S.B.L. Stanley passed from caustic criticism of the central authority to open defiance. He referred to the work of the girls' department of a board school in Kentish Town where fifty-five girls had just received Science and Art certificates and ten had passed the Cambridge Junior Local Examination. "The School Board, then, is strong enough," Stanley continued, "and is resolute enough, and has enough confidence in its constituents, to declare that its work shall go on, supported by the Central Authority or not.⁺ We are the largest School Board in England - the largest educational body in the world, with the largest constituency of scholars, and the people look to the School Board to provide this education."⁶⁶ If this were Stanley's attitude at the enquiry eight days before, the effect on Gorst can be imagined. Few Ministers of the Crown can face open defiance from subordinate authorities with equanimity, and Gorst was certainly not one of them.

After the enquiry Gorst had called in William Garnett the Secretary of the Technical Education Board and had told him that the school board was putting on the Acts an interpretation previously unknown to the Education Department. How Garnett suggested that the S.B.L.'s expenditure should be challenged by a rate-paying institution,

⁶⁴ Ibid. p.85. Eglesham From School Board to Local Authority p.113.

⁶⁵ The Times 2 and 3 February 1899.

⁺ Underlining mine. - A.W.J.

⁶⁶ The School Board Chronicle 11 February 1899 p.138
.. returned to direct speech.

and how Black,⁶⁷ head-master of the Camden School of Art⁶⁸ unravelled the accounts to provide the material for the challenge before the District Auditor is now well known.⁶⁹

Even at this time Stanley seems to have had some inkling of what was a-foot, though he did not realise how the expenditure of rates and Science and Art grants on the same pupils⁷⁰ was to be checked. At the S.B.L. Stanley claimed that the "Science and Art Department had no legal position whatever to audit the accounts of, or to question the School Board as to the legality of their expenditure." Forster's Act had made provision for auditing school board accounts and "for years and years they had been spending money for the purpose of giving this instruction in Science and Art evening classes with the approval of the Auditor who had never challenged the expenditure.... The Science and Art Department had no more to do with this question than had the Admiralty...."⁷¹

The stand made by the S.B.L. mirrored Stanley's argument: but Black complained of the "insolence" of their letter: "The Board are aware of the terms of the letter addressed to them by the Science and Art Department on January 20th, 1888, but the Board did not then, and do not now, recognise the competence of the Science and Art Department to settle what is and what is not legal

⁶⁷ Francis Black was an exhibitor not only at galleries in the provinces but also at the Royal Society of British Artists and at the Royal Academy. The Times 1 February 1939 early eds.

⁶⁸ This institution began in 1881 as an Art Class under South Kensington and moved to larger premises in 1889. It was taken over by the L.C.C. in 1903. London County Council. Camden School of Art... 13th December 1907... Prize List 16 pp. A copy survives in Guildhall Library.

⁶⁹ Eaglesham From School Board to Local Authority p.114.

⁷⁰ This involved having two sets of registers and entering the names of the pupils in both.

⁷¹ The School Board Chronicle 11 February 1899 p.138

Expenditure⁷² [such questions being determined by the Local Government Board and the Law Courts.]"⁷³

In April 1899 audit proceedings were begun before Cockerton who surcharged S.B.L. members with expenditure incurred in working certain higher grade schools and evening classes under the South Kensington regulations. The S.B.L. took the case first to the Queen's Bench Division and afterwards to the Court of Appeal. Utter exasperation was Stanley's reaction to the case. Another school board member recalled: "I saw Stanley restlessly and repeatedly change his seat and finally heard him break out sotto voce in lurid language not usually heard in any court."⁷⁴ But the courts upheld the auditor's decisions.

Outside the courts Stanley was naturally reticent about the legal aspects of the case while the matter was sub judice,⁷⁵ and when he spoke on the subject it was in more general terms. In these circumstances his arguments were not legal but involved expediency and social justice.

He claimed that the Science and Art grants were originally intended for the working classes, and that by juggling with the Directory the administration had diverted these benefits to the middle classes. The South Kensington grants might even be used "to aid the richest scholars."⁷⁶

⁷² [Black] Camden School of Art and Science Corporation. Head Master's Report on certain steps which led to the School Board for London's Surcharge, and to the Judgment in "Rex v. Cockerton"; or, The History of 15 Years School Board Evasion of all Authority p.49 following with minor variations in punctuation and spelling the letter drafted by the School Management Committee and printed in The Times for 12 October 1900.

⁷³ The Times 12 October 1900. This is omitted from [Black] op.cit. and his quotation tends to over-emphasize the "insolence".

⁷⁴ Gautrey "Lux Mihi Laus": School Board Memories p.52.

⁷⁵ The School Board Chronicle 23 February 1901 p.188.

⁷⁶ Stanley Our National Education p.53.

That the Science and Art grants had been intended for working class people is indisputable. The Directory⁷⁷ had stated "The object of the vote is to promote instruction in Science and Art, especially among the industrial classes." But this aim was no longer stated in the Directory of 1897. Evidence that the South Kensington grants were being used by the middle classes comes from an unexpected source. Black's report shows that Alleyn's School, Dulwich was receiving aid of this kind⁷⁸ and the school's magazine confirms this with its congratulations to boys who had done well in the Science and Art examinations.⁷⁹ Although Alleyn's may have been founded for boys whose parents could not afford the fees at Dulwich College, few would be prepared to argue that it was a plebian institution. Stanley had no objection to all members of the community benefitting, but when board schools were being deprived of assistance, he felt the injustice. "Schools maintained for profit, and in which high fees are charged, are permitted to earn grants, while every effort is now being made to prevent School Boards, which are mainly concerned in the education of the industrial classes from participating in grants."⁸⁰

His other argument was an exercise in comparative education. In Scotland the Code provided for liberal grants to higher grade schools and attendances of pupils up to eighteen years of age were recognised.⁸¹ Devonshire argued that the comparison between the two countries was not valid because the parent Acts differed: the Act for

⁷⁷ E.g. Clause III of the Directory for 1887 (C.5181) in Parliamentary Papers vol.34 of 1887.

⁷⁸ [Black] op.cit. p.64 and map.

⁷⁹ The Alleyn [sic] School Magazine vol.i no.i (1901) p.16.

⁸⁰ Stanley Our National Education pp.84-85.

⁸¹ Articles 7 and 25. The Code for Scotland for 1901 (Cd.504) is in Parliamentary Papers vol.57 for 1901.

Scotland included provision for secondary education.⁸² Stanley retorted that the conditions of grant in the Code applied to elementary schools, and that the higher-class public schools managed by school boards were specifically excluded.⁸³ Stanley claimed that the central authority could introduce into England a Code as good as Scotland's.⁸⁴

These arguments, though interesting, could not affect the issue. Reduced to a minimum, the judgments handed down meant that school boards could only educate children under the Whitehall Code and not under the South Kensington Directory. But even this had lost a great deal of its practical implication because the two departments had been merged in the Board of Education. As Lord Reay succinctly put it: "it pronounces a divorce between two persons one of whom is no longer alive."⁸⁵ Nor did the courts severely limit the definition of elementary education, apart from the rejection of Hebrew and Greek. In any case it was not the legal judgments of the Cockerton Case that damaged English education at this time: the causes of harm were political not legal. It was Gorst who sent up the "smoke-screen" of the Cockerton Case to hide the origin of a policy already decided.⁸⁶

Stanley was not deceived by the "smoke-screen". To continue the metaphor of naval warfare, his salvoes bracketed his opponent accurately. At the N.E.A. meeting in February 1900, that is, before the first Cockerton Judgment he said, ".... I do not believe the policy of Sir

⁸² Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.89 col.985. On 25 February 1901.

⁸³ The Times 27 February 1901. These provisions are in Articles 6 and 7 (c).

⁸⁴ The School Board Chronicle 23 February 1901 p.188.

⁸⁵ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates vol.89 col.980. On 25 February 1901.

⁸⁶ Eaglesham From School Board to Local Authority pp.50-51, 132-133, 181.

John Gorst.... is simply to oppose any extension of elementary education. I believe his policy is to bring the School Boards upon their marrowbones and make them sue for mercy and to take such terms as the Government will give them - first to embarrass the School Boards by obtaining a declaration that they were doing what was illegal and then come forward in a spirit of hypocritical sympathy and say that their noble work was appealing to their hearts - "We sympathise with you and should be glad to get you out of your trouble, only there is this dreadful overlapping - if you will go to the County Councils and get them to pass your plans for an extension of educational facilities, then we will pass a little Bill to say that under these circumstances your action shall be legal."⁸⁷ That I take to be the policy they are driving at - to subordinate the control of popular education...." Which was precisely what the government did do. The enabling Acts ⁸⁸ of 1901 and 1902 did force the school boards to go to the county councils for funds to continue the work pronounced illegal.

One instrument of government policy was the Higher Elementary Schools Minute which appeared on 6 April 1900, before the first Cockerton Judgment. This Minute gave grants to schools providing a four-year course of more advanced elementary work to pupils up to fifteen years of age. Stanley attributed its origin to a Parliamentary struggle amongst the Conservatives. He claimed that the Code of 1900 by re-arranging the grant-system helped the weaker schools but deprived the stronger establishments of a significant portion of their income. This angered Conservatives representing northern constituencies.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ The School Board Chronicle 17 February 1900 p.175 returned to direct speech.

⁸⁸ 1 & 2 Edw. 7 c.11 and 2 & 3 Edw. 7 c.19.

⁸⁹ This is confirmed by Lidgett My Guided Life p.176.

So "Mr. Balfour and the whips had to come into action and check the zeal of Sir John Gorst, who openly makes the boast that as he failed by legislation to supersede School Boards by county councils, he will do administratively what he cannot do by law.

The consequence of the intimations of defection from Parliamentary supporters led to the production of what is known as the Higher Elementary Schools Minute."⁹⁰

Within a month of its introduction Stanley was showing the way to develop the Board's higher grade schools under the Minute. Twenty-six of the board's forty-three higher grade schools were recognised by the L.C.C. for scholarship purposes. To Stanley these schools might "be assumed without further discussion to be fit to make Higher Elementary Schools." For the other seventeen he suggested some re-organization, but came to the conclusion that the Board ought to apply immediately for the recognition under the Minute of all forty-three schools.⁹¹

The S.B.L. did make this sweeping demand, and were prepared to press it, but Gorst resisted approval by the Board of Education. In Parliament he made it clear that the schools recognised under the Minute would have to be primarily scientific, on the grounds that the running costs of schools with literary or commercial curricula would not justify the large grants proposed.⁹² Stanley retorted that the cost of the proposed literary and commercial schools in London would be determined by the quality of the teachers, and many of these schools would cost more per scholar than the schools of science.⁹³

The President was ready with another reason. In a

⁹⁰ Stanley Higher Elementary Schools The Contemporary Review vol.78 (1900) p.645.

⁹¹ County Hall, London, SBL 1569 Document 7.

⁹² Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.86 cols. 1516-1517. On 27 July 1900.

⁹³ Stanley Higher Elementary Schools op.cit. p.647.

speech at Manchester Devonshire claimed that Parliament had recognised scientific but not commercial education, and so it would be "improper" for the Board of Education to aid instruction in commercial subjects. In reply Stanley quoted Clause LVII of the Directory, "A school of science must provide a thorough and progressive course of education in science, combined with literary or commercial instruction..."⁹⁴

As there had been only four schools of science under the S.B.L., the chances of recognition for a large number of S.B.L. schools were minimal, and on 1 August 1900 the Board of Education definitely laid down that they could not entertain proposals for commercial schools.⁹⁵

Stanley complained bitterly of this interpretation of the Minute. He thought it quite unsound to insist on the scientific curriculum irrespective of the character of the community. The Board of Education was insisting on this "alike in commercial towns, manufacturing towns, residential towns." Indeed this was a reversal of policy because the year before, the central authority was urging the S.B.L. to provide "a more modern curriculum, giving more prominence to languages and literary subjects" in the case of a higher grade school for Hammersmith and Fulham. When the S.B.L. complied, they were told that the Board of Education did not encourage the development of such schools.⁹⁶

The Minute contained another provision that was useful to the Board of Education in denying recognition. It had to be shown to the Board's satisfaction that the school was necessary to the locality. Stanley complained

⁹⁴ Idem. The underlining represents Stanley's italics.

⁹⁵ The Minutes vol. liii p.774 4 October 1900.

⁹⁶ Stanley Higher Elementary Schools op.cit. pp.646-647.

of the perverse use of this regulation. He named three London schools⁹⁷ which the Board refused to recognise, though each served a population of 200,000, and he pointed to the recognition of a school for Ilford which had only 40,000 people. Worse, the Board of Education was including schools with high fees like St. Paul's when estimating the needs of an area. So working-class parents who wanted to keep their children at school would have to pay heavily for the privilege.⁹⁸

After repeated disappointments with applications, Stanley drew his own conclusion: "The fact is no one can study the correspondence without seeing that the statements and allegations put forward by the Department are nothing but mere makeshift excuses, all invented from day to day in order to support a foregone conclusion which may have been arrived at by a secret understanding with the Treasury..."⁹⁹

Tracing the subsequent history of the forty-three schools Stanley wanted to develop is illuminating. It has been contended by Olive Banks¹⁰⁰ who cites examples in Portsmouth, Nottingham and Salford, that the higher elementary schools developed into secondary schools. This may have been true of the provinces but it was certainly not true of London as this table¹⁰¹ shows:-

⁹⁷ The Ashburnham; Oldfield Road; Hackford Road.

⁹⁸ Stanley interviewed by a Daily News reporter. The Daily News 29 April 1901.

⁹⁹ The School Board Chronicle 23 February 1901 p.188.

¹⁰⁰ Banks Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education: a Study in Educational Sociology p.53.

¹⁰¹ London County Council. Education Service Particulars....
[= The Particulars.... infra.] This was issued for most years and forms the basis of the following table. The L.C.C. Education Committee Minutes were used as shown.

Schools Recognised by the L.C.C. for the Admission of
Junior Scholars

Name of School in 1900

Beethoven Street	Continued to give higher grade teaching until 1910-11: reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1911-12.
Blackheath Road	Continued to give higher grade teaching until 1913-14: reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1914-15.
Bloomfield Road	Re-organized as Bloomfield Road Central School 1 April 1911 (but an ordinary elementary school named Bloomfield Road continued to function after that date).
Burghley Road	Re-organized as Burghley Road Central School 1 April 1911 (but an ordinary elementary school named Burghley Road continued to function after that date).
Crawford Street	Re-organized as Camberwell Central School 5 April 1921 (but an ordinary elementary school named Crawford Street continued to function after that date).
Fleet Road	Continued to give higher grade teaching until 1917-18 and according to <u>The Particulars....</u> for 1918-19 was re-organized as a Central School on 1 April 1918, but subsequent editions note "The Higher Grade Section is conducted as a Central School but is not so designated."

Goodrich Road Still called Goodrich Road Higher Grade School in 1928-29 but reduced to an ordinary elementary school in 1929-30.

Hackford Road New buildings for the Reay Central School in Hackford Road were opened on 22 August 1910 (The L.C.C. Education Committee Minutes 19 October 1910 p.584). Hackford Road School continued to give higher grade courses until 1912-13 but was reduced to an ordinary elementary school in 1913-14.

Haselrigge Road Reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school by 1910-11.

The Hugh Middleton Re-organized as the Hugh Myddelton Central School 1 April 1911 (but an ordinary elementary school called the Hugh Myddelton School continued after that date).

Keeton's Road Still called Keeton's Road Higher Grade School in 1924-25 but reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1925-26.

Mansford Street Re-organized as Mansford Street Central School 1 April 1911.

Mantle Road New buildings opened for Mantle Road Central School 22 August 1910 (The L.C.C. Education Committee Minutes 19 October 1910 p.584). Mantle Road School gave higher grade teaching in 1910-11 but was reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1911-12.

Medburn Street

This school, re-named to commemorate Lyulph Stanley at the demise of the S.B.L., continued to give higher grade teaching and higher elementary teaching until 1910-11. New buildings for the Stanley Central School were opened on 22 August 1910. The old school then reverted to its original name (The L.C.C. Education Committee Minutes 19 October 1910 pp.583-585).

Millfields Road

Re-organized as Millfields Road Central School 1 April 1911 (but an ordinary elementary school named Millfields Road School continued to function after that date).

Monnow Road

Re-organized as Monnow Road Central School 1 April 1911 (but an ordinary elementary school named Monnow Road School continued to function after that date).

Montem Street

Re-organized as Montem Street Central School 1 April 1911 (but an ordinary elementary school named Montem Street School continued to function after that date).

Oldfield Road

Re-organized as Oldfield Road Central School 25 August 1913 (but an ordinary elementary school named Oldfield Road School continued to function after that date).

Portman Place

Continued to give higher grade teaching until 1910-11 but reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1911-12.

Rotherhithe New Road	Continued to give higher grade teaching until 1919-20 but reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1920-21.
Sherbrooke Road	"Re-organized as an interim Central School as from 1st August, 1911, pending the provision of a permanent Central School at Finlay Street." This was opened on 5 April 1921 and Sherbrooke Road School was reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1920-21.
South Lambeth Road	Re-organized as a Central School 1 April 1925.
Surrey Lane	Re-organized as a Central School 5 April 1921. This was intended to be a temporary arrangement but was given permanent status c.1930.
Thomas Street	Re-organized as Thomas Street Central School 1 April 1911 (but an ordinary elementary school named Thomas Street School continued to function after that date).
William Street	Re-organized as William Street Central School 1 April 1911 (but an ordinary elementary school named William Street School continued to function after that date).
Wilton Road	Dalston Central School was opened in new buildings on 8 September 1913. Then Wilton Road ceased to give higher grade teaching.

Schools Not Recognised by the L.C.C. for the Admission of Junior Scholars

Name of School in 1900	Size of ex-VII in 1900	
Ancona Road	82	Still giving higher grade teaching in 1911-12: reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school 1912-13.
The Ashburnham	33	The Ashburnham Central School (1 April 1911) was housed in buildings opened on 22 August 1904. The older buildings (of 1885) continued in use for the ordinary elementary school.
Bellenden Road	51	Still called Bellenden Road Higher Grade School in 1924-25 but reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school 1925-26.
Beresford Street	32	Still giving higher grade teaching in 1910-11 but reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1911-12.
Colls Road	32	Reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school by 1910-11.
Duncombe Road	29	Still giving higher grade teaching in 1910-11 but reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1911-12.
Glengall Road	23	Re-organized as Millwall Central School 1 April 1911 (but an ordinary elementary school named Glengall Road School continued to function after that date).

Honeywell Road	32	Still giving higher grade teaching in 1921-22 but reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1923-24.
Kilburn Lane	50	Still giving higher grade teaching in 1910-11 but reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1911-12. Re-organized as a Central School 26 August 1924.
Malmesbury Road	24	Malmesbury Road Central School operated in new buildings opened 26 August 1912; and Malmesbury Road became an ordinary elementary school.
Mina Road	22	Mina Road Central School (1 April 1911) was housed in buildings opened 28 August 1905. The older buildings (of 1882) continued in use for the ordinary elementary school.
Monson Road	54	Reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school by 1910-11.
Rutland Street	46	Reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school by 1910-11.
Queen's Road	32	Still giving higher grade teaching in 1913-14 but reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school by 1914-15.
St. John's Road	38	On the opening of Hoxton Central School (26 August 1912) this was reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school.

Upper Hornsey Road	24	Still giving higher grade teaching in 1910-11 but reduced to the status of an ordinary elementary school in 1911-12.
West Square	47	Re-organized as West Square Central School 1 April 1911 (but an ordinary elementary school named West Square School continued to function after that date).

Up to the outbreak of the Second World War not one of these schools had become secondary in the prevailing sense of the term. About half had become central schools, but these did not come into being until 1911 and some were not formed until the 1920's. Nor could it be argued that the widespread building of other secondary schools rendered the development of established schools unnecessary. Even including transfers the L.C.C. had only twenty-three county secondary schools in 1919-1920: a figure which had risen to twenty-seven by September 1937.¹⁰²

So, even if all places in senior departments are included there was accommodation for only 24,000 children in London's higher grade and central schools by 1919-1920.¹⁰³ That is, the ratio of places to population was 1:200. In Scotland, where the population was only slightly greater, and where the size and inaccessibility of many communities made provision of facilities for gifted children more difficult, in the same year the average attendance in higher elementary schools was 31,000.¹⁰⁴

Stanley's final ground for complaint was the age

¹⁰² The Particulars... The issue for 1919-20 pp.258-260. The issue dated September 1937 pp.199-202.

¹⁰³ The Particulars... The issue for 1919-20 pp.72-168. The L.C.C. retained the term "higher grade school" and their figures differ slightly from those of the Board of Education.

¹⁰⁴ Wade Post-Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland 1872-1936 p.117. In 1921 the population of Scotland was 4.9m and the population of the L.C.C. area was 4.5m.

restriction. The Minute had imposed an upper limit of fifteen on the children in higher elementary schools. Stanley called this provision "very injurious"¹⁰⁵ and pointed especially to the difficulties it created in the education of pupil-teachers, for these children had often stayed on at school till they were sixteen.¹⁰⁶

Great restrictions had also been placed on evening schools. It had been held in the Cockerton Case that school boards could educate children but not adults, and the age limit mentioned had been "somewhere between sixteen and seventeen" though the Master of the Rolls regarded this as "rather high". Despite this, Stanley said, "we need not assume that scholars under 21 need be excluded from evening schools": thus giving another illustration of his willingness

to include any educational territory he could claim within the school board sphere of influence. He offered two arguments for his claim. The Education Department had paid grant on scholars up to twenty-one even before the first Elementary Education Act had been passed: and besides, twenty-one was the age normally used for defining adulthood.¹⁰⁷ But even this age limit he regarded as "very serious" for one-quarter - 20,000 out of 80,000 - of London's evening school pupils were over twenty-one and only three-eighths under sixteen.¹⁰⁸ He asserted that the standard of instruction was not so exclusively advanced as the critics maintained. And the figures tend to substantiate his claim. "Reading and writing" was taught at 141 S.B.L.

¹⁰⁵ The Daily News 29 April 1901.

¹⁰⁶ Stanley Higher Elementary Schools op.cit. p.444.

¹⁰⁷ The School Board Chronicle 29 December 1900 p.728.
The Daily News 29 April 1901.

¹⁰⁸ On the roll on 13 December 1900. Stanley reported in
The School Board Chronicle 23 February 1901 p.189.

evening schools in 1899-1900 to 12,143 pupils.¹⁰⁹ If the School Board had to abandon this work no other body would do it.

Stanley also claimed that the evening schools grappled with two pressing social problems. They taught English to immigrants such as Polish Jews and Italians and they curbed delinquency: "...we are doing much," he said, "to draw from the streets young men and young women who would otherwise swell that class of whom we learn so much nowadays under the name of Hooligans."¹¹⁰

While Stanley was putting forward these arguments Morant was drawing up his memorandum on the organization of evening schools. To Morant evening schools had become secondary in the content of their curricula: so they should be severed from their parent stock and transferred to the counties.¹¹¹

The Re-organization of 1902-1904

The abolition of all school boards outside London and the use of the county council as the major administrative body was the basic feature of the Education Bill¹¹² of 1902. The new authorities would have powers to provide secondary education and they would use their rates to maintain denominational schools. These proposals were diametrically opposed to Stanley's ideas, but his contribution to the vociferous opposition the Bill aroused was not nearly so conspicuous as the campaigns of, say, Dr. Clifford or Lloyd

¹⁰⁹ County Hall, London. SBL 1457 Report of the Evening Continuation Schools Committee... (1899-1900) p.63. Stanley was a close friend of Stewart Headlam the Christian Socialist who was the Chairman of this Committee. Bettany Stewart Headlam p.156.

¹¹⁰ The School Board Chronicle 23 February 1901 p.189. At a special meeting of the Association of School Boards.

¹¹¹ Eaglesham From School Board to Local Authority pp.155, 200-211.

¹¹² Bill 138 in Parliamentary Papers vol.1 of 1902.

George. It seems that he was pre-occupied with other matters in the year 1902.¹¹³ However, he did put his case against the Bill in two articles.¹¹⁴ It is significant perhaps that while the Bill was undergoing gestation Balfour's private secretary had been re-reading Stanley's Re-opening the Education Settlement of 1870 published in 1895 and even more interesting that Morant should write, "I remember it well" and "Of course Stanley's article shows what will again be said."¹¹⁵

Morant's reasons for departing from ad hoc administration and turning to the use of all-embracing municipal authorities seem to have been pragmatic. When Joseph Chamberlain suggested that ad hoc authorities should be developed, Morant drew up a memorandum of twelve points.¹¹⁶ His arguments are not directed against ad hoc as a principle, but show how far other authorities had gained powers in educational administration. Sometimes the arguments do not amount to much. That Birmingham Town Council was spending over £10,000 of the rates on education is not particularly impressive when compared with school board expenditure. In fact the memorandum seems to imply that divesting the counties of the powers they had acquired would be too difficult a task to undertake.

¹¹³ He apologized to members of the N.E.A. for doing little for the Association beyond signing cheques. The School Government Chronicle and Education Authorities Gazette 25 July 1903 p.77.

¹¹⁴ Stanley The Education Bill The Christian World 3 April 1902 pp.11-12 reprinted as N.E.A. Circular no.1 The Education Bill, 1902 a single sheet 13½" x 9½": a copy survives in the library of the Department of Education and Science. Stanley The Government Education Bill The Contemporary Review vol.81(1902) pp.609-626. Stanley had produced an article with an identical title on the Bill of 1901 and this is printed in The Contemporary Review vol.79(1901) pp.761-774.

¹¹⁵ British Museum Add.MSS. 49787, f.53 provisional. Letter from R.L. Morant to J.S. Sandars and in Morant's hand. It is dated 4 January 1901 but attributed by the British Museum to 4 January 1902.

¹¹⁶ Given in Appendix E.

On the principle of ad hoc Stanley argued that "A body elected especially to manage schools would be forcibly familiarised with the problems connected with their work."¹¹⁷ To which the obvious reply was that members of an education committee would also be "forcibly familiarised" with educational problems. It seems that Stanley, relying on his knowledge of committee work at the school board visualised a relationship between the council and its education committee equivalent to the relationship between the S.B.L. and one of its subordinate committees. Whereas in fact the education committees became almost semi-autonomous bodies.

Stanley also believed that the committee system was a way of gaining additional representation for vested interests. Each council would have to draw up a scheme for the constitution of its Education Committee. These schemes would provide for the representation of undefined outside interests and would have to be approved by the Board of Education within a year. At "the end of a year the Board of Education may impose its will on the Local Education Authority; and thenceforward the Local Council loses all independent power of altering the composition of its Committee." Stanley suspected the Churches would gain "double representation" by this provision: once through the votes of their members in the electorate and again when ecclesiastical organizations were nominated in accordance with the schemes.¹¹⁸

When Stanley condemned the use of the counties as units on account of their size his arguments carried greater force. Before motor transport revolutionised rural life the size of many counties meant that much time would be spent by committee members travelling from their homes to

¹¹⁷ Stanley N.E.A. Circular no.1 op.cit.

¹¹⁸ Stanley N.E.A. Circular no.1. Stanley The Government Education Bill op.cit. p.611.

the county town. In the worst cases they would have to stay away overnight when attending a meeting. Few working men could afford to spend their time on this scale. Stanley claimed that by choosing the county as the unit "the representation falls largely into the hands of the gentry, mainly Conservative and Church of England": and it would be "quite idle to expect that they could ever get working-men on such County Councils." The paradox that he, a member of one of the greatest Houses in England, should condemn county councils on these grounds did not seem to occur to him.¹¹⁹

To prove or disprove Stanley's contention is not possible, but an examination of the social position of Nottinghamshire county councillors in 1908 is illuminating. In a county with an increasingly important coal-field and much heavy industry the electorate returned Liberals in three out of the four constituencies in 1906.¹²⁰ Even in the previous Parliament the county had two Liberals among its representatives.¹²¹ In view of this the social status¹²² of the county councillors is perhaps a little higher than expected:-

<u>Social standing/ Occupation</u>	<u>Aldermen</u>	<u>County Councillors</u>	<u>Total</u>
Peer	2	2	4 ²
Knight	1		1
Gentleman	1	6	7
Esquire	6	6 ³	12 ³
Commissioned Officers		3	3

¹¹⁹ Stanley N.E.A. Circular no.1. The School Board Chronicle 15 February 1902 p.161.

¹²⁰ Dod's Parliamentary Companion 1908.

¹²¹ Dod's Parliamentary Companion 1902.

¹²² The Court Guide and County Blue Book of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Rutland and Northamptonshire pp.208-210.

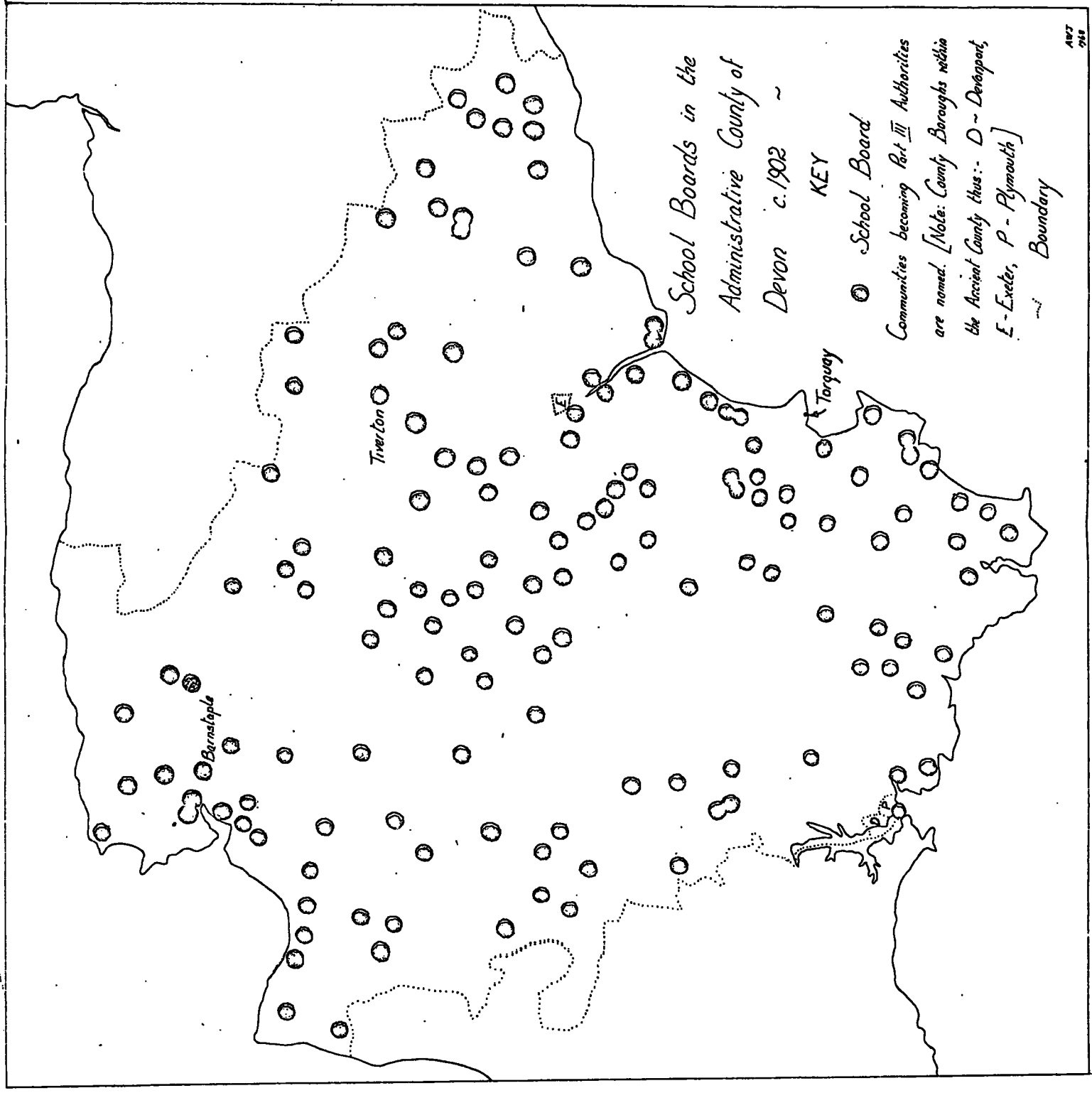
Coal and iron masters	1	4 ⁴	5 ⁴
Manufacturers	4	9	13
Professional men ¹	1	3	4
Farmers	1	6	7
Merchants		4	4
Craftsmen		1	1
Builders		2	2
Shop-Keepers and assistants		4	4

¹ Including clerics. ² Excludes Baron Belper the Chairman. ³ Includes one "land-owner". ⁴ Includes one "quarry-owner".

In any case if school boards had been made universal in accordance with Stanley's schemes, it is very likely that a higher proportion of working men would have gained representation.

Another implication to Stanley of the excessive size of some counties was the large number of elementary schools with which the councillors would have to be familiar. Devonshire was one of the counties he chose to illustrate his point. He claimed that it was impossible for an elected representative to know all the schools from Dartmouth to Ilfracombe. And after the implementation of the Act the Devon County Council had to maintain some 550 schools,¹²³ making it difficult to imagine that members of the education committee could even name all the schools under their guidance much less evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of each. Probably Balfour and Morant had no intention that an Education Committee member should have a detailed knowledge of each

¹²³ 545 is the number given on p.54 of The Education Authorities Directory for 1907-08.



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Fig. 15

school. But Stanley's approach to work on the S.B.L., his practice of visiting the schools and the lack of experienced officials in the seventies and eighties had all contributed to give him an intimate knowledge of each board school in the capital. And he expected others to have as keen an interest and as remarkable a memory as his own.

Three sketch-maps of Devon (figs. 15,16) help to evaluate Stanley's ideas of local administration. The first shows the school boards in the administrative county of Devon in 1902.¹²⁴

Most of these rural boards had charge of a small number of children. That they should be fairly evenly distributed over the county - except for the moorland areas of Dartmoor and Exmoor - is perhaps less expected. So widespread were these small rural boards that there seems to have been little excuse for the central authority not using its powers, as Stanley had advocated, to form united districts,¹²⁵ especially in South Devon and north-west of Exeter.

How sweeping were the changes wrought by the 1902 Act can be seen from fig. 16a. Tiverton, Barnstaple and Torquay became Part III Authorities with control of elementary education only. Of these Torquay never had a school board. In other words all the school boards except two within the administrative county had the schools in their district placed under the county council and controlled from Exeter. This does seem to be going from one extreme to the other as Stanley complained. That he was right in saying that the new unit was too large gains

¹²⁴ Cd.1038 Board of Education. List of School Boards....
1 January 1902. This is in Parliamentary Papers
vol. 79 of 1902.

¹²⁵ p. 163 supra.

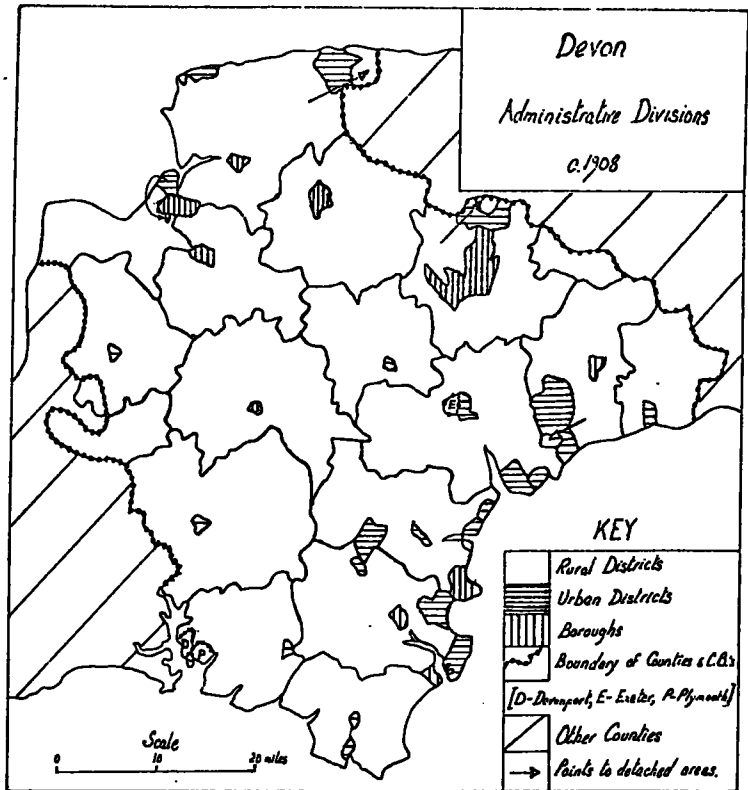


Fig. 16a

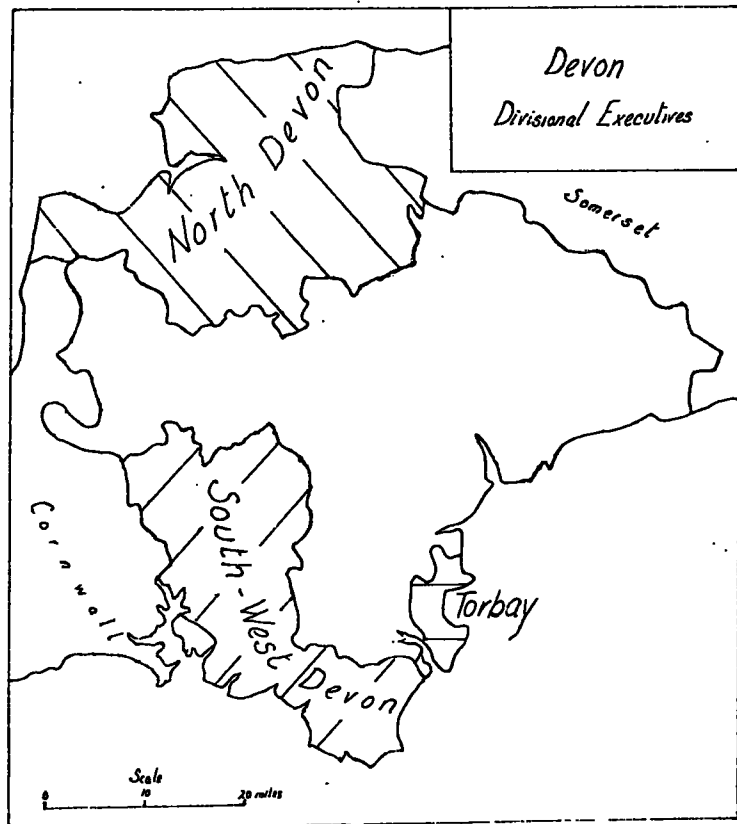


Fig. 16b

confirmation from subsequent events. Forty years later after improvements in rural communications had made larger units much more feasible, it was proposed to sub-divide the counties, and under the 1944 Act¹²⁶ three divisional executives were established in Devon. They were the North Devon, the South-West Devon and the Torbay Divisional Executives. They are indicated on fig. 16b¹²⁷ and still administer education in the rural districts within the boundaries shown. Yet in 1902 Stanley was arguing that if the county councils had to be given control of education they should have powers to divide their county and appoint a committee for each part.¹²⁸ Had his suggestion been followed England might have been spared the experiment of the divisional executive which, by inordinately lengthening the chain of command has found few supporters.

The solution most favoured by Stanley was the establishment of universal school boards, each serving a minimum of 8,000 - 10,000 people. A unit similar to the rural district¹²⁹ was his aim for elementary education. Nowhere does he say explicitly what he planned for the small towns which had the status of boroughs or urban districts and were set within the rural districts. If these market towns were absorbed within the new units, there would be about a score of school boards for Devonshire. From the

¹²⁶ Eventually 203 divisional units were formed. Reller Divisional Administration in English Education... University of California Publications in Education vol. 12 no.3 p.179.

¹²⁷ Ministry of Education Maps: County of Devonshire [sic].

¹²⁸ Stanley e.g. in N.E.A. Circular no.1. op.cit.

¹²⁹ Fig. 16a shows administrative divisions in Devon c.1908. Bacon's Excelsior Map of Devon and Cornwall showing.... Local Government Divisions [1908]. His scheme would give 1,500 to 2,000 authorities.

practical point of view these units would have had great advantages. The market town, often centrally placed was the natural focus for the communities the school board would serve. Then, if meetings had taken place on market days additional travelling for members would have been reduced to a minimum. Nor would working men be precluded by practical considerations from becoming members. Finally, those who had gained experience on the earlier school boards would have been able to continue their service: a possibility less likely when all meetings were in Exeter.

Stanley criticized the proposed clauses¹³⁰ on secondary education. They did not impose a duty on the L.E.A. to provide secondary education: they did not even enforce the spending of the residue grant on secondary education; nor was the balance in that fund to be carried forward for secondary education. The authority could aid denominational institutions "of the most narrow and exclusive character" without being represented on the management. The conscience clause of the technical education legislation was repealed¹³¹ and a weaker substitute limited to day scholars inserted. There was nothing in the Bill providing for a survey of existing secondary schools, and nothing compelling the L.E.A. to supply further accommodation according to the needs of the locality.¹³²

Referring to the definitions in the Bill¹³³ Stanley noted that deliberate attacks were being made upon elementary school work in England. Scholars in public elementary schools were to be "not more than fifteen years of age." So the upper age limit was being pared down still further.

¹³⁰ §§ 2,3,4.

¹³¹ Fourth Schedule.

¹³² Stanley The Government Education Bill op.cit. pp.610-611.

¹³³ § 18.

Even the Code after the Cockerton Judgment had allowed the children to remain in school until the end of the year in which they became fifteen. Under the Bill they would be turned out on their fifteenth birthday. This was undesirable in itself and would create an awkward interval for intending pupil-teachers before they could sign their indentures. It also seemed that the instruction of pupil-teachers would not be permitted under the Code. It might be the intention to provide for them under Part II of the Bill which dealt with higher education, but there was no clause compelling the L.E.A. to train pupil-teachers. The pupil-teacher centres had multiplied so quickly that there were more than a hundred of them and they gave training to more than a half of the country's pupil-teachers. "Any attempt to interfere with such a work, which is rapidly growing, and to transfer it to a new authority would be most injurious." Much evening school work was to be transferred in a similar way to the Part II authorities. In any case it would be disadvantageous to transfer the work on the periphery of elementary education, from an authority with unlimited rating power to one limited to a 2d. rate and the whisky money.¹³⁴

To Stanley the Bill provided little evidence that there was a desire to increase efficiency. Admitting that small schools were appropriate in rural districts, and unwilling to discuss the optimum size of schools, Stanley maintained that in crowded areas schools of seven to eight hundred would be more efficient and would allow "a better classification". Stockport, Blackburn and Bury provided him with examples. "In Bury there are 28 schools for 7,716 average, and of these 16 have less than 300. It is quite certain that in such a town as Bury economy and efficiency would both gain if instead of 28 schools there were

¹³⁴ Stanley The Government Education Bill op.cit. pp.622-623.

at most 18." In the towns schools were being multiplied unnecessarily to suit parochial needs. Yet the Bill gave the L.E.A. no say "in determining how far the existing schools are necessary and should be maintained".¹³⁵ The Bill was "a perpetual endowment of education inefficiency."¹³⁶

The L.E.A. remained impotent in determining the necessity of non-provided schools until 1933 when a special Act was passed.¹³⁷ In that year despite financial difficulties, Bury Education Committee was proposing to build a new junior school to relieve pressure on their council school in East Ward. After putting their case in an interview at the Board of Education their deputation was told that approval could not be given while there were places available in accessible voluntary schools, namely, St. Mark's, St. Paul's Huntley, St. Thomas's and Clerke Street Methodist Schools. An official recorded: "Mr. Tomlinson [the Director of Education for Bury] said that there would be a riot if he attempted to turn any children out of the East Ward School, which was the best in the town, to the suggested alternatives which were miserable buildings, though not actually on the black list. He admitted that the Authority had been aware of the existence of this accommodation, but having regard to its quality he would not take the responsibility of turning out children from East Ward and sending them there....They also mentioned that there was some hope of closing Clerke Street Methodist School or the United Methodist School as a result of the new Act."¹³⁸ So Stanley's forecast for this aspect of the 1902

¹³⁵ § 10 prevented an existing school being considered unnecessary unless its average attendance was less than thirty.

¹³⁶ Stanley The Government Education Bill op.cit.pp.623-624.

¹³⁷ The clause of the Balfour Act was 2 & 3 Edw.7c.42 § 9 and this was carried forward in the consolidating Act of 1921 as 11 & 12 Geo.5 c.51 § 19. The 1933 Act was Education (Necessity of Schools) Act, 23 & 24 Geo.5 c.29.

¹³⁸ P.R.O. Ed.16/572. Underlining mine. - A.W.J.

legislation seems remarkably accurate.

As for new schools, the school boards had been given powers under Forster's Act¹³⁹ to initiate school building to fill deficiencies. These powers had been fettered by the administrative action of the Department. The position would be even worse under the Bill.¹⁴⁰ The local authority had to give three months notice when they wanted to build a new school. These clauses, ostensibly for the protection of the Non-conformists would be "worthless for that purpose". They might be used to multiply schools unnecessarily: indeed, they would "enable the Board of Education to multiply new denominational schools" at public expense.¹⁴¹

Stanley was also deeply concerned at the proposed financial arrangements. Under the Bill there would be a uniform rate throughout each county and so, any locality whose inhabitants had been willing to spend heavily on education would no longer be able to do so. Poor school boards which previously came within the definition of needy areas, being merged in larger units, would no longer qualify for grant, yet the special aid grant for voluntary schools was specifically retained.¹⁴² This was a direct incentive to L.E.A's to favour voluntary schools because they would receive 5s. for every child in such schools but no equivalent grant for children in publicly-provided schools. It would also be unjust to localities where school boards had been active. For example: St. Helens, Wigan and Stockport, which had no board schools but some 35,000 pupils in voluntary schools would receive over £11,000 from this grant, but

¹³⁹ 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 §19.

¹⁴⁰ §§ 9,10.

¹⁴¹ Stanley N.E.A. Circular no.1. oplocit.

¹⁴² § 8 (3). It was to be paid to the L.E.A. not the voluntary association.

London-over-the-Border - West Ham, East Ham, Walthamstow and Leyton - with seven-eighths of their 80,000 pupils in board schools would get less than £3,000. Stanley calculated that a rate of 3d. or 4d. would be needed in the northern towns he named, but in the London suburbs the school rates were already as high as 2s. 2d. He wanted this grant to be distributed uniformly throughout the county.¹⁴³

It is at least curious that Morant who had acquired a formidable knowledge of the intricacies of rating in England and who was prepared to argue in favour of county authorities for secondary education on the grounds that they would levy more uniform rates than smaller units,¹⁴⁴ should be associated with proposals that were likely to produce these wide discrepancies in rates for elementary education. In fact the range of rates levied was very wide. In 1918-1919 seven L.E.A.'s raised a rate for elementary education of less than 12d. in the pound but four had rates over 39d. in the pound.¹⁴⁵

The nineteenth-century policy of making parliamentary grants to stimulate local voluntary effort had been a ludicrous failure. As the grants increased the fraction of the total cost borne by voluntary subscriptions dwindled. Church dignitaries at the turn of the century were complaining of the financial condition of the voluntary schools and yet the Church's contribution to these schools was negligible. During the preparation of the Bill Morant wrote to Balfour that Lord Hugh Cecil "very strongly main-

¹⁴³ Stanley The Government Education Bill op.cit. pp.613, 621-622.

¹⁴⁴ Eaglesham Planning the Education Bill of 1902 B.J.E.S. vol. ix (1960) p.7.

¹⁴⁵ Cmd.1101. Elementary Education. (England and Wales.) Statistics Relating to the Receipts and Expenditure of Local Education Authorities in the Financial Year 1918-1919 in Parliamentary Papers vol.36 of 1920 p.51.

tained that a Bill which left it possible for a Local Authority to demand any⁺ subscriptions for maintenance wd quite fail to meet the difficulties."¹⁴⁶ The Bill did impose a duty on the local authority¹⁴⁷ to use the rates to maintain the voluntary schools, without giving the L.E.A. the control of the management. The voluntary managers would no longer be compelled to finance their school in any way except in repairing the fabric and carrying out reasonable alterations.

Stanley recalled the assurance of Mr. Gladstone in 1870 that the denomination would always have to bear a portion of the cost. "Now, however, a complaisant Government are apparently willing to endow the whole of the teaching with public money." Stanley thought that as religious teaching occupied about one-sixth of school time, it would be "a moderate demand" for the denomination to pay one-sixth of the cost.¹⁴⁸

He also ridiculed the proposed public representation on the management of voluntary schools.¹⁴⁹ "The power for the local authority to nominate not more than a third of the managers is worthless. The clergyman, his wife, his curate and his churchwarden may be four managers. What is the use of the County Council putting on a fifth? He would be powerless and would soon cease to attend." The managers were to control the appointment¹⁵⁰ and dismissal

+ Underlining mine. - A.W.J.

¹⁴⁶ British Museum Add.MSS. 49787, f.30 provisional. Letter dated 30 October 1901 from R.L. Morant to A.J. Balfour and in Morant's hand.

¹⁴⁷ § 8 (1).

¹⁴⁸ Stanley The Government Education Bill op.cit. pp.619-620.

¹⁴⁹ § 8 (1) (e).

¹⁵⁰ In The Times for 18 October 1902 Stanley claimed that second-rate candidates who enthused over extra-curricular parochial work would be appointed.

of the teachers. They might dismiss an efficient teacher because of some petty quarrel in the parish: yet the L.E.A. could not secure the dismissal of any teacher, however inefficient; they could only make representations to the managers. Stanley's solution was the appointment of all managers by the L.E.A. In towns the managers would be selected with regard to the traditions of the school; in the country "the Parish Council would faithfully represent the wishes of the parents."¹⁵¹

Stanley summarily condemned the Bill for attacking "every principle of religious freedom, of popular government, of financial control by those who bear the burden of payment, and of educational efficiency and progress." In his estimation the Bill had been framed to accord with the wishes of the Established Church.

He attacked those whom he believed responsible for this policy: "The animosity of the Board of Education of late years to School Boards has been notorious. Apparently Sir John Gorst is the prime mover, but the Duke of Devonshire, whose lethargic acquiescence in the overthrow of the principles he used to advocate gives cause for sorrow if not for wonder, must, as titular head of the department, be held responsible for what he permits.

....Far better that he should confine his attention exclusively to Newmarket than meddle with and destroy a scheme of public education which, however incomplete and maimed by inherited concessions to clerical sectarianism, has changed for the better the education of England in the last thirty years."

As for Balfour Stanley defied him to introduce a similar Bill for Scotland.

+ + +

¹⁵¹ Stanley The Government Education Bill op.cit. pp.620-621.

Despite strenuous opposition the Bill became law with its basic provisions intact. By early 1903 Stanley was well aware that its principles would be applied to London. Getting wind of the proposal to make use of the Metropolitan Boroughs in education administration Stanley was particularly scathing of Anson, who had succeeded Gorst at the Board of Education. "Among the various schemes, Stanley wrote, "which rumour has attributed to the Government, the scheme of local municipal management of schools by some thirty authorities may be dismissed as too absurd to have done more than attract the passing attention of a Minister conversant neither with education nor London, but accessible to the solicitations of the wire-pullers of the old vestries."¹⁵²

Stanley pointed out that many facets of the education service for London (e.g. industrial schools, or schools specially built for the handicapped) could not be distributed to the boroughs. Then the teaching of special subjects such as cookery had been arranged so that the organizing teacher had to deal with an area much larger than a metropolitan borough.¹⁵³

The uniform rate throughout London was an advantage: for, without it the cost would fall with unjust heaviness on the inhabitants of the poorer boroughs. Stanley also feared that Anson's claim of greater elasticity in the curriculum resulting from the proposed decentralisation would really mean that poorer children would receive a more rudimentary education than their richer fellows. To Stanley decentralisation would have been more appropriate in a large county like Devon, not in London where events of the previous thirty

¹⁵² Stanley The New Education Authority for London The Nineteenth Century and After vol. liii (1903) p.406.

¹⁵³ Ibid. p.408 and Stanley London Education Bill, 1903. Memorial to the Marquis of Londonderry.... [= Memorial infra.] pp.5-7.

years had proved that centralised control of education in a great city did work.¹⁵⁴

The opponents of ad hoc authorities had claimed that the multiplicity of elections dissuaded the voters from exercising their rights: a single election for an all-embracing authority would be simpler. Stanley made the interesting suggestion that the electoral divisions for the L.C.C. and the ad hoc education authority for London should be identical: and elections for the two bodies should be on the same day. This would simplify procedure for the voters but retain the ad hoc principle.¹⁵⁵

Although the proposal to make the Metropolitan Boroughs responsible for education was withdrawn, the S.B.L. did not survive. Garnett implies that he was responsible for persuading the Conservatives that the L.C.C. would not be over-burdened by adding education to their other cares,¹⁵⁶ and a short Act¹⁵⁷ extended to the L.C.C. the powers given to other counties.

The treatment of Stanley by the L.C.C. could hardly have been more ungracious. The Progressives, afraid of being dominated, refused almost unanimously to make him an alderman, but were willing to offer him co-optation on the education committee.¹⁵⁸ This he declined. He did not wish to work on "a subordinate committee while unable to take part in the deliberations or to have a voice in framing the policy of the new education authority for London."¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Memorial pp.3-4,8.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. pp.1-2.

¹⁵⁶ Garnett How the County Council became the Local Education Authority for London The Educational Record... April 1929 p.760.

¹⁵⁷ 3 & 4 Edw. 7 c.24.

¹⁵⁸ Webb [Drake and Cole (eds.)] Our Partnership pp.285,288.

¹⁵⁹ The Times 22 March 1904.

To commemorate his services the S.B.L. wished to name a school after him. The most modern school was suggested, but Stanley preferred to have Medburn St., Camden Town re-named, on the ground that he had been closely associated with it.¹⁶⁰ It was also symbolic because Medburn St. was the school whose registers Black had patiently unravelled¹⁶¹ and which symbolised more than any other the downfall of school board hopes to provide the structure of a complete educational system.

But by the time the School Board for London expired on the last day of April 1904 Stanley was in a position to serve English and Welsh education in another capacity. On the death of his brother, the family estates and titles had devolved upon him, giving him a position of influence in Anglesey and Cheshire and a seat in the House of Lords.

¹⁶⁰ The School Government Chronicle... 26 March 1904
pp.296-297.

¹⁶¹ [Black] op.cit. pp.30-34, 52-53, 67.

CHAPTER SIX

The Liberal Peer, 1903-1925

Act. 65-86

It is rare for a third son to inherit his father's titles but it happened to Lyulph Stanley. His two elder brothers were Henry and John. The latter had died in 1878 leaving two daughters¹ but no sons. As for Henry, the third baron, he had gone through several marriage ceremonies with a Spanish lady, but none of them were valid.² Fortunately from the legal point of view there were no children of this union. So when Henry died on 10 December 1903 Lyulph Stanley became fourth Baron Stanley of Alderley. The new Lord Stanley inherited not only Alderley Park but also Penrhos in Anglesey because on the death of his father's twin brother William in 1884 the two estates had come into the hands of one owner.³ So the good fortune that always placed him in a key position at a time of educational crisis still held. For it was Non-conformist Wales that offered the bitterest opposition to the enforcement of the Balfour Act.

A month after his brother's death Lord Stanley was being implored by Holyhead Liberals to show the same interest in Anglesey's educational development as he had done in London's.⁴ And one of his first actions was to start learning Welsh⁵ which was naturally very gratifying to the

¹ Burke's...Peerage... 1967 ed. p.2269.

² Russell and Russell (eds.) The Amberley Papers vol.i p.20.

³ D.N.B. Entry under Stanley, Henry Edward John...(1827-1903).

⁴ The Library of the University College of North Wales, Bangor [= U.C.N.W. infra.] Pen.IV.306. An illuminated address dated 12 January 1904.

⁵ The Welsh Leader.... 25 August 1904 p.778.

island's inhabitants. During a garden party at Penrhos his readiness to identify himself with Welsh aspirations was applauded:⁶ and indeed he seems to have been accepted widely in the Principality for he addressed the National Eisteddfod at Rhyl, taking the necessity for the cultivation of literary Welsh as his theme.⁷ As he put it to the N.E.A., "...I have now become a gallant little Welshman...."⁸

"A Gallant Little Welshman" v. the Board of Education

Unlike the rest of North Wales, Anglesey is low-lying with no point higher than 750 feet but because of the heavy rainfall much of the farmland is under pasture or is cultivated for oats. From this farming the island derived most of its wealth, for its copper mine - once Europe's largest - had ceased to operate by the middle of the nineteenth century.⁹ The traffic to Ireland provided a secondary source of wealth: but Anglesey was not rich and in 1907-1908 the yield of a penny rate was a mere £688 or 2s. Od. per scholar.¹⁰

The total population of the county was 50,000 most of whom lived in solitary farmsteads or small hamlets: villages in the English sense being almost unknown.¹¹

⁶ The North Wales Chronicle.... 10 September 1904 Supplement.

⁷ The Record and Advertiser for Rhyl.... 17 September 1904.

⁸ The School Government Chronicle.... 26 March 1904 p.315.

⁹ Stamp (ed.) The Land of Britain... part 34 Anglesey by A.D. Lewis pp.214,237,242.

¹⁰ Cd.4506 Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales, 1906-7-8 Part II. Financial Statistics. p.95.

This is in Parliamentary Papers vol.68 of 1909.

¹¹ Sylvester Rural Settlement in Anglesey Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club 1949 pp. 1-24.

Holyhead was the largest town with a population of 10,000 in 1901, but being marked off by its function, it was not the administrative centre of this agricultural county. The Shire Hall was at Llangefni, a small market town of less than 2,000 people but with some claims to centrality (fig. 17 inset).

Lord Stanley came from London to an area contrasted not only in size, occupation and wealth, but also in religious fervour. The Calvinistic Methodists¹² were particularly strong in the island,¹³ and Anglican communicants were outnumbered by Non-conformist communicants in the ratio of one to four: 5,000 and 21,000 were the figures. The degree to which the Sabbath was observed is manifest in the numbers of Sunday scholars and teachers: 5,000 Anglicans and 25,000 Non-conformists.¹⁴

The greater part of the county was covered by school boards (fig.17¹⁵) but although the central authority had used its powers of uniting school districts less sparingly than elsewhere the administrative units were still far too small. There seems to have been no reason why the school

¹² Properly the Presbyterian Church of Wales.

¹³ Hughes Diocesan Histories: Bangor p.114.

¹⁴ Cd.5432 Royal Commission on the Church of England and Other Religious Bodies in Wales and Monmouthshire Report vol.i p.262. This is in Parliamentary Papers vol.14 of 1910.

¹⁵ The base-map including most of the parish boundaries is taken from Lewis op.cit. fig. 1 p.214. The siting of schools was obtained from the Ordnance Survey 6" maps (2nd Edition) 1901 and 25" Plans (2nd Edition) 1900. The status and size of public elementary schools were derived from Cd.1277 Board of Education. Lists of Schools under the Administration of the Board 1901-1902 pp.313-314. This is in Parliamentary Papers vol.79 of 1902. The coverage of school boards was taken from Cd.1038 Board of Education. List of School Boards and School Attendance Committees in England and Wales. 1 January 1902. pp.102-104. This is also in Parliamentary Papers vol. 79 of 1902. The areas marked ? appear neither in Cd.1038 nor as school districts in Cd.1277 op.cit.

boards could not have been sweepingly reduced in numbers. Perhaps four units centred on Holyhead, Llangefni, Beaumaris (a borough of 2,000 people) and Amlwch (population 3,000) would have been workable and yet given the advantages that consolidation brings.

There were sixty-four public elementary schools of which forty were former board schools. The total enrollment was rather more than 9,000 but the average attendance was pitifully low at 74.5%.¹⁶ So in most cases the children in the county went to small schools, where there were usually less than a hundred children and often less than fifty (fig.17).

Nearly all the voluntary schools were associated with the Church of England. There were two "British" schools, one Roman Catholic school and twenty-one schools connected with the National Society. Lord Stanley claimed that in one case every child in the school was a Non-conformist but the teacher and managers were Anglican.¹⁷ In eleven parishes¹⁸ without school boards (fig.17) the national school was the only public elementary school. The population of these parishes was enumerated as 4,977 in 1901. A few years later the Anglican communicants there numbered 449 and the Non-conformist communicants 1,923.¹⁹ While all statistics of religious observance have to be treated with caution, it is interesting that the ratio for the county of one Anglican communicant to four Non-conformist communicants should hold good for these parishes. To those who

¹⁶ The Welsh Leader.... 11 August 1904 p.738.

¹⁷ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.163 col.1287. On 1 Nov. 1906.

¹⁸ This excludes any where doubt arises.

¹⁹ Cd. 5432 op. cit. pp. 302-305.

regarded the National schools as missionary instruments converting children to Anglican dogma, these figures would not be encouraging. Lord Stanley had always maintained that the elementary day school was inefficient in "converting" children from one denomination to another.²⁰ He held that in Wales it was the chapel and not the school that succeeded in inculcating dogma.²¹

The appointed day for implementing the Balfour Act varied from authority to authority. For most Welsh counties it was a date in 1903 but for Anglesey it was not until 1 June 1904. Although the appointed day was so late, a Provisional Education Committee was formed in January 1903. From 14 April 1904 to 20 March 1919 Lord Stanley was Chairman of this provisional body and its successor the Anglesey Education Committee.²²

The 1902 Act contained no equivalent to the clause of Forster's Act²³ which provided machinery to supersede a defaulting school board. So when Welsh authorities followed a policy of "Repudiation"²⁴ towards the new legislation the government sought further powers in the Local Authorities Default Bill. This would give the Board of Education powers to pay grants direct to non-provided schools which the L.E.A.'s were failing to maintain and withhold an equivalent sum from the grant paid to the defaulting authority. Lord Stanley objected to the Bill.

²⁰ "Denominational Schools were not effective for the purposes for which they were supposed to exist." Stanley at the N.E.A. The School Board Chronicle 30 January 1897 p.122.

²¹ Lord Sheffield English Popular Education: its Needs and Political Treatment The English Review vol.xii (1912) p.131.

²² U.C.N.W. Gen.1227. Anon. After Twentyfive Years. Education in Anglesey 17 pp. duplicated. n.d. [c.1928-1929].

²³ 33 & 34 Vict. c.75 §.63.

²⁴ Eaglesham Implementing the Education Act of 1902 B.J.E.S. vol. x (1962) pp. 165-167.

He objected principally to the mixing of judicial and administrative functions in a government department. In any event he held that mandamus provided a sufficient remedy, and remarked that he would be quite content if a Bill were brought in to enable anyone who thought the Board of Education were evading the law to obtain a mandamus to compel it to do its duty.²⁵ But the use of mandamus with the possibility of imprisonment for respected citizens if they failed to comply would not have been the most prudent course for the Board to take. The creation of a band of Welsh martyrs would have hardly smoothed away the difficulties of putting the Act into force. In Lord Stanley's view saying that an authority was in default was tantamount to saying it was "criminal". Whatever happened, the authority should have an opportunity to state its case and he moved an amendment to that end.²⁶

In Anglesey Lord Stanley took his stand on the wording of the 1902 Act. "The local education authority," it read,²⁷ "shall maintain and keep efficient all public elementary schools within their area which are necessary, and have the control of all expenditure required for that purpose, other than expenditure for which, under this Act, provision is to be made by the managers; but, in the case of a school not provided by them, only so long as the following conditions and provisions are complied with....
(d) The managers of the school shall provide the school house free of any charge.... to the local education authority for use as a public elementary school, and shall, out of funds provided by them, keep the school house in good repair,

²⁵ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.140 cols. 171-182, 377-378. On 11 and 12 August 1904.

²⁶ Ibid. cols. 377-378.

²⁷ 2 & 3 Edw. 7 c.42 § 7 (1).

and make such alterations and improvements in the buildings as may be reasonably required by the local education authority...." In other words the L.E.A. would maintain former voluntary schools that were in good repair, but it should spend nothing on voluntary schools in disrepair: indeed it would be illegal for the L.E.A. to do so. "It would be the County Council's duty," Lord Stanley declared, "to maintain...[former voluntary] schools, but they should only do so so long as they were in good repair. It was their right also, and their duty, to call upon the Managers to make all improvements and alterations necessary for the efficiency of the education given in the schools, and these powers were quite distinct. It was the duty of the County Council to say that only buildings in good repair should receive any grant."²⁸

Lord Stanley was not alone in looking askance at the structural quality and suitability of the voluntary school buildings. The provisional education committee had appointed an architect "immediately" and he had produced a report on the county's voluntary schools by the summer of 1903.²⁹ With none of these schools was he entirely satisfied and estimated the cost of necessary repairs and improvements at rather more than £7,000, that is, an average of £300 per school.

Lord Stanley after reading the report concluded that the voluntary schools "were in a most discreditable condition" and blamed the Inspectors and the Board of Education. The terms of his condemnation were provocative.

²⁸ The School Government Chronicle... 25 June 1904 p.622. Returned to direct speech and referring to counties generally, not specifically to Anglesey.

²⁹ Owen Report on the Condition of the Anglesey Voluntary Schools Holyhead 26 May 1903 48pp. Marked "private and confidential". One copy survives in P.R.O. Ed.16/372 and another in the Anglesey County Record Office, Llangefni.

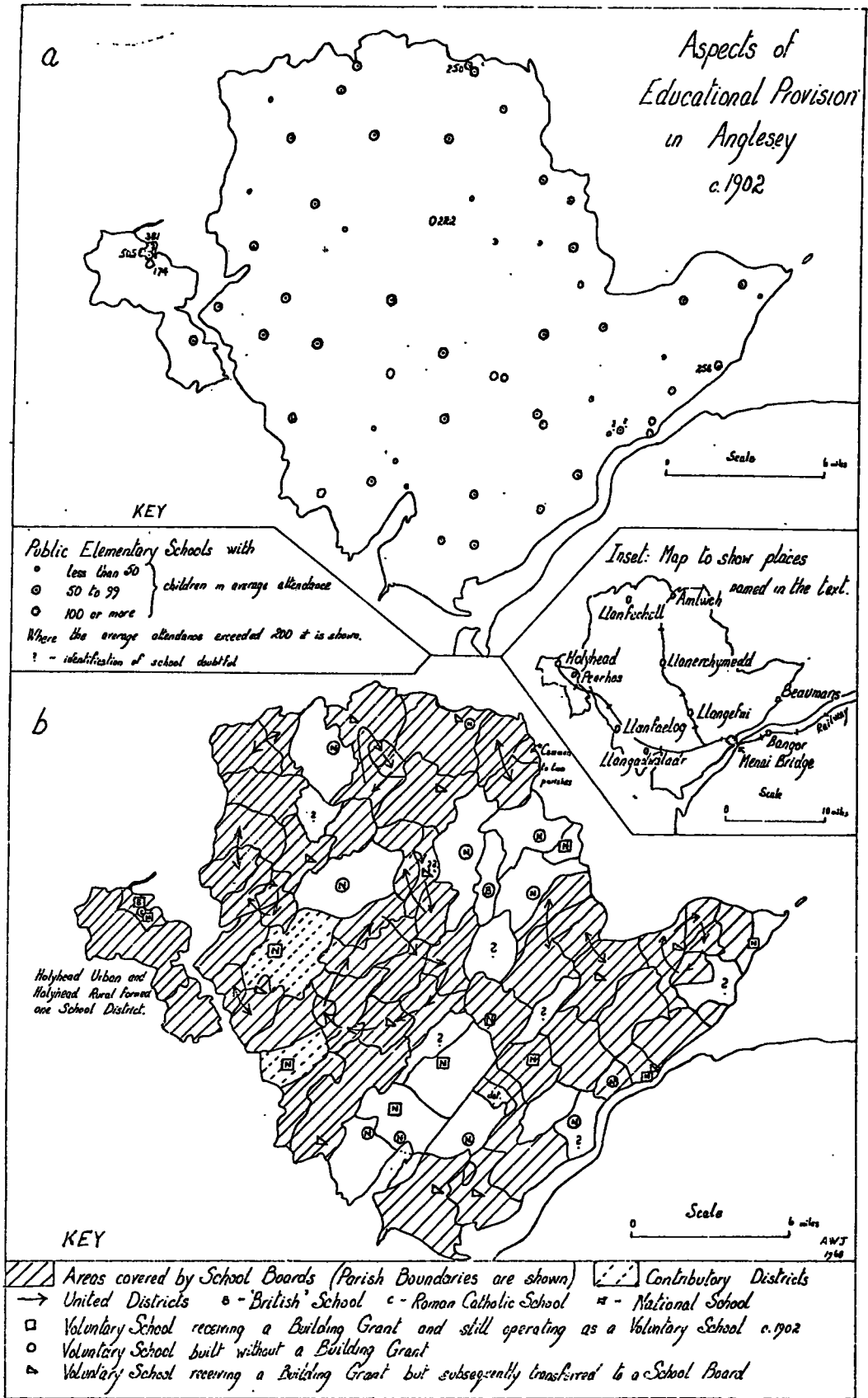


Fig. 17

"One of the great reproaches to the Board of Education, whose duty it was to raise the standard, was its systematic connivance at a standard far below that which a Sanitary Officer would allow for cattle."³⁰

In July 1904, on Lord Stanley's motion, the Anglesey Education Committee informed the managers of non-provided schools that a "reasonable time" would be allowed for alterations and improvements but repairs had to be completed by September, otherwise the Committee would not be entitled to spend money on maintenance.³¹ During the summer and autumn the managers of non-provided schools had the more urgent repairs completed.³² Llanfechell was an exception (location on fig.17 inset). Lord Stanley went over "to inspect the school and interview the managers." At the next meeting of the Education Committee he suggested that notice be given of the intention to provide a new school, but that the existing school should be continued until the new building was ready. His suggestion was adopted. Incidentally a parish meeting at Llanfechell preferred building a new school to renovating the old one by 59 votes to 15.³³

Thus far, the policy seems to have extracted some benefit for education from the religious controversy. The managers of non-provided schools were either stimulated into action or the council replaced the school with a new one. Eventually the repairs whose necessity the managers disputed

³⁰ The School Government Chronicle... 25 June 1904 p.622.

³¹ The Anglesey Education Committee Minutes 21 July 1904.

³² P.R.O. Ed.16/372. Letter dated 23 November 1904 from Canon John Fairchild of N.W.T.C. Bangor to the Board of Education.

³³ The North Wales Chronicle 10 September 1904 Supplement.
The Anglesey Education Committee Minutes 1 September 1904.

were whittled down to a very small number, and an official at the Board of Education was able to note "...we can be quite satisfied with the general progress made in the improvement of Voluntary Schools."³⁴ Nevertheless the Anglesey Education Committee tried to screw the maximum from the managers. In a lengthy letter to the Board the Committee considered "...that those friends of private management, who have now become pensioners of the Rates, should be required to meet fully their one remaining obligation."³⁵ When an official in London wrote, "There is no doubt from whose fertile pen this 'verbosa et grandis epistola' emanates", Morant added the marginal note, "Lord Stanley of Alderley". Even so the Board decided it would be best to maintain a dignified silence.³⁶

Lord Stanley had a firm belief in the efficacy of threatening to put up a new school building at the expense of the rates to settle disputes between parents and managers. At the N.E.A. Annual Meeting in 1905 he referred to a case in Norfolk where a church school had been transferred to the village school board without the school-building being legally conveyed. After 1902 the clergyman had tried to regain possession of the building so that there would be a non-provided school maintained from the rates. Lord Stanley argued that if the people insisted on a new school-building, especially if it were to be built without a loan the cost would fall so heavily on the parson and the squire

³⁴ P.R.O. Ed.16/372. Letter dated 10 November 1905 from the Anglesey Education Committee and associated minute.

³⁵ P.R.O. Ed.16/372. A copy of a letter dated 15 December 1905 and signed by the Anglesey Secretary of Education.

³⁶ Ibid. Minute by Morant dated 9 January 1906 and by Birrell dated 10 January 1906.

that opposition to a council school would disappear.³⁷ But in this kind of administrative game the essential quality is an exact judgment of how far one's opponent can be pressed with advantage.

At the village of Llangadwaladr (location on fig. 17 inset) there was a National School but the school building was the freehold property of a local land-owner, Sir George Meyrick.³⁸ In 1903 the architect reported that repairs and alterations at an estimated cost of £239³⁹ were needed, but Sir George declined to comply with the greater part of the county's requirements. In December 1905 Lord Stanley wrote to Sir George pointing out that a new school-building would cost from £850 to £1050 and that half of the cost would fall on the parish. He implied that this was much more than the cost of the modifications, but if the school were transferred to the L.E.A. only half of this would fall on the parish. On Christmas Day 1905 Lord Stanley received a terse communication from Sir George, "...The School was built by my late Uncle entirely at his own expense for providing Religious and Elementary Education for Llangadwaladr only.

It is now my private property.

³⁷ Lord Stanley of Alderley A "Shameful" Administration. Speech at the Annual Meeting of the National Education Association, May 4th 1905. June 1905 16pp. 5" x 7" no C.P.S. number. On the copy in the W.J. Rowland Collection at Dr. Williams's Library the N.E.A. no.133 has been added in manuscript.

³⁸ Anglesey County Record Office. Education Committee Miscellaneous Papers Box E/1 Anglesey Voluntary Schools n.d. [1904?] Sir George Meyrick (b.1855) was a J.P. and a Deputy Lieutenant for Anglesey. The Meyricks claimed that their estates had been in their hands for more than a thousand years. Burke's...Peerage... 1906 ed. p.1123.

³⁹ Owen op.cit. p.46.

I have no intention of transferring it to the county...." Despite the festivities Lord Stanley replied by return of post, and at the next meeting of the Education Committee it was decided to cease maintaining Llangadwaladr School unless the required improvements were carried out, and to build another school in the district.⁴⁰ After much wrangling the L.E.A. did build and open a new school to serve the area while Sir George Meyrick continued his school at least for a time as a certified efficient school.⁴¹ It is by no means certain that this was the best use of scarce resources as the area was over-provided with small schools anyway (fig.17).

Despite this kind of absurdity when pressed to its limits Lord Stanley's policy of insisting on the letter of the 1902 Act had the merit of raising the quality of the accommodation. If only he could have used a tactful approach in the most difficult cases, it might have been entirely successful. In London it was noted, "it seems that the course of events which the fortunes of the [Llangadwaladr] school have followed was influenced largely by the unfriendly relations between Sir George Meyrick and Lord Stanley...."⁴²

Incidentally, one aspect of the Anglesey situation was the state of disrepair of the provided schools. The architect who had reported on the voluntary schools in 1903 reported on the former board schools in 1906.⁴³ He estimated the cost of repairs and improvements at £11,000 on

⁴⁰ The Anglesey Education Committee Minutes 4 January 1906.

⁴¹ P.R.O. Ed. 21/21427.

⁴² Ibid. Minute of 7 October 1910.

⁴³ Owen Report on the Condition of Anglesey Council Schools Llanerchymedd 28 June 1906 72pp. One copy survives in P.R.O. Ed.16/372 and another in the Anglesey County Record Office.

forty-four schools, giving an average of £250 per school. Although this is a little less than the average for the former voluntary schools, it substantiates the tentative conclusion already reached that in the countryside there was little to choose between board and voluntary schools. And the authority had difficulty in bringing its schools up to standard quickly. In the first eight years of operation it put up new schools at an average rate of one per year and spent over £40,000 on them. With the product of a penny rate a mere £725 in 1912, it was hampered by a lack of money from doing more.⁴⁴

Lord Stanley's contribution to the development of Welsh education was not limited to the confines of a single county. On 7 November 1905 he became a member of the Central Welsh Board.⁴⁵ This body had been formed in 1896⁴⁶ to inspect the county schools operating under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 and to hold examinations for scholars in these institutions. This Act was an offshoot of the legislation for endowed schools and consequently the machinery used to set up a new foundation under it was extremely ponderous. So after 1902 many authorities especially the L.E.A.'s for populous areas of South Wales preferred to use their powers under the Balfour Act when they wished to establish new secondary schools. These establishments did not come within the jurisdiction of the Central Welsh Board,⁴⁷ but the Board was in a position to

⁴⁴ Board of Education. (Welsh Department.) Area Report no.11. Anglesey. Period ending on July 31st, 1912. p.7.

⁴⁵ Central Welsh Board 1906-1907 Tenth Annual Report p.26.

⁴⁶ Aaron A Jubilee Pamphlet... The Central Welsh Board.. p.1.

⁴⁷ Ellis The Development of Higher Education in Wales pp. 120-121.

influence the development of Welsh secondary education.

The Edwardian period is marked by an increasing awareness of the need for special treatment for Wales. Morant after "completely re-casting the Code" for elementary schools wrote to the M.P. for the Arfon Division:- "And in the very fore front of the Code I am putting, as a Proem, a brief statement of what is the true aim and purpose of the ideal elementary school - so as to strike a note of high ideal in every parent, & to remind every teacher of what a high ideal is. I have taken immense pains over it: & re-cast it scores of times. It is hugely difficult to make it effective without being rhetorical, & comprehensive without being too long. If you like it on reading it, I wish you wd consider for me the possibility of getting it put into warm idiomatic Welsh so that it cd get into the homes away in the valleys. Does it admit of being put into Welsh, or is it impossible?"⁴⁸

Despite this refreshing approach to Welsh educational affairs, the awkward administrative structure, the Welsh tendency to argumentativeness and the persistent bitterness over the enforcement of the Balfour Act made relations difficult between the Central Welsh Board and London.⁴⁹ An official wrote: "The Central Welsh Board are very sensitive both of their functions and jurisdiction, and lose no opportunity of endeavouring to stretch the former (even rather beyond the limits of the Scheme and Statute which define them) and of extending, wherever they can, the latter."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ U.G.N.W. Gen. 5475/33. Letter dated 8 May 1904 from Morant to William Jones. (This seems to solve the problem of the authorship of the "Proem". Eaglesham op.cit. B.J.E.S. vol. x p.161.)

⁴⁹ The dichotomy between central control and devolution of power to Wales is expressed in the telegraphic address of the Welsh Department - "Principality, London".

⁵⁰ P.R.O. Ed.35/3406. Minute dated 27 April 1908.

The Chairman under whom Lord Stanley served was Edward Anwyl, who had been educated at King's School, Chester and Oriel College, Cxford. He was Professor of Welsh at Aberystwyth, a lay preacher and a member of the University of Wales Theological Board. He was knighted in 1911, but died in 1914, aged forty-eight.⁵¹ Lord Stanley was Vice-Chairman of the Central Welsh Board until Anwyl's death and then Chairman until his own retirement from the Board in 1919.⁵²

The work involved issues of mainly contemporary interest in the inspection of schools and the examination of pupils. Sometimes wider questions were involved. In 1907 he wanted the Board to "draw up a strong official remonstrance fortified by figures against the unequal treatment of Wales in the matter of grants." He calculated that the grants amounted to 61% of what would have been received on the scale used for English secondary schools.⁵³

He felt that there was already a tendency to overcrowd the curriculum and yet they were demanding more time and higher standards for particular subjects without securing the financial basis for improvement.⁵⁴ "...I think we are trying to cover too much ground," he wrote to Professor Anwyl, "and that the village scholar is being hurried especially when we consider the difficulties under which the average scholars labour. 1. inadequate preparation in the Elementary School 2. The bilingual difficulty. 3. the poverty and limited mental range of the home.

⁵¹ The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940.

⁵² The Annual Reports of the Central Welsh Board.

⁵³ N.L.W. 2505. Letter dated 23 November 1907 from ELS to Anwyl.

⁵⁴ N.L.W. 2505. Letter dated 28 July 1911 from ELS to Anwyl.

4. the leakage of our better teachers through our inability to compete with English salaries. I should not like to say on a platform what I have written. But I think we have a serious task before us as to which I should like to take our ablest teachers into consultation, if we are to make the best use of our county schools."⁵⁵

The Statutory Foundations of a National System

"Fraudulent" was Lord Stanley's epithet for the legislation of the Conservative government. In the 1900 election the country had given the Conservatives a majority to end the Boer War, not to pass contentious legislation. He hoped the country would not be deceived twice: and when Balfour asked the electorate for another mandate, Lord Stanley "hoped nobody would be such a fool as to give Mr. Balfour any mandate at all except to go home and play golf."⁵⁶ And Balfour got no mandate from the electors of his constituency - East Manchester - but his eloquence was not denied to the Commons as the Conservative member for the City of London withdrew and Balfour won the subsequent by-election.⁵⁷ In the nation at large the Conservative cause was almost as unpopular. The Liberal majority was 356. "Among the many causes," Lord Stanley wrote, "which have pulverised and almost annihilated, the party which supported the late Government, the Education Act of 1902 filled a conspicuous place."⁵⁸

Before the change of government occurred Lord Stanley made known his opinion of the politicians who had been responsible for education. It was abysmally low. Penance was required from nearly all: "...there is hardly a person who has been in the Board of Education who ought not to sit

⁵⁵ N.L.W.2505. Letter dated 2 December 1910 from ELS to Anwyl.

⁵⁶ The Times 1 September 1904.

⁵⁷ Young Arthur James Balfour... p.259.

⁵⁸ Lord Stanley of Alderley Education and the New Government The Nineteenth Century and After vol. lix (1906) p.371.

at Charing Cross in a white sheet for some hours daily." He contended that minister after minister had permitted deplorable schools to receive grant. In Liverpool there were schools held in cellars condemned for years but still surviving.⁵⁹ Documentary evidence shows that this allegation was well-founded. The Board's "black-list" of schools c.1908-1910 enumerated seven Liverpool schools where at least one department was taught in a basement.⁶⁰ Of St. Stephen's School an official wrote: "Basement. Continued by the President's instructions. A very bad case...." Lord Stanley had his remedy: "It is high time we should get somebody who should go into this office and wake up the officials, and show that there was something alive inside.... I don't want a lot of parcels bound up with red tape, instead of live people, and when we get a Liberal House of Commons we must have a live man there."⁶¹

It was not impossible that Lord Stanley would be the "live man there." Being a peer would not necessarily disqualify him. In Campbell-Bannerman's administration the Earl of Elgin was Colonial Secretary and later, in 1916 the Marquess of Crewe was at the Board of Education. Although the vision of Lord Stanley "waking up" Morant and the other officials is beguiling, Campbell-Bannerman wanted a lasting settlement combining redress of Non-conformist grievances with a conciliatory approach. He chose Augustine Birrell. But after the Education Bill of 1906 had been emasculated in the Lords, Birrell was given the Irish

⁵⁹ Lord Stanley of Alderley A "Shameful" Administration
op.cit. p.15.

⁶⁰ St. Augustine's, Everton: St. Bride's: St. Matthew's:
St. Philemon's, Toxteth Park: St. Polycarp's, Everton:
St. Stephen's: William Henry St., Everton. P.R.O.Ed.16/171.

⁶¹ Lord Stanley of Alderley A "Shameful" Administration
op.cit. p.15.

Secretaryship,⁶² and was replaced by Reginald McKenna,⁶³ though Campbell-Bannerman toyed with the idea of Winston Churchill at the Board of Education.⁶⁴ Neither Birrell nor McKenna had a particularly profound knowledge of education and Lord Stanley remarked, "...if people had to learn their work after they had undertaken a job instead of before we must have to wait some time before good results can be produced."⁶⁵

There is no evidence that Lord Stanley sought office and it would have been entirely out of character had he done so. Nor is there any indication of personal disappointment at not receiving a place in the government. His disappointment was that educational development was not progressing as fast as he wanted.

Basically the Liberals believed that the national system under public management should be universally available so that every child had access to a school run by the state and not by a denomination. The first clause of the Bill of 1906 demonstrates this principle: "On and after the first day of January one thousand nine hundred and eight, a school shall not be recognised as a public elementary school unless it is a school provided by the local education authority."⁶⁶ With this concept Lord Stanley naturally concurred.⁶⁷ Once this basic principle had

⁶² Birrell Things Past Redress p.192.

⁶³ Campbell-Bannerman's letter offering the appointment and dated 12 January 1907 is in McKenna Reginald McKenna at p.43.

⁶⁴ British Museum Add.MSS.52518. Letter dated 28 December 1906 from Birrell to Campbell-Bannerman.

⁶⁵ The School Government Chronicle... 4 May 1907 p.413 returned to direct speech.

⁶⁶ In Bill 160 in Parliamentary Papers vol.1 of 1906.

⁶⁷ Lord Stanley of Alderley Education and the New Government op.cit. p.374.

been secured Liberals were divided about the terms on which the churches should be allowed to continue their contribution to education.

First there was the question of the school-buildings. If the managers were forced to transfer the buildings to the state what compensation should they receive? Lord Stanley assumed that no legislation would interfere with private property but estimated that about one-tenth of the three million children in non-provided schools were taught in buildings owned by individuals. Where this was the case the owners - like Sir George Meyrick - could do as they pleased with their school-houses, selling them, renting them or converting them to another use. Lord Stanley thought that these buildings were generally small, old-fashioned and unsuitable.⁸⁸

If the property were held in trust the situation was quite different. Lord Stanley claimed that most trusts followed the practice of the National Society by which the property was not held in trust for use as a public elementary school. In this way the managers could withdraw from the annual grant list if conditions in the Code became too onerous. Naturally the trustees were permitted to conduct the school as a public elementary school, but Lord Stanley concluded that the National Society "deliberately preferred a form of conveyance and trust which left them free to conduct the school on their own responsibility, and outside of State aid and interference." Therefore, if the trustees were unwilling to allow the rate-payers the management of the school in return for rate-aid, they should carry out the terms of the trust themselves, using their own funds and Parliamentary grant. If they were unable to do this, they were not entitled to close the school. Lord Stanley quoted from a Board of Education memorandum, "An

⁸⁸ Ibid. p.373.

attempt to close the school capriciously or for insufficient reasons may involve the consequences attendant on a breach of trust." When the trustees wished to close their school they should apply to the Board.⁶⁹

Lord Stanley referred to the government policy from 1833 onwards when grants-in-aid for building school houses had been given to voluntary agencies. This policy had been ended by the Act of 1870 but many buildings erected with this aid still survived.⁷⁰ As an example of the widespread use of these grants, the schools in Anglesey which had received this form of aid are shown on fig.17b. All other voluntary schools are shown as well. It can be seen that about half the non-provided schools had received building grants, and that about a quarter of the provided schools were voluntary schools built in part from the grant and subsequently transferred to a school board.⁷¹ Lord Stanley claimed that the building grants had often been calculated on the entire child population and inferred that the

⁶⁹ Ibid. pp.374-375. The memorandum was dated 20 December 1902. Lord Stanley of Alderley The Educational Crisis: Points for Elucidation in the Bill The Nineteenth Century and After vol. lxxiii (1908) pp.543-544.

⁷⁰ Lord Stanley of Alderley Education and the New Government op.cit. pp.373-375.

⁷¹ Cd.1336 Board of Education. Statement, under Administrative Counties and County Boroughs, of Public Elementary Schools which have received Building Grants.... pp.162-163. This is in Parliamentary Papers vol.78 of 1902. It has the disadvantage of failing to distinguish between the school (i.e. the scholars and their teachers) and the school-building. It is possible - though unlikely - that the building for which a grant had been made had been abandoned or demolished and the school even moved to another site before this Statement.... was made. So fig. 17b should be read with this reservation. Llanerchymedd British School appears in the Statement.... but not in Anglesey Voluntary Schools op.cit. and was probably transferred c.1903: it is marked on fig. 17b by ??

community had certain rights in the buildings.⁷² Nevertheless he was apparently willing to allow schools which had received public money for building to opt out of the system and become certified efficient schools. There was a case in the capital where voluntary school managers refused rate-aid to preserve the integrity of their management. This was at St. Peter's, London Dock; and although Lord Stanley did not mention it, the school had received a building-grant.⁷³ Yet apparently he thought it an example which might be followed.

No form of rent should be permitted if the school buildings were handed over.⁷⁴ When schools had been transferred to school boards under the 1870 Act payment had not been made⁷⁵ and the levying of rent for buildings held in trust had not been allowed.⁷⁶ Nor should proposals for the compulsory transfer of schools held in trust be regarded as legal confiscation any more than the process under the Act of 1872 which transferred the parochial schools of the Church of Scotland to school boards without any compensation.⁷⁷ "The interests involved," Lord Stanley contended, "are not those of managers or of property, but of parents, and the rights and desires of parents are not measured by the fact

⁷² Lord Sheffield English Popular Education: its Needs and Political Treatment The English Review vol.xii (1912) p.120.

⁷³ Of £636 15s. Cd.1336 op.cit. p.87. The building survives but is not used for school purposes. Visit on 19 April 1968.

⁷⁴ A form of rent was actually allowed by the 1906 Bill. Lord Stanley of Alderley The New Education Bill The Contemporary Review vol.89 (1906) p.610.

⁷⁵ Lord Stanley of Alderley Education and the New Government op.cit. p.375.

⁷⁶ Lord Stanley of Alderley The Education Bill of 1906 and the Future of Popular Education The Nineteenth Century and After vol. lxi (1907) pp.9-10.

⁷⁷ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.162 col. 1210. On 2 August 1906.

that certain persons have, or have not, in times past, built schools at their own expense."⁷⁸

The second problem concerned religious instruction. Lord Stanley's "idea of a national system of education was one under which the children of a schoolhouse should forget the theological differences which kept them apart on Sundays, and feel that they had come together to be taught the common duties of citizenship by teachers selected.... because they were good citizens."⁷⁹ He still believed that the great mass of the people were satisfied when their children received the simple Bible teaching that had been so common in board schools. The only large group that would be dissatisfied in his opinion would be the Roman Catholics. Occasionally an Anglican congregation could be moved by a forceful incumbent to petition for denominational teaching, but the majority of Church of England adherents would be quite content without it. Lord Stanley countered the argument put forward by some Anglican clergy that un-denominational religious instruction was both unsatisfactory and unjust by pointing out that they had never ordered their flock to withdraw from board school religious instruction. And any claim that the "atmosphere" would be destroyed should not be entertained because it was tantamount to an admission that the 1870 Act with its time-table conscience clause and "the absolute neutrality of the secular teaching" had been violated.⁸⁰ He contended that the inculcation of a certain amount of theological dogma to children was really "a very trifling matter" and in any case the vast majority

⁷⁸ Lord Stanley of Alderley The New Education Bill op.cit.p.622.

⁷⁹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol. 164 col. 979. On 12 November 1906.

⁸⁰ Lord Stanley of Alderley The New Education Bill op.cit. pp.611,613.

of teachers in church schools gave religious instruction in a very similar way to board school teachers.⁸¹ Behind this over-simplification of the problem there is a sense of exasperation with the whole religious issue which was preventing a rational development of the educational system.

Nevertheless he had changed his position from the 1890's, when he dissociated himself from secular schools. Now he advocated them as a way out of the impasse. He would, however, allow denominational instruction to be closely associated with the secular schools. He illustrated his proposal by reference to his experience on the S.B.L. In the East End the Jewish enrollment in some board schools had been as high as ninety per cent. The Jewish parents had formed an association which had hired the school buildings for some convenient hour and arranged for the instruction of the children in the Jewish Law.⁸²

The same principle could be applied to Christian education. Let the time of opening for secular instruction be 9.30 or 9.40 and let attendance at that time be compulsory. Let the parents who wanted their children to be given religious instruction send their children at 9.0 and let the denominations, using their own funds, provide it.⁸³ This would hold good not only for former voluntary schools but for council schools as well.⁸⁴ Nor would instruction be limited to a single denomination: there might be a Roman Catholic class in one room, an Anglican in another and so on. Lord Stanley's concept of religious instruction

⁸¹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.162 col.1200. On 2 August 1906.

⁸² Lord Stanley of Alderley Education and the New Government op.cit. p.381 and The New Education Bill op.cit.p.614.

⁸³ It is not clear how frequently this would be done. Sometimes two mornings a week are specified, but elsewhere daily facilities are implied.

⁸⁴ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Fourth Series vol.162 col.1205. On 2 August 1906.

was wide: if the parents were members of a Labour Church they might provide appropriate classes for their children.⁸⁵

Perhaps Lord Stanley recalled the answer he had been given while serving on the Cross Commission by the Secretary of the National Society: where Church schools had been transferred with the proviso that definite religious instruction be given in the first hour to children who attended voluntarily, the experiment was "apt to end in failure".⁸⁶ Such an attempt had been made at Shrewsbury and had failed: Lord Stanley put that down to the "slackness of the clergy."⁸⁷ "We are told it would not work," he wrote, "because the children would not come. If they do not come, it will be because the parents do not care for them to come...."⁸⁸

He considered the possibility of denominational religious instruction in school hours but rejected it entirely. If it were given by the teachers employed at the school it would involve religious tests and "inquisitions" on appointment. Even if the right were given to the teacher by statute - as under the 1908 Bill - to refuse to give religious instruction, it would be used rarely. "It would require a man of strong convictions and unclubbable disposition to claim the right. To refuse to take a turn at the work would put more on the other teachers, and the man would come to be regarded altogether as a horrid boor. Again, if an assistant in a school did not take part in the Bible teaching, was it to be supposed that he would ever have a chance of getting a headship?"⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Lord Stanley of Alderley The Educational Problem The Nineteenth Century and After vol.lxv (1909) p.115.

⁸⁶ Cross Commission Q.11,529: pp. 146-147 supra.

⁸⁷ Lord Stanley of Alderley The New Education Bill op.cit. p.614.

⁸⁸ Lord Stanley of Alderley Education and the New Government op.cit. p.381.

⁸⁹ The School Government Chronicle.... 4 April 1908 p.328.

If the alternative of the denomination supplying volunteers to do the teaching in school hours were accepted, there would be no guarantee of efficiency and this system might have a deleterious effect on discipline.

Lord Stanley was willing to make a further concession besides the use of the buildings for denominational teaching. Provided there was a sufficient supply of schools available to the community he was willing to allow schools to opt out of the system on condition that:-

- (a) the application should be made by the parents
- (b) such schools would not be under the control of the L.E.A., nor would they receive rate-aid. They would receive Parliamentary grants and be subject to audit, but a certain margin of the cost, perhaps 15% would be borne by the managers.⁹⁰

In short Lord Stanley's position placed the wishes of the parents as the basis on which the religious instruction of the child would be built. If there^{were} a group of parents who wanted Roman Catholic, or Anglican or Non-conformist religious instruction for their children, they should have it, even if the school were a council school. But it must be arranged and paid for by the denomination concerned.

The Upward Growth of the Elementary School System

In 1909 there occurred one of those strange incidents inseparable from an hereditary peerage. The daughter of the first Earl of Sheffield had married into the Stanley family, but the second and third Earls seem to have had little in common with the Stanleys of Alderley. Cricket was the third Earl's main interest and Australian cricketers

⁹⁰ Lord Stanley of Alderley Education and the New Government op.cit. pp.382-383. Lord Stanley of Alderley The Educational Problem op.cit. pp.113-114,116.

still compete for the Sheffield Shield he donated.⁹¹ When he died unmarried on 21 April 1909 the earldom became extinct, but the barony of Sheffield of Roscommon which he also held did not. When this title had been bestowed on John Baker Holroyd in 1783 it was with a special remainder so his daughters and their male heirs might inherit, as at that time he had no sons.⁹² So in this way the title Baron Sheffield of Roscommon came down to the fourth Baron Stanley of Alderley (fig. 1) and from 1909 till his death he was known as Lord Sheffield. This sudden change baffled many. In an after-dinner speech at the National Liberal Club he apologized for the difficulties of identification, but claimed, "I am the same old impenitent advocate of education, although I have changed my alias."⁹³

Lord Sheffield's views on the means of improving education were also unchanging. Development must spring from the base of the educational structure. "...I think that unless we first greatly improve on our schools from below," he wrote, "we shall not be able to secure a proper expansion for our higher grades of education."⁹⁴

During the manoeuvres at the turn of the century to subordinate school boards to county councils the Higher Elementary Schools Minute had been produced and given a narrow interpretation by the Board of Education. After the extinction of the school boards, there was a move to re-consider the position of these higher elementary schools.

⁹¹ D.N.B. Entry under Holroyd, Henry North... (1832-1909).

⁹² G.E.C. [ockayne] The Complete Peerage... vol.xi (revised White) p.664.

⁹³ Lord Sheffield The Finance of Public Education in England and Wales National Liberal Club Political and Economic Circle. Transactions part 72 pp.2-3.
returned to direct speech.

⁹⁴ Lord Sheffield Lord Haldane and the Prospects of Educational Reform The Contemporary Review vol.103 p.313.

Morant's letter dated 6 July 1905 asking the Consultative Committee for advice on the subject had referred evasively to the origin of these schools. "Under the Code of 1904, as under the former regulations for Higher Elementary Schools, the curriculum of a Higher Elementary School was required to be of a specially and indeed predominantly scientific type. The reason why this special character was imposed on these schools must be sought in the circumstances of the time in which they were established. These circumstances no longer exist, and it has now become possible, as well as desirable, to develop a system of Higher Elementary Schools of various types."⁹⁵ Lord Sheffield had been blunter: "Were the truth plainly stated it would be declared that the purpose of that minute was merely to preserve, in a modified form, the Schools of Science which the School Boards had established, often at the instigation of the Board of Education, but not to give facilities for the expansion of Higher Elementary Schools or for the improvement of their curriculum."⁹⁶

Under the Chairmanship of Hart Dyke the Consultative Committee prepared a Report which contained some considerable advances towards Lord Sheffield's concept of the higher elementary school. The committee advocated the establishment of higher elementary schools in all towns with more than 50,000 people. "Industrial" and "commercial" courses might be provided though these would not be vocational, as both

⁹⁵ Report of the Consultative Committee upon Questions Affecting Higher Elementary Schools 1906 p.5. Though it is possible that Morant's motive for re-opening the question was simply to destroy the former schools of science.

⁹⁶ Lord Stanley of Alderley The Relations between the Elementary School and the Secondary and Continuation School Systems The Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, Manchester. 8pp. The paper was to be read at Chester on 27 September 1906. The passage quoted is on p.4.

short-hand and type-writing were rejected. The committee distinguished sharply between the higher elementary and the secondary school by the age at which formal education would cease, by the difference in the probable careers of the pupils and by the homes from which the pupils came. The Report read: "...while, in the case of the Secondary School, the home life may be expected to supplement and strengthen the school instruction, or, at least, not to hamper it, in the case of the Higher Elementary School the home conditions, at best, do little to favour the ends of school education, and at worst are antagonistic."⁹⁷

Lord Sheffield had condemned the work of the Consultative Committee as a "snobbish, ill-digested report".⁹⁸ Those interested in secondary education exhibited a "certain jealousy of the expansion of elementary education" and the report was "rather imbued with the prejudices" of that class of educationalist, but this spirit made the Report's admissions even more noteworthy.⁹⁹

Repeatedly, to the point of tedium, Lord Sheffield showed what he wanted by a comparison with Scotland. He enumerated the advantages the Scots had. The idea of a national system for Scotland had been germinating since the days of John Knox. The parochial schools were conceived as schools for all. There was no qualifying "elementary" in educational legislation for Scotland. School boards were universal. The elections turned on educational matters alone and the administrative units "were such that public interest was excited and those who used the schools had a direct and effective voice in their management."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Report of the Consultative Committee... op.cit. pp.16, 22-23, 36-37.

⁹⁸ The School Government Chronicle... 4 May 1907 p.413.

⁹⁹ Lord Stanley of Alderley The Relations between the Elementary School and the Secondary and Continuation School Systems op.cit. p.3.

¹⁰⁰ Lord Sheffield English Popular Education... op.cit. p.125 and Lord Sheffield Lord Haldane... op.cit. p.306-307.

In providing higher elementary schools Scotland had done much more than England and Wales:-^{1o1}

	In Scotland	In England and Wales
Average attendance in h.e.s.	24,000	11,000
No. of higher elementary schools	196	51
% of pupils in h.e.s.	2.8	.2

Lord Sheffield calculated that the number of English and Welsh pupils in higher elementary schools would have to rise to 170,000 to equal the Scottish percentage. Over and above this the authorities in Scotland provided supplementary classes to extend education beyond the usual elementary curriculum. There were 3,300 elementary schools in Scotland and 1,900 of them had supplementary classes. This provision might be made in small schools e.g. the school at Braemar had an enrollment of sixty-nine of whom eleven were in the supplementary class. Indeed the introduction of the supplementary class was being made compulsory.^{1o2}

He complained that while much could have been done administratively by the Board of Education to stimulate this upward growth of the elementary system, Liberal ministers had to be "prodded" into action.^{1o3} And with "a few moderate amendments in the English law" it would be possible to "secure the same power of expansion to our English schools as exists in Scotland," Lord Sheffield declared. "Many people talk as

^{1o1} Lord Sheffield English Popular Education... op.cit. pp. 126-127 giving figures for 1909-10. Lord Sheffield apparently took his figures for England and Wales from p.64 of Cd. 5616 Report of the Board of Education for the year 1909-10. The number of higher elementary schools is mis-printed "215" in his article.

^{1o2} Lord Sheffield English Popular Education.... op.cit. p.127 and Lord Sheffield The Salt Schools, Shipley. Presidential Address, 1910 pp.14-15.

^{1o3} The School Government Chronicle... 4 May 1907 p.413.

if the increase in the number of secondary schools, and a reasonable number of free places in them from the elementary schools was an adequate solution of this part of the educational problem. It is nothing of the sort.

I have no objection to an increase in the number of secondary schools. I am glad to see scholarships to them from the elementary schools, though mere free places - which is the official meaning of the word scholarship - are totally insufficient to satisfy the needs even of those who wish to pass to the secondary schools."¹⁰⁴

He argued that higher elementary schools were better suited to the needs of the people than secondary schools, and claimed that this had been proved twenty years before at Manchester where the best pupils from the elementary schools had gone to the Deansgate School and the "less promising" to Manchester Grammar.¹⁰⁵ In any case, as 61% of boys and 47% of girls left the secondary schools before they were sixteen they might just as well have stayed in the elementary schools.¹⁰⁶

At first sight it is surprising that there was no sudden flowering of higher elementary schools in Anglesey. Possibly the answer lies in the special conditions of Wales. Anglesey possessed three small intermediate schools at Beaumaris, Holyhead and Llangefni, but in October 1914 their total enrollment was a mere 413. To press forward with higher elementary schools or supplementary classes might well have reduced the county schools to unworkably small numbers. Indeed Lord Sheffield had been willing to argue for a variation

¹⁰⁴ Lord Sheffield English Popular Education... op.cit. pp. 125-126.

¹⁰⁵ Lord Stanley of Alderley The Relations between the Elementary School and the Secondary and Continuation School Systems op.cit. p.4.

¹⁰⁶ Lord Sheffield Lord Haldane... op.cit. p.314.

in the age of transfer to secondary institutions: reducing it in North Wales where most elementary schools were small and raising it in the populous centres of South Wales where elementary schools might have a thousand scholars apiece.¹⁰⁷ Then the lack of money especially when many village schools were in such poor condition may well have dissuaded him from attempting any enlargement of the elementary sector in the island county.

Lord Sheffield was also persistent with his contention that without improvement in the quality of the teachers it would be impossible to expect any significant rise in the standard of the elementary school system. He blamed the indifferent quality of the teachers rather than over-large classes from hampering development. The ultimate aim should be a teaching force where all were trained and certificated. As that was beyond immediate reach, a proportion of trained and certificated teachers equivalent to the proportion in Scotland was his first aim.¹⁰⁸ But things were likely to get worse and not better. In Scotland there was one student-in-training for every 237 scholars in average attendance: whereas in England the ratio was 1:655. To equal the Scottish effort the number at the English training colleges would have to be raised from 8,000 to 22,000. The County of Hereford had set a good example by founding its own teacher training college, but this example had been rarely followed. Lord Sheffield lamented that the 1902 Act had not imposed a duty on L.E.A.'s to build colleges,¹⁰⁹ so that they had, say,

¹⁰⁷ Lord Stanley of Alderley The Relations of the Welsh Elementary School System with Higher Education p.4. A paper read at a teachers' meeting at Cardiff in 1908 but not issued by the N.E.A. until 1910: 8pp. 9" x 6" no C.P.S. number. The copy in the W.J. Rowland Collection in Dr. Williams's Library bears the N.E.A.no.163 in manuscript.

¹⁰⁸ Lord Sheffield The Finance of Public Education... op.cit. p.10.

¹⁰⁹ The Times 1 July 1908.

one place for every thousand scholars.¹¹⁰

This lack of activity meant progress was much too slow. Only one-fifth of the Welsh pupil-teachers who completed their apprenticeships went to training college: even in Swansea, Cardiff and Newport where such facilities were accessible the percentage was a mere thirty-six.¹¹¹ The numbers of supplementary teachers (the new disguise for the Article 68-ers) dwindled too slowly. Lord Sheffield predicted a fall of two thousand in the number of classes taught by this category of teacher in the five-year period 1907-1912 i.e. from 19,000 to 17,000.¹¹² And he complained that there were still three to four hundred schools each with as many as fifty children being run by uncertificated head-teachers.¹¹³

During the decade before the Great War the training of teachers was revolutionised by the substitution of the secondary school course for the pupil-teacher's apprenticeship. The appreciable middle-class intake of the secondary schools meant that infuture teachers would be drawn from additional social strata. Lord Sheffield welcomed this with reservation: "I should be glad if those who come from cultivated homes took their part in the elementary education of the nation. But I should not wish to attract the less vigorous of the middle-class, and to lose the more energetic and active-minded of the working class."¹¹⁴ He claimed that many prospective teachers who would be willing to go on to the higher elementary school were not prepared

¹¹⁰ The School Government Chronicle.... 31 August 1907 p.184.

¹¹¹ Lord Stanley of Alderley The Relations of the Welsh Elementary School System.... op.cit. p.6.

¹¹² The School Government Chronicle.... 24 August 1907 p.163.

¹¹³ The Times 1 July 1908.

¹¹⁴ Lord Sheffield The Salt Schools, Shipley. Presidential Address, 1910 p.13.

to transfer to the secondary school. Besides there "is a power in the sympathy which grows out of the memory of the same home circumstances, which is very valuable for the complete adaptation of the elementary school teacher to his or her work, and it would be much to be regretted if we did not welcome applicants from higher elementary schools as well as from secondary schools."¹¹⁵

He also complained that the new scheme gave little instruction in professional duties to prospective teachers until a comparatively late age. The investigation into their teaching capabilities was similarly neglected. The Board of Education even made difficulties for an L.E.A. which tried to introduce a period of practice teaching to weed out any who were markedly unsuitable.¹¹⁶ Secondary school authorities were required to certify that the prospective teacher was not unfit for the profession and was likely to pass the qualifying examination. The worthlessness of this was shown by the subsequent failure rate of 20%.¹¹⁷

Once again Scotland served as a model for development. In the Scottish system the "junior student" who had to be at least fifteen was given a three-year course including some instruction in the art of teaching before passing on to training college. There were over a hundred centres providing this course and two-thirds of their "junior students" came from the elementary schools.¹¹⁸ "We shall have to consider carefully whether here we should not adopt more of the Scotch method, and receive young people at about sixteen who show some aptitude and fitness for

¹¹⁵ The School Government Chronicle... 31 August 1907 p.184.

¹¹⁶ Lord Sheffield The Salt Schools, Shipley. Presidential Address, 1910 p.10.

¹¹⁷ Lord Sheffield Lord Haldane... op.cit. p.312.

¹¹⁸ Lord Sheffield The Salt Schools, Shipley. Presidential Address, 1910 pp.9-10.

teaching, and not merely those of whom we cannot positively say that they are unfit."¹¹⁹

In England the churches still controlled a substantial proportion of the training colleges, and the allegations of injustice to Non-conformists who were unable to gain admission though qualified, persisted. Lord Sheffield's solution was to award bursaries on merit to candidates wishing to enter training college. These bursaries would be equal in number to the places to be filled and would be tenable at any training college.¹²⁰

To finance the proposed developments in education Lord Sheffield proposed that the state should bear much of the burden. It was probably his close association with a poor authority that produced a great change in his outlook on the degree of national responsibility. He went so far as to advocate that the exchequer should take over responsibility for half of the loan account, that is, it should subsidise by half the cost of provided schools, past, present and future. He pointed to the great differences in the loan charge from authority to authority. In English administrative counties it was 4s. 2d. per head, but the average for Welsh county authorities was 8s. 3d. per head. This was closely related to the proportion of children in council schools; 40% in the one case and 70% in the other. He also wanted the state to bear half the cost of developing higher elementary education, special education for the physically handicapped, medical inspection and improving the quality of the teaching force. This would be no small sum, for he estimated a million sterling would be needed annually to supply certificated replacements for all the supplementary and provisional assistant teachers and half the un-

¹¹⁹ Lord Sheffield English Popular Education... op.cit. pp.128-129.

¹²⁰ The Times 6 July 1908.

certificated assistants.¹²¹

Lord Sheffield produced evidence to show the unequal distribution of the burden from authority to authority. In London the assessable value was some £43 millions and as there were 658,000 pupils, this gave £66 of rateable value per scholar. In adjacent West Ham the figure was a mere £24 per pupil. The very great difference in the yield of a ld. rate was well-known and the special aid grant did something to remedy this, but he suggested, "The Aid Grant and Special Aid Grant to be recast as to the method of distribution so as to give a larger share of relief to heavily - rated districts, and to those in which the rateable value, in reference to the child population, is low."¹²²

But when it came to a battle with the non-provided schools he adhered rigidly to the economics of the Manchester School. Lord Sheffield became involved in a dispute very similar to the celebrated Swansea case where the L.E.A. had tried to differentiate between provided and non-provided schools in the matter of teachers' salaries. At the Church of England School at Menai Bridge the headmaster had been appointed in 1896 and his salary had steadily risen until 1903. After the Anglesey C.C. had become responsible for the maintenance of the school, in keeping with the "Slow Starvation"¹²³ policy of Welsh counties towards non-provided schools, his salary had not been increased and was considerably below the salary for head-teachers in comparable schools provided by the county. At the inquiry Lord Sheffield relying

¹²¹ Lord Sheffield The Finance of Public Education.... op.cit. pp. 8-9, 11, 13, 15.

¹²² Ibid. pp.6-7,15. Incidentally, in 1900-01 West Ham had more board school accommodation (51,000 places) to support than either Liverpool (46,000) or Manchester (49,000). Cd.1139. Board of Education Statistics of Elementary Day Schools... 1900-1. pp.12-15. This is in Parliamentary Papers vol.78 of 1902.

¹²³ Eaglesham Implementing the Education Act of 1902 op.cit. pp. 166-167.

on the inspectors' reports as evidence contended that the school had been maintained in a state of efficiency and so the authority had carried out its statutory duty: an argument which was not upheld by the Board of Education.¹²⁴

Lord Sheffield called this, "a painful experience of what a so-called Liberal Minister of Education could do in the interests of Denominationalism."¹²⁵ Later he produced statistics to show that Anglesey spent more per scholar on teachers' salaries than English authorities did. The figures were £2.76 per scholar in Anglesey and £2.54 per scholar in the English administrative counties. He complained that the Board of Education were "superseding the financial responsibility of the county by ordering it to increase that burden."¹²⁶ But his contention was hardly to the point for the question of justice for the individual teacher should be paramount.

Lord Sheffield never ceased to lament the passing of ad hoc authorities. The new bodies did not have "the keen interest in the schools that many members of the School Boards had."¹²⁷ One of his arguments against the county administration of education had been the excessive amount of administrative work that would be given to one body. In 1910 Lord Sheffield claimed that the L.C.C. was "overloaded" with work.¹²⁸ Perhaps his eldest son, Arthur Stanley who was elected a member of the L.C.C. for Lewisham in 1904¹²⁹ was able to keep him in touch with the changes in

¹²⁴ Report of a Public Inquiry held under the Education Acts, 1870 to 1911, by Robert Younger, Esq., K.C., at Menai Bridge, on the 31st July 1912.

¹²⁵ The School Government Chronicle... 23 November 1912 p.430.

¹²⁶ Lord Sheffield Address delivered at a Meeting of the Anglesey Education Committee held on December 5th, 1912. p.2. A copy survives in the Anglesey Eounty Record Office.

¹²⁷ Lord Sheffield English Popular Education... op.cit. p.127.

¹²⁸ The Times 19 February 1910.

¹²⁹ The Times 24 August 1931. The Hon. Arthur Stanley's election address was issued from 18 Mansfield Street. A copy survives in Guildhall Library.

local government in the capital.

The development of the working class movement was a disappointment to him, and he lamented the lack of a deep interest in education: "...the organised bodies of the working people met at their Congress once a year and passed magnificent resolutions for a complete national scheme of the most sweeping description and then went back to their towns and did not even run a candidate for the Local Authority, or if they did touch the question^{of education}/it was for free meals during holiday times or something like that... They were thinking much more of the stomach than of the soul..."¹³⁰

What was essential was a widespread appreciation of a totally different concept of elementary education, but the Board of Education "by using the two magical words 'co-ordination' and 'overlapping'" was curtailing expansion and even paring down existing achievements.¹³¹ To Lord Sheffield "...the elevation of the elementary school, its more liberal teaching, its better staffing, is the first condition of progress."¹³²

The Great War and After

In the turmoil and regimentation of total war Lord Sheffield maintained his independence of outlook and action. Even when the early hopes of a quick victory had been frustrated, and the "frightfulness" of the new methods of warfare exposed at Second Yprès,¹³³ Lord Sheffield was not to be stampeded into any unthinking action. "I regret," he wrote, "that we should be allowing young children to be di-

¹³⁰ The School Government Chronicle 21 February 1914 p.213.

¹³¹ Lord Sheffield English Popular Education... op.cit. p.126.

¹³² Lord Sheffield The Salt Schools, Shipley. Presidential Address, 1910 p.14.

¹³³ The first use of poison gas was at Yprès on 22 April 1915.

verted from their education to furnish cheap labour for farmers. But just now people are so excited with the war that they mistake restlessness for activity and in the wish to do something are prepared to do anything without considering whether their action is really wise or not so long as it really ministers to the impulse to be stirring."¹³⁴

Lord Sheffield's nephew, Bertrand Russell, continuing the family tradition of outspokenness in the face of unpopularity, openly opposed the War, and Lord Sheffield, championing free speech and careless of public opinion chaired one of his meetings.¹³⁵ The other family tradition of total commitment to a cause was also sustained. Lord Sheffield's son, Oliver, mentioned in dispatches three times, was awarded the D.S.O. and the Croix de Guerre¹³⁶ and his son-in-law commanded the cruiser "Southampton" at Heligoland Bight and Jutland.¹³⁷ Later, referring to the persecution of conscientious objectors Lord Sheffield declared, "All that was thoroughly bad and vicious, and was thoroughly hostile to any broad social and moral progress, and they must insist that the rights of conscience should be respected, while the obligations of duty should be thoroughly carried out."¹³⁸

At the height of the conflict Lord Sheffield was asked to take "Education after the War" as the subject of his Presidential Address¹³⁹ to the N.E.A. His speech was

¹³⁴ The School Government Chronicle... 22 May 1915 p.339.

¹³⁵ Russell and Russell (eds.) The Amberley Papers... vol.i p.25.

¹³⁶ Who Was Who 1951-1960. The Times 14 February 1952, 7 March 1952.

¹³⁷ Goodenough A Rough Record pp.90-97.

¹³⁸ The School Government Chronicle... 29 March 1919 p.184.

¹³⁹ Lord Sheffield had become President of the N.E.A. in 1910. His letter dated 12 March 1910 to the Secretary, expressing his willingness to accept the office is in a box of letters to A.J. Mundella at the Free Church Federal Council. (This Anthony John Mundella (d.1933) was nephew to the more famous Anthony John Mundella (1825-1897). The Schoolmaster and Woman Teacher's Chronicle 6 April 1933 p.561.)

delivered whilst Haig was preparing his offensive on the Somme, and characteristically it was founded upon a re-affirmation of all the demands Lord Sheffield had made in pre-war days. The basis of all development was a sound system of elementary schools. From these would spring the higher grade schools and supplementary courses which should be taught by certificated teachers only. No urban district should be without a continuation school and hours of work should be limited to allow young people to attend these institutions. Every town of 200,000 people should have a university and a quarter of the university places should be free.¹⁴⁰

More generally men were comforting themselves with visions of a brighter future for the next generation and these hopes were given substance by H.A.L. Fisher's Education Bill of 1917. Lord Sheffield welcomed it, although he was prepared to criticize some of the details of its provisions e.g. the lack of guarantees against sectarian teaching in nursery schools.¹⁴¹ The Bill recognized that a more liberal curriculum for scholars over twelve was necessary and L.E.A.'s would have to make provision for this. It authorized the building of nursery schools. No longer need the rate for education other than elementary be limited to 2d. And it finally abolished fee-charging in elementary schools: a practice which Lord Sheffield had condemned as "a pestilent habit which radiated from Liverpool" and which relieved managers of their duty to find subscriptions to keep the school-buildings in repair.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ N.E.A. no.189 1916 Education After the War: Report of the Proceedings at the Annual Conference of the National Education Association, May 11, 1916. Argus Printing Co. 16 pp. pp.4-8.

¹⁴¹ The Times Educational Supplement 27 December 1917 p.502.

¹⁴² The School Government Chronicle.... 21 February 1914 p. 212. Merseyside had most of the remaining fee-charging elementary schools.

The greatest innovation contemplated was the establishment of continuation schools. Although he supported this Lord Sheffield was apprehensive about the difficulties. It meant the education of about 2.4 million young people from fourteen to eighteen for 320 hours a year. He estimated that 24,000 teachers would be needed and that the annual cost of salaries would be £2.4 millions, excluding heads and specialist teachers. As the classes would be held during the day, existing buildings would not be available and he put the cost of construction at £6 millions.¹⁴³ Although the measure became law in 1918 Lord Sheffield's fears were well-founded because few L.E.A.'s made serious attempts to provide continuation schools as contemplated by the Act.

Within a few months of the Armistice Lord Sheffield held the unpopular opinion that improved conditions would be impossible because of the waste of resources incurred in waging a war in which "500 or 600 thousand millions" had been "slung away".¹⁴⁴ He disliked the atmosphere of post-war Britain and condemned it as "a time of slackness, weariness and inertia".¹⁴⁵ But the malaise did not afflict him. During the general election campaign in December 1923, Asquith stayed the night at Alderley Park after making a speech at Manchester. "Old Lord Sheffield (aged 84) is a marvel," he wrote, "and addresses two or three meetings every evening in support of the candidature of his son. His brother-in-law, Sir Hugh Bell, arrived after speaking at two meetings. He is a stripling of 80, and the only man in

¹⁴³ Lord Sheffield The Education Bill 1917 The Contemporary Review vol.112(1917) pp.366-367.

¹⁴⁴ The School Government Chronicle... 29 March 1919 p.184.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. 30 April 1921 p.312.

England who can talk Lord S. down. When we went to bed I left the two veterans engaged in a violent and verbose controversy...."¹⁴⁶ Nor were Lord Sheffield's attitudes out-moded. In 1919 he could look forward to the formation of a Labour government.¹⁴⁷

By the 1920's he had abandoned detailed committee work but his public speeches were as forthright as ever and his aims as clear. At the National Education Association in 1921 he was scornful of progress made. "But the cold fit, which has followed the zeal for vast schemes of social reform, has not only paralysed the aspirations for progress but has absolutely repressed the fulfilment of the earlier obligations imposed by previous Acts of Parliament. The Cabinet has interfered to prevent the Minister of Education from fulfilling his duty...." Then he declared his hopes for the future. The upheaval of war which had shattered so many beliefs must not shake them from established principles. "We want the vigour of the pick of the mass of the community fashioned, disciplined and stimulated by the help of a wider education. It is no use being in a hurry. We have suffered from our unwillingness ever since 1870 to establish a completely national system under representative government and covering the whole field up to the University, but we must be content now to toil onwards so as to overtake slowly the neglect and lost opportunities of the past. But patience, courage and a determination to make our system more national, more civic, and more free from class and sectarian domination and intrusion will gradually bring about greater national unity, greater economic efficiency,

¹⁴⁶ Asquith Memories and Reflections 1852-1927 vol.ii p.207.

¹⁴⁷ The School Government Chronicle... 29 March 1919 p.186.

and greater mental activity and intellectual happiness."¹⁴⁸

In March 1925 in his eighty-sixth year Lord Sheffield died and was buried at Alderley. In London a memorial service was held at St. Matthew's, Camden Town. The congregation included teachers and scholars from the school bearing his name.¹⁴⁹

Lyulph Stanley¹⁵⁰ and His Place in Educational History

"Agnostic" or even "militant agnostic"¹⁵¹ are the labels usually attached to Lyulph Stanley: but like most labels they only reveal a half-truth. Perhaps his version of some lines from Lucretius express his own concept of the aloofness of the deity:-

"For all the nature of the Gods must be
Fulfilled with calm and immortality.
Since free from danger, by no fear dismayed,
Strong in themselves, not needing human aid,
They turn away from mortal men's affairs,
Resent no crime and hearken to no prayers."¹⁵²

Although Stanley was remarkably reticent about his religious beliefs the other occasional allusions in his

¹⁴⁸ The School Government Chronicle... 30 April 1921 pp.311-312. At the Annual Meeting of the N.E.A.

¹⁴⁹ The Times 20 and 25 March 1925.

¹⁵⁰ As he was known by this style at the peak of his career it is used here in the evaluation of his work. It was also employed by some for his obituaries e.g. The School Child and Juvenile Worker April 1925 p.1.

¹⁵¹ Asquith Memories and Reflections 1852-1927 vol.ii p.196.

¹⁵² Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/5. Letter dated 12 May 1883 from ELS to HMS. When Gladstone had quoted these lines from Lucretius Stanley made the translation and sent it to the Prime Minister. British Museum Add.MSS. 44480, f.318. De Rerum Natura ii 646-651. I am indebted to Miss Stella Pope of the Queen's School, Chester for referring this passage to its context, and providing me with a literal translation.

writings do not suggest an atheist nor an agnostic outlook. On reading Harriet Martineau's Autobiography he commented, "I think too that the theological or rather atheological part in the second volume is tedious."¹⁵³ Then, on another occasion he expressed disappointment in a sermon by Stopford Brooke.¹⁵⁴ And once, at a public meeting he claimed that his religion was much wider than the Bible.¹⁵⁵ It may well be that Stanley's belief in an individual's right to freedom of thought and expression - he vehemently championed Bradlaugh in the Parliament of 1880¹⁵⁶ - made him an atheist or an agnostic in the public-eye.

Like his nephew Bertrand Russell he was utterly indifferent to public approval. Both men were unwilling to compromise and contemptuous of stupidity or dilatoriness from those in positions of power. Thwarted by a Conservative administration Stanley denounced the Prime Minister and his associates as: "Lord Salisbury, and other birds of ill-omen."¹⁵⁷ But friends in the Liberal party failing to live up to their principles in Stanley's estimation would get an equally trenchant reception. "Early in the eighties when I came into Parliament," he told the N.E.A., "Mr. Mundella came to me in the lobby and said 'What is this you have been saying about me? I am told you are going about saying I am worse than the Tories,' and I said 'that is entirely incorrect, but I will tell you if you like what I did say - I said you are as bad as the Tories!'"¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/3. Letter [of April 1877?] from ELS to HMS.

¹⁵⁴ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 102/3. Letter dated 28 September 1876 from ELS to HMS.

¹⁵⁵ The Salisbury Times.... 19 October 1889.

¹⁵⁶ Lucy A Diary of Two Parliaments vol.ii p.36.

¹⁵⁷ The School Board Chronicle 19 February 1898 p.205.

¹⁵⁸ Lord Stanley of Alderley A "Shameful" Administration op.cit. pp.14-15.

A member of one of the greatest families in the kingdom he had the utmost contempt for an aristocracy out of communication with the people. "I have been reading Doudan's letters," he wrote to his mother.¹⁵⁹ "It is worth your reading - not for its own merit but for the light it throws on French politics and parties. You know all about him, a literary tame cat supposed to have much philosophical power and critical refinement living in the family of the Broglies[.] If you read his letters you see the spirit of a little coterie of doctrinaires quite incapable of appreciating the wider movement of the world. They seem to me to correspond with a group in England made up of L^d Stanhope the Bp. of Oxford Reeve Hayward and a few more, thinking themselves the universe and all outside a few worthless remains of chaos. They imagined themselves liberals till the world refused to listen to them and then they discovered that repression was the only way of dealing with the masses. After running through these letters I see exactly though at second hand the type of the Duc de Broglie - and it is a type incapable of being utilized in modern politics, so narrow is it, so self sufficient and so incapable of receiving instruction. Indeed these people are fully persuaded that the world should come to them for wisdom, and that their only function is that of professors of all earthly wisdom[.] They never seem to travel outside their clique which is very much the set of the academy and their whole life is taken up in mutual admiration...." To

¹⁵⁹ Cheshire Record Office, DSA 102/3. Letter dated 9 December 1877 from ELS to HMS. Ximénès Doudan was the principal private secretary to the Duc de Broglie briefly Minister of Education after the Revolution of 1830. Dictionnaire de Biographie Française.

Stanley the wealth and leisure of his aristocratic position could only be justified by unremitting public service. After walking through the grounds at Penrhos soon after he had inherited the estate he wrote. "...the only excuse for the cost of such luxuries was enabling as many as possible to enjoy them."¹⁶⁰

Sacrificing a Parliamentary career in his mid-forties and serving on local government bodies never seems to have caused him regret. That he had the ability to rise to the highest office is beyond doubt and at his death some were not unwilling to compare him with Lord Curzon.¹⁶¹ But he himself advised young men to gain experience in local government rather than seek election to Parliament: for in the House of Commons they would have less opportunity for service and little to do but watch "the display of some important politician."¹⁶²

But why with such liberal beliefs, so much ability and such devotion to duty is Stanley so little remembered? The inheritance of a title which made him sound like a Yorkshire captain-of-industry to the uninitiated is a possible reason for a lack of appreciation among the general public. Yet if we compare him again with his nephew, it is difficult to imagine Bertrand Russell suffering a similar posthumous neglect even if known by a different title in his last years. It may well be that Lyulph Stanley's concentration on educational problems precluded a widespread recognition of his endeavours. For only

¹⁶⁰ Cheshire Record Office. DSA 165. Letter dated 18 January 1904 from ELS to J.H. Adeane.

¹⁶¹ The Weekly Westminster. The relevant part of the appreciation is reprinted in The School Child and Juvenile Worker April 1925 pp.1-2.

¹⁶² Stanley's Introduction to Trevelyan The Cause of the Children The Eighty Club 3rd. ed. October 1897 p.4.

occasionally can the public be whipped up to show any enthusiasm for any educational question. Parents who might be expected to care whether their children are taught in light airy schools with plenty of room for each child instead of in cramped and gloomy conditions, find debates on square footage and cubic footage dull in the extreme. Stanley recognised this and ruefully recalled how he had known the School Board called the "School Bore".¹⁶³

Yet Lyulph Stanley receives scant recognition even among educationists. Perhaps the demise of the school boards may explain it. For few circumstances increase a man's fame more than the success of the causes for which he worked. Few plunge him into obscurity more effectively than their eclipse.

When the school boards were in their prime they were an inspiration to the liberal-minded and few passages have better caught the hopefulness engendered by the schooling of the masses than Holmes' conversation with Watson as the two travelled into London from Woking by a Portsmouth express.

"...Holmes was sunk in profound thought, and hardly opened his mouth until we had passed Clapham Junction.

'It's a very cheering thing to come into London by any of these lines which run high and allow you to look down upon the houses like this.'

I thought he was joking, for the view was sordid enough, but he soon explained himself.

'Look at those big, isolated clumps of buildings rising up above the slates, like brick islands in a lead-coloured sea.'

'The Board Schools.'

¹⁶³ Stanley Religion at the London School Board op.cit.p.739.

'Lighthouses, my boy! Beacons of the future! Capsules, with hundreds of bright little seeds in each, out of which will spring the wiser, better England of the future....'¹⁶⁴

As the two had time to say much more before the train drew into Waterloo we may place this conversation close to Clapham Junction. Probably they were looking south to the low rise crowned by the street known as Lavender Hill where the schools are particularly conspicuous.

It is remarkable how Doyle is unconsciously illuminating. For the location he chose included one of the schools - Basnett Road - built at Lyulph Stanley's instigation. The magnitude of Stanley's achievement during his six-and-a-half years as Chairman of the Statistical Committee when 128,000 places were provided can be measured by a comparison with the total of 118,000 places for the two largest provincial school boards combined after three decades of effort.¹⁶⁵ This alone should be sufficient to give him an "honourable mention" in a catalogue of English educational endeavour.

The buildings may survive for a little longer: Basnett Road with the extensions of 1902 now houses the John Burns Primary School. But Lyulph Stanley's contribution to English education is more than this work of housing schools, and an examination of his career casts light upon aspects of English educational administration.

He himself would probably rate his unswerving opposition to the denominational control of education as his paramount concern. No doubt he fought hardest where the

¹⁶⁴ Doyle The Naval Treaty at p.515 of The Complete Short Stories. Part of this passage is also quoted by Armytage in Four Hundred Years of English Education at p.147.

¹⁶⁵ Cd.1139 op.cit. pp.12-15: Leeds and Birmingham.

Church was weakest: but his accusations about the financing of voluntary schools are revealing. The 'farming' of schools, the manipulation of rents, the inadequacy of subscriptions, the payment of donations merely to avoid the introduction of a school board should hardly be associated with Christian education.

Like so many others he mis-judged the future of Church elementary schools under the 1902 Act. School managers do not really manage: except for the appointment of teachers. Yet it may be that the solution of 1902 may contain the seeds of discontent, but in a way not then contemplated. In many of our cities the voluntary schools are situated in decaying neighbourhoods. Suppose some of these schools have a preponderance of immigrant Muslim children, and suppose teachers applying for positions in the school are rejected because they are Mohammedans and not Anglicans or Roman Catholics, what then? Many immigrant teachers will accept the situation with a philosophic resignation, but a few may well argue as Non-conformists did in 1902: they pay their rates in the same way as everyone else and therefore they are entitled to equal opportunities in schools maintained out of the rates. Certainly the proposals Stanley made in the years before the First World War to solve the religious difficulty could withstand the shock of these changed conditions.

Stanley's other relentless verbal battle - with the Department and its successor, often couched in the most provocative terms, and sometimes, as in the Menai Bridge case, excessively partisan, does reveal much about the attitudes of Whitehall officials. The cases at Salisbury, Heywood and Eastbourne, the insistence on one standard of accommodation for board schools and another for voluntary schools shows a readiness to be excessively lenient towards the denominational party.

Examination of Stanley's other activities prompts a re-evaluation of certain aspects of administration focussed by the 1902 Act. The reduction in the numbers of administrative bodies from 3,300 (2,500 school boards and 800 school attendance committees) to some 300 was undoubtedly a great simplification. But as Stanley pointed out, the Department already had powers to form united districts, and in 1870 Forster had regarded amalgamation of units as one of the central authority's most important functions. The maps of the Wellington Union, Somerset, of Devon and of Anglesey show how these powers could have been used to reduce drastically the number of small school boards. And the new units created could have been adjusted to suit educational needs. But by using the counties as a basis for administration, some units tended to be over-large. This may have had two unfortunate consequences. It is possible that in the years immediately following 1902 the upper middle-class gained an unwarranted hold on the more extensive authorities. And it was necessary to provide an intermediate stage - the Divisional Executive - after 1944: which often became a hurdle in the way of expediting business, rather than a means of devolution.

The greatest achievement following the 1902 Act was the development of day secondary schools, called grammar schools after 1944. Regarded in isolation they were excellent places of learning. The academic standards of some were without peer. As a means of social climbing into the professions for able children they were unsurpassed. Yet they are disappearing. The basic cause of this disappearance is the abject failure of the secondary modern as a valid alternative in the eyes of the electorate. These schools formed in the years after 1944 were staffed by teachers who had themselves passed through the Balfour-Morant secondary schools. Few teachers can entirely dissociate their teaching from the way they themselves were

taught. So, although there were numerous successful attempts to make the school relevant to the needs of the children, a great number of secondary modern schools became pale imitations of the grammar schools. There were the trappings of Houses, honours boards, prefects and the rest. Worse, the curriculum was frequently a simplified version of the work required in the grammar school. This attempt at infusing an alien tradition and an unsuitable curriculum into the successors of the elementary schools proved disastrous. So low had they sunk in public esteem by the nineteen-sixties that they were looked upon as receptacles for the unsuccessful.

Perhaps if Stanley had had his way this attitude would not have prevailed. Perhaps if he had been allowed to develop the London board schools in the way he wanted, and if this pattern had been repeated throughout the country as he so persistently advocated, we might have been spared the rigid divisions of the tri-partite system.

As for the merits of ad hoc administration it is doubtful if a conclusion can be reached with finality. But perhaps it is worth noting that thirty years after the 1902 Act the L.C.C. had a mere 27 secondary schools under their control. Even making allowances for the large number of voluntary schools in London, the difficulties of the "Depression" and the small fraction of the child population going to the secondary school, it is difficult to imagine the S.B.L., if it had been given the task of providing secondary education, opening schools at such a slow pace.

Possibly the lesson to^{be} learnt from the life of the greatest advocate of school boards is merely negative. Labour tirelessly for education for a life-time and you will receive less recognition than a politician who succeeds

in getting a single Bill through Parliament. Put the education of the nation's children first, let other considerations become subordinate and that is the way to obscurity. If this is so, then the lesson of his life is a sour one.

APPENDIX A

Schools opened by the School Board for London during the
Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley's Chairmanship of the Statistical
Committee 26 June 1879 to 19 November 1885

The numbers in column 1 correspond with the numbers on fig.3.

1. No.	2. <u>Name of School</u>	3. <u>Accommodation</u>				4. <u>Date of opening</u>
		(a) Boys	(b) Girls	(c) In- fants	(d) Total	
	<u>GHELSEA DIVISION</u>					
1	Kenmont Gardens School, College Park, Kensal Green.	240	240	315	795	4 February 1884
2	Kilburn Lane School, Kensal Green.	540	540	503	1583	24 August 1885 ¹
3	Beethoven Street School, Queen's Park, Harrow Road.	377	378	418	1173	2 May 1881
4	Edinburgh Road School, Ladbroke Grove Road.	240	240	322	802	2 February 1880
5	Oxford Gardens School, Ladbroke Grove, Notting Hill.	300	300	199	799	7 January 1884
6	Latimer Road School, Notting Hill.	300	240	320	860	5 January 1880
7	St. Clement's School, Norland Town.	240	240	322	802	16 August 1880
8	The Fox School, Silver Street, Notting Hill.	150	150	184	484	5 January 1880
9	Brackenbury Road School, Goldhawk Road, Hammersmith	240	240	319	799	1 December 1879

10	Gloucester Grove East School, Old Brompton Road.	180	180	240	600	25 April 1881
11	Everington Street School, Crown Road, Fulham.	360	360	481	1201	9 January 1882
12	Star Lane School, West Kensington.	240	240	322	802	5 January 1880
13	North End Road School, Fulham.	360	360	480	1200	28 February 1881
14	Park Walk School, King's Road, Chelsea.	240	240	324	804	10 January 1881
15	Sherbrooke Road School, Salis- bury Estate, Fulham Fields.	360	360	473	1193	5 January 1885
16	Ackmar Road School, Parson's Green.	360	360	470	1190	13 April 1885
17	The Ashburnham School, Uperæ Road.	471	470	533	1474	13 April 1885
<u>MARYLEBONE DIVISION</u>						
18	Netherwood Street School, Kilburn.	300	300	401	1001	15 November 1881
19	Carlton Road School, Kentish Town.	480	480	640	1600	11 February 1884
20	Burghley Road School, High- gate Road.	360	360	460	1180	7 January 1884
21	The Brecknock School, York Road, Camden Road.	180	180	240	600	25 April 1881
22	Princess Road School, Gloucester Road, Regent's Pk.	240	240	324	804	9 February 1885
23	The Moberly School, Harrow Road, Paddington.	360	360	462	1182	14 January 1884
24	Amberley Road School, Harrow Road.	180	180	243	603	10 January 1881

25	Campbell Street School, Maida Vale.	240	240	322	802	10 January 1881
26	Netley Street School, Hampstead Road.	180	180	234	594	30 June 1884
27	Manchester Street School, Gray's Inn Road.	150	150	200	500	25 April 1881
28	Whitfield Street School, Tottenham Court Road.	166	166	200	532	25 August 1879
<u>WESTMINSTER DIVISION</u>						
29	The Pulteney School, Berwick Street, Soho	300	300	400	1000	25 April 1881
30	James Street School, Buckingham Gate	180	180	245	605	5 June 1882
<u>FINSBURY DIVISION</u>						
31	The Whittington School, Highgate Hill.	180	180	240	600	17 July 1882
32	Duncombe Road School, Upper Holloway.	360	360	478	1198	25 April 1881
33	Yerbury Road School, Upper Holloway.	360	360	473	1193	15 Sept. 1884
34	Grafton Road School, Seven Sisters Road.	240	240	322	802	18 August 1879
35	Gillespie Road School, Highbury Vale.	300	300	400	1000	18 August 1879
36	Oldfield Road School, Stoke Newington.	240	240	320	800	9 January 1882
37	Matthias Road School, Stoke Newington.	360	360	460	1180	11 February 1884
38	Station Road School, Highbury.	360	360	397	1117	5 January 1885

39	Thornhill Road School, Islington.	300	300	365	965	10 January 1881
40	Risinghill Street School, Pentonville.	360	360	452	1172	5 January 1885
41	Great Wild Street School, Great Queen Street.	300	300	358	958	5 January 1885
42	Compton Street School, Goswell Road.	420	420	560	1400	21 November 1881
43	Bath Street School, City Road.	360	360	468	1188	29 August 1881 ²
<u>HACKNEY DIVISION</u>						
44	Morning Lane School, Hackney.	420	420	525	1365	21 April 1884
45	Homerton Row School, High Street, Homerton.	360	360	460	1180	27 August 1883 ³
46	Berger Road School, Homerton.	360	360	480	1200	8 Sept. 1879
47	Sydney Road School, Homerton.	480	480	652	1612	27 November 1882 ⁴
48	Haggerston Road School, Shore-ditch.	240	240	320	800	18 August 1879
49	Napier Street School, Shepherdess Walk, Hoxton.	360	360	473	1193	1 June 1885
50	Wenlock Road School, New North Road, Hoxton.	360	360	476	1196	16 August 1880
51	St. John's Road School, Hoxton.	480	480	600	1560	1 October 1883
52	Scawfell Street School, Hackney Road.	360	360	473	1193	1 June 1885
53	Cranbrook Road School, Beth-nal Green.	480	480	638	1598	10 January 1881
54	Mansford Street School, Old Beth-nal Green Road.	360	360	470	1190	2 April 1883

55	Hague Street School, Bethnal Green Road.	360	360	469	1189	29 October 1883
56	Summerford Street School, Bethnal Green.	480	480	635	1595	10 January 1881
<u>TOWER HAMLETS</u> <u>DIVISION</u>						
57	Smeed Road School, Old Ford.	360	360	471	1191	1 June 1885
58	Walmesbury Road School, Bow.	360	360	436	1156	11 May 1885
59	Single Street School, Bow Common Lane.	360	360	475	1195	1 June 1885
60	Trafalgar Square School, White Horse Lane, Step- ney.	360	360	474	1194	24 August 1885
61	Rutland Street School, Mile End Old Town.	300	300	390	990	24 August 1885
62	Dempsey Street School, Mile End Old Town.	360	360	480	1200	28 August 1882
63	Dalgleish Street School, Salmon Street, Limehouse.	180	180	242	602	5 January 1880
64	Farrance Street School, Limehouse.	360	360	468	1188	9 January 1882
65	Upper North Street School, Poplar.	180	180	237	597	9 January 1882
66	Alton Street School, Bromley.	360	360	480	1200	9 July 1883
67	St. Leonard's Road School, Bromley.	360	360	458	1178	5 January 1885
68	Bromley Hall Road School, Bromley.	390	390	520	1300	13 March 1882
69	Oban Street School, Bromley.	420	420	560	1400	23 April 1883
70	Betts Street School, Cable Street, St. George's-in-the- East.	300	300	386	986	15 Sept. 1884 ^s

71	Broad Street School, Ratcliff.	480	480	667	1627	24 August 1885
<u>LAMBETH DIVISION</u>						
72	Warple Way School, Wandsworth.	180	180	243	603	16 August 1880
73	Surrey Lane School, Bridge Road, Battersea.	480	480	632	1592	9 March 1885
74	Shillington Street School, Battersea.	360	360	468	1188	26 February 1883
75	The Latchmere School, Battersea.	420	420	580	1420	27 August 1883
76	Basnett Road School, Lavender Hill.	300	300	375	975	26 May 1884
77	Raywood Street ^{School,} Battersea Park Road.	360	360	484	1204	18 April 1882
78	Wirtemberg Street ^{School,} Clapham.	180	180	240	600	7 November 1881
79	Ponton Road School, Nine Elms.	180	180	-	360	24 August 1885 ^e
80	The Springfield School, Fountain Street, Wandsworth Road.	360	360	477	1197	23 October 1882
81	Church Street School, Kennington.	240	240	322	802	23 Sept. 1879
82	Waterloo Road School, Lambeth.	300	300	402	1002	16 May 1881
83	Lollard Street School, Kennington.	240	240	322	802	26 April 1880
84	Rockingham Street School, Newington Causeway.	240	240	316	796	13 July 1885
85	Crampton Street School, Newington.	370	370	496	1236	2 April 1883
86	King and Queen Street School, Walworth.	420	420	535	1375	16 July 1883

87	Surrey Square School, Old Kent Road.	360	360	489	1209	13 July 1885
88	Mina Road School, Old Kent Road.	420	420	558	1398	28 August 1882
89	Mawbey Road School, Old Kent Road.	240	240	310	790	20 October 1884
90	Credon Road School, Rotherhithe New Road.	480	480	650	1610	23 October 1882
91	Ruby Street School, Old Kent Road.	240	240	316	796	16 March 1885
92	Cator Street School, Peckham.	360	360	482	1202	26 April 1881
93	Reddins Road School, Peckham.	360	360	482	1202	29 August 1881
94	Colls Road School, Asylum Road, Peckham.	360	360	479	1199	24 August 1885
95	Crawford Street School, Camberwell.	360	360	400	1120	27 October 1884
96	Lyndhurst Grove School, Camberwell.	360	360	380	1100	15 January 1883
97	Wood's Road School, Queen's Road, Peckham.	240	240	318	798	29 August 1881
98	Nunhead Passage School, Peckham Rye.	480	480	440	1400	7 January 1884
99	Adys Road School, East Dulwich.	300	300	372	972	17 November 1884
100	Heber Road School, East Dulwich.	310	310	418	1038	2 April 1883
101	Salter's Hill School West Norwood.	180	180	242	602	12 April 1880
102	Oldridge Road School, Balham.	240	240	322	802	26 June 1882
103	Waldron Road School, Earlsfield, Summers Town, Tooting.	300	300	240	840	24 August 1885

104	Tooting Graveney School.	180	180	176	536	28 August 1882
<u>SOUTHWARK DIVISION</u>						
105	Pocock Street School, Friar Street, Blackfriars Road.	240	240	316	796	24 August 1885
106	West Square School, Southwark.	180	180	211	571	1 June 1885
107	The Snowfields School, Kirby Street, Bermondsey.	240	240	320	800	18 July 1881
108	Webb Street School, Bermondsey New Road.	240	240	319	799	5 April 1880
109	Townsend Street School, Old Kent Road.	360	360	470	1190	2 March 1885
110	The Alma School, Southwark Park Road, Bermondsey.	300	300	386	986	20 July 1885
111	East Lane School, Bermondsey Wall.	300	300	402	1002	7 February 1882
112	Silwood Street School, Rotherhithe.	240	240	320	800	25 April 1881
<u>GREENWICH DIVISION</u>						
113	The Deptford Park School, Deptford.	240	240	316	796	6 October 1884
114	Monson Road School, Hatcham.	300	300	400	1000	4 Sept. 1882
115	Nynehead Street School, New Cross.	240	240	320	800	27 August 1883
116	Clyde St. School, Deptford.	360	-	-	360	29 August 1881 ⁷
117	Mangle Road School, Brockley Lane.	240	240	320	800	26 January 1885
118	Morden Terrace School, Lewisham Road, Greenwich.	240	240	320	800	22 November 1880

119	Haseltine Road School, Bell Green, Lower Sydenham.	240	240	323	803	9/11 Nov. 1885
120	Melvin Road School, Maple Road, Penge.	240	240	320	800	26 February 1883 ⁶
121	Plassy Road School, Rushey Green, Catford.	180	180	242	602	6 October 1884
122	Hither Green School, Beacon Road, Hither Green.	240	240	311	791	15 June 1885
123	Bromley Road School, Lee.	90	90	160	340	28 August 1883
124	Pope Street School, Eltham.	60	60	30	200	25 April 1881
125	The Lombard Wall School, Lombard Wall, Charlton.	240	240	293	773	6 October 1884
126	Wood Street School, Woolwich.	360	360	480	1200	2 April 1883
127	Union Street School, Woolwich.	240	240	320	800	8 December 1884
128	Vicarage Road School, Plumstead.	240	240	320	800	2/9 May 1881
129	Plumstead Road School, Plumstead.	240	240	320	800	18 August 1879
130	The Slade School, Plumstead Common Road.	180	180	234	594	13 April 1885

Notes:-

- ¹ Infants Department not opened until 14 September 1885.
- ² Accommodation excludes enlargement completed 1883.
- ³ Infants Department was opened on 20 November 1882.
- ⁴ Boys Department not opened until 12 February 1883.
- ⁵ Girls Department not opened until 5 November 1884.
- ⁶ Infants Department not opened until after Stanley had left the Statistical Committee.

- ' Girls and Infants Departments not opened until after Stanley had left the Statistical Committee.
- ⁸ Infants Department not opened until 2 April 1883.
- ⁹ Girls and Infants Departments not opened until 4 May 1885.

Source:-

County Hall, London SBL 1527. This file contains a List of New Permanent Schools (Existing and Projected) dated 30 November 1899. The names of the schools are those given in this List.... and are not necessarily the names used when the schools were opened.

APPENDIX B

Examination Questions, July, 1881.

—
One question only may be
answered in each section.

Holy Scripture.

Narrative Portions of the Old Testament.

Section I.

1. What promises were given by God to Abraham, and on what occasions? How did he show his faith with regard to any of them?
2. Give an account of one of the chief occasions on which the children of Israel murmured in the wilderness.
3. Describe one of the principal events connected with the conquest and occupation of the land of Canaan by the Israelites.

Section II.

1. Trace in the Books of Samuel and Kings the events referred to in the following passages of Psalm LXXVIII:-
"He forsook the tabernacle in Silo: even the tent that He had pitched among men."
"He refused the tabernacle of Joseph: and chose not the tribe of Ephraim; but chose the tribe of Judah: even the hill of Sion which He loved."
2. Give a short narrative of the rebellion of Absalom, with some account of Ahithophel and Hushai.
3. Write a short history of the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib in the reign of King Hezekiah.

Section III.

The Four Gospels.

1. Give a short account of the miracle of the tribute-money. By what authority and for what purpose was this tribute collected? Explain the force of Christ's words respecting it.
2. Mention the events in our Lord's life up to the age of twelve years (inclusive) which are related by St. Luke alone.
3. Give the context and explain the following:-
 - (a) "An Israelite indeed";
 - (b) "Before Abraham was, I am";
 - (c) "Whatsoever ye shall ask in My name."

Section IV.

The Acts of the Apostles.

1. Relate some of the principal events in the history of St. Peter, as far as it is contained in the Book of the Acts.
2. By what successive steps did the Gospel become more widely spread, from the day of Pentecost to the time when St. Paul departed on his first missionary journey?
3. Relate the principal events in St. Paul's journey as a prisoner to Rome.

Source:-

Menet The Training Colleges and the London School Board:

Remarks on the Admission Examination in Religious Knowledge

pp. 10-11.

APPENDIX C

Items 11 and 12 of the Report of the School Management Committee dated 5 July 1878 and laid before the meeting of the School Board for London held on 10 July 1878.

On the 13th March, 1878, the Board adopted a scheme for the instruction of pupil-teachers at centres, and referred it back to the School Management Committee, with instructions to submit a case for the opinion of counsel, whether the expenditure which would be involved was legal or not; and, in case such opinion should be favourable, then to submit to the Board such alterations in the "Code of Regulations for the Guidance of Managers and Teachers" as might be necessary for carrying the scheme into effect.

The committee first took the opinion of Mr. John Westlake, Q.C., which is as follows:-

"Apart from certain special powers which do not affect the present question, the power of the School Board is limited to providing elementary schools, and these in accordance with the conditions required for becoming entitled to the Parliamentary grant. That the Board can instruct pupil teachers at all, otherwise than through their attending any classes in the schools, results from the fact that the Department has recognised the instruction of pupil teachers within certain limits as part of the business of an elementary school. Now it appears to me to be a fair interpretation of the Code, combined with Section 20 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, that the managers of an elementary school who, at the cost of the school fund, exceeded those limits in the instruction of pupil teachers would forfeit their title to the Parliamentary grant. The scheme of the Code, which is based on a distinction between the instruction of children in elementary schools and that of teachers in training colleges, and the natural desire

expressed by Parliament to control the application of school funds, on the amount of which that of the grant is partly dependent, exclude, in my opinion, any interpretation which would treat the requirements of the Code with regard to pupil teachers as merely expressing a minimum and thereby leave it open to managers to apply the school funds in their instruction to any extent that might be thought fit. If this view is correct it follows that a School Board is equally limited in its power of instructing pupil teachers at the cost of the rates.

"To apply this to details I am of opinion that the auditor should disallow any item arising exclusively from the instruction of pupil teachers otherwise than is expressed in the Code, as for instance the cost of a special instructor for them, the Code only mentioning instruction to be given by a teacher of their school, or the cost of conveying them to a centre, the Code implying by its silence as to anything of the kind that the instruction will be given at a place already convenient. Where the auditor finds an item of which an indistinguishable part appears to be due to the instruction of pupil teachers otherwise than is expressed in the Code, as the salary of a school teacher employed in instructing the pupil teachers attached to his school for considerably more than five hours a week each, and with school duties proportionally light, I am of opinion that he should disallow a part of such items in his discretion; and I do not think it should make any difference whether the subjects of instruction be those laid down in the Code for the examination of pupil teachers or any others. I am therefore obliged to come to the conclusion that no part of the scheme at present contemplated is lawful.⁺

"If the pupil teachers are at present found to be very inefficient there is no legal objection to the Board's paying wages at such a rate as to attract young persons who
+ Underlining mine. - A.W.J.

have enjoyed a better education. And if the Board established evening classes adapted to the conditions for obtaining the Parliamentary grant, and gave in them such instruction as it desires the pupil teacher to receive, it might make it a condition of the employment of pupil teachers that they should attend those classes. A sufficient scale of wages being fixed, young persons might probably be found as pupil teachers whose parents or guardians would appreciate the value of such instruction and pay the class fees and travelling expenses, without having occasion to anything which could be fairly represented as a covert bargain to return the class fees and travelling expenses under the name of wages.

(Signed)

"J. Westlake.

"2, New-square, Lincoln's-inn, 2nd April, 1878.

"Since writing the above opinion, my attention has been directed to the definition of an elementary school in Section 3 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870. I presume the point intended is that since such a school is defined to be one at which elementary education is the principal part of the education there given the giving of some instruction which cannot properly be called elementary is contemplated. That is true but it was not therefore contemplated that such ultra elementary instruction might be given⁺ not only in school hours, to the school children, but out of school hours, to pupil teachers. The words 'at which' and 'there given' are against such an interpretation. The definition merely expresses that a school may be considered elementary, although ultra elementary subjects are taught in it, and it remains in my opinion that the power to teach at all any other young persons than the school children can only be found when the Code is read into the Act.

⁺ Underlining mine. - A.W.J.

"I will take this opportunity of mentioning why I do not think that any aid can be drawn from the correspondence of March, 1877, between the School Board and the Department, or from the circular of the Department to its inspectors, dated 16th January, 1878. No document other than a minute laid before Parliament and these acquiesced in, can be an authoritative explanation of the Code. And even were this otherwise, neither the correspondence nor the circular referred to, when sanctioning pupil teachers receiving instruction during school hours from teachers other than those of the school, makes any mention of that being done at the cost of the school funds. It might be at their own cost, or at that of funds specially contributed by charitable persons for the purpose."

Having regard to the important consequences involved in this opinion, the committee determined to take the further opinion of the Attorney-General and Mr. B.B. Rogers, which they likewise subjoin:-

"We agree in substance with Mr. Westlake's opinion,⁺ and consider that the Board must confine themselves within the limits of Paragraph 5 of the agreement contained in the 2nd Schedule to the New Code (1878).

"So far as the proposed scheme transgresses those limits, it is in our opinion unlawful, and the expense of carrying it out cannot be charged upon the rates.

"And in particular we think it unlawful to pay out of the rates (a) the expenses of the instruction of a pupil teacher by any person other than a certificated teacher of his or her school. And (b) the expenses of instructing a pupil teacher in the Code subjects to a higher point year by year than is set forth in the Schedule to the Code. And (c) the instruction of a pupil teacher in other than Code subjects. And (d) the instruction of a pupil teacher in drawing, a language, or a science. And (e) the instruction

⁺ Underlining mine. - A.W.J.

of a pupil teacher as such in religious subjects.

"He may of course receive the ordinary religious instruction of a pupil.

(Signed)

(John Holker.
(B.B. Rogers.)"

The committee, before submitting any definite recommendations, ask authority to seek an interview with the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, with a view to the consideration of the whole subject.

. . . .

(Signed)

John Rodgers (Chairman).
Robert Freeman.
E. Lyulph Stanley.

Source:-

The School Board Chronicle 13 July 1878 pp. 30-31.

APPENDIX D

The Publications of the National Education Association,
1889-1897

I The Numbering and Dating of N.E.A. Publications

The publications of the N.E.A. included leaflets, pamphlets and annual reports. An attempt was made to number at least some of these publications, but the eccentricities of the numbering system were so great that it has to be used with caution.

1. Unnumbered publications

The numbering system was started in the early days of the Association: e.g. a publication numbered 7 is concerned with the recommendations adopted by the Executive Committee on 5 November 1889. Yet many of the later publications bear no printed number, e.g. there is an eight-page pamphlet dated January 1892 entitled On the Need of Increased Facilities for the Training of Teachers in Elementary Schools but it bears no number. Such publications in the British Museum frequently - but not invariably - are numbered in manuscript, and this numbering ante-dates the binding in at least one case. Even though it has not been possible to ascertain the date when these publications were bound into volumes, it is thought worth recording thus, e.g. [46??] On the Need of Increased Facilities.... etc.¹

Yet not necessarily all N.E.A. publications at this time were intended to bear a number. For example, no evidence has been found to assign numbers to the Annual Reports,

¹ It is almost certain that the Association failed to deposit copies of their publications in the British Museum until 1895 and then sent a copy of each item in print at that time. Hence the gaps in the collection now shelved at 8311.f. - From information most kindly supplied by the Superintendent of the Reading Room from the C.R.O. (Entries at p.333 vol.8, Ledger for 1892-95 and at p.755, M-2 Ledger 1896-1901.)

though at a later date Annual Reports were numbered in the series and given a title. Thus the Annual Report for 1912 was numbered 175 and given the title An Educational Programme.

2. Numbered publications

As Rogers notes² there are discrepancies in the dates if the publications are arranged in numerical order: but it is difficult to agree with his conclusion that the "dates seem to be the date of writing, not of publication".

By no means all the publications of the N.E.A. bear the printer's name, but where they do it is nearly always the 'Co-operative Printing Society'. Where this is given, a number, probably an order number, is frequently added [= C.P.S. no.]. A representative sample of N.E.A. publications available in London, and bearing a C.P.S. no., a date and an N.E.A. no. has been taken. The following is a list of the sample in order of the C.P.S. no.:-

<u>C.P.S. no.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>N.E.A. no.</u>	<u>Short Title</u>	<u>Available at:-³</u>
22,339	19 July 1892	54	The Teaching of Drawing	B.M.
23,187	Oct. 1892	56	The Need for Further Training College Accommodation.	H.C.
30,248	July 1894	64	The Cost of Board Schools	G.L.
31,536	Oct. 1894	71	A Sample of Clerical Controversy	G.L.
31,807	23 Oct. 1894	70	On Pupil Teachers	B.M.
33,492	April 1895	73	Voluntary Schools and Public Funds	B.M.

² Rogers Churches and Children - a Study in the Controversy over the 1902 Act The British Journal of Educational Studies vol. viii (1959) p.49.

³ B.M. = British Museum; H.C. = Howell Collection, Bishopsgate Institute; G.L. = Gladstone Library, National Liberal Club.

35,519	Oct. 1895	69	Why Should We Have a School Board?	B.M.
35,603	Oct. 1895	64	The Cost of Board Schools	G.L.
36,010	Nov. 1895	77	The "Bitter Cry"...	B.M.
39,125	Oct. 1896	69	Why Should We Have a School Board?	B.M.
39,126	Oct. 1896	55	The Comparative Efficiency...	B.M.
39,127	Oct. 1896	64	The Cost of Board Schools	G.L.
41,707	June 1897	87	The Proposed Alterations....	B.M.
41,939	July 1897	88	Observations on the 'Elementary Education (C.S.) Bill'	B.M.
42,963	Oct. 1897	64	The Cost of Board Schools	G.L.
43,016	Oct. 1897	89	Why Should We Have a School Board?	B.M.

It will be observed that the dates are in perfect chronological order. Therefore it is much more likely that the date is the date of printing and/or publication rather than the date of writing. Just as striking is the repetition of the N.E.A. no. and title in the list. For example, no.64 The Cost of Board Schools occurs four times at dates ranging from July 1894 to October 1897. In actual fact these four leaflets are substantially different editions, being revised as fresh material became available. So the edition of October 1897 differs considerably from the edition of July 1894.

Therefore, the footnote references to the pamphlets and leaflets are detailed, including the date, number of pages, size, and C.P.S. no., where possible.

II The Authorship of N.E.A. Publications

1. Generally

The leaflets and pamphlets were nearly always published anonymously. Occasionally it is possible, particularly for the earliest productions, to attribute authorship by reference to the N.E.A. Minutes: thus on 2 April 1889 the Executive Committee ordered the printing of a thousand copies of The Higher Education of Elementary Teachers by A. Park of Ashton-under-Lyne, and two thousand copies of Gowing's leaflet How to get a School Board.

The N.E.A. Minutes are tantalisingly brief but they provide evidence that Stanley as Chairman helped to shape the publications of the Association. Sometimes the minutes may categorically assign an anonymous publication to him: thus on 8 July 1890, "A memorandum prepared by the Chairman on Manual Training in Elem. Schs was read and approved & ordered to be circulated". Or the minutes may imply that only the basic work was Stanley's: so on 17 November 1891 the minutes state: "A Draft paper, prepared by the Chairman, on the training of teachers, was discussed & ordered to be sent round to the Members of the Committee for further consideration." Frequently the minutes are impersonal but the occasional lapse is illuminating. On 14 July 1896 it was decided that a pamphlet should be prepared concerning the clerical attack on the school board system since 1870: but on 13 October it was noted that Stanley had deferred writing the pamphlet until after Convocation had met.

It is against this background that the authorship of individual items must be considered:-

2. N.E.A. no. 58 On the Operation of Articles 104 and 105....

(a) The area selected to illustrate the excessive multiplicity of schools had been chosen by Stanley to illuminate his argument in a preceding publication e.g. Sutton Montis, Weston Bamfylde [sic] and South Cadbury were used as examples of inefficient operation and excessive cost

per head in Stanley's The Free Education Bill in The Contemporary Review vol. 60 (1891) p.142.

(b) Stanley's speech at the N.E.A. Annual Meeting in February 1893 reported in The School Board Chronicle for 11 February 1893 p.165 included: "That return had been examined and scrutinised in the case of a few counties. It was not necessary to examine and scrutinise it throughout, for in matters of this kind as in the case of a chemical analysis, when they had dealt with a sample, they were as well informed as if they had dealt with the whole bulk. They took an analysis of two or three counties in that return, and he confessed...." It seems highly probable that the pronoun 'they' underlined was really 'we' in Stanley's speech. The pamphlet has been assigned thus:-
[? Stanley et al?]

3. N.E.A. no. 84 Sir John Gorst and the Rural School Boards

A similar argument can be applied as at 2 (b) supra. Stanley's speech at the N.E.A. Annual Meeting in January 1897 as reported by The School Board Chronicle for 30 January 1897 p.123, included this passage: 'Mr. Claridge referred to the question of rural School Boards and Sir John Gorst's calumnies against them. The Association had just brought out a leaflet on that subject. Twelve rural unions were taken - they did not look beforehand to see whether the Voluntary Schools were good or bad in those localities. They found...'. As there is no further corroborative material the leaflet has been assigned thus:- [? Stanley et al??]

III A note on the pamphlets entitled The Advantages of the School Board System

At least two N.E.A. pamphlets appeared with this title. One is anonymous, (numbered [32??]) and is four pages long. It bears the C.P.S. no. 19,695 and from this may be dated earlier than 19 July 1892. The other pamphlet

with this title was written by Stanley, has the N.E.A. no. 65, and is 24 pages in length. It is a reprint with some amendments of twelve articles by Stanley that had appeared under the title The Advantages of the School Board System over the Voluntary System in The Schoolmistress vol.xxiv thus:-

Article I	2 March 1893	p.81
Article II	16 March 1893	p.129
Article III	30 March 1893	p.177
Article IV	13 April 1893	p.225
Article V	11 May 1893	p.319
Article VI	25 May 1893	p.366
Article VII	8 June 1893	p.415
Article VIII	22 June 1893	p.463
Article IX	6 July 1893	p.511
Article X	20 July 1893	p.561
Article XI	3 August 1893	p.606
Article XII	17 August 1893	p.657

This origin, not previously noted, in a periodical intended for feminine readers, accounts for the phrasing - still acid, but more dilute than customary from Stanley.

APPENDIX E

Morant's Reasons Against Ad Hoc Administration

Points against Mr Chamberlain's

Proposal to revert to Ad Hoc

-
1. Consistent policy of the party for 12 years.
 - a. Technical Instⁿ Act 1889 gave powers to Municipal Author^s in teeth of strenuous claims put forward by S Bds.
 - b. Welsh Intermed: Educⁿ Act 1889.
 - c. Whisky Money. Act. (Customs d^y.) 1890.
 - d. Gov.^t Bill 1896, absolutely based on county auth^y.
 - e. Clause vii of the Science & Art Dep^t Directory 1897
wh did by administration what was lost in the '96
Bill, so far as Technical & Sec^y are concerned.
 - f. D of D's Bill of 1900. Secondary & Tech.¹
 - g. D of D's Bill of 1901. N^a (1) d^o d^o
 - h. D of D's Bill of 1901. N^o (2) Higher Grade & Ev^g Schls
 2. Royal Commission on Sec^y Educⁿ 1895 (Bryce Chairman) re-
ported definitely against ad hoc bodies for Secondary &
Technical.
 3. The County Governing Bodies for Sec^y Edⁿ in Wales are
universally praised. Are these to be destroyed after
10 years good work? Or is Wales to be different from
England?
 4. This Gov.^t has consistently thrown upon County Authorities
more & more work in Higher Education: by Clause vii of
the Directory, by all its Evening Schl policy of last
Session's Minute, & by stating last Session that the
Local Auth^y, not ad hoc bodies, were the proper authori-
ties for Sec^y & Tech.¹ Educⁿ
 5. The County Council work in Evening Schls has steadily
grown since 1890: & now far more support is given to

Evening Schls by C^{ty} Councils than by Schl Bds, in all areas except London & the larger County Boro's. Vide D of D's speech last week in H of L. Is this to be uprooted?

6. 110 County & County Boro' Councils have devoted all the Whiskey Money to Education. Is this to be of no consideration?
7. 316 Municipal Author^s are rating themselves for Tech^l & Sec^y Edⁿ. Is this to be stopped?
8. Birmingham Town Council spent in 1900 upwards of £10000 out of its rates on Tech^l Educⁿ & is now spending more. Is this to be taken away from it?
9. Is the great Birmingham Institute & the new Manchester Institute, the largest in England, to be taken from the Town Council wh built it & given to the S. Bd?
10. Statements by Mr Balfour & D of D. in the upstairs Deputⁿ last Session. "It is not to Schl Bds, but to Local Auth^y that we look etc etc"
11. Mr Balfour's letter to Mr. Gray of May 15./01.
"Gov^t recognise that until Primary & Sec^y Edⁿ are confided to a single auth^y....) It shd receive support of those who think that primary & sec^y shd be placed under one auth^y & this auth^y the one wh the Bill proposes to establish."
12. The definitely announced policy of the Cockerton Bill, wh placed Sec^y & Tech^l Educⁿ in the hands of Municipal Author^s.

R L Morant
14. iii. 02.

Source:-

British Museum Add. MSS. 49787, ff. 60-61 provisional.

List of Sources

A. Unpublished Material

1. At the British Museum: the Gladstone Papers, the Balfour Papers, the Cross Papers and the Campbell-Bannerman Papers.
2. At the Public Record Office: the records of the Education Department and its successors; particularly the following files:- Ed. 2/106 Buckfastleigh.; Ed. 14/19; Ed. 14/24; Ed. 14/44; Ed. 14/45; Ed. 16/3; Ed. 16/139; Ed. 16/171; Ed. 16/290; Ed. 16/301; Ed. 16/322; Ed. 16/372; Ed. 16/572; Ed. 21/21427; and Ed. 35/3406.
3. At County Hall, London: the records of the School Board for London, the L.C.C.'s Technical Education Board, the L.C.C. Education Committee and Toynbee Hall.
4. In the National Library of Wales: N.L.W. MSS.2505 and 5505 contain letters from Stanley to Sir Edward Anwyl and to Henry Richard.
5. In the Library of the University College of North Wales: items in the General and Penrhos collections.
6. At the Anglesey Record Office, Llangefni: the records of the Anglesey Education Committee.
7. At the Cheshire Record Office, Chester: the private papers of the Stanley family, particularly DSA 102/3; DSA 102/4; DSA 102/5; DSA 165; and DSA 172.
8. In the John Rylands Library: the private papers of the Stanley family, particularly Ryl. Eng. MSS. 1092 and 1095.¹

¹ These are described in Taylor Hand-List of Additions to the Collection of English Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1937-1951 The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library vol. 34 (1951-52) pp. 191-240.

9. In the Library of the University of Sheffield:
the Mundella Correspondence.
10. In Dr. Williams's Library, 14 Gordon Square,
London W.C.1: the records of the N.E.A. in the
W.J. Rowland Collection.
11. At the Free Church Federal Council (Incorporated),
27 Tavistock Square, London W.C.1: the records of
the N.E.A.

B. Published Material

1. Standard Works of Reference

The Annual Register, Burke's.... Peerage....,
G.E.C.[ockayne] The Complete Peerage...., Crockford's
Clerical Directory, The Dictionary of National Bio-
graphy, The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to
1940, Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, Dod's
Parliamentary Companion, The Education Authorities
Directory, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, The
Law List, The Law Reports, Who Was Who etc.

2. Official Publications

The appropriate Bills, Acts of Parliament, the various
issues of the Code and of the Directory were consulted.
The Reports of the Cross Commission, the M.P.L.S.C.
and the Bryce Commission were used extensively and
the locations of these Reports are given on p.81,
p.171 and p.178 respectively.

The following Command Papers were used:-

- C.5191 A Statement of the Names of the Several
Unions and Poor Law Parishes in England
and Wales....
- C.5992 List of School Boards and School Attendance
Committees in England and Wales. 1 April 1890
- C.6900 List of School Boards and School Attendance
Committees in England and Wales. 1st April.
1893

- C.8762 The Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System vol.ii Minutes of Evidence...
- Cd.1038 List of School Boards and School Attendance Committees in England and Wales. 1 January 1902
- Cd.1139 Board of Education Statistics of Elementary Day Schools.... 1900-1
- Cd.1277 Board of Education. Lists of Schools under the Administration of the Board 1901-1902
- Cd.4506 Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales, 1906-7-8 Part II Financial Statistics
- Cd.5432 Report of the Royal Commission on the Church of England and Other Religious Bodies in Wales and Monmouthshire.
- Cd.5616 Report of the Board of Education for the year 1909-10
- Cmd.1101 Elementary Education. (England and Wales.) Statistics Relating to the Receipts and Expenditure of Local Education Authorities in the Financial Year 1918-1919.

The Census Reports.

Parliamentary Returns.

The Annual Reports of the Central Welsh Board.

The Board of Education. (Welsh Department.) Area Report no. 11. Anglesey. Period ending on July 31st, 1912.

Report of the Consultative Committee upon Questions Affecting Higher Elementary Schools 1906.

3. Newspapers and other similar periodical publications

(a) General

The Birkenhead News...., The British Weekly, The Daily News, The Dartford Chronicle & Kentish Times,

Glamorgan Free Press, The Glasgow Herald, The Liberator, The Manchester Examiner & Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Nonconformist (afterwards The Nonconformist & Independent), The North Wales Chronicle..., The Oldham Chronicle, The Record and Advertiser for Rhyl...., The Salisbury Times...., The Times, The Times of India, The Weekly Register, The Welsh Leader.

(b) Devoted to Educational topics

The Alleyn [sic] School Magazine, The Educational Record, The Journal of Education, The Record of Technical and Secondary Education, The School Board Chronicle (afterwards The School Government Chronicle and Education Authorities Gazette), The School Child and Juvenile Worker, The Schoolmaster (afterwards The Schoolmaster and Woman Teacher's Chronicle), The Schoolmistress, The Times Educational Supplement.

4. Stanley's published works²

(a) Book

Our National Education J. Nisbet and Co., London
1899 vi + 150 pp.

(b) Articles

The Treatment of Indians in Mauritius The Fort-
nightly Review vol. xvii (new series) (1875) pp.794-
819.

National Education and the London School Board The
Fortnightly Review vol. xxvi (new series) (1879) pp.
530-558

Industrial Schools and the Home Office The Nine-
teenth Century vol. x (1881) pp.913-919

French Elementary Education The Nineteenth Century
vol. xiii (1883) pp. 465-472

Free Schools and Public Management The Contemporary
Review vol. 57 (1890) pp.440-453

² This is not a complete bibliography of Stanley's works. It lists only those works related to education.

Organisation of Public Elementary Education and the Free Question The New Review vol. iv (1891) pp. 238-249

The Free Education Bill The Contemporary Review vol. 60 (1891) pp.137-147

Two Aspects of the Free Education Bill The New Review vol. v (1891) pp.7-11

Religion at the London School Board The Nineteenth Century vol.xxxiv (1893) pp.739-752

The Present London School Board and the Coming Election The New Review vol.xi (1894) pp.445-460

Re-opening the Education Settlement of 1870 The Nineteenth Century vol. xxxviii (1895) pp.915-930

The New Education Bill The Contemporary Review vol. 69 (1896) pp.741-760

The Position of the Education Question The Contemporary Review vol.72 (1897) pp.649-659

Higher Elementary Schools The Contemporary Review vol. 78 (1900) pp.643-652

The Government Education Bill The Contemporary Review vol.79 (1901) pp.761-774

The Government Education Bill The Contemporary Review vol.81 (1902) pp.609-626

The New Education Authority for London The Nineteenth Century and After vol.liii (1903) pp.403-413

Education and the New Government The Nineteenth Century and After vol. lix (1906) pp.371-386

The New Education Bill The Contemporary Review vol.89 (1906) pp.609-622

The Education Bill of 1906 and the Future of Popular Education The Nineteenth Century and After vol. lxi (1907) pp.1-11

The Educational Crisis: Points for Elucidation in the Bill The Nineteenth Century and After vol. lxiii (1908) pp.534-549

The Educational Problem The Nineteenth Century and After vol. lxx (1909) pp.109-116

English Popular Education: its Needs and Political Treatment The English Review vol.xii (1912) pp. 118-132

Lord Haldane and the Prospects of Educational Reform The Contemporary Review vol.103 (1913) pp.305-314

The Education Bill 1917 .The Contemporary Review
vol.112 (1917) pp.361-367

(c) Publications associated with Stanley's work
for the N.E.A.

Stanley's contribution to the publications issued by the N.E.A. during his chairmanship of the Executive Committee is discussed at length in Appendix D pp. 341-346 supra. His addresses at the Annual Meetings are printed in The School Board Chronicle (or The School Government Chronicle....): for the later years of the N.E.A. they are also given in the Annual Reports. Stanley's address of 1905 was issued separately under the title A "Shameful" Administration, a pamphlet of 16 pages. In 1902 the N.E.A. issued as a circular (N.E.A. Circular no. 1 The Education Bill, 1902) Stanley's article first printed in The Christian World 3 April 1902 pp. 11-12. In 1907 the N.E.A. issued The Supply of Pupil-Teachers and the Future Training of Teachers 12 pp. being a reprint of Lord Stanley's articles in The School Government Chronicle for 24 and 31 August 1907. And in 1910 the Association issued the address Lord Stanley had given to a teachers' meeting at Cardiff in 1908 as The Relations of the Welsh Elementary School System with Higher Education 8 pp.

(d) Other addresses

Presidential address to the Social Science Congress (Education Section) at Manchester in 1879 T.N.A.P.S.S. 1879 pp. 52-79

The Organization of Secondary Education Locally and by the State H.E.L. vol. xvi pp. 363-371

Secondary Education and How it Should be Organized pp. 127-132 in Report of a Conference on Secondary Education in England.... held in the Examination Schools, Oxford October 10 and 11, 1893.

Speech delivered by the Hon. Lyulph Stanley at the Meeting of the School Board for London on Thursday, January 25th, 1894, on the Proposal to Alter the Rule of the Board in Reference to Bible Teaching by the Insertion of the Word "Christian," and by the issue of a circular requiring the teachers to teach the children the doctrine of the Trinity. Printed by the Co-operative Printing Society, London 8 pp.

The Relations between the Elementary School and the Secondary and Continuation School Systems The Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, Manchester. 8 pp. The paper was to be read at Chester on 27 September 1906.

The Finance of Public Education in England and Wales National Liberal Club Political and Economic Circle. Transactions part 72 28 pp.

The Salt Schools, Shipley. Presidential Address, 1910 Shipley 16 pp.

(e) Other pamphlets

Oxford University Reform Simpkin, Marshall, London 1869 28 pp.

Three Letters on Oxford University Reform Wilcox, London 1876 19 pp. reprinted from The Nonconformist of 15, 22, 29 December 1875.

The Conduct of the Rev. Joseph Diggle on the London School Board Printed by Henderson, Rait and Spalding, London 1882 16 pp.

Denominational Training Colleges and Board Schools James Clarke, London 1883 27 pp.

(f) Miscellaneous

Introduction to Charles Trevelyan The Cause of the Children The Eighty Club 3rd. ed. October 1897.

Memorial to the Marquis of Londonderry.... 1903 14pp.

Introduction to Preston Weir Where Education Fails Holland, London 1913 114 pp.

5. Other contemporary works on educational subjects

Adams, Francis History of the Elementary School Contest in England Chapman and Hall, London 1882 349 pp.

- Bartley, George C.T. The Schools for the People....
Bell and Daldy, London 1871 582 pp.
- [Black, Francis] Camden School of Art and Science Corporation. Head Master's Report on certain steps which led to the School Board for London's Surcharge, and to the Judgment in "Rex v. Cockerton"; or, The History of 15 Years' School Board Evasion of all Authority London 1901 74 pp.
- Chance, W. Children Under the Poor Law: their Education Training and After-Care
Swan Sonnenschein, London 1897 443pp.
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- Evans, William and William Claridge James Hirst Hollowell and the Movement for Civic Control of Education
The Northern Counties Education League, Manchester 1911 311 pp.
- Gorst, Sir John Prospects of Education in England
The North American Review vol. clxiii (1896) pp.427-437
- Gowing, Richard [ed.] The School Board and School Attendance Committee Directory, 1878.... Grant, London 1878 376 pp.
- Heller, Thomas Edmund The New Code (1886-7) of Minutes of the Education Department....
Bemrose, London 1886 146 pp.
- Mather, William Address.... on the Technical Instruction Act N.E.A., Manchester, Salford and District Branch 1889 32 pp.
- Menet, John The Training Colleges and the London School Board: Remarks on the Admission Examination in Religious Knowledge National Society's Depository, London 1882 12 pp.
- National Society Annual Reports
- Progressive School Board Election Council The Lesson of the Past London [1895?] 16 pp.

6. Other works consulted

- The Argus Guide to Municipal London 1898-1899 London Argus, London 1898 263 pp.
- The Centenary Book of Bradford Bradford [1947] 100 pp.
- The Court Guide and County Blue Book of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire Rutland, and Northamptonshire William Deacon, London 1908 583 pp.
- The History of the Noble House of Stanley from the Conquest to the Present Time.... William Willis, Manchester 1840 320 pp.
- Patrick Cumin - Secretary of the Education Department Hugh Rees, London [1901] 30 pp.
- Aaron, R.I. A Jubilee Pamphlet May 1896 - May 1946: The Central Welsh Board.... Gomerian Press, Llandyssul [1946] 16 pp.
- Abbott, Evelyn and Campbell, Lewis The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M.A. Master of Balliol College, Oxford two vols. Murray, London 1897 446 pp. + 499 pp.
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- Adeane, Jane H. (ed.) The Early Married Life of Maria Josepha, Lady Stanley.... Longmans, London 1899 461 pp.
- Adeane, Jane H. (ed.) The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd [Lady Stanley of Alderley].... Longmans, London 1896 420 pp.
- Allen, Bernard M. Sir Robert Morant Macmillan, London 1934 318pp.
- Allen, Bernard M. William Garnett: a Memoir Heffer, Cambridge 1933 139 pp.
- Ainger, Arthur Campbell Eton Sixty Years Ago Murray, London 1917 353 pp.
- Anderson, Mosa Henry Joseph Wilson: Fighter for Freedom 1833-1914 James Clarke, London 1953 86 pp.
- Anson, Sir William (ed. H.H. Henson) A Memoir.... Oxford 1920 242 pp.
- Armytage, W.H. G. A.J. Mundella 1825-1897: The Liberal Background to the Labour Movement Benn, London 1951 386 pp.

- Armytage, W.H.G. Four Hundred Years of English Education Cambridge 1964 353 pp.
- Armytage, W.H.G. Francis Richard John Sandford, First Baron Sandford, 1824-1894 The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library vol.31 (1948) pp.110-119.
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