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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to examine in detail the Inspectorate in the 1860s and in particular the effect of the 1862 Revised Code on the inspectors' work.

The background to the Revised Code is outlined, with emphasis on the early development of the Inspectorate and the extent to which the 1846 Pupil-Teacher Minutes changed the nature of the inspectors' task. After a chapter on the Report of the Newcastle Commission, the evolution of the Revised Code and the debate which led to its alteration are examined and placed in the context of contemporary social attitudes. This includes a section on inspectors' opinions of the Revised Code and, in the following chapter, the effect of the new Code on the inspection of schools. Throughout, attention is given to the influence of the religious bodies on elementary education and its inspection.

The careers of the inspectors, which are given fully in an appendix, are analysed and, using their own writings as evidence, the inspectors' attitudes to their work are summarised. This examination of the writings of the H.M.I.s is then broadened to cover their opinions on the educational issues of the 1860s. The extent to which these writings were subjected to censorship by the Privy Council Office is discussed in the context of the developing relationship between the government and its officials and the emphasis by the Office on the subordinate nature of the Inspectorate. After studying the effects of the Revised Code on the inspectors, teachers and school managers, this discussion is then extended into a fuller exploration of the relationship between the Education Office and its Inspectorate in the 1860s.

The thesis includes a brief survey of other school inspectors and ends with an account of the part that the H.M.I.s played in the genesis of the 1870 Education Act.

HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTORATE OF SCHOOLS

IN ENGLAND AND WALES

1860-1870

by

J.E. DUNFORD B.Sc.

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY

OF DURHAM

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PREFACE

The development of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools during the nineteenth century passed through a number of stages, each merging with the next but having certain distinct characteristics. Of these periods, the most significant and interesting, it could be argued, was the 1860s, during the time between the Newcastle Report (1) and the Education Act of 1870.

The first ten years of the Inspectorate, from its inception in 1839, has^{ve} been chronicled by Dr. Nancy Ball in a monograph which put the early inspectors into their proper place on the map of nineteenth century educational history. (2) This thesis, although concentrating on the sixties, looks back to the period covered by Dr. Ball and in particular to the effect of the Pupil-Teacher Minutes of 1846. It also looks at the development of the Inspectorate in the light of the educational stalemate of the fifties, when religious controversy and weak government prevented the passing of any effective legislation on the subject of elementary education.

After the Newcastle Report, the early sixties saw the introduction of the notorious Revised Code which, it has been suggested, brought about a sudden and dramatic change in the role of the H.M.I.s. Studied in the context of what went before, however, it can be seen that this change was of a more gradual nature. The Revised Code was certainly a signpost of things to come but, for the Inspectorate, it was not so much a clear dividing line between phases as an important

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- (1) Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England, 1861, Cmnd. Paper 2794, 6 vols.
 (2) N. Ball, Her Majesty's Inspectorate 1839-1849, Educational Monograph No.6, Birmingham, 1963.

event in a period of continuing development. The instability inherent in this evolutionary process was due primarily to the effects of the relationship between the government and the Inspectorate. As in many other branches of the civil service, this was undergoing changes of a kind that could only lead to difficulties between the sort of men who occupied the high offices of the Education Department and the inspectors, whose background and experience gave them a confidence and authority that schoolteachers recognised only too well.

Coming immediately after the Newcastle Report, the Revised Code makes 1860 an interesting starting point for this study and, bearing in mind that developments had to be examined in the light of what had gone before, there was a choice of 1870 or 1895 for a terminal date. In some ways, 1895 would have been the more logical choice since that marked the end of the period of payment-by-results, but the earlier date was chosen for two reasons. First, the 1870 Act, with its emphasis on local educational provision, taken together with the later nineteenth century Education Acts, brought many changes in the role of the national Inspectorate which, in a work of this size, could not be dealt with in the same depth in which the changes of the sixties have been examined. A study of the Inspectorate during the whole of the period has in fact been carried out (3) but, because of the length of the period, the significant events have not been given the detailed attention that they merited. General histories, covering considerable spans of time, certainly contribute to our

(3) T. Harwood, The development and achievements of the inspectorate of the Education Department and of the Board of Education 1860-1920, unpublished M.Ed. thesis, Durham University, 1969.

understanding of individuals or groups of people at particular times but they cannot do this if they are not backed up by more limited studies. Inspection in the sixties has not always been fully understood by the general writers and there was therefore every reason to confine this study to as short a period as was significantly possible. The second reason for choosing 1870 as a finishing point was that it was necessary to study not just the role and work of the Inspectorate, but to look closely at the inspectors themselves. To do this for more than the ninety or so men who had been H.M.I.s before 1870 was not practically possible.

I have excluded the Scottish H.M.I.s from anything but peripheral consideration. This was done because much of my work on the role of the English and Welsh inspectors related to the effects of the Revised Code, and particularly its financial provisions, which made the inspectors the examining paymasters of the elementary schoolteachers. Although the Code was applied to Scotland, this was not done in a financial sense and Scottish schools continued to receive government grants on the conditions of pre-1860 regulations. The effect on the inspectors, their mode of inspection and their relationships with school managers and teachers was therefore rather different from the situation in England and Wales. The Inspectorate in Scotland has in any case already undergone a comprehensive analysis in recent years to which it would be difficult to add without access to fresh local material. (4)

(4) T.R. Bone, School Inspection in Scotland, 1840-1966, London, 1968.

CHAPTER 1ADVICE OR CONTROL? - THE EARLY YEARS1839-1859

The achievements and difficulties of the Inspectorate during the 1860s stemmed largely from the nature of its development up to the beginning of that period. The orthodox view has been that the Revised Code of 1862 brought a sudden change in the role of the Inspectorate:

"Instead of being a constructive adviser the inspector had become the harsh dispenser of an all too meagre government grant whose size he determined." (1)

But, as will become apparent, the change was not as sudden as this for, whilst it is impossible to deny that the Revised Code brought great changes in the work of the inspectors, many of these had already started to take place before the Code was introduced. In order to examine this development, we must look first at the early inspectors and their work and follow them through the upheaval of the 1846 Minutes and the changes of the 1850s which form the background to the Revised Code, tracing the developing relationship between the inspectors, the government and the Church and seeing how the role of the Inspectorate was influenced by these institutions.

Until 1833 the government took little part in elementary education, which had been largely undertaken by the Churches, particularly through the charity schools run by the S.P.C.K. When the forerunner of the

(1) E. L. Edmonds, The school inspector, London, 1962, p.81.

British and Foreign School Society was founded in 1808 (2), it continued to observe Joseph Lancaster's dictum that

"All who will may send their children and have them educated freely (the expenses of writing books excepted) and those to whom the above offer may not prove acceptable may pay for them at a very moderate price." (3)

Such undenominational requirements were anathema to the Church of England who formed their own National Society in 1811, in whose schools

"the National religion should be made the foundation of National Education and should be the first and chief thing taught to the Poor, according to the excellent Liturgy and Catechism provided by our Church." (4)

Thus the religious arguments which played such a large part in the development of the Inspectorate were evident before the government had even begun to take an interest in the general elementary education of the country.

Nor did inspection itself begin with the government. The earliest inspectors, or School Visitors as they were known, were generally the local clergy, and the National Society continued this practice, though Dr. Bell, the founder of the National system, acted for a time as their General Inspector. For the B.F.S.S. inspection was easier to organise as their schools were usually in towns and, as early as 1830,

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- (2) Joseph Lancaster, who was the inspiration of non-conformist education, had founded a school in 1798, but by 1805 had run into debt. The society that was formed in 1808 took over Lancaster's work and met his debts. Its name was changed to the British and Foreign School Society - hereafter referred to as B.F.S.S. - in 1814.
- (3) Quoted in H.B. Binns, A century of education, London, 1908, p.9. This was the notice over the door in Lancaster's first school.
- (4) Quoted in H.J. Burgess, Enterprise in education, London, 1953, p.23.

they appointed a full-time inspector and an agent, who continued to operate for over twenty years. (5) Such advances were of course expensive and the B.F.S.S. Committee had already applied for a government grant in 1823. This had been refused by Peel, who was then Home Secretary, since it might establish a precedent "extremely inconvenient to Government." (6) Yet the political implications of the Great Reform Bill of 1832 and increasing pressure from the Benthamites led to a government grant for elementary education of £20,000 in 1833. The inefficient way in which government money was spent over the next ten years led the government to ask the National Society in 1838 to inspect their own schools, but they did not act on this until the first steps had already been taken in the following year to break the religious monopoly on the control of education. In the 1838 parliamentary debate on education several speakers advocated the inspection of schools aided by government grant and there were precedents for such a scheme. (7) Indeed it was the revelation by the Factory Inspectors, at a time when many children were still working a twelve-hour day, of the inadequacy of the educational clauses of the 1833 Factory Act that must have convinced the government of the need for a scheme of educational inspection. But the religious lobby were to fight at all levels with an even greater tenacity than the millowners fought the Factory Act.

Of Lord John Russell's two great schemes in 1839 one - a government Normal School - had to be given up because of the Church's opposition, but the second, that of the principle of inspection,

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- (5) See N. Ball, H.M. Inspectorate 1839-1849, Birmingham, 1963, p.17ff.
 (6) Quoted in Binns, op.cit., p.103.
 (7) See Edmonds, op.cit., chapter 3 and Ball, op.cit., chapter 1. Dr. Ball's book is a clear and thorough account of the early years of the Inspectorate, and this introduction owes much to her work.

survived primarily because, without it, the government would not provide funds for Church schools. The Minute of 3rd June 1839 stated

"that no further grant be made, now or hereafter, for the establishment or support of Normal Schools or of any other schools, unless the right of inspection be retained, in order to secure a conformity to the regulations and discipline established in the several schools, with such improvements as may from time to time be suggested by the Committee." (8)

The natural hostility of the Church towards government interference was so great that, for a time, more than half the grants offered were refused by the managers of schools. So began what that great pioneer of a national education system, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, described as the seven years of "mortal conflict" between the government and the Church. (9)

If, by insisting on inspection, the government had won the first battle, then it was the Church who won the next two - over the appointment and role of the inspectors. After protracted negotiation, a Concordat was reached whereby inspectors of Church schools would be appointed only after consultation with the Archbishops,

"each with regard to his own province, and that the Archbishops should be at liberty to suggest to us any

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- (8) Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1839-40, p.viii. Hereafter referred to as the Minutes.
- (9) Sir J.P. Kay-Shuttleworth, Four periods of public education, London, 1862, p.572.

person ... for the office of Inspector, and that without their concurrence we should recommend no person to your Majesty for such appointment." (10)

If the Archbishops withdrew their support for an appointment, then it would be revoked and a different appointment would be made.

Duplicates of reports by the inspector on National schools would be sent to the Archbishop and the Instructions to Inspectors concerning the inspection of religious education were framed by the Archbishops. The Instructions relating to general inspection were likewise conciliatory:

"The inspection of schools aided by public grants is a means of co-operation between the Government and the committees and superintendents of schools; ... one main object of your visit is to afford them your assistance in all efforts for improvement in which they may desire your aid; but that you are in no respect to interfere with the instruction, management or discipline of the school, or to press upon them any suggestions which they may be disinclined to receive." (11)

So the control of most of the grant-aided elementary schools was to be left firmly in the hands of the local clergy. Because of the voluntary nature of the Church's educational efforts, the government was unable to establish a strong Inspectorate, armed with sanctions, as it had done for the factories, and had to be content with inspection that was "not intended as a means of exercising control, but of affording assistance." (12)

(10) Minutes, 1839-40, p.ix.

(11) Ibid., 1840-41, p.1, "Instructions to Inspectors", August 1840.

(12) Ibid., p.1.

Meanwhile, the first two inspectors had already been appointed: Rev. John Allen, an extremely talented young man of twenty-nine, who was Bishop Otter's examining chaplain at Chichester, was to inspect Church of England schools and Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, a barrister and member of the Central Society for Education, was appointed for the British schools. Their first reports were full of outspoken social comment and were also used to spread the gospel of educational progress, as it was interpreted by themselves and Kay-Shuttleworth, who was the driving force behind them. But one of Tremenheere's reports was too outspoken for the B.F.S.S., who had had no voice in his appointment and yet had seen the Concordat being drawn up between the Church and the government. Tremenheere's adverse report was all they needed to reinforce their complaints about his "interference" in school planning and methods and Lord Wharncliffe, the Lord President, obliged them by appointing Tremenheere as Inspector of Mines and by agreeing to give them some measure of control over the appointment of their inspectors. (13)

Tremenheere was replaced in 1844 by Joseph Fletcher, another barrister and member of the Central Society for Education, whose social conscience would have been further stirred by his membership of the Children's Employment Commission which found children as young as three working in the mines, usually in charge of ventilation doors in darkness and solitude for twelve or more hours a day. The other new inspectors had had a more sheltered life yet, under

(13) In 1842 a similar agreement had been reached between the government and the Church of Scotland. The independence of the Inspectorate was further curtailed by similar agreements with the Wesleyans and the Catholics in 1847.

Kay-Shuttleworth's close guidance, they were to become the champions of educational advance. The original aim of the schedules that Kay-Shuttleworth drew up in 1844 was that the National schools would be divided into five districts, each containing about 140 schools and that these should be inspected twice a year. (14) But this coverage was never achieved as the number of schools grew rapidly and the inspectors' duties were extended. From 1844 they had the power to recommend schools for equipment grants and could visit Treasury schools (15) for simple inspections. They were also told to inquire into local financial resources. (16) Yet, whilst the 1844 Factory Act gave increased powers to the Factory Inspectors to disqualify inefficient teachers, the school inspectors continued to act in an advisory capacity until the Pupil-Teacher Minutes of 1846 further extended their duties and gave them an executive role.

Initially, inspectors were urged by Kay-Shuttleworth to explain these new Minutes to managers and, if the school was capable of employing apprentices, they were to assist in filling up the form. Before a school could employ pupil-teachers, however, they had to have a favourable report from the inspector concerning the competence of the teacher and the condition of the school. The managers would then bring forward a number of pupils and the H.M.I. tested them to find those who were suitable. The forms of indenture were then filled up. Not only were the powers of the Inspectorate increased in 1846 by these Minutes, but they had also, for the first time,

(14) There being only 78 B.F.S.S. schools, Fletcher inspected them all. For the work of these early inspectors see Ball, *op.cit.*, chapters 6 and 7.

(15) Schools which had received grants between 1833 and 1839.

(16) Minutes, 1844, vol.I, pp.121-6.

contributed to the legislative process, for Moseley and Cook, who had experience of a pupil-teacher scheme during his time with the London Diocesan Board, had advocated such changes in their reports. (17)

The 1846 Minutes had two major disadvantages. First, it could be argued that, by confirming the denominational system of education, they postponed the instigation of a truly national system and, secondly, they increased the workload on the inspectors to such an extent that they were only able to visit the grant-aided (i.e. better) schools and so did not have the time to visit poorer schools where their advice would have been of great value. In addition to their duties at the start of a pupil-teacher's apprenticeship, they had to examine them individually at the end of each of their five years and, after 1848, they also had to conduct the examination of older teachers for Certificates of Merit and certify annually their efficiency for their grant in augmentation of salary. In the same year, however, some relief took place as four new H.M.I.s were appointed, the inspectoral districts were decreased in size and the annual pupil-teacher examinations could be held collectively. The relief did not last long, however, for Watkins was soon complaining that more than half his time was taken up by work other than inspection and too many schools were therefore going uninspected. (18)

There were also the Training Colleges to inspect. For a time, this involved the whole corps of inspectors for about a month each year though, after 1850, only the Christmas examination was conducted

(17) Minutes, 1845, vol.I, pp.164,259. N. Ball (op.cit., 1963, pp.105,124) implies that the Pupil-Teacher Minutes were entirely originated by Kay-Shuttleworth, but J.R.B. Johnson, (The Education Department 1839-1864, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1968, p.184) maintains that he was influenced by the inspectors.

(18) Minutes, 1848-50, vol.I, p.134.

by them all, the annual inspection being carried out by the inspector for Training Colleges and the local H.M.I.

In spite of the appointment from 1850 of assistant inspectors, who were equal in rank to the H.M.I.s, but who were paid less and who did not write an annual report, the hard-pressed inspectors began to show the strain. In 1850 Bellairs was ill for ten weeks through over-work and two years later Brookfield, Fletcher, Kennedy and Marshall were all ill for considerable periods. (19) It was a difficult time for a primarily advisory Inspectorate, the arguments over the Management Clauses never far from the surface in their relations with the clergy, yet having by their Instructions to make careful inquiries, but not interfere. (20) The 1850s failed to bring about a clarification of their position. The crisis over the Corn Laws had split the Conservative Party and led to a period of weak governments and shifting political allegiances where the issue to be voted upon was more important to a politician than the party attitude. The many attempts at educational legislation during this time failed and the only changes that took place were all enacted by Minutes, many of which increased the inspectors' workload still further. Nevertheless, the number of H.M.I.s in England and Wales increased from 17 in 1850 to 48 a decade later. (21)

The failure of the 1846 Minutes to touch the problem of finance

(19) Ibid., 1850-1, vol.II, p.59; ibid., 1852-3, vol.II, pp.711, 775, 945, 1049.

(20) See Cook's report, Minutes, 1851-2, vol.I, p.326. The Management Clause controversy was caused by the government trying to insert a clause into the trust deeds of aided schools to secure lay representation on school management committees.

(21) Including assistant inspectors.

in rural schools was partially ameliorated by the introduction of capitation grants to schools in "agricultural districts and unincorporated towns" on certain conditions, which had to be established by the inspector. For example,

"three-quarters of the scholars above seven and under nine; three-quarters of those above nine and under eleven; and three-quarters of those above eleven and under thirteen [must] respectively pass such an examination before Her Majesty's Inspector or Assistant Inspector, as shall be set forth in a separate Minute of details." (22)

So it would appear that, ten years before the Revised Code came into full operation, the inspectors were to act as government agents in determining a form of payment-by-results. Yet Ralph Wingen, who by now had succeeded Kay-Shuttleworth as Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, later admitted that

"if he [the Inspector] examined in a class three or four children ... it would be as much as he could do, if he was to go through an entire school." (23)

Though capitation grants were extended to evening schools in 1855 and to urban areas in 1856, the parliamentary stalemate and the impending Newcastle Commission report meant that no other changes of consequence to the Inspectorate took place in the 1850s.

Yet a change had started to take place in public attitudes towards the inspectors. In 1854 a teachers' paper carried an

(22) Minutes, 1853-4, vol.I, p.12.

(23) Evidence to the Newcastle Commission, Vol.VI, q.326.

isolated attack on the type of men who were being appointed as H.M.I.s (24) and, by 1857, these attacks were becoming more frequent. Too many of the new inspectors, it was said, were "raw young men fresh from college, or the country, without the slightest knowledge either of the best methods of imparting elementary instruction or of obtaining discipline." (25)

An example was quoted of an experienced inspector ordering a change in a school's desk arrangement under the threat of a grant withdrawal the following year. This change having been made, the next inspection was carried out by a young inspector who "insisted upon a total change, although he was informed of the previous inspector's order." (26)

The facts concerning these "raw young men" tend to support the complainant, for the 1857 intake of inspectors was the youngest so far:

Years	Number of new inspectors	Average age	Average number of years since taking degree
1839-45	7	34.3	12.7
1846-51	14	33.9	10.4
1852-56	16	33.2	9.9
1857	9	29.1	7.5

Table 1: Number, age and experience of new inspectors of elementary schools in England and Wales appointed up to 1857.

Source: See Appendix 1.

Apart from Binns and Glennie who had had extensive experience of education, R. Temple who had started a half-time education scheme

(24) The School and the Teacher, vol.I, October 1854, p.177.

(25) Ibid., vol.IV, August 1857, p.162.

(26) Ibid., p.162.

in his parish, and Capel who may have helped with the school in his father's parish, the other five inspectors appointed in 1857 do not appear to have had any experience of elementary education, though this was not a new development - of the thirty-seven inspectors appointed for elementary schools up to 1856, less than a quarter appear to have had any previous connection with them. After all, Kay-Shuttleworth himself believed that

"the business of inspection requires peculiar knowledge, tact and skill, which can only be gradually acquired, and which few of the inspectors will possess when they enter on the discharge of their duties." (27)

As one educational historian has put it:

"the men appointed to the work [of inspection] were, as a rule, men of distinguished attainments, sometimes brilliant scholarship, high intellectual culture, often with exceptional gifts and, in many cases, of broad and generous sympathies. The fact that they were so has been the salvation of the situation. Otherwise it would have been a case of the blind leading the blind. Actually, it was a case of blundering intelligence leading blundering ignorance. The inspectors brought powerful, well-trained and, in some cases, original powers to bear upon the problem which had to be faced." (28)

Other writers have exaggerated in the opposite direction, describing the inspectors as merely "itinerant curates" (29) or "idle and

(27) Quoted in H. Holman, English national education, London, 1898, p.96. See below, chapter 5, for a fuller discussion of the previous experience of inspectors, and chapter 9, where their experience of school management is examined.

(28) H. Holman, op.cit., p.137.

(29) F. Adams, History of the elementary school contest, London, 1882, p.115.

incompetent gentlemen" (30), but the truth lies somewhere between the two extremes for, in the late 1850s, as always, there were some excellent inspectors and some bad, some sympathetic and some tyrannical. As one official argued, the system of inspection was

"comparatively less efficient now than it was when there were fewer inspectors. Of course, the more you increase the number of inspectors, the greater is the difficulty of getting proper officers." (31)

There are two important points here. We can appreciate the difficulty of recruiting really good men, since there were very few people with a good degree, sufficient social standing to be able to deal with school managers - a necessary qualification in the mid-nineteenth century - and some experience of elementary education, yet young enough to be able to withstand the rigours of the inspectorial round. On the other point, however, we must find the Department at fault. The Inspectorate was less efficient at the end of the 1850s because, although it had doubled in size in only eight years, it had no structure and therefore no leadership. Young men, appointed as assistant inspectors, were given their Letters of Instruction, assigned to a full H.M.I. and, with minimum guidance, were sent to inspect the schools in the less congenial parts of his district. Some common policy was agreed at inspectors' conferences, but there was no Chief Inspector and the Education Department was too tied up with detailed administration to give

(30) M. Sturt, Education of the people, London, 1967, p.239.

(31) H. Chester's evidence to the Newcastle Commission, vol.VI, q.718. Chester had recently retired as Assistant Secretary in the Education Department and was well qualified to speak on this.

close and continuing guidance to its field officers. (32) In addition, the Inspectorate was fragmented by denomination into seven separate Inspectorates (including the Scottish inspectors), a state of affairs which emphasised that religion was still the master of English elementary education.

There is little hint of these problems in the inspectors' reports. From them it appears that, although the inspector's job had changed with the 1846 Minutes and the introduction of capitation grants, he was still trying to be the educational missionary, advising on teaching methods and school organisation, school buildings and ventilation. He was still concerned about the inability of the Minutes to touch the main problems of poor attendance and early leaving age. Suggested solutions to these problems varied among different inspectors and indeed different reports do contain conflicting advice, but the idealism of many inspectors was still present (33), and they remained the teachers' champions. The devotion of most of them to the cause of elementary education was undoubted and when they saw in the mid-fifties that the reaction against mechanical learning was going too far and children, whose average stay at school was about two years, were being asked to learn the so-called "higher subjects", they redressed the balance by emphasising the value of reading, writing and simple

(32) For a discussion of training and Conferences, see below chapters 5 and 10. The point about the Office was made by H. Chester in his evidence to the Newcastle Commission, vol.VI, q.703.

(33) See especially Kennedy's report, Minutes, 1855-6, pp.557-62, and J.D. Morell's report, ibid., 1857-8, pp.512-4.

arithmetic to the children. (34)

Yet there are three disturbing features in the encouraging picture which these reports give us. First, the legislative initiatives made by the inspectors in the late fifties were largely ignored. (35) In the early years, the pupil-teacher scheme, the book grant, capitation grants and their extension to urban areas are examples of schemes which ~~are~~^{were} advocated in inspectors' reports before they appeared as Minutes. Yet not one suggestion in the second half of the decade was translated into legislation. This lack of legislation, which allowed education to slide into a position where something like the Revised Code became inevitable, was caused, not by a lack of dynamism or vision on the part of the Inspectorate, but by the stifling of ideas in a department whose main concern was trivial administration and whose relationship with its Inspectorate was far from constructive. (36)

Secondly, the inspectors were adopting widely differing standards. Up to 1846, when no money was involved, this did not greatly matter, but now it caused resentment among teachers. It was not only cases like that of the young inspector who "with almost

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- (34) This was probably agreed at an inspector's conference in 1856 or 1857 - see Norris' report, Report, 1858-9, p.103 - and was incorporated into the special Instructions issued by the Office to Cowie on his appointment as inspector of male Training Colleges in 1858, Report, 1858-9, p.282. The Minutes became the Report in 1858-9 and begin with the report of the year, signed by the Lord President of the Council and the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education.
- (35) J.R.B. Johnson, op.cit., pp.347-66, contains a full discussion of this.
- (36) For a fuller discussion of the relationship between the Department and the inspectors, see below, chapter 10. On the way in which this affected the inspectors' reports at this time, see below, chapter 7.

incredible arrogance" reported as inefficient a schoolmaster who had had good reports from other H.M.I.s for eight successive years (37). It also occurred in the classification of schools. Of the Anglican inspectors Bellairs and Tinling were much the strictest, while others were more lenient; the British and Wesleyan inspectors were all very generous and the Catholic inspectors were so generous that Watkins publicly criticised them in the mid-fifties (38).

The third disturbing feature is that most of the complaints were directed against the younger inspectors who did not submit an annual report as they were usually assistant inspectors. So we do not know how they were reacting to the problems of the time or how they carried out their duties. What can be said for certain is that, although many of the annual reports carried the same strength of conviction as those of their predecessors, the character of the Inspectorate had already changed greatly. Even if the inspectors were physically unable to carry out a detailed examination of every pupil for the capitation grant, many of them were as much "exercising control" as "affording assistance" (39) and though the 1840 Instructions still technically applied, subsequent legislation had given inspectors the power - indeed, the duty - to interfere. (40)

The paternalistic approach of the early days remained, but it was now - from some of the inspectors - an iron-handed paternalism.

(37) The School and the Teacher, vol.IV, August 1857, p.162.

(38) Report, 1858-9, appendix 1; Minutes, 1854-5, p.446.

(39) Cf. above p. 5. For an example of the bad feeling that this could cause in relation to the refusal to apprentice pupil-teachers, see The School and the Teacher, vol.II, p.62.

(40) This point is debated in the English Journal of Education, vol.VIII, 1854, p.357, and vol.IX, 1855, pp.111, 123.

Gone were the days when

"its duties consisted mainly in driving a Gig from point to point of a projected tour with schools greater or less . . . to be examined in a few elementary subjects." (41)

But still the attainments of the children remained

"generally suitable for the station of life in which the children are born and in which the great majority of them will remain." (42)

In all the changes of the first twenty years of the Inspectorate, this paternalism remained the constant factor. As Norman Morris has pointed out in a perceptive article, the State did not have to be dragged along in education; the difficulty was in shaking it free from the stranglehold of the Church at a time when there was no clear demand for education from the public (43). Though Morris was referring to the next decade, Richard Johnson has emphasised this element of paternalism, describing the Minutes "not so much as an educational measure, more as a means of social control" (44). The inspectors were the agents of this control and it is important to remember that they were men with little or no understanding of working class culture. Watkins, for example, when advocating a lower class of National school for those who could not attend existing schools full-time, writes that these

"would act as filters through which the stream of the most polluted humanity should pass before it was poured into

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- (41) F. Watkins, Letter to the Archbishop of York on the state of education in the church schools in Yorkshire, 1860, p.8.
- (42) Ibid., p.16.
- (43) Norman Morris, "State paternalism and laissez-faire in the 1860s", Studies in the government and control of education since 1860, London, 1970, pp.13-25.
- (44) J.R.B. Johnson, "Educational policy and social control in early Victorian England", Past and Present, Nov. 1970, no.49, p.117.

"the broad reservoir of our National schools." (45)

Earlier he referred to the low moral condition of workers in the North East who did not attend church on Sundays but stayed in bed, pigeon-fancied, attended cock-fights or played quoits. (46) This paternalism was being exercised mainly through the good offices of the Church, by whose grace the inspectors received their appointments, and who shared the same attitudes towards the lower classes from which the teachers and pupils came, Kitson Clark sees in this sort of control the beginnings of the modern state, controlled by civil servants and acting, like the Education Department, "by means of administrative regulations and assuming ever-increasing power." (47) But, as he points out, if this is to be effective,

"it must be guided to its task by experts and applied through regulations which experts have devised. The general public must not only surrender its freedom, but surrender it to the control of servants whose actions it cannot understand." (48)

The twin difficulties of the period we have been considering were that the Office was unwilling to allow its experts - the inspectors - to devise any regulations, and the Church was unwilling to surrender the freedom necessary to allow effective State action. In the next decade, both these difficulties continued to plague education and the influence which the Inspectorate was able to bring to bear on the situation was therefore greatly reduced. But it is important to remember that these difficulties began before 1860.

(45) Minutes, 1845, vol.II, p.176.

(46) Ibid., pp.162-3.

(47) G. Kitson Clark, The making of Victorian England, London, 1962, p.281.

(48) Ibid., p.280.

CHAPTER 2THE NEWCASTLE COMMISSION

In spite of strong parliamentary opposition, which included C.B. Adderley, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council for Education, Sir John Pakington secured the appointment of a Commission in 1858

"To inquire into the present state of popular education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people." (1)

The Chairmanship of the Commission was first offered by the Lord President, Earl Granville, to his friend and colleague Lord John Russell, whose attempts at educational legislation during the 1850s had been frustrated by the parliamentary stalemate. In declining the Chairmanship, Russell put forward Lord Stanley as his choice and also suggested that Pakington should be asked to serve (2). Neither of these recommendations was adopted and it was the Duke of Newcastle who was eventually nominated by Parliament to serve as Chairman (3). Although none of the Commission ~~were~~^{was} as distinguished as its Chairman or as passionately interested in education as Pakington, they did have more than a passing interest in the

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- (1) Hansard, 11th Feb. 1858, vol. CXLVIII, col. 1248.
 (2) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, Box 18, bundle 6, piece 22; hereafter referred to in the form 18/6/22.
 (3) Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham Clinton, Fifth Duke of Newcastle (1811-64), educated at Eton and Christchurch, was an M.P. for nearly twenty years until he succeeded to the Dukedom in 1851. He had been in charge of the War Office during the Crimean War and was at this time Secretary for the Colonies.

subject. (4) They obtained their evidence in a number of ways, notably through Assistant Commissioners who gathered information both at home and abroad on the state of elementary education, and who were directed to inquire particularly into the attendance and attainments of the children, the conditions and training of teachers, and the statistical background to the present educational situation. (5) Other evidence is contained in answers to a circular of questions sent to many people who had an interest in education (6), and in the Minutes of Evidence. (7) Here can be found the extent to which Newcastle made use of the inspectors for only six of them were called to give evidence. (8) Even though these represent a good cross-section of the Inspectorate and the Commission also had access to the published annual reports of all H.M.I.s, it is perhaps surprising that no more than six were invited to speak to the Commission, and instead ten Assistant Commissioners were appointed who would incur considerable expenses and whose educational expertise was strictly limited. These appointments are justified at the beginning of the Report on the grounds that

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- (4) The members were Sir John Taylor Coleridge, a Judge and a Privy Counsellor, who was known for his Tractarian views (Dictionary of National Biography, vol.XI, p.302); Nassau Senior, an economist and statistician; Rev. William Rogers, a prominent London educationalist; Rev. William Charles Lake and Professor Goldwin Smith representing the universities; and Edward Miall, an articulate opponent of state education (see M. Sturt, op.cit., p.242).
 - (5) The Assistant Commissioners were Rev. James Fraser, later Bishop of Manchester, Rev. Thomas Hedley, J.S. Winder, George Coode, A.F. Foster, John Jenkins, Patric Cumin, later Secretary of the Education Department, J.M. Hare, Josiah Wilkinson, Dr. W.B. Hodgson. The foreign inquiries were made by Matthew Arnold H.M.I. and Rev. Mark Pattison.
 - (6) For example, the Chief Rabbi, Principals of Training Colleges, clergymen, school managers and teachers.
 - (7) Vol.VI.
 - (8) Cook, Watkins, Marshall, J.D. Morell, F. Temple and Tufnell.

"The Inspectors are Inspectors of Schools, not of education. They have no experience of uninspected or private schools, nor have they any means of ascertaining what proportion of the population grow up in ignorance. Upon some points, their authority is so high as to be almost conclusive ... but, however valuable the information contained in [their reports] might be it was imperfect in several essential particulars, [and so] we appointed ten Assistant Commissioners, to each of whom a specimen district was assigned, into the condition of which in respect of education he was directed to examine minutely." (9)

These nicely turned phrases were undoubtedly calculated to justify the expense of employing the Assistant Commissioners, yet they are unlikely to have convinced the H.M.I.s, who were in a much better position to obtain the information required by the Commissioners. The feeling that the inspectors were not to be trusted on certain matters is confirmed by the Report itself when discussing discipline in schools:

"There is no subject on which the reports of the inspectors deserve more confidence. They may be misled as to the instruction given in the schools, but scarcely as to discipline." (10)

There is only one conclusion to be drawn from this: the Commissioners believed that the inspectors were biased in favour of the present

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- (9) Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England, 1861, vol. I, pp.7-8. Hereafter referred to as the Newcastle Report.
- (10) Newcastle Report, p.266. My italics.

system. The denominational nature of their appointments and their close working relationship with school managers were clearly thought to be stronger influences upon them than their professional independence. Yet the evidence presented to the Commission was overwhelmingly in favour of the inspectors' work. It was also broadly in favour of the continuation of the 1846 system, but there was a general belief in the need to extend assistance to rural areas and to encourage children to remain longer at school. Whilst it was felt to be necessary to make teacher training more relevant to the needs of the elementary school, there was little support for a system of payment-by-results.

In particular the evidence of the six inspectors who appeared before the Commission was largely factual, for the late 1850s was not a time when H.M.I.s were encouraged to voice their private opinions. The questions which they were asked by the Commissioners related mainly to the way in which they carried out the inspection of schools and whether they examined all children individually or only a proportion of them. Inspectors were also asked about the standards they adopted, the attendance of schoolchildren, the curriculum, and whether the status of schoolteachers was too high. Tufnell had in addition to give the Commission a full factual background to workhouse and ragged schools. Some of the H.M.I.s were given the chance to air their opinions on the existing system of education, of which they were greatly in favour, and on payment-by-results, to which they were opposed. The inspectors also lost no opportunity to advocate measures which they regarded as essential, even if they were not asked a direct question about them. J.D. Morell

and Frederick Temple, for example, stressed the need for a localised rate-aided system of grants to schools, whilst Cook argued for a training scheme for young inspectors and the retention of the denominational system. Bearing in mind that the Commission were looking to the inspectors for facts, rather than solutions, it is hardly surprising that much of their advice was ignored, especially in relation to payment-by-results.

With the exception of certain important areas which are discussed below, the Commission was broadly satisfied with the education being given in inspected schools, but the Commissioners were most concerned about the poor standard of education being given in private schools and in the 15,952 unassisted public schools where 654,393 children failed to receive the benefits of government aid and inspection

"because the managers or patrons reject assistance, either from religious scruples, or because their patrons dislike interference. These obstacles, however, are comparatively rare and rapidly diminishing. The great cause which deprives schools of Government assistance is their non-performance of the conditions on which that assistance is offered, a non-fulfilment of which the principal causes are poverty, smallness of population, indifference or, as it has been lately called, apathy." (11)

The situation of these schools was a major factor influencing the Commission's recommendations concerning all public schools, both

(11) Ibid., p.278.

inspected and uninspected (12), but they were also concerned that there was no machinery for helping private schools:

"In our opinion the complaint is well founded. We think that the assistance given by the State to education should assume the form of a bounty paid upon the production of certain results by any person whatever." (13)

The Commission therefore recommended that, subject to certain conditions relating to the fitness of the building and the acceptance of inspection, grants should be payable to private schools which reached the required standards, and anyone who had "kept a private elementary school for three consecutive years, and could produce satisfactory testimonials as to their moral character" (14), should be permitted to sit for the teachers' certificate examination. Although this recommendation was not implemented, it remained a major issue during the 1860s, being taken up with great zeal by John Walter M.P. and occupying much of the time of the 1865 Select Committee on Education. (15)

The Commission was enthusiastic about the pupil-teacher system in inspected schools, believing it to be the most successful part of the existing system (16) yet there was considerable criticism of the Training Colleges where the Commission considered that cramming with facts developed the student's memory at the expense of his intelligence. Questions like that in a female Training College Scripture

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- (12) See below pp. 27-8.
 (13) Ibid., p.96. My italics.
 (14) Ibid., p.97.
 (15) See below pp.216-8.
 (16) Ibid., pp.97-108.

examination of 1857 confirmed their suspicions:

"What events are associated with these places - Hobah, Beerlahai Roi, Mizpeh, Peniel, Shalem, Shechem, Luz ? State clearly the practical lessons or spiritual truths illustrated by one of these transactions." (17)

The Commission also complained about the breadth of subjects taught in Training Colleges and asked why it was necessary to train elementary teachers in Latin and other less basic subjects. Yet, two years before the Newcastle Report appeared, the Training College inspectors were already exercising their influence in this direction. Whilst emphatically stating that young schoolmasters were not over-educated, H.M.I. Cowie was already putting pressure on the Colleges to make students give their demonstration lessons in more elementary subjects.(18) The lack of a career structure for teachers was also examined by the Commission who considered that, although schoolteachers were not fit persons to become H.M.I.s, the teachers' complaints about the absence of promotion could be alleviated by reducing the starting salary since, "if the emoluments of the young schoolmaster were smaller, those of the older schoolmaster would appear greater." (19)

The attendance of schoolchildren was another subject to which the Commission devoted considerable attention. Owing to the pressure of public opinion, it was considered that compulsory attendance was not feasible and this was certainly true in the prevailing conditions of teacher supply, religious sensitivity and child employment. (20)

(17) Quoted in N. Senior, Suggestions on popular education, London, 1861, p.323.

(18) Report, 1858-9, pp.282, 290, 298.

(19) Newcastle Report, pp.160-1. The Commissioners were more than aware of teachers' feelings on this subject; see, for example, vol.V, p.397, and the Reports of the Assistant Commissioners.

(20) Newcastle Report, pp.225-6.

Forms of indirect compulsion, in which school attendance was required as a condition of securing certain jobs, were considered by the Commission, yet it failed to grasp that poor attendance was the greatest educational evil of the time, a fact which had been repeatedly emphasised in inspectors' reports. Consequently the Report did not come forward with the radical recommendations on this subject that were required in 1860. Of the three possible avenues which were considered, compulsion was rejected primarily because education was thought to be progressing well enough without it - one of the strangest contradictions of the Report - and rate-aid was rejected because of school management and religious difficulties. The only other alternative was a continuation of the government-aided voluntary system. (21) The main defects in this system were seen to be the expense (22), the difficulty of aiding schools in poor rural areas, defective teaching of the rudiments of education and the overloading of the Education Office. (23)

Although the Commission thought that success was gradually being achieved under the present system of elementary education and that this progress had to be accelerated, they had been warned by J.D. Morell H.M.I. that "zeal for the rapid cure of our evils should not outrun the natural remedies." (24) Above all, the cure must not be too

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- (21) Much of this paragraph is based on Francis Burns, Steps towards a national system of education in England, 1833-70, with special reference to the Report of the Newcastle Commission, 1861, unpublished B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1964, which contains a useful summary of the Report.
- (22) In his evidence, Frederick Temple, a recently retired H.M.I. had told the Commission that "to go on with the present system would end with an (annual) expenditure of £5 million", Newcastle Report, vol.VI, q.2602.
- (23) The Commission was clearly impressed by Lingen's evidence on this point. See vol.VI, q.449 ff.
- (24) Minutes, 1857-8, p.514.

expensive or else the Treasury would not sanction it. Gladstone was, after all, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he was

"deeply convinced that all excess in the public expenditure beyond the legitimate wants of the country is not only a pecuniary waste ... but a great political, and above all, a great moral evil." (25)

In the previous year Gladstone had formed a Cabinet Committee to inquire into "the main items of the Civil Estimates", including education, and cuts were decided upon in many areas. It was only the combined advice of Newcastle and five of the most senior inspectors that prevented drastic pruning of the system even before the Commission's report appeared. (26)

The main part of the plan which the Newcastle Commission finally recommended consisted of a two-part grant to schools. From the government, a school under a certificated teacher would receive a grant of six shillings per child where there were fewer than sixty children, and five shillings per child where there were more than sixty, subject to approval by H.M.I.s of the "discipline, efficiency and general character of the school." (27) The second part of the grant would come from a County Rate: twenty shillings per infant under seven years of age and 21s. to 22s. 6d. per child over seven who attended 140 days of the preceding year and who was proficient in reading, writing and arithmetic. As a limitation on expenditure, the two grants together were "never to exceed the fees and subscriptions, or fifteen shillings

(25) Hansard, 15th April, 1861, vol. CLXII, col.595, quoted in D.W. Sylvester, Robert Lowe and education, Cambridge, 1974, p.44.

(26) See J.R.B. Johnson, op.cit., 1968, pp.482-4.

(27) Newcastle Report, p.329.

per child on the average attendance." (28) The County Rate was to be administered by County and Borough Boards of Education, not more than one-third of whose members were to be clergymen. In order to simplify the payments system and reduce the burden on the central office, the payments would be made through County Treasurers, direct to school managers. The examination on which the County grant depended was to be conducted not by H.M.I.s but by County examiners, who were to be certificated masters with at least seven years' experience, and who would be appointed by, and responsible to, the County Board. The government's financial commitment would be limited and would exist only for efficient schools, since the abortive individual examination by H.M.I.s for the capitation grant (29) would be replaced with

"a searching examination by competent authority of every child in every school to which grants are to be paid, with the view of ascertaining whether these indispensable elements of knowledge [reading, writing and arithmetic] are thoroughly acquired, and to make the prospects and position of the teacher dependent to a considerable extent on the results of this examination." (30)

Such a system of payment-by-results was not universally condemned by H.M.I.s. Whilst Matthew Arnold is well-known for his opposition to it and J.D. Morell argued strongly against it in his evidence to the Newcastle Commission (31), there was a number of inspectors

(28) Ibid., p.330.

(29) See above, p.10.

(30) Newcastle Report, p.342.

(31) Ibid., vol.VI, q.1528 ff.

who had been advocating, even before the appearance of the Newcastle Report, some sort of financial dependence on the results attained by schools. (32)

The evidence with which the Commission was presented on the shortcomings of children in the 3Rs, which led to the "searching examination" proposal, was not entirely gathered from the sketchy programme of visits by the Assistant Commissioners. (33) Much of the most powerful information on this point came from the reports of the H.M.I.s themselves; for example, the much quoted passage from Brookfield's 1855-6 Report

"'What is thy duty towards God?' ... 'My duty toads God is to bleed in him, to fering and to loaf withold your arts, withold my mine, withold my sold ...'" (34)

is quoted in full. Yet Cook had publicly criticised this method of reporting, saying that it was too easy, when examining a school, to find ignorance and "amusing misconceptions" and pointing out that a more positive inspection consisted of drawing out the children's knowledge with carefully directed questions. (35) The long discussion in the Newcastle Report of the bad state of instruction in elementary subjects failed to take account of this experienced viewpoint, preferring to recommend a system of examination that was bound to lead to just the sort of memorising nonsense which the Commissioners and Brookfield were criticising. No account

(32) See below, pp.45-6.

(33) See F. Smith, English Elementary Education 1760-1902, London, 1931, p.244, where it is noted that a Central Committee of Schoolmasters' inquiry into 220 of the Assistant Commissioners' Returns revealed that 162 of these schools were not examined and, of these, 87 were never even visited.

(34) Minutes, 1855-6, p.347.

(35) Report, 1858-9, p.20.

was taken of the increasing emphasis which the Inspectorate was placing on the 3Rs (36), nor of Watkins' evidence that, in an inspection, he

"would judge very much with regard to their intellectual qualifications by their power as readers; by their power to take, in a common reading book, some tolerably easy narrative, and to reword it, clothing it in different words to show that they understand it." (37)

Cook, in his evidence, confirmed this trend, maintaining that the first thing H.M.I.s looked for when inspecting schools was the 3Rs: "I never look to other subjects until I am satisfied about those." (38) In any case, claimed Joshua Fitch H.M.I. in a powerful article, the Newcastle Commission was wrong about attainments in the 3Rs. Only the disheartening passages from inspectors' reports and the reports of the Assistant Commissioners had been taken into account.

"As men of culture and intelligence they (the Assistant Commissioners) naturally carried into the schools very right notions of what education ought to be. But Her Majesty's Inspectors, with the same advantages of education and intelligence, have far greater experience and knowledge of what a school is, and can be reasonably expected to be." (39)

Fitch backed up his claim with the latest statistics from the annual Reports:

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- (36) See above, p.14.
 (37) Newcastle Report, vol.VI, q.1048.
 (38) Ibid., q.973.
 (39) J.G. Fitch H.M.I., Public Education - why is a new code wanted, London, 1861, pp.8-9. The italics are Fitch's.



Photo by Elliott & Fry.

J. Fitch

1. Sir Joshua Fitch, H.M.I.

Year	Reading				Writing				Arithmetic			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
1858-9	6163	5187	949	27	6089	5385	692	12	6067	4865	1061	141
1859-60	6644	5855	766	23	6636	5905	705	26	6586	5342	1113	131
1860-1	7508	6679	813	16	7486	6782	690	14	7459	6235	1115	109

Table 2: Results of school inspections, 1858-61, showing

- A. Number of schools reported upon
- B. Excellent, good or fair
- C. Moderate
- D. Imperfect or bad.

The Newcastle Report discussed the meaning of the words "Excellent", "Good", "Fair" and "Bad", quoting inspectors' practices in this respect at some length, but concluding that "it is obvious ... that the inspection is an inspection of schools rather than of scholars, of the first class rather more than any other class." (40) On this last point, feelings were especially sensitive, as Norris had maintained that the only children who could expect to receive a decent elementary education were those who stayed at school long enough to reach the first class, which he calculated erroneously to be 25%. (41) The Newcastle Commission, and later Robert Lowe, used this figure extensively, although it had been shown to be 50% by Rev. T.R. Birks who pointed out that Norris had not taken into account that children attend, on average, more than two schools each. (42)

In spite of its criticisms concerning the 3Rs and the tendency

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- (40) Newcastle Report, p.238.
 - (41) Report, 1859-60, p.109.
 - (42) T.R. Birks, The "Great Fact" on which the Revised Code rests ... proved to be a gross fallacy, London, 1862. Lowe later refuted Birks' argument; see Hansard, 25th March 1862, vol. CLXVI, col.221.

of teachers and inspectors to concentrate on upper classes, "it would be far from the truth to infer that the inspected schools must be considered as having failed." (43) The Report also expounded the beneficial effect of inspection, as instanced by the higher achievements of inspected schools. Indeed, the Commission received few complaints about the Inspectorate, which is perhaps surprising in view of the developments at the end of the 1850s which were discussed above. Complaints of inspections being hurried were, however, apparently justified and the Commission was concerned about differing standards between inspectors. (44) It was also considered bad that individual examination of children did not take place and the Commission received a great deal of evidence on the desirability and practicability of this. Kay-Shuttleworth was against it under any circumstances, since he considered that the testing of two or three elements of education would not be a guide to the condition of a school. (45) H.M.I. Marshall, for example, did not examine every child as he found that there was insufficient time (46), whereas Cook maintained that, although he could not make a close individual examination of every one of 150 boys in an hour and a half, he could "hear them read, look at their writing and test their arithmetic" in that time. (47) The Newcastle Commission, unlike Lowe in his Revised Code, was looking for something more thorough than this, since it regarded an examination as supplementary to inspection. On their own, thought the Commission, examinations led to teaching which encouraged memory at the expense

(43) Newcastle Report, p.264.

(44) Ibid., pp.229-31.

(45) Ibid., vol. VI, q.2450.

(46) Ibid., vol. VI, q.2190.

(47) Ibid., vol. VI, q.863.

of reason. This attitude was entirely consistent with their recommendation for County examiners, separate from Her Majesty's Inspectorate. Out of thirty-five people who were questioned on the subject of government inspection, only two had given unfavourable opinions. Both were clergymen in the London area. One complained of the danger of inspection leading to "essentials being neglected for showy acquirements" and the other mentioned its cramping effect, whereby teachers will not adopt new ideas "for fear of the inspectors." (48) Clearly a lot depended on the individual area inspector and, in order to cut down on such regional variations, the Commission recommended the appointment of one or more Chief Inspectors to exercise a co-ordinating function, as suggested by Kay-Shuttleworth. (49) The Commission further recommended that more attention should be given by inspectors to junior classes, but rejected Matthew Arnold's suggestion that notice of an inspection should not have to be given beforehand. Although Nassau Senior believed that denominational inspection should end (50), this was not the view of the Commission's majority, who also recommended that there should be no change in the method of appointing inspectors. The Commissioners were evenly divided on the question of whether inspection of religious education by Anglican inspectors should continue. (51) The significance of the Voluntaryist minority of Commissioners must not be underestimated here for it is easy to forget that these men believed that "Government has, ordinarily speaking, no educational duties, except towards

(48) *Ibid.*, vol. I, p.232.

(49) *Ibid.*, vol. I, p.273; vol. VI, q.2440.

(50) N. Senior, *op.cit.*, p.349.

(51) Non-Anglican inspectors looked only at secular education. See below, pp.165-6.

those whom destitution, vagrancy or crime casts upon its hands." (52)
 The publication of the Newcastle Report apparently caused them much pleasure as they saw in it confirmation of their view that the existing system was wasteful, expensive, over-centralised and inefficient at inculcating the basics of education for, they believed,

"education was rapidly advancing on the voluntary system when the State interfered ... Now let us call for a return to the old natural system which preceded these experiments"

since, when the government

"enters our homes, and relieves parents of their proper duty by educating the children ... it is sure to do these things badly and extravagantly." (53)

The cutbacks resulting from the Newcastle Report began even before its publication, for Newcastle himself wrote to Earl Granville in January 1860 warning him that he ought to prepare the education world for his Report by reducing expenditure on education in the forthcoming estimates. (54) This was followed only ten days later by a Minute withholding grants for the erection of any more Normal Schools and decreasing by three-eighths the amount of the building grant for elementary schools. A month later further savings were made by suspending the extension of capitation grants to Scotland

(52) Newcastle Report, p.298.

(53) A. Reed, The Educational Dilemma: or results of the grants of public money for education in England, London, 1861, pp.17-24. Reed was a leading Congregationalist Minister who published an annual letter in The Patriot analysing the complaints that H.M.I.s made in their reports and proving that these verified the predictions of the Voluntaryists.

(54) PRO 30/29, 18/12/3.

for the year 1860-1. (55)

Though the main recommendations of the Newcastle Report concerning County Boards and examiners were not implemented, the period of retrenchment in educational expenditure had begun. Although this had no effect on the growth of the number of inspectors, Newcastle had contributed to the process of the evaporation of inspectors' influence which had begun during the 1850s. In spite of its emphasis on the beneficial effects of inspection, the Commission had also given publicity to the complaints about the H.M.I.s by including these in a government-published document. It had also hinted that inspectors' reports were not always to be trusted and had given the H.M.I.s a direct snub by appointing the ten Assistant Commissioners in England.

CHAPTER 3

THE REVISED CODEThe Debate on the Newcastle Proposals

The length of the Newcastle Report militated against a full and speedy discussion of its recommendations, though Kay-Shuttleworth lost no time in writing to Earl Granville, noting that the Commission proposed to reduce the government's financial burden by transferring it partly to local rates, without moving the managing power from the religious bodies and the Committee of Council for Education to local ratepayers. (1)

Where there was some discussion of the Newcastle Report it was, in the words of one educational historian, "attacked on all sides." (2) Apart from Kay-Shuttleworth and the observations of the religious bodies (3), there was the conflict between the reports of the Assistant Commissioners and the H.M.I.s, and the statistical societies were quick to point out that Newcastle's figures were unreliable. The inspectors themselves attacked the Report vehemently. (4) The way was therefore clear for the government to ignore the main recommendations of the Commission and, in the absence of constructive suggestions from any other quarter, to put forward its own policy.

It is usually stated by educational historians that this was

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- (1) Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth, Four periods of public education, 1832-39-46-62, London, 1862, p.559. Letter to Earl Granville.
 (2) H. Holman, English National Education, London, 1898, p.156.
 (3) See, for example, the attitude of the Home and Colonial Society, summarised in H.J. Burgess, Enterprise in Education, London, 1958, p.174; the B.F.S.S. attitude in H.B. Binns, A century of education, London, 1908, p.178.
 (4) See, for example, Report, 1861-2, pp.15, 57.

done on the last day of the Session when a Revised Code (5) of Minutes was laid on the table of the House of Commons. (6) The government plan had, however, been foreshadowed a little earlier after Sir John Pakington, who had been the instigator of the Newcastle Commission, asked during the course of a Supply Debate what action was to be taken on the Commission's Report. (7) He was broadly in favour of its recommendations and hoped that the government, when they had had time to consider the matter, would introduce legislation to enact them. Pakington must have been rather surprised at the tone of finality with which Robert Lowe replied, for the Vice-President put forward considered recommendations the details of which would shortly be put before the House. As will be argued later in this chapter, the Revised Code, as it finally evolved, was a compromise between what was possible and what Lowe regarded as desirable. Even at this early stage in the debate, this attitude is marked:

"I perceive that the Commissioners ... recommend the continuance of the present system ... In making that recommendation, the Commissioners ... express, I will not say the opinion of the whole country ..., but ... of those to whom education in this country owes almost its existence - of those who gave both time and money to promote education before the present system was called into being. If we have spent £4,800,000 in

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- (5) It was called the Revised Code, since Robert Lowe had, in 1860, published a Code, which was a summary of all the existing regulations and Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education. This was published as a Parliamentary Paper, P.P. 1860 (252), LIII.
- (6) See, for example, H.E. Boothroyd, A History of the Inspectorate, privately printed for the Inspectors' Association, 1923, p.20.
- (7) Hansard, 11th July. 1861, vol. CLXIV, cols. 699-761.

educating the people, private liberality has spent double that sum. In fact, the question as to what system of education is to prevail will be regulated by the opinion of those whose hands maintain it. So long as it is the opinion of those who contribute to the maintenance of the schools that the present system is the right and the best way so long will the present system continue ... It is not the intention of the present government to infringe on the organic principles of the present system - namely, its denominational character, its foundation on a broad religious basis, its teaching religion, and the practice of giving grants from the central office in aid of local subscriptions, the propriety of those grants to be ascertained by Inspection." (8)

Lowe did not say here that the existing system was a good one on which to build, but that it was the only one on which it was possible to build. His conciliatory words concerning the religious bodies that supported education were clearly intended to reassure them in the light of the changes he was about to announce. The Newcastle Commission recommendations, he argued, would not save any money since they would merely transfer a part of the expenditure from central government to county level,

"something like the joke of Mr. Liston, who used to fine himself by transferring money from his right hand pocket to his left." (9)

(8) Ibid., col. 725.

(9) Ibid., col. 726.

County Boards, according to Lowe, would be "mere paying machines", having no discretion, and the Vice-President was also opposed to giving grants to satisfactory private schools. On the other hand, he agreed with the Commission that the capitation grant was handed out on insufficiently stringent conditions and that the Committee of Council ought to be satisfied about both the attendance and the attainment of the children in its grant-aided schools. He continued:

"We want to carry out the present system under present circumstances as far as we can. So far as we can elevate it, so far as we can make it more competitive, more efficient and more economical, we are most anxious to do so." (10)

This basically conservative attitude, allied to a desire for competitiveness, efficiency and economy was consistent with Lowe's political attitude in other fields. Yet the exposition of these typically mid-Victorian qualities in the Revised Code has made Robert Lowe into the bête noir of some educationalists. For them, there is only one side to Lowe's character, which might be described as the triumph of head over heart, bringing the principles of laissez-faire into battle against the struggling forces of education,

"Hitherto we have been living under a system of bounties and protection; now we propose to have a little free trade." (11)

and we are led to believe that, driven by cold logic, he pursued his policy against the united and protesting opposition of all those involved in education. Yet, just as his attitude towards the Inspectorate was dictated by the developing relationship between

(10) Ibid., col. 738.

(11) Ibid., col. 736.

government ministers and their civil servants (12) - a relationship which we take for granted - so his attitude to school managers and teachers was formed in the prevailing political and economic atmosphere of a time when state intervention, still in its infancy, was always examined in the light of Self-Help (13) and keeping down the budget estimates. Writers who have unhesitatingly condemned Lowe for introducing the Revised Code have forgotten this, preferring to judge him from a purely educational point of view, divorced from the political and economic realities of mid-Victorian England and evaluating the Revised Code in terms of the time in which they themselves were writing. Later writers, by taking into consideration all the pressures that would have weighed on an Education Minister in 1860, have painted a more sympathetic picture of Robert Lowe. In the words of one such writer,

"Considered in the light of his times the picture so often painted of Lowe as an educational reactionary takes on a less malevolent hue. The logic and realism of his thought may be appreciated, his administrative skills recognised and his position established as a pioneer in the application of economics to education." (14)

Physically handicapped yet extremely intelligent, great believer in education yet anti-democratic, religious yet anti-Church, and fiercely independent in all his views, Robert Lowe must have been an enigma to his friends and a scourge to his enemies. (15)

(12) See below, chapters 7 and 10.

(13) Written by Samuel Smiles and published in 1859.

(14) D.W. Sylvester, Robert Lowe and Education, Cambridge, 1974, p.2.

(15) For a fuller description of Lowe's background, as well as the backgrounds of the Lord President, Earl Granville, and the Secretary, Ralph Lingen, see Appendix 2.

The Code's real author

Of the three men at the centre of the Education Office - Lowe, the intellectual politician; Granville, the amiable aristocrat; and Lingen, the cold administrator - the real author of the Revised Code may be discovered from contemporary documents. Lowe made the first move:

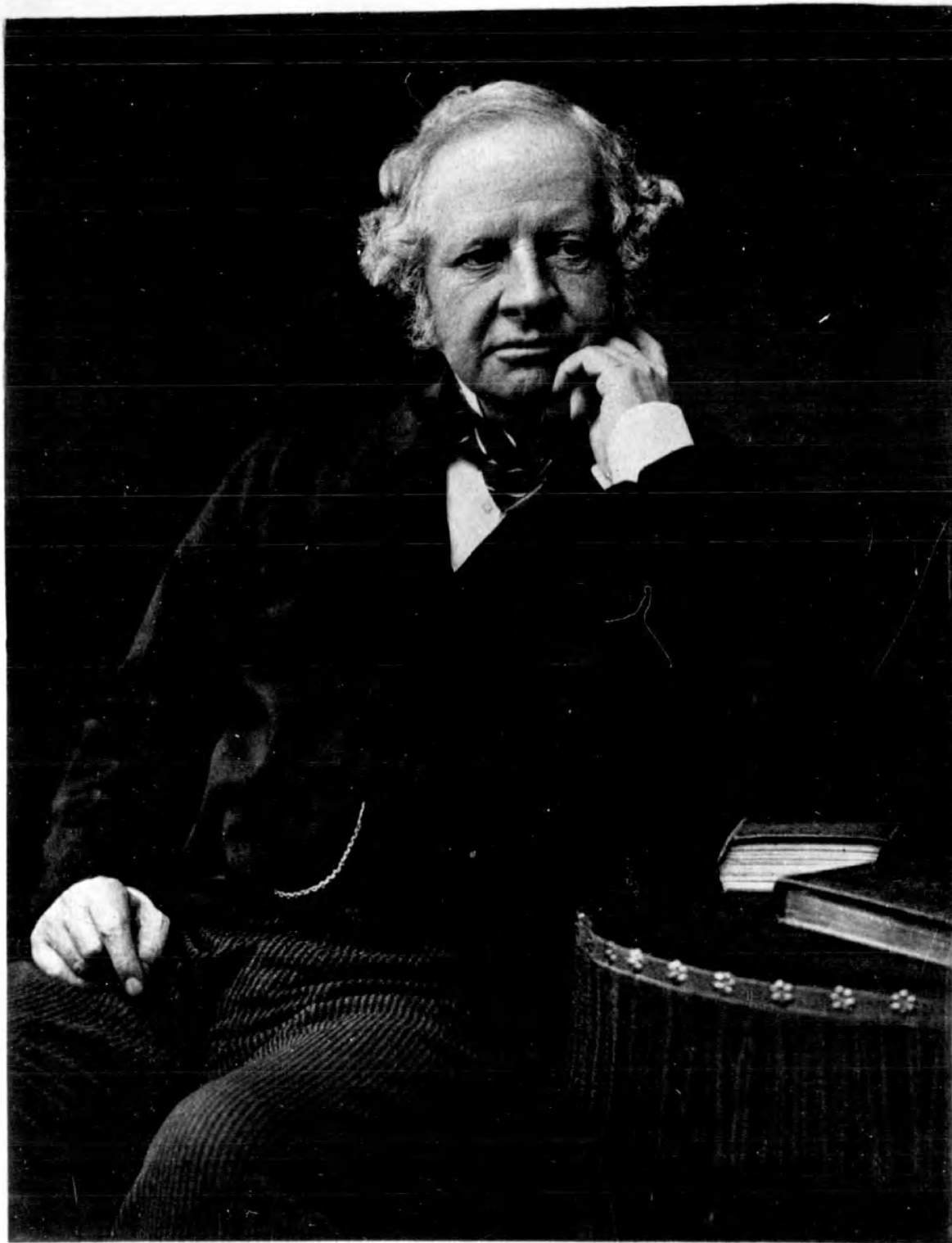
"When I was at the Education Department, as my eyes hurt me a good deal, whenever I went into the country I used to send to the National School to ask them to let me have one or two boys or girls who could read well, and they used to come up and read to me in the evening. I found out that few, if any, of these boys or girls could really read. They got over words of three syllables, but five syllables really stumped them. I therefore came to the conclusion that, as regards reading, writing and arithmetic, which are three subjects that can be definitely tested, each child should either read or write a passage, or do some simple sum of arithmetic, to show that they were entitled to the grant.'" (16)

Lowe therefore instructed Henry Cole, who was at that time Secretary of the Department of Science and Art, and who had already drawn up a similar scheme within his own department, to prepare a scheme of payment-by-results in the 3Rs. (17) "Lowe thought my plan of results possible," Cole later wrote, "and even Lingen thought so but preferred inspection." (18) The outline plan having been made by Cole, it was

(16) Lord George Hamilton, Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections, 1868-85, vol.I, pp.157-8.

(17) See PRO Ed. 28/10, April-August 1859 and 28/12, June 1860.

(18) Quoted in C. Duke, "Robert Lowe - a reappraisal," in British Journal of Educational Studies, vol.XIV, 1965, p.28.



W. & A. Downes 57, Ebury Street London. Photo

Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

Granville

2. Lord Granville, Lord President of the Council
1852-54, 1855-58, 1859-66.

Lingen's job to prepare the Revised Code in detail:

"When the decision had been arrived at that something in the nature of a Revised Code should be prepared, concerning which I had general instructions, putting me in possession of what were the views of my superiors, I drew it just as, if I had remained at my old profession, I might have drawn a man's will or his marriage settlement." (19)

This seems to be as near as the ex-lawyer Lingen ever came to initiating legislation and, though he and Lowe undoubtedly worked closely together on the Revised Code, it can hardly be concluded that Lingen was "the real author" of the new system. (20) Granville's influence appears to have been small since

"when Earl Granville and Mr. Lowe were in the respective offices, it seems to have been understood between them that Mr. Lowe should take the initiative in all business where he had vice-presidential duties, and that, subject to Lord Granville's agreement with him in matters of real political question, he should be the acting authority for all such business." (21)

Granville, therefore, was consulted only in order to elicit his approval for a measure or when it was thought that the name of the Lord President would add weight to an action taken by the Vice-President and Secretary.(22) The Committee of Council on Education could be brought into the decision

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- (19) Evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Workings of the Committee of Council on Education, 1865, q.381 ff. Hereafter referred to as the 1865 Select Committee.
- (20) F. Smith, The life and work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, London, 1923, p.265.
- (21) A.P. Martin, Life and letters of Viscount Sherbrooke, London, 1893, vol.II, p.186.
- (22) See, for example, Lingen's evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Education (Inspectors' Reports), 1864, q.171. Hereafter referred to as the 1864 Select Committee.

making process in a similar way, and Lingen claims^{ed} that several meetings of this body took place before the publication of the Revised Code. (23) Yet this is refuted by Lord John Russell who, as Secretary of State, was a member of the Committee at the time (24):

"I consider that when the great changes of the Revised Code were introduced without any meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council for Education, or any sanction by them, that body was virtually set aside. A meeting which took place before the opening of the Session was not a meeting of the Committee, but comprised all members of the Cabinet who chose to come." (25)

With Granville and the Committee of Council to approve his actions and Lingen to draw up the details of the Code, there can be little doubt that Robert Lowe was its real author and inspiration. (26) Of the Cabinet (27), only Russell, Lewis and Palmerston were opposed to Lowe's plan (28) and Gladstone, as a thrifty Chancellor, was among its strongest supporters.

The first Revised Code

It seems, therefore, that Lowe's new Code had considerable support in the higher echelons of government and there were many other influences in its favour. Sylvester summarises these under

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- (23) Evidence to 1865 Select Committee, q.60.
 (24) The full membership of the Committee is given in the Report, 1859-60, p. xxxix.
 (25) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 18/6/37. Letter from Russell to Granville, 26th March 1862.
 (26) As Matthew Arnold suspected. See "The Twice Revised Code," in R.H. Super, ed. The complete prose works of Matthew Arnold, vol.II, Ann Arbor, 1962, p.241.
 (27) Lowe was not a member of the Cabinet, education being officially represented there by the Lord President.
 (28) See J.R. Johnson, op.cit., 1968, p.496, and D.W. Sylvester, op.cit., pp.44-8.

the headings "Parliamentary opinion" and "Precedents." (29) Yet parliamentary opinion, though it played a central part in revising Lowe's published plan, was only one aspect of the wider pressures on Lowe which resulted from orthodox mid-Victorian thought. It is more appropriate, therefore, to examine separately the influences on Lowe from outside his own Department and from within it.

From outside the Department, there was the majority Cabinet opinion which has been mentioned, and there was the parliamentary opinion which Sylvester discusses. In addition there was Samuel Smiles' doctrine of Self-Help which had a great appeal to opinion-forming people of the time. For them, "the wisest way of tackling social evils was to combine the minimum of state interference with the maximum of voluntary co-operation." (30) When the Newcastle Commission put forward a similar line, the pressures on Lowe from outside his Department to produce a reasonably cheap method of aiding elementary education which ensured efficiency and relied on voluntary effort were insurmountable.

Within the Education Department the trend was in the same direction. Payment-by-results had already been adopted in a number of ways. Even if the 1853 capitation grants had not fulfilled their purpose in this respect (31), the Training Colleges had been receiving grants according to the results of their students since 1846, and grants given to teachers by the Science and Art Department (32) were "chiefly

(29) Sylvester, op.cit., pp.41-58.

(30) A. Briggs, The Age of Improvement, London, 1959, p.439.

(31) See above, p.10.

(32) This had become a part of the Education Department in 1856.

in the nature of payment on results." (33) Similar arrangements were in force for Navigation Schools, the plan for these having been approved by Granville and Lowe immediately after they took office in 1859. (34) Nor did the Department disapprove of school managers exercising some form of payment-by-results over the teachers they employed, for example by offering the teachers a percentage of the capitation grant in addition to their normal salaries. (35) At least one of the officials in the Department espoused the cause of payment-by-results with great fervour, believing that

"in education, as in everything else, the State may interfere when necessary, but its interference should be withdrawn as soon as the necessity has passed away ... If public money is to be granted, we know that there must be some means of testing its results." (36)

The enormous administrative burden which the 1846 Minutes had placed on the Department emphasised the need for change, for the Office would have been unable to cope with any extension of it. (37) Even some of the inspectors had advocated forms of payment-by-results in their recent annual reports. H.M.I. Watkins, one of the stoutest defenders of the teachers, suggested a novel way of encouraging them if, every five years,

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- (33) Minute Book of the Department of Science and Art, PRO Ed. 28/10, 15th April 1859. A full discussion of this scheme appears in A.S. Bishop, The rise of a central authority for English education, Cambridge, 1971, pp.168-74.
- (34) PRO Ed. 28/10, 14th July 1859.
- (35) H. Holman, op.cit., pp.136-7.
- (36) H. Chester, The proper limits of the State's interference in education, London, 1861, pp.8, 12. Chester had retired from the Assistant Secretaryship as recently as January, 1859 and this philosophy is unlikely to have passed entirely out of the Department with his departure.
- (37) Lingen's evidence to the Newcastle Commission, vol.VI, p.552.

"a master's salary were increased, irrespectively of his class [of certificate], but dependently on the success of his school, by a grant of five pounds from your Lordships' Committee." (38)

H.M.I. Norris more precisely foreshadowed the government's proposals:

"The time has come for a commutation of some portion of the annual grants to schools into grants for work done. One step in this direction would be if the original character of the capitation grant would be restored, and it were paid on account of those children only who attained a certain fixed standard of proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic." (39)

With such influences upon him, both from outside the Department and from within it, it may be thought irrelevant to conclude that Robert Lowe was the driving force behind the initiation of the Revised Code. It may be argued with some justice that, whoever had been Vice-President at the time, some form of Revised Code would have been introduced. (40) Yet it was Lowe's background and personality which made the Revised Code what it was and ensured that, even though it had to be altered in the face of public and parliamentary opposition, it retained certain basic principles and was applied rigorously and, within its limits, fairly.

The main points of the first Revised Code, which he introduced

(38) Report, 1859-60, p.38.

(39) Report, 1860-1, p.103. Norris' italics. For further examples of the advocacy of payment-by-results by H.M.I.s, see the reports of Cowie, ibid., 1859-60, p.293; Bellairs, ibid., 1861-2, p.29; and Tinling, ibid., p.34.

(40) N. Ball, Voluntary Effort in English Elementary Schools, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Keele University, 1970, p.76.

on 20th July 1861, were that one penny would be offered per scholar for every attendance over one hundred half-days per year. One-third of this sum could be withheld for failure in each of reading, writing and arithmetic, the examination of which would be conducted by Her Majesty's Inspectors. Children were to be grouped for examination according to age, the first group being for children from three years to seven, and the fourth group being for children aged eleven and over. No child could be presented more than once in this fourth group. As if this were not strict enough to ensure the efficiency that was required, grants could also be withheld for "faults of instruction or discipline" or poor building and equipment. (41)

A winter of discontent

In accordance with his custom, Lowe had only spoken of the principles behind this in the House of Commons, the details merely being laid on the table on the last day of the Session. (42) Although he felt that "it would be impossible to pass satisfactory Acts of Parliament on the subject, on account of the minuteness of detail," (43) the main reason for his clandestine presentation of the Revised Code was almost certainly because "I do not think that I could have carried a clause of it in Parliament." (44) The details of the new measure soon became widely known, however, and after they had been digested by those who were interested in education during the summer of 1861, the winter of discontent began. Reading through the memorials that were presented and the letters and pamphlets that were written at the

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- (41) This summary is taken from F. Smith, The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, London, 1923, pp.263-4.
 (42) "The principles for the House, the details for the department, is the language we should hold." Letter from Lowe to Granville, 16th February 1862. Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 18/12/7.
 (43) Lowe's evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.728.
 (44) Ibid., q.729.

time, one is left with the impression that there was no part of the country, no diocese, no parish, no school, no teacher in England, Wales or Scotland who did not write to complain about the Revised Code. Few of the teachers and managers, and only a small proportion of diocesan meetings, had anything good to say about the new Code and the approbatory comments that were made consisted mostly of approval of the general idea of payment-by-results, followed by a condemnation either of the whole scheme or of specific points. The main criticisms concerned the probable decrease in grants, the examination of children under six, the discouragement^e to children over eleven to remain at school, the grouping of children by age, the likely decrease in the number of pupil-teachers (45) and the disincentive to religious education. The complainants also felt that the requirement that a child should be present at the school for sixteen of the thirty-one days prior to the inspection was unfair and they considered that the measure would be no help to the poorer, rural areas. Memorials from Training Colleges tended to concentrate more on the particular aspects of the new Code which would affect them, but were no less vigorous in their opposition. (46) Of the newspapers, most were opposed to the Code (47), although the English Churchman and

(45) The new Code threatened their security of employment, since pupil-teachers would no longer be employed by the government, but would be paid by the school managers from their uncertain grant.

(46) Copies of all memorials and letters which have been addressed to the Lord President of the Council or the Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, on the subject of the Revised Code, P.P. 1862, (81) XLI, 337. Many other documents were published at this time concerning the Revised Code, some of which have been bound together in Cambridge University Library's Tracts on the Revised Code of Education. One of the letters attacking the Code came from the father of an H.M.I. Rev. S.R. Capel, Rector of Wareham, was father of Rev. H.M. Capel, an inspector from 1857 to 1896.

(47) H.J. Burgess, op.cit., p.177.

the Times both supported it. Since Lowe was still connected with the Times, however, that newspaper cannot be regarded as an unbiased commentator.

Although Lowe was the prime force behind the Code, much of the opposition to it was visited upon Earl Granville who

"as titular head of the office, had to receive them all, especially when, as a rule, they said they had come to appeal to the Lord President to save them from the talons of the Vice-President." (48)

Kay-Shuttleworth wrote him a long and impassioned letter of opposition (49) which, when it was published, tended to have a counter-productive effect since he was regarded as over-reacting and merely trying to preserve his own outdated system. (50)

The inspectors, whose considered views on the Code will be examined later, saw Lowe's first Revised Code as an attack upon themselves and their modus operandi and when the Vice-President stated in the House of Commons that if "there exists an antagonism between the reports of the inspectors and the Commissioners [the Newcastle Commission's Assistant Commissioners], I am confirmed in my belief that the Commissioners are right by the tone of the controversy." (51) The inspectors were forced to act. In a memorial to Earl Granville which was delivered in April 1862, they wrote

"We have noticed with pain and surprise repeated

(48) Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, The life of Lord Granville 1815-91, London, 1905, vol.I, p.426.

(49) Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth, op.cit., 1862, pp.576-94.

(50) See, for example, Hansard, 13th February 1862, vol.CLXV, col.205.

(51) Ibid.

assertions, that, in our inspection of schools, we have neglected the examination of the lower classes in reading, writing and arithmetic, and have based our reports on the examination of the upper classes alone.

"We feel called upon to deny the truth of these assertions.

"We can confidently appeal to the managers of schools in our respective districts to corroborate this denial.

"We rely on your Lordship's consideration for a body of public servants, who feel themselves to have been unjustly aspersed, to give such publicity to this communication as your Lordship may think proper." (52)

This was signed by twenty-three of the H.M.I.s, neither the assistant inspectors nor the Scottish inspectors being invited to sign in case the proportion of the Inspectorate who were signatories was diminished.

(53) Lingen replied in a haughty tone, noting that it came from "twenty-three of the forty-nine inspectors and assistant inspectors," and claiming that the Lord President had often expressed

"his sense of the manner in which Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools had carried out their instructions under the present Minutes, and, as the memorial does

(52) P.P. 1862, XLIII, 171-4.

(53) Those who refused to sign were Cowie, who declined because as inspector of male Training Colleges he regarded his experience of schools as too limited, Bellairs, Brodie, Brookfield and Norris, all of whom supported the Code in its final form. J.R. Morell's name was not among the original signatories as the others forgot to ask him!

not specify whence the attacks came, ... the Lord President does not know what steps he should take in the matter." (54)

Tufnell, who had sent out the original memorial, replied by return, emphasising that, though the inspectors

"do not profess ... to have examined every child, it has been their habit to examine all the classes of a school, the lower as well as the higher; and reports have not been based upon vague general impressions." (55)

Although it was Lingen who had replied to the memorial, it had been addressed to Granville and it was the Lord President himself who then attempted to reassure the inspectors with the following bureaucratic bouquet. They were, he said, "a most faithful body of very able men, who had acted most efficiently under the existing system, and under the instructions which they had received." (56)

The second Revised Code

By the time Granville had said this in the House of Lords, the amendments to Lowe's first Revised Code had been agreed in the Commons. On the morning of that debate Matthew Arnold had written anonymously to the Daily News attacking the use of examinations as the sole measure of a school's grant. (57) This was in fact one of the points yielded by Lowe in the latest Code, a surrender which is not surprising when it is remembered that Lowe's belief was that

"It is the duty of public men to lead and instruct the

(54) P.P. 1862, XLIII, 171-4.

(55) Ibid.

(56) Hansard, 11th April 1862, vol. CIXVI, col.834.

(57) This letter, signed "A Lover of Light," is published in R.H. Super, op.cit., pp.244-6.

opinion of the country, but it is also their duty to obey it; and nothing would be gained by forcing on a measure to which those who contribute most liberally to education are consistently opposed." (58)

Many of the criticisms of the 1861 Revised Code were most constructive and were taken into account by Lowe in his 1862 Code (59), the announcement of which had the effect of stabilising the uneasy situation which had existed in schools during the winter of 1861/2. This had occurred partly because of administrative inefficiency in the Department (60) with the result that, as H.M.I. Bellairs wrote, "my district is completely paralised, ^[sic] and I don't know how or when it will recover." (61) There is evidence that Granville, on receiving so many memorials and letters, considered a compromise between the 1846 system and the 1861 Revised Code (62), but this had no effect on Lowe who announced the new Revised Code on 13th February and 28th March 1862. (63)

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- (58) The School Teacher, October 1859, vol.VI, p.272. This had been said by Lowe on being made Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education.
- (59) See, for example, Rev. C.J. Vaughan, The Revised Code of the Committee of Council on Education Dispassionately Considered, An address to the clergy of Doncaster, November 1861, 3rd ed. Cambridge and London, 1862. Dr. Vaughan was an ex-headmaster of Harrow School and his general support for the Revised Code must have been welcome to Lowe who met all his criticisms in the new Code.
- (60) For example, a Liverpool clergyman had received a letter from the Office stating that the Revised Code would come into operation on 1st November 1861, and a letter had gone to Seaham, County Durham, stating that no more pupil-teacher apprenticeships would be sanctioned under the old system, neither of which assertions ^{was} ~~were~~ in fact true. Speeches of Sir Henry Willoughby and Mr. Mowbray, Hansard, 28th February 1862, vol.CLXV, col.878.
- (61) Letter from Rev. H.W. Bellairs to Earl Granville, 26th September 1861. Granville Papers, PRO 30/29. 19/4/11.
- (62) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29. 18/11/4.
- (63) Minute of the Committee of Council on Education, 9th May 1862, Report, 1861-2, pp.xv-xliv.

Under this measure, grants to elementary schools consisted of two parts: 4s. per scholar according to the number in average attendance (2s. 6d. for evening school pupils), and, for children with more than 200 attendances, 6s. 6d. if they were under six years old and 8s. each for those over six. (64) Every child over six with more than 200 attendances would forfeit 2s. 8d. for "failure to satisfy the Inspector" in each of reading, writing and arithmetic. (65) Evening scholars over 12 years of age who had attended more than 24 times could earn their school an additional 5s. grant, with a reduction of 1s. 8d. for failure in each of the 3Rs. (66) The Standards, which had been increased in number from four to six, were carefully laid down, and scholars could only be presented once in each Standard. (67) Article 48 outlined the Standards which had to be achieved in order to earn a grant:

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- (64) Article 40.
 - (65) Article 44.
 - (66) Articles 43-5.
 - (67) Article 46.

	Standard 1	Standard 2	Standard 3
Reading	Narrative in monosyllables.	One of the narratives next in order after monosyllables in an elementary reading book used in the school.	A short paragraph from an elementary reading book used in the school.
Writing	Form on blackboard or slate, from dictation, letters, capital and small manuscript.	Copy in manuscript character a line of print.	A sentence from the same paragraph, slowly read once, and then dictated in single words.
Arithmetic	Form on blackboard or slate, from dictation, figures up to 20; name at sight figures up to 20; add and subtract figures up to 10, orally, from examples on blackboard.	A sum in simple addition or subtraction, and the multiplication tables.	A sum in any simple rule as far as short division (inclusive).
	Standard 4	Standard 5	Standard 6
Reading	A short paragraph from a more advanced reading book used in the school.	A few lines of poetry from a reading book used in the first class of the school.	A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative.
Writing	A sentence slowly dictated once by a few words at a time, from the same book, but not from the paragraph read.	A sentence slowly dictated once, by a few words at a time, from a reading book used in the first class of the school.	Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative, slowly dictated once by a few words at a time.
Arithmetic	A sum in compound rules (money).	A sum in compound rules (common weights and measures).	A sum in practice or bills of parcels.

The grant would be withheld altogether from a school for faulty buildings, lighting or ventilation, an uncertificated teacher being in charge, girls not being taught needlework, registers not properly kept, or for "objections of a gross kind," for example, religious education being improperly taught. (68) Grants could be reduced by one-tenth to one-half "for faults of instruction or discipline ..." (69) and by £10 if the school employed insufficient pupil-teachers. (70) Articles 55-63 dealt with the proper keeping of the log book and Article 67 introduced a fourth class of certificated teacher. A draft agreement was then set out for the apprenticeship of pupil-teachers with their school manager which stated, inter alia, that the pupil-teachers could be instructed during the evening school, a significant relaxation in the previous regulations, and, specifically, that "the Committee of Council is not a party to the engagement" of the pupil-teachers. (71) Articles 94-134 decreased the benefits available to Training Colleges and regulations concerning Endowed Schools and Poor Law Schools were also included. (72) The new Code was reinforced in September 1862 by a lengthy letter of instructions to the inspectors on its administration (73) which was clearly intended to allay the fears of school managers as much as instruct the H.M.I.s:

"The grant to be made to each school depends, as it has ever done, upon the school's whole character and work.

The grant is offered for attendance in a school with which the inspector is satisfied. If he is wholly

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- (68) Article 51 and footnote.
 - (69) Again including religious education.
 - (70) Article 52 and footnote.
 - (71) Articles 81-2.
 - (72) Articles 135-7 and 139-47.
 - (73) Quoted in full in Appendix 3.

dissatisfied ... no grant is made. You will judge every school by the same standard that you have hitherto used, as regards its religious, moral and intellectual merits. The examination under Article 48 does not supercede this judgment, but presupposes it. That article does not prescribe that, if thus much is done, a grant shall be paid, but, unless thus much is done, no grant shall be paid. It does not exclude the inspection of each school ... , but it fortifies this general test by individual examination. If you keep these distinctions steadily in view you will see how little the scope of your duties is changed." (74)

Although the lion of public opinion had roared at the appearance of the first Revised Code, response to its successor was distinctly muffled. Matthew Arnold anonymously predicted a forty per cent decrease in the grant, the limiting of the curriculum to the 3Rs and the omission of the already neglected rural areas (75), and the teachers' magazines and the schoolmasters' associations deplored the Code (76), but Arnold was arguing from a totally different set of premises from most people (77) and teachers' arguments were largely ignored because they were regarded as interested parties. Lowe had compromised as much as he felt possible. Grouping by age had disappeared, so had the regulation concerning attendance on at least sixteen days of the thirty-one immediately preceding the inspection.

(74) Report, 1862-3, p. xviii, paragraph 7.

(75) M. Arnold, "The Twice Revised Code," in R.H. Super, op.cit., pp.212-43.

(76) See, for example, The Educational Record, vols. V and VI.

(77) He regarded government grants primarily as a subsidy, whereas Lowe thought of them more as a reward. See M. Arnold, "The Twice Revised Code," in R.H. Super, op.cit., p.228, and Lowe's speech in Hansard, 27th March 1862, vol.CLXVI, col.227.



No. 158

MEN OF THE DAY No. 36

Matthew Arnold (1822-88)

"I say, the critic must keep out of the region of immediate practice."

3. Matthew Arnold, H.M.I.

There was to be no examination of children under six, whilst at the other end of the age range the minimum age for evening school had been reduced by a year. The proposals for Training Colleges were dropped, the Code was not to be extended to Scotland and, most important of all to the opposition, the grants would no longer depend entirely on examination results. When these changes were announced, the parliamentary opposition to the Revised Code lost its impetus and Spencer Walpole's resolution in the House of Commons was not put to a vote. Lowe's concessions had proved sufficient, yet he had retained the two principles that were dearest to him: the Department would in future be in financial contact only with school managers, and the grant would to some extent depend upon examination. (78) The aims of the Code were set out for all to see: first, greater efficiency in teaching individual children; secondly, the extension of government aid more rapidly to the neglected areas; and thirdly, the simplification of the work of the Office. (79)

A Natural Progression

The Revised Code had come into being as Robert Lowe's response to the educational situation of 1860. The pressures upon him from outside his Department and from within it were reinforced by his own strong belief, which was shared by many other people, that the elementary schools for the poor ought to be concentrating more on elementary subjects, which were at that time receiving insufficient attention and were anyway badly taught. By "enlisting hope and fear

(78) Hansard, 5th May 1862, vol. CLXVI, col.1242.

(79) Report, 1861-2, p. ix.

to work for us" (80) this situation could, he thought, be rapidly improved. But it is a debatable point whether Lowe was correct in his belief about the 3Rs, and it was disputed whether the Revised Code would remedy the situation, if it in fact existed. In the first two chapters it was noted that the H.M.I.s were concentrating more on reading, writing and arithmetic and, if they continued to take care in examining the upper classes of a school, then it could reasonably be argued that a good first class was not possible unless the children had received a proper basic education in the lower classes. (81) To be fair to Lowe, however, he was more concerned about the children who never reached the first class because they did not remain long enough at school, a sentiment which Kay-Shuttleworth should have applauded for he emphasised as early as 1840 that H.M.I.s should "be careful to estimate the advancement of the junior as well as of the senior class, and the progress of the lower as well as of the higher pupils." (82) It is probably true to say that, whilst the 1840s and early 1850s had seen an enormous expansion in the teaching of "higher" subjects like geography and grammar (83), and this had been encouraged by the inspectors as a reaction to the mechanical teaching of the pre-Kay-Shuttleworth days, the H.M.I.s were by the late 1850s leading the way in re-emphasising the importance of the 3Rs in elementary education. Had they been given another five years working under the system of the 1846 Minutes, it is possible that the demand for the Revised Code on these grounds would have been greatly diminished. As it was, the

(80) Hansard, 13th February 1862, vol.CLXV, col.205.

(81) See, for example, Rev. G.R. Moncreiff's report, Report, 1858-9, p.134.

(82) Instructions to Inspectors, Minutes, 1840-1, p.27.

(83) Bad teaching was not confined to the 3Rs. These "higher" subjects were often very badly taught as well. See J.S. Hurt, Education in Evolution, London, 1971, pp.204-5.

legislative stalemate of the 1850s and the current orthodoxy in social policy meant that Lowe had to act and the accelerating of the trend towards the 3Rs was seen by him as a top priority.

Whether Robert Lowe constructed the right formula in the Revised Code has been hotly debated ever since 1862 and some of its effects will be examined in the succeeding chapters of this thesis. At this stage of the argument, however, it is worth reflecting on the motives behind his plan which, to so many educationalists of the time and to the twentieth century observer who knows the difficulties of educating the unwilling or infrequent attender, seem callous and totally lacking in understanding of the teachers' problems.

It has been said, on the one hand, that the Revised Code was Lowe's attempt to secularise elementary education and "breach the religious monopoly" (84) and this explanation can be borne out by a study of the Vice-President's own background and thinking. (85) More recently, however, Lowe had^s been portrayed as the pragmatic politician reacting to the influences of his time, notably the findings of the Newcastle Commission. (86) That Lowe was himself a secularist in education is not in doubt, but a close study of his speeches at the time reveals that, in order to carry out what he believed to be the major part of his task, he ignored his own feelings on the religious question. (87) It is misleading to conclude that, because he did not make religious education an examinable grant-earning subject, he was against it taking place. In the existing political situation it would have been impossible

(84) J.S. Hurt, *op.cit.*, pp.69, 202; H.J. Burgess, *op.cit.*, p.184.

(85) See Appendix 2.

(86) D.W. Sylvester, *op.cit.*, pp.58, 68.

(87) See, for example, Hansard, 13th February 1862, vol.CLXV, col.191.

to carry a measure that appeared to pay for religion out of taxation. Lowe's position on this issue was also defensible from attacks from the religious lobby since he could justly claim that grants could be reduced for faults in religious instruction. (88) But he kept the system dependent on the Church because he had no alternative.

Robert Lowe would have been the first to admit that the Revised Code was far from perfect. If we look, for example, at its three main aims (89), he was resigned to the fact that one of them was impossible to achieve. In the interests of fairness and the avoidance of corruption, there had to be "one rule applicable to the whole country" (90) and this meant that government aid could never reach some schools. "I deplore cases of hardship," he went on, "for them there is no remedy." (91) His two other aims, however, were firmly enshrined in the Revised Code and it was Lowe's triumph that he managed to retain these by compromising on what he regarded as points of detail. It was his misfortune that the Code which remained made him into one of the most hated politicians of the century. With the benefit of hindsight, it appears that he was harshly judged, since he was the man who happened to be occupying the office of Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education at a time when public opinion dictated that unpopular measures had to be taken. As it was, the Revised Code can be seen to be a progression from the 1846 Minutes, and not a revolution, and its development through the 1860s paved the

(88) Revised Code, articles 51 & 52.

(89) See above, p.57.

(90) Hansard, 27th March 1862, vol.CLXVI, col.225.

(91) Ibid.

way for the start of compulsory education.

Mixed feelings in the Inspectorate

It is a common misconception that nearly all the inspectors were against the Revised Code. (92) This has occurred because of a tendency to quote only Matthew Arnold of the H.M.I.s and to ignore many of the others who, if not as charismatic as Arnold, were at least more committed to their jobs. (93) Certainly Arnold's letter and famous article on the "Twice Revised Code" were damning indictments of the motives behind the Code, and Tufnell's memorial of 1862 which had been signed by many of the H.M.I.s was sent at the time of the Code. Yet, as has been pointed out (94), this memorial was mainly in response to the tone of the speeches of Lowe and others and did not constitute a condemnation of the Code itself. This is borne out by the fact that at least five of the signatories to the memorial subsequently declared their support for the Revised Code.

It has also been noted that a number of H.M.I.s had expressed their support for the principles of the Revised Code some time before it was published (95) and, of these, Norris was the one H.M.I. to be consulted by the Department during the Code's construction. (96)

(92) See, for example, J. Leese, Personalities and Power in English Education, Leeds, 1950, pp.91-2, 99.

(93) Arnold wrote in a letter to his sister in 1859: "I have no special interest in the subject of public education" and, throughout his letters, "appear constant references to his official work as uncongenial and wearisome."
J.G. Fitch H.M.I., Thomas and Matthew Arnold, London, 1897, pp.163-4.

(94) See above, p.49.

(95) See above, pp.45-6.

(96) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.1159. This may explain the thoroughness with which Norris was able to discuss the principle and practice of payment-by-results in his 1860 report, which would have been written in the early part of 1861, Report, 1860-1, p.103.

Perhaps if Lingen had chosen to consult H.M.I. Bowstead, the history of nineteenth century elementary education would have been very different, for he believed that

"it would be idle to fix an ideal standard, grounded upon that which is desirable in the abstract. We must look to that which is practicable, and call that a good elementary school which gives as much sound instruction to its inmates as their age and the duration and constancy of their attendance render feasible." (97)

The reports which were written by the inspectors in early 1862 were composed under a cloud of possible suppression by the Department if they included the H.M.I.'s own opinions unsupported by observed evidence. (98) We therefore have to look at the reports of the following three years to gauge fully the initial reaction of the Inspectorate to the Revised Code. (99)

Broadly speaking, those H.M.I.s with more than ten years' experience declared themselves to be against the Code, whilst those with less experience were in favour. There are some notable exceptions, however, and a full summary is instructive. (See table 3) It is interesting to note that the two inspectors who had formerly been Principals of Training Colleges (100) were in favour of the Revised Code, as were some of the least inspired of the early H.M.I.s. (101)

(97) Report, 1858-9, p.155.

(98) A full discussion of the suppression of inspectors' reports is contained in chapter 7.

(99) The moratorium on the expression of private opinions in the reports sometimes makes it difficult to know exactly which way an inspector felt. The author has only included those H.M.I.s for whom there is definite evidence.

(100) Binns and Fitch.

(101) Blandford, Tinling and Warburton.

Of the more imaginative experienced inspectors, only Bellairs, Cook and Norris supported the new measure. On the other side of the argument, however, stood all the great early inspectors who were still active (102), whilst opposition to the Code was almost the first real spark in the reports of some. (103) One name stands out in the list of opponents: Rev. Charles Robinson was the only one of the newer inspectors to oppose Lowe's Code and throughout the decade he continued to do so with a fervour which makes his reports among the most dynamic and interesting.

About half the inspectors in England and Wales declared their support for the new Code during its first three years, as well as all the Scottish inspectors. The Department was therefore about right when it claimed in its introduction to the 1864-5 Report that

"of the twenty-six reports on elementary schools by Your Majesty's inspectors which are included in this volume, two-thirds contain a decidedly favourable judgement of the working of the Revised Code, so far as relates to the change introduced by it into the mode of examination and payment. The less favourable judgements turn chiefly on observations of a tendency to neglect higher subjects of instruction, and to dispense with pupil-teachers." (104)

The inspectors were indeed quick to point out these two items as the main disadvantages of the Revised Code, though other serious defects

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- (102) Kennedy, Mitchell, Watkins, Matthew Arnold and J.D. Morell.
 (103) Fussell, Moncreiff and Stewart.
 (104) Report, 1864-5, p.xxiii.

were reported. Mitchell considered that it had lowered the standard of education (105), whilst Tinling thought that teachers were losing interest. (106) Bellairs, though he was basically in favour of the Code, emphasised what Lowe himself had anticipated (107), that it would not help schools in neglected areas (108), and opponents of the Code also pointed out that it only helped the worst schools among those that were inspected, few of the best schools apparently benefiting from the increased emphasis on the 3Rs. (109) Fitch, a recent convert to the Code (110), could not resist

"the unwelcome conviction that the new Code is also tending to formalise the work of the elementary schools, and to render it in some degree lifeless, inelastic and mechanical. I find too many teachers disposed to narrow their sense of duty to ... the 'paying subjects'." (111)

This was a point being made by many inspectors in the years immediately after the Revised Code came into operation, yet such doubts left many inspectors well short of outright opposition, and there were as many favourable comments as there were contrary. H.M.I. Barry thought the old Code had reached its limit (112) and Donner saw the new Code as a stimulus to exertion on the part of teachers. (113) Fearon noted that, under the new Code, there was greater elasticity of payment whereas previously schools had received all the grant or none, a

(105) Ibid., p.113.

(106) Ibid., 1862-3, p.7.

(107) See above, p.60.

(108) Report, 1864-5, p.20.

(109) Ibid., p.75.

(110) Kenneth A. Bryan, The educational works and influence of Sir Joshua Fitch, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1968, pp.37-46.

(111) Report, 1864-5, p.171.

(112) Ibid., 1863-4, p.41.

(113) Ibid., p.61.

similar point being made by Bellairs:

"individual examination enables me to determine, with much greater accuracy than inspection did, the precise condition of a school, and that if conducted with gentleness, patience, and good humour, it effects a very considerable improvement in the condition of our schools." (114)

The inspectors' opinions of the Revised Code altered little as their experience of it increased. Only Edward Arnold, Matthew's brother, seems to have moved from a position of outright approval to one of disapproval (115) and, of the inspectors who wrote their first report after 1865, only H.M.I. French offers much opposition to the Code (116), the others all being positively in favour. (117) Of those inspectors who were against the Code during the early days of its operation, only Fussell moved to a position of approval and, even then, he wrote at length on the bad effect of the Code in London. (118)

The Department was, however, somewhat extravagant in its claims on the inspectors' support for its policy. Among the "principal conclusions which will be found to be supported by the testimony of Her Majesty's Inspectors" was the following:

"The system of examination under the Revised Code is administratively feasible, has secured greater attention

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- (114) Ibid., 1862-3, p.14. See also the reports of Binns, ibid., 1863-4, p.48; and Fearon, ibid., 1864-5, p.61.
- (115) Ibid., 1865-6, pp.15-30.
- (116) Ibid., 1868-9, p.106.
- (117) Du Port, ibid., 1868-9, p.66; Johnstone, ibid., 1867-8, p.158; King, ibid., 1867-8, p.180; Thomas, ibid., 1866-7, p.216; Watts, ibid., 1868-9, p.263; Wilkinson, ibid., 1869-70, p.279; Cakley, ibid., 1865-6, p.259; Renouf, ibid., 1867-8, p.371.
- (118) Ibid., 1866-7, pp.73-5.

to the lower classes and to the less proficient children in schools, and has led to more uniform progress in reading, writing and arithmetic. Many difficulties in classifying the scholars impartially for the examination would have been avoided had our original proposal of examining according to age been retained." (119)

There follows a list of fifteen English and Welsh inspectors, not one of whom included in his report for that year all the points mentioned in the Department's claim. The other "principal conclusions," however, indicate most of the main areas of the inspectors' complaints in the mid-sixties: too little attention to "higher subjects," religious instruction too loaded with facts, a great decrease in pupil-teachers and poor school management. The Minute of 1867 (120) which was designed to encourage both higher subjects and pupil-teacher recruitment started to alleviate the problems in these two areas although, by the end of the decade, the inspectors were still complaining about the mechanical nature of instruction in schools. Yet the Office clearly thought that this was partly the fault of the inspectors themselves since they were, according to the teachers, only inspecting mechanical instruction and so, reasoned the departmental officials, "the reason must lie in the inspectors' acting on only half their instructions." (121)

In the second half of the decade, therefore, a majority of the inspectors agreed with the Revised Code, though nearly all had their reservations. Very few gave the Code their unconditional support,

(119) Ibid., 1865-6, p.x.

(120) See below, pp.133-4.

(121) Report, 1867-8, p.xxxv. For the relevant passage of the Instructions, see below, Appendix 3, paragraph 7.

though Robert Temple was a notable exception:

"... the Revised Code has done unmixed good, and every additional year convinces me more and more of the wisdom of its framers, and makes me more determined to protest and fight against any misrepresentation or misconception of it, whether ignorant or wilful. Education before the Revised Code was showy, flashy and unsubstantial; it had no backbone; it was like the pulpy creatures which, according to Dr. Whewell, may exist in the planet Jupiter ... but education under the Revised Code fairly worked has a strong and solid framework of accurate elementary instruction, clothed with a fair and healthy growth of knowledge and intelligence." (122)

Likewise, few H.M.I.s went as far as the Catholic inspector, Stokes, in support of payment-by-results:

"Every child bringing to its school a share of the education grant should show that it has gained something in return for the public money." (123)

Hence, concluded Stokes, infants should be examined annually by the inspector and this would end the practice of filling schools with near-babies in order to earn more attendance grant.

The H.M.I.s who were totally opposed to the Code continued throughout the decade to use every shred of evidence to support their argument, to the extent that the Office felt it necessary at one point to answer Matthew Arnold's complaints publicly and, in doing so,

(122) Report, 1869-70, p.238.

(123) Ibid., 1866-7, p.291.

implicitly criticised his method of inspection. (124) H.M.I. Robinson was just as vehement. Under the Revised Code, he claimed, it was impossible to carry out a proper inspection because inspectors could not see the school as it really operated. Likewise, a judgment could not be made on the progress of the school when the inspector's primary objective was to ascertain whether a certain minimum had been achieved. Robinson went on to attack the Code for concentrating too much on the 3Rs and so decreasing the intelligence, discipline and moral influence of the school. "The fear of not passing in reading, writing and arithmetic comes to rule the work of the school." (125)

Even Matthew Arnold, however, was not opposed to the principle of payment-by-results (126); it was the method of putting that principle into practice that the more experienced inspectors opposed. The old method of inspection, of which Arnold himself had been critical before 1861 (127), now seemed much more attractive. The inspectors felt that they had been in the process of overcoming its disadvantages by emphasising more the education of younger children when the Revised Code was brought in to speed up this trend. Unless the newer inspectors had been school managers before they joined the Inspectorate, they would have had little experience of the system of elementary education before the Revised Code and, with their public school and Oxbridge background, it would have been surprising if they had not subscribed to the current orthodoxy that the appropriate education for the poor was large helpings of the 3Rs and religious instruction. Nevertheless, as has been stated, their support for the Code was not such that they were blind to its

(124) Ibid., 1867-8, pp.xxiii-xxiv, 296.

(125) Ibid., 1865-6, pp.165-7.

(126) Ibid., 1869-70, pp.295-6.

(127) Minutes, 1853-4, vol.II, p.724.

disadvantages and a common verdict was that "it is a very good test of a bad school, and a very indifferent one of a good school." (128)

		IN FAVOUR	DOUBTFUL
ANGLICAN	E.P. Arnold(9), 1863-4 p.25 Barry(8), 1863-4 p.41 Bellairs(19), 1864-5 p.15 Binns(6), 1863-4 p.48 Blandford(16), 1862-3 p.28 Bonner(2), 1863-4 p.61 Byrne(1), 1864-5 p.34 Cook(20), 1863-4 p.320 Cowie(5), 1863-4 p.311 Gream(4), 1864-5 p.84 Hernamann(11), 1863-4 Howard(8), 1864-5 p.93 Koe(11), 1864-5 p.107 Norris(14), 1863-4 p.117 R. Temple(6), 1863-4 p.152 Tinling(16), 1864-5 Warburton(13), 1862-3 p.72	Brockfield(15), 1862-3 p.42 Meyrick(4), 1865-6 Sharpe(6), 1863-4	
BRITISH AND WESLEYAN	Alderson(6), 1863-4 Brodie(4), 1863-4 p.199 Fearon(3), 1864-5 p.61 Fitch(0), 1864-5 p.171 Laurie(9), 1862-3 p.82		
ROMAN CATHOLIC	Lynch(2), 1863-4 p.220 Stokes(10), 1864-5 p.213		
		AGAINST	NO OPINION
ANGLICAN	Fussell(11), 1864-5 p.75 Jones(15), Kennedy(15), Evidence to 1865 Select Committee q.2527 Mitchell(16), 1864-5 p.113 Moncreiff(13), 1863-4 p.100 Robinson(4), 1863-4 p.130 Stewart(13), 1864-5 Watkins(19),	Birley(11) Campbell(9) Meredith(11) Nutt(3) Sandford(10) Woolley(4)	
BRITISH AND WESLEYAN	M. Arnold(12), 1863-4 p.187 J.D. Morell(15), 1864-5 p.182	Bowstead(11) Scoltock(6) Waddington(0)	

Table 3: Opinions of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools for England and Wales on the subject of the Revised Code, 1862-65, showing
(a) The number of years service of the inspector, in parenthesis
(b) a reference to the annual Report in which the opinion was stated.

CHAPTER 4

THE NEW INSPECTION

Before the introduction of the Revised Code, the inspector's discretion in the manner in which he inspected a school was limited only by the time available. This was however, a considerable limitation, as the 1846 Minutes and the capitation grant regulations of 1853 and 1856 had given him a large number of statutory duties in the inspection of a school which left little time for the more leisurely inquiries and discussion which took place before 1846. (1) These duties in fact proved too great and few of the inspectors carried out the 1853 requirement to examine all the children individually. Owing to the government's unwillingness to increase the number of inspectors beyond the absolute minimum, the inspectors' areas were large and, for many of them, there was a great deal of travelling to inconvenient places. It is not surprising, therefore, to find inspectors complaining of insufficient time (2) and teachers and school managers complaining that inspections were too hurried. (3) In his 1861 report, H.M.I. Fussell attempted to answer this criticism, claiming that everything was thoroughly looked into, all classes were examined, and religious knowledge and the 3Rs were "the subjects to which chief prominence is assigned." (4) Failure to examine the lower classes of schools and the basic subjects had been the two major criticisms of the Inspectorate during the late fifties and Fussell was emphasising that he, at any rate, was not guilty of this.

Muirhead Mitchell's mode of inspection not only ensured that he

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- (1) These duties are described above, pp.7-10.
 (2) See, for example, Report, 1859-60, p.145.
 (3) Newcastle Report, p.229.
 (4) Report, 1861-2, p.15.

was able to cover these essentials, but meant that he could also compare the results with the child's age and attendance, thus giving himself an insight into the real achievements of a school which few other inspectors obtained. Before Mitchell arrived at the school, the teacher gave each child who was able to write a sheet of paper on which the child wrote his name, age, class and length of attendance at that school. On this paper the child worked sums and wrote from dictation, drew a map, parsed a sentence and wrote out a question and answer from the Catechism. This took two and a half hours during which time Mitchell heard the younger children reading and examined them. (5)

Other H.M.I.s described their pre-Revised Code inspection methods in their reports, Bellairs excusing his apparent brevity on account of his length of service:

"An experienced inspector ascertains very rapidly the condition of the buildings, the playground, drainage, desks, furniture, books, registers, apparatus, etc. Having ascertained this, he turns to the organisation and administration, the size and arrangement of the classes, the mode of maintaining discipline, the way in which the master manages the school ... Having satisfied upon this, the inspector directs himself to each sub-teacher in turn ... While observing this, the inspector will necessarily form conclusions, not only upon the teachers, but also upon the intelligence,

(5) Ibid., 1857-8, p.346. In a footnote, Mitchell states that he is indebted to John Glennie who advocated this in London schools when he was Secretary of the London Diocesan Board of Education. Shortly afterwards, Glennie became an assistant inspector.

general knowledge, and attainments of the scholars; from long experience he will be able to arrive approximately at a general estimate of the results accomplished, and as each class passes under his eye he will attempt to test and verify his impressions and suspicions by a few questions as he may find them necessary." (6)

It was precisely the approximate nature of such inspections that Robert Lowe disliked. Yet, if he had studied the registers, an inspector using this method would be able to allow for the irregular attendance of pupils in assessing the teachers' achievements. Moncreiff's method also took this into account. After he had tested all the classes in a school, he looked for any excessive gaps between the achievements of contiguous classes. If such a gap occurred, he studied the attendance record of the class below the gap and made allowances for irregularities which could explain the difference. (7)

The great disadvantage of the Revised Code from the inspector's point of view was that it reduced the flexibility which enabled him to consider such factors as the children's attendance in assessing a school. In a famous passage, written in 1864, Matthew Arnold contrasted the new inspection with the old which, "in the hands of an able inspector, ... was an instrument of great force and value" in stimulating the intellectual life of the school. (8) On this ground, Arnold stated, the Revised Code inspection was a failure. Yet, as Arnold himself admitted in the same report, such stimulation was not the purpose of the Revised Code.

(6) Ibid., 1861-2, pp.27-8.

(7) Ibid., p.113.

(8) Ibid., 1863-4, pp.186-9.

Another of the great early inspectors, J.D. Morell, also drew a comparison between the old and new modes of inspection in the following year's Report. Formerly, he wrote,

"the premises were examined, the school books and apparatus were talked over, the plans and methods of the school were discussed, the financial prospects were disclosed, and then the scholars were examined. The examination took the form, for the most part, of a free inspection into the average efficiency displayed by each class in all subjects of instruction... The spirit of teaching was also taken into account. The master or mistress generally gave a lesson which tested their analytic powers, and the pupil-teachers each took their turn at questioning ...

"Under the present regulations the process of a day's inspection is almost entirely changed. Formerly, we were occupied chiefly in examining processes; now we are occupied almost entirely in testing results. The chief burden of the day's work has to be directed to those particular scholars who have attended 200 times or more in the past year ... Each one of these has to be classed in a given standard, and to go through the requirements proper to it. Each one, from the highest to the lowest, has to show his power of writing and spelling. Each one to work so many sums, and each one to read a portion selected for him; the results in every case being at the same time marked down." (9)

(9) Ibid., 1864-5, p.104. Morell's italics.

Like Arnold, Morell regretted the lack of intellectual content in the new inspection for

"every educator who is worth the name knows that his best results are those that cannot be measured at all; and that the moral and intellectual tone of a school has a far greater bearing upon the future fate of the children than all the power we may give them, or fail to give them, in reading, writing and figures." (10)

Yet Morell recognised, more than Arnold, that the acquisition of some skill in the 3Rs in the short time that most children attended school was of some value and he was quick to admit that knowledge in these subjects was immeasurably improved under the Revised Code. (11) Apart from Matthew Arnold and J.D. Morell, other inspectors complained that, with all the Standard examinations to carry out, no time remained for the "old" inspection, (12) though H.M.I. Fearon made it clear that he had time to inspect the school as well as examine the attainments of its children in the elementary subjects. (13) The inspectors were certainly intended to continue carrying out the more general part of their inspection, as their 1862 Instructions had made clear. (14) For at least one inspector, however, the "very laborious process" of examination was "very fatiguing" (15) and in such cases the general inspection of a school would no doubt be derisory. Two H.M.I.s, Barry and Meyrick, maintained that the Revised Code had not altered

(10) From an article by J.D. Morell in The Museum, vol.II, July 1862, pp.138-9.

(11) Report, 1864-5, pp.184-5.

(12) Ibid., p.198; ibid., 1865-6, p.165.

(13) D.R. Fearon, School Inspection, London, 1876, pp.1-3 and Report, 1867-8, pp.319-29.

(14) See below, appendix 3, particularly paragraphs 7 and 10.

(15) Report, 1864-5, p.161.

their mode of inspection and Meyrick claimed that he had been carrying out individual examination of children for four years already. (16)

Other H.M.I.s found that the new inspection involved little extra work (17), a state of affairs which no doubt existed for more of them when they had been given an assistant.

These inspectors' assistants should not be confused with assistant inspectors who had been appointed from 1850 onwards with almost all the duties of H.M.I.s (18) but with lower status and less pay. From 1862 onwards, all the assistant inspectors became full H.M.I.s with districts of their own. This brought the Inspectorate in England and Wales up to a strength of forty-eight by the end of 1862 but, with the more detailed work imposed by the Revised Code, a further eleven H.M.I.s had to be appointed during the course of the next two years. In addition, inspectors' assistants were appointed to help with the individual examination of children. For this job,

"1. Qualified candidates must (a) have been pupil-teachers; (b) have been trained during two years in a College of the same denomination as the elementary schools in which they are to examine; (c) have passed each of their examinations without failure, and at the last of them have been placed not below the second division; (d) have received their certificates after the usual probationary service in an elementary school of the same denomination as those in which they are to examine; (e) have not exceeded their thirtieth year of age; (f) be recommended by the Inspector under whom they are to examine.

2. Their salary shall commence at 100l per annum, and shall rise

(16) Ibid., 1863-4, pp.30, 93.

(17) Ibid., p.113; ibid., 1865-6, p.220.

(18) One notable exception was the writing of an annual report.

by 101 per annum to 2501. They shall be paid besides 14 per child per annum after the first 12,000 examined and marked by themselves in the official schedules, but never more on this account than 501.

They shall be reimbursed the actual expense of locomotion on the public service, but shall receive no further allowances.

3. They shall not be competent to examine except in the presence of, or by a written order from, the Inspector, who shall name therein both the particular school to be examined and the date of the examination. All notices to the managers of schools shall be given by the Inspector only.

4. They shall be prohibited from following any employment whatever, except such as is official. Private tuition is expressly included in this prohibition.

5. They shall hold a certificate from the Civil Service Commissioners." (19)

The examination before the Commissioners was rigorous, so that only the best teachers became inspectors' assistants. Their duties, however, were strictly limited by the Department and this was made clear to the H.M.I.s, who were to recommend suitable candidates themselves, in a letter of Instructions:

"They are on no account to be despatched on independent service, nor, under any circumstances whatever, to be allowed to perform any part of your duty, except that of examining and passing or rejecting, individually, children presented by the managers of schools under the several standards of the Revised Code. It is only by your thoroughly comprehending the limited and subsidiary

character of the assistant's duty that you will repel the imputation of setting a young man to judge his elders, and often his superiors, in the art of school-keeping." (20)

At first it was intended that inspectors' assistants should only be used in large city schools and that, by residing in that city, they would not need to travel far or spend a night away from home. The following year, however, this stipulation was relaxed slightly, in that their "place of abode" could be changed in order to facilitate "the daily return of the assistant to his own place of abode." This was a point "which it is very important to continue to insist on, in order to avoid obvious difficulties in his relations with yourself and the managers whose schools he visits." (21) Herein lay the reason for all the caution that attended the appointment of inspectors' assistants. Being schoolmasters, they were of a lower class than managers and on no account must they be seen to have jurisdiction over their social superiors. (22) It was this argument that prevented teachers from being appointed full H.M.I.s and led to much of the teachers' dissatisfaction over their status. At least the assistantships gave them some avenue of promotion, the lack of which had been a major grievance during the fifties.

At the same time that inspectors' assistants were appointed, the H.M.I.s were told by the Department how they should conduct inspections. Anglican inspectors should look first at the religious knowledge of the

(20) Instructions to Inspectors, 1863, Report, 1863-4, p.x.

(21) Instructions to Inspectors, 1864, Ibid., p.xi.

(22) See also Forster's Minute of 5th February, 1869, stating that inspectors' assistants should not visit evening schools, in case managers refused them admission. PRO Ed. 9/4, 265.

children, then, in all cases, the Revised Code examination should be followed by a general inspection of the school. (23) H.M.I.s who found time for both inspection and examination generally ignored this directive, preferring to benefit from the discretion allowed them in the previous year's Instructions. (24) The new regulation at least furnished those H.M.I.s who failed to carry out a general inspection with the excuse that the examination had to be done first and there was no time for a wider look at the school.

The same Minute recognised that additional work was involved in the Code examination and resolved

"To pay each Inspector, in addition to his present emoluments, £50 on 30th June 1864, and on the same day in each subsequent year, provided that he has, within the twelve months then ending, himself examined and marked in the official schedules -

- (a) 12,000 children at the least; or
- (b) Those presented for examination in the whole number of schools which he has been instructed to visit; or
- (c) One-third of the whole number examined and marked in his district after the appointment of an Assistant." (25)

The assistants, therefore, were to do two-thirds of the examining and this usually meant that they did the lower standards while the H.M.I.

(23) Minute of 19th May 1863, Report, 1862-3, p.xlviii.

(24) Instructions to Inspectors, 1862, paragraph 10, ibid., p.xx.

(25) Ibid., p.xlviii.

did the rest. (26) Not all the H.M.I.s had assistants from the beginning, as only twelve were appointed in 1863. Some inspectors preferred to carry out all the examining themselves at first in order to see how the Revised Code worked (27), while others put in eloquent pleas before an assistant was granted to them. (28)

Inspection Day was the big day in the year for a school. The work of the past twelve months had often been done solely with this in view, whilst in every case, tests had been carried out during the year and especially in the preceding few weeks in order to ensure that the children had plenty of practice in answering the type of questions that the inspector would ask. Repairs to school premises, which might have been waiting for months to be done, were carried out and the school was thoroughly cleaned. The managers had been informed of the date of the inspection about a month before it was due to take place, although the time of the inspector's arrival was always subject to some uncertainty. Since it was rarely before ten o'clock and often an hour or more later, there was plenty of time for last-minute preparations and practice. The children, who all wore their best clothes and had foregone their usual play in the dirty street or hedgerow on the way to school, arrived in good time for morning prayers, which must have been considerably more fervent than usual. (29) The Chairman of the school managers, who was usually the vicar in the more numerous National schools, would then take out

(26) See, for example, D.R. Fearon, op.cit., p.22; Watkins' report, Report, 1863-4, p.168.

(27) Matthew Arnold was one such example, although his criticism that the Code left him no time for a general inspection was thereby hardly valid. Report, 1863-4, pp.186-92.

(28) See, for example, H.M.I. Sharpe's report, ibid., p.135.

(29) A good description of an inspection from the child's point of view occurs in Flora Thompson, Lark Rise to Candleford, (Oxford, 1945) Penguin ed. 1973, pp.188-92.

a list of those children who had registered more than 200 attendances and check for any absences. These absentees would have to be fetched. Sending a child to do this was to take a considerable risk, as one schoolmaster found to his cost: "William H. was absent. No one knew where he lived but James T. Accordingly James was sent in search; neither of them came back - 5s. 4d. lost." (30) For the manager to go himself was a degrading experience, and so it was usually the teacher who had to start his great day with the depressing trudge round the absentees' homes, waking children up, arguing with parents over the importance of the inspection or being abused by them for some previous disciplinary action against their child. Even then, the mission was not always successful: "Mrs F. had no coals for the fire and Charles had to go to buy them - 2s. 8d. lost over 1d. worth of coals. Many a good knock Charley received by way of preparation, but all these might have been spared." (31)

Meanwhile the children at school had been filling in time with their copy-books or slates or by answering oral questions from the managers. Any visitors would also probably have arrived during this time. It was a common occurrence for visitors to come and watch the inspection, a tradition which evidently caused much annoyance to some H.M.I.s. In the late fifties, H.M.I. Jones had found that school managers in Wales

"imagine that the best way of securing a 'good inspection', as it is called, is to assemble as many strangers and gazers as they can, to assist at a transaction, which

(30) Letter from a schoolmaster, The Museum, vol.I (new series), April 1864, p.31.

(31) Ibid.

should be as private and quiet as an operation in the sick-ward of an hospital. It often occurs that the anxious friends of a school bring the junior members of their families and thrust them into the classes 'to hear the inspector's questions and the schoolchildren's answers;' - and some bring their dogs though for what purpose, I never could exactly discover." (32)

This practice continued during the sixties, the silence of the school under inspection being broken by "the behaviour of the managers or visitors, who frequently make their appearance in the middle of the examination, begin to talk to each other or to the teachers, and thus distract the attention of the children." (33)

When most of the visitors had arrived and the teacher or manager had returned from his search, the school would continue with its apprehensive round of questions, until "at last the sound of wheels crunching on gravel and two top hats and the top of a whip appeared outside the upper panes of the large end window." (34) If the inspector was unpopular or over-bearing,

"the apparition of a carriage suddenly drawn up with a jerk at the door of a country school, where carriages are probably rare enough, produces in the little minds an uneasy flutter, which is speedily, in the case of the more timid, converted into something like terror, when the great man, bristling all over with importance,

(32) Report, 1856-7, p.511.

(33) Ibid., 1863-4, p.56. See also the reports of Alderson, ibid., 1862-3, p.103; and Fearon, ibid., 1867-8, p.182.

(34) F. Thompson, op.cit., p.189.

bustles up the floor with ominous looking papers, bags, coats, and umbrellas, and takes his stand in the most commanding position in the room. For a moment every eye is turned on the inspectoral 'countenance divine' for signs of cloud or sunshine, and as each has formed an opinion, a slight shifting of position indicates the completion of the process. Much, very much depends on these first impressions: children have a great dislike to some inspectors, and can never acquire confidence in their presence ... others are favourites with children and teachers." (35)

The great man would then look at the log book, timetable and attendance register which would be lying on a table in the schoolroom and, if he was going to carry out a general inspection of the school, this would be his best chance to do so. While his assistant studied the register more closely, the H.M.I. would look round the buildings, furniture, books and apparatus, all the while keeping an eye on the teacher and pupil-teachers who would be trying to teach as normally as possible in the background. Once the examining started, it was virtually impossible to evaluate the school's discipline (36) so the inspector would try to be present when a change of lessons took place, for "there is no such tell-tale of the discipline, order, tone and common-sense of the school as the change," (37) an observation which is probably as true today as it was a hundred years ago.

The inspector would begin with the infant department "because

(35) Letter from a schoolmaster (probably Scottish), The Museum, vol.II, (new series), November 1865, p.335.

(36) Report, 1863-4, p.183.

(37) D.R. Fearon, op.cit., p.9.

its scholars will be less able than those of the upper departments to bear the strain of expectation." (38) Here there was more inspection and less examination than in the main school, though the inspector would still hear the reading and examine the writing and arithmetic of the older infants and ask questions about the lessons they had received during the past year. (39) Then he would return to the main schoolroom and the children would move into position to be examined in the Standards. The more pedantic of the inspectors insisted that the children not only sat together in Standards, but in the order in which their names appeared on the examination schedule. (40) Absolute silence would then be insisted upon for the examination which, in the case of more than one inspector, began with a warning of the dire consequences of copying, a sin which "would be immediately followed by forfeiture of the pass mark in all three subjects" (41), an announcement which was hardly likely to calm a child's nerves as he prepared to earn his teacher's salary. Inspectors took many precautions against copying, such as issuing cards for the arithmetic examination and giving different cards to adjacent children. (42) The importance of the children's success for the financial security of the school meant that teachers and managers even encouraged the "exam dodges." For example, as a headmistress told the Cross Commission twenty years later:

"If Tommy Smith is a dull boy, and the teacher says,
'Now look here, Tommy, mind you pass; you are sitting
next to Johnny Jackson, and he always gets his sums

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- (38) Ibid., p.7.
 (39) Ibid., pp.20-1.
 (40) Report, 1863-4, p.55.
 (41) Waddington's report, ibid., 1864-5, p.196; see also Blandford's ibid., 1863-4, p.56.
 (42) See the reports of Capel, ibid., 1864-5, p.42; Fraser, ibid., 1865-6, p.100; Brodie, ibid., p.251.

right, mind you pass,' that is all that is said; but that is quite enough ... However sharp his [the inspector's] eyes are, children's eyes are sharper." (43)

It was also common for teachers to pass an inspector's arithmetic questions to nearby schools where inspection was yet to take place.(44) As Matthew Arnold put it, the examination became "a game of mechanical contrivance in which the teachers will and must learn how to beat us."(45) Reading provided the best opportunity for such practices, as Article 48 of the Code stipulated that, in Standards 2 to 5, the reading should be from a book used in the school. Since there were usually few books in the school, reading lessons had to cover the same ground repeatedly and children who could hardly read a word were able to satisfy the inspector by reciting the passage in a meaningless monotone. If H.M.I. Fussell suspected that a child was saying the passage from memory, he made him read it backwards. (46)

The examination always started with the lowest Standard and proceeded in order, usually dismissing the children of each Standard as they finished. In larger schools, containing both a boys' and a girls' department, the assistant would examine the lower Standards of one while the inspector examined the higher Standards and the candidates for apprenticeship and pupil-teachers, in the other. After 1867 there were also the higher subjects, such as geography, history and grammar, to inspect for extra grant. (47) After a day, or half a day, they

(43) Evidence of Miss E.M. Castle to the Royal Commission on the working of the Elementary Education Acts, P.P. 1886, XXV, q.19838. (Hereafter referred to as the Cross Commission)

(44) Ibid., q.19841.

(45) Report, 1869-70, p.291.

(46) Ibid., 1866-7, p.76.

(47) See below, pp.133-4.

would change over and the process would be repeated.

The requirements of Article 48 were fairly clear in reading and writing, and it was in arithmetic above Standard 1 that the greatest variations occurred between inspectors. In Standard 2, for example, Fearon and Waddington gave addition and subtraction in thousands, whilst Stokes and Brodie went no higher than hundreds. (48) Not surprisingly, Brodie had one of the highest pass rates in arithmetic. (49) Notation was considered to be most important, so many inspectors dictated sums instead of writing them down. Since Blakiston complained that many children failed to write down correctly thirteen hundred and eight (50), it would be surprising if Fussell, who dictated all his sums, received many correct answers to the following Standard 3 division sums (51):

9 100,315

8 450,003

Many of the inspectors went to ridiculous lengths in their arithmetic questions and, of these, H.M.I. Fraser was one of the worst culprits (52):

Standard 2 From 807925 take 209172

Standard 3 Take 5291236 from 8265075

Standard 4 Divide £46,983 13s. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. by 67

Standard 5 How many inches are there in 5 miles 2 yards?

Standard 6 4lbs. 5ozs. 7dwts. 10grs. at 12s. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per oz?

Considering the obscurity of these questions, it comes as no surprise to learn that Fraser's pass rate in arithmetic in 1865 was only 58.2%, compared with a national average of over 70%. (53) Differences of

(48) Report, 1867-8, p.328; ibid., 1866-7, p.281; ibid., 1864-5, p.217; ibid., 1865-6, p.251.

(49) Ibid., 1865-6, pp.249-50.

(50) Ibid., 1869-70, p.99.

(51) Ibid., 1866-7, p.77.

(52) Ibid., 1865-6, pp.100-101.

(53) Ibid., p.101.

this sort were not confined to pass rates, as the setting of pass levels was also left to the inspector's discretion. In the Standard 1 writing examination, for example, Stokes allowed children to make three mistakes and Waddington allowed two, but Fussell failed a child who made one. (54) Reading was the most subjective of all and the fact that its pass rate was nearly always the highest of the three suggests that inspectors were not as hard-hearted as their arithmetic questions might suggest. They were not obliged to include their pass rates in their annual reports, but many did so and Table 4 has some interesting features.

Inspectors	Reading		Writing		Arithmetic	
	1865	1869	1865	1869	1865	1869
<u>Anglicans</u>						
E.P. Arnold	83	81	78	78	66	60
Barry	88	92	79	86	71	74
Binns	85	89	84	87	68	57
Blandford	84	84	88	91	66	77
Campbell	84	95	77	96	74	90
Fraser	89	-	86	-	58	-
Hernamann	89	91	80	84	74	64
King	89	90	86	88	72	80
Watkins	91	91	86	86	83	81
<u>British & Wes</u>						
Alderson	-	92	-	90	-	72
M. Arnold	-	94	-	92	-	80
Brodie	90	91	92	92	83	80
Oakeley	90	90	85	89	78	77
<u>Catholic</u>						
Renouf	92	-	92	-	78	-
<u>OVERALL</u>	-	90	-	88	-	78

Table 4: Percentage pass rates of certain inspectors in the Revised Code examination in the years 1865 and 1869.

Source: Reports of the Committee of Council on Education,
1865-6 and 1869-70.

(54) Ibid., 1864-5, p.216; ibid., 1866-7, p.280; ibid., p.76.

The table confirms the general improvement in the elementary subjects which took place during the sixties and seems to indicate that, if a school found an inspector particularly strict one year, then it was unlikely to find him much more lenient in future years. The striking differences in standards between inspectors, and particularly between the normally lenient non-Anglicans and their stricter Anglican counterparts, were accentuated by the fact that an inspector from each denomination covered each area. When schools of different denominations were often situated very close to one another, this could cause a great deal of bad feeling. A letter to a teachers' journal illustrates the point; first, in the Church school,

"everything being ready, enter Her Majesty's Inspector, accompanied by the vicar, and two or three of the committee. Everything in the school is at rest and then he and I drive away at a general examination. He takes scripture and catechism, I geography, he history, I grammar, and so on. Every copy-book is looked at, and every register undergoes the most minute scrutiny, as in days of old. Then he proceeds to try the 'results' ... In reading and dictation I have not much to complain of, except for the sixth standard. Our local newspaper being, I suppose, too vulgar, he used a new novel of which I had never even heard ... Then the writing. Why call it writing when the spelling decides it? My best writer failed to a dead certainty. Then the arithmetic. Every sum was dictated and was then to be worked right off... but not an inch of scrap or slate was allowed ...

"Now for my friend's school ... nearly the same number [of children] presented. Believe me, sir, Her Majesty's Inspector of Wesleyan Schools went in at ten o'clock, and polished off the whole examination, including that of half a dozen neighbouring pupil-teachers, in two hours. The reading was all done from school books. Everything for arithmetic was carefully put on the blackboard, and the upper standard worked their sums on slate before they copied them on paper. Not one word was said about Scripture, geography, grammar, history or anything else." (55)

Short inspections were not uncommon (56), particularly by the non-Anglican inspectors who had much more travelling to do in their larger areas. Such inspections often started at around 9.30 a.m. and finished by midday when the inspector left to catch a train or

"went to the Rectory, and inspected the garden, or played croquet with the Rector's daughters: had a noble lunch, drove back to my inn, marked the school papers, wrote the Report and posted it: and then - there was a night of Arctic winter length, and not a soul to speak to." (57)

Not all the inspectors found the afternoon and evening so dull. When A.P. Graves moved to Somerset in 1882 he found that he had succeeded

"a fox-hunting inspector, who visited the schools in pink, looked at the registers, school accounts and log book, chatted with the managers, and then rode

(55) Letter from a church schoolmaster, The Museum, vol.I (new series), April 1864, p.31.

(56) Evidence to the Cross Commission, 1886, q.38287.

(57) E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley, H.M.I. Passages in the life of an inspector of schools, London, 1908, p.64.

off to the hunt, leaving his sub-inspector to do all the examination work alone." (58)

Most inspectors, however, took their jobs much more seriously than this and none more so than Daniel Fearon whose book School Inspection is the most thorough summary of an inspector's day. Every detail had been thought out in order to make the inspection as complete as possible, even to the extent of sending a circular to the school beforehand describing what they should have ready for the day and how he proposed to carry out the examination when he arrived. He also included a list of pass-levels in the Standards. When he was moved to Wales, the circular was re-written after consultation with the other Welsh inspectors - both Anglican and non-Anglican Protestant - and was used by all of them in an attempt to achieve a degree of uniformity of inspection methods which was lacking elsewhere. (59)

This inconsistency in both standards and method arose from the total lack of direction given by the Department. In the early years of the Code, Fussell and Bowstead admitted that they examined leniently until teachers were more familiar with the new arrangements (60), while Alderson deliberately adopted a high standard from the beginning. (61) Very occasionally the Department told an inspector to alter his standard (62), but there were "as many standards of inspection as there are inspectors." (63) By giving inspectors virtually no training, abolishing their conferences and failing to institute a structured

(58) A.P. Graves, To return to all that, London, 1930, p.218.

(59) Report, 1867-8, pp.526-9. Quoted in full in Appendix 4.

(60) Ibid., 1864-5, p.76; ibid., p.160.

(61) Ibid., 1863-4, p.183.

(62) In June 1866 Waddington was told that his pass level was too lenient and he was ordered to raise it. Ibid., 1866-7, p.279.

(63) Letter from a schoolmaster, The Museum, vol.II (new series) March 1866, p.456.

Inspectorate, the Department virtually abdicated any responsibility for inspectoral standards. Details could have been given in the copious Instructions which were issued after each new Minute, but these were confined to explanations of the contents of the Minute and administrative procedures arising from it. This obsession with minutiae was nowhere more evident than in the period immediately following the introduction of the Revised Code on 30th June 1863 when inspectors, managers and teachers were all equally uncertain about the exact working of the new system. To help with the administrative complications, the Department gave inspectors thirteen Supplementary Rules, ten of which concerned the manner in which some of the numerous forms had to be filled up for the Department's convenience. (64) No doubt Lingen and Lowe, who drew these up between them (65), considered the other three to be purely administrative as well, but they were to have a deleterious effect on relations between inspectors and schools far beyond any purely procedural instruction. Rule 8 stated that no grant would be paid to a school unless at least one class were presented as high as Standard 3. Under Rule 9, a deduction of one-tenth would be made to a school's grant unless at least one class were presented above Standard 3. Neither of these regulations had been mentioned in the Revised Code and, though school managers could no doubt have obtained a copy of these Supplementary Rules (if they knew of their existence) before an inspector's visit, they were not published until the 1863-4 Report in the summer of 1864. Not only did these Rules sour relations between inspectors and schools but, taken with the Instructions to Inspectors of 1862, a great oppor-

(64) Report, 1863-4, pp.lxiv-lxvii.

(65) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.89.

tunity was missed to bring greater consistency into school inspections. Ironically, the other Rule which had such a bad effect was just such an attempt. Rule 10 tried to define more closely the stipulation in Article 4 of the Revised Code that "the object of the grant is to promote the education of children belonging to the classes who support themselves by manual labour." (66) These classes were so difficult to define, however, that Rule 10 in fact caused more trouble than any other single rule or clause in the Code with the exception of Articles 52a and 52d. (67)

When inspectors asked the Office for guidance they were given it in the most curt form. When, for example, H.M.I. Binns wrote to ask "whether and to what extent I am authorized in allowing managers and teachers of schools to look over the examination schedules after they have been marked by me," he was told simply "Not at all." (68) The Secretary's Minute Book contains many such requests from inspectors for clarification on points of detail and two of them asked publicly for a greater standardisation of procedure. (69) Even when major additions were made to the Revised Code in 1867 the letter of Instructions to Inspectors on the examination of higher subjects was confined to such trivialities as "you must mark them in it by writing P across column IX, or leaving it blank, opposite to their names." (70) Such guidance as the inspectors did receive confined them sufficiently to restrict their freedom of manoeuvre, but failed to standardise those

(66) Report, 1861-2, p.xvi.

(67) The Secretary's Minute Book contains more references to these points than to any others. PRO Ed. 9/4.

(68) Ibid., 128, 27th February 1864.

(69) H.M.I. Weyrick, Report, 1863-4, p.101; Moncreiff, ibid., 1865-6, p.156.

(70) Ibid., 1866-7, p.cii.

parts of their job which would have decreased the tension between the inspector and the school. It was well-known that certain inspectors had idiosyncracies with which the teacher had to concur if he wanted to avoid having the dreaded "tenths" deducted. (71) The fictitious Faddy, H.M.I., was notorious for this and teachers in his schools had to be sure to keep the room warm for his visit. (72)

Because there was so much variety between individual inspectors, it is difficult to generalise about the effect of the Revised Code on the daily inspection of schools. Some H.M.I.s were scrupulously careful, others were brief to the point of neglect; some went out of their way to be friendly and put the teachers and children at their ease, others were self-important and over-bearing; some were consistently lenient, others were particularly strict in certain areas. What is beyond argument is that the Revised Code decreased the amount of general inspection and the opportunity for informal advice and discussion and increased the mechanical nature of the inspection to such an extent that some inspectors ignored the more general and informal part of their job.

(71) See evidence to the Cross Commission, q.38275.

(72) T.J. Macnamara, Schoolmaster Sketches, 1896, p.147.

CHAPTER 5HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS

We have examined the development of the Inspectorate up to the beginning of the 1860s, and the effect of the Newcastle Report and the Revised Code has been studied in detail, particularly with reference to the changes which occurred in the mode of inspection. But what of the men themselves? In this chapter their backgrounds will be compared before going on to examine the extent of patronage in their appointments, and their lack of training. The extent of their workload will also be studied and we shall take a look at their views on their job and on the class of people with whom it brought them into contact.

It has already been noted that the H.M.I.s appointed in 1857 were younger and less experienced than earlier inspectors had been at the time of their appointment. (1) Among the eight 1857 entrants, however, there were three with first class honours degrees and three with seconds, a very high proportion at a time when many students gained a pass degree by doing virtually nothing and only 20% gained honours degrees at all. In order to examine whether the 1857 intake to the Inspectorate was part of a trend towards appointing bright young men with little experience of education, it is necessary to look at the backgrounds of all the school inspectors who joined before 1870.

As Table 5 shows, the 1855-59 intake had better degree results than any of the other periods analysed, 70% of these inspectors gaining either first or second class honours degrees. The rigorous academic standards of the entrants fell only slightly during the

(1) See above, p.11.

YEAR OF APPOINTMENT	DENOMINATION	NUMBER	CAMBRIDGE U.			OXFORD U.			OTHER			CLASS OF DEGREE AT OXFORD OR CAMBRIDGE			CLASS OF DEGREE AT OTHER	FELLOWS	NUMBER WITH EXPERIENCE OF EDUCATION	AVERAGE AGE ON APPOINTMENT	AVERAGE NO. OF YEARS BETWEEN DEGREE & APPT.	AVERAGE NO. OF YEARS' SERVICE
			CAMBRIDGE U.	OXFORD U.	OTHER	CAMBRIDGE U.	OXFORD U.	OTHER	1	2	3	4	1st	2nd						
1839-54	A	24	15	8	1	8	5	1	9	-	-	-	-	-	6	10	34.0	10.4	26.0	
	B	6	1	2	+	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	31.3	10.2	19.0	
	C	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	31.0	8.5	25.0	
1855-59	A	16	10	5	1	8	3	-	4	1st	-	-	-	9	8	33.7	10.9	21.4		
	B	3	-	3	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	28.7	6.0	-		
	C	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
1860-64	A	10	3	6	1	3	3	2	1	THEOL. ASSOC.	3	-	-	3	3	30.1	8.2	25.1		
	B	4	1	2	1	2	-	-	1	1st	1	-	-	1	1	30.5	6.2	25.3		
	C	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1 NO DEG.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
1865-69	A	17	9	7	1	4	6	1	3	-	-	-	-	2	5	31.4	9.1	24.5		
	B	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	C	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		

+ 2 Inns of Court, 1 Glasgow and Bonn Universities.

Table 5: Backgrounds of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, appointed 1839-69 (on whom the information is available; see Appendix 1).

Sources: Minutes, 1839-70; Crockford's Clerical Dictionary, J. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses; J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses.

A - Anglican

B - British and Wesleyan

C - Roman Catholic

1860s, 60% of those new inspectors falling into the above category. Of the two without degrees, W.F. Tregarthen had a first class Theological Associateship from King's College, London and Peter le Page Renouf, although he had left Oxford University on becoming a Roman Catholic, was a world authority on Egyptology and had spent nine years as Professor of Ancient History and Eastern Languages at the new Catholic University of Ireland. Although there were fewer College Fellows appointed during the 1860s, there may have been other reasons for this (2) and there can be no argument that the academic achievements of many of the new H.M.I.s in the 1860s had been high.

The tendency to appoint younger, less experienced inspectors was sharply illustrated by the 1857 figures - average age, 29.1 years; average number of years between degree and appointment, 7.5 years - but never again were so many young men appointed at once. The overall average age for the sixties was thirty-one years and only five out of the thirty-five appointments were under twenty-eight years old. Such an age distribution was only slightly lower than in the first ten years of the Inspectorate. Like the average age figures, the average number of-years' experience (3) was never as low as in 1857 and was approximately two years less than the comparable figure for the early years. Whereas during the 1840s it had been normal to have about ten years' experience before joining the Inspectorate, in the 1860s eight and a half years was the average. It seems, therefore, that whilst a trend towards rather younger inspectors is discernible, this is not

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- (2) For example, the change in the law permitting unmarried Fellows. As J.S. Hurt (*op.cit.*, 1971, p.179) notes, an inspectorship sometimes helped a Fellow "make an honest woman of his inamorata."
- (3) I.e. between obtaining a University degree and being appointed an inspector.

as marked as the 1857 figures would seem to indicate.

One of the complaints that was made in the teachers' magazines was that these inspectors had no experience of elementary education.(4) Certainly most of them were either Fellows or curates and A.P. Graves, who was appointed at the age of twenty-eight in 1875, was typically inexperienced in the field that was to be his for the next thirty-five years:

"What were my qualifications for such a post? Few and slender. I had taught some of my father's farm lads reading, writing and arithmetic of an evening. I had coached a couple of undergraduates, and had taught a class of girls Latin for Mrs Peter Taylor's London Institute." (5)

Of the 1860-64 intake of inspectors, only four had had any experience in the education of children - Perez had been a public schoolmaster, French had taught in a grammar school and Binns and Fitch had both been highly successful Principals of Training Colleges. (6) Waddington had had some experience of the system, if not of the schools, as he had been an examiner in the Education Department for a time before becoming an H.M.I. Among the inspectors appointed between 1865 and 1869, the situation was much the same. Crabtree had taught at Shrewsbury and Pryce had been a master at a grammar school. Blakiston, after teaching at Uppingham for three years, was appointed headmaster

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- (4) See, for example, Educational Guardian, March 1863, p.288. This is discussed elsewhere in terms of the teachers' own aspirations to become H.M.I.s pp.211-2, and the attitude of Kay-Shuttleworth, p.12.
- (5) A.P. Graves, To return to all that, London, 1930, p.171. . A.P. Graves was father of the poet, Robert Graves.
- (6) J.P. Norris paid great tribute to Binns' work at Caernarvon (Report, 1850-1, vol.II, pp.516-9) and both J.D. Morell and Matthew Arnold praised Fitch highly in reports on the Borough Road Training College. (Ibid., 1856-7, p.757 and 1858-9, pp.341-2)

of Preston Grammar School when he was only twenty-nine and became head of Giggleswick School, Yorkshire, a year later. After six years there he became an H.M.I. Du Port and Watts, although they had never taught, knew a great deal about elementary education as they had both been active school managers, the latter having periodically examined the children in his school and given prizes for each subject. (7)

With the exceptions of Joshua Fitch, Peter le Page Renouf and H.E. Oakeley, all of whom were later knighted, the group of men who joined the Inspectorate during the 1860s contained no distinguished men of the calibre of several early inspectors. Most of the 1860s' entrants remained H.M.I.s until they died, retired or were given a generous living by the Church, a situation which contrasts with the early days when several H.M.I. left the Inspectorate and rose to great offices in the Church, notably Frederick Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury at the turn of the century. J.D. Morell and Matthew Arnold were the most distinguished of the many authors among the early inspectors and Alderson eventually became Chief Charity Commissioner. After 1860, however, the days when the Lord President appointed a man because of his literary distinction were past. (8) The inspectors of the 1860s were cast in a more definite mould, often sons of the clergy or of armigers (9), their academic qualifications being very good if not distinguished, and their experience confined to Church and University, they had a lot to learn about their new jobs. But it was generally considered

(7) Ibid., 1868-9, pp.66, 267.

(8) R.M. Theobald, Memorials of J.D. Morell, London, 1891, p.26.

(9) E.W. Crabtree is a notable exception, his father being a plasterer.

"to be one of the most valuable parts of inspection that the Inspector, moving in the same class of society, understands the objects and the feelings of the managers of schools. It would be a great mistake to introduce a person of inferior manners and education as an adviser or an authority into the schools." (10)

Since such an attitude ruled out most of the population, including elementary school teachers, there was little alternative to appointing the type of men who in fact became inspectors. Let us now turn to the manner of their appointment.

As the Education Department was within the purview of the Privy Council, the appointment of its inspectors was the job of the Lord President of the Council, who had enormous patronage in other fields too. For the crucial years from 1859 to 1866, Lord Granville held this office (11) and he seems to have carried out the appointment of inspectors with a maximum of fairness and a minimum of jobbery. He consulted the Secretary, Ralph Lingen, closely: "I doubt whether any political head of department has consulted the permanent civil servants more than I have done you" (12) and was adamant that political considerations did not cloud his judgement:

"With the exception of one clergyman, whose treatment of educational subjects I have had an opportunity of

(10) Newcastle Report, vol.I, p.342.

(11) He had also been Lord President from 1852-54 and 1855-58. After Granville, the Lord Presidents were: 1866, Duke of Buckingham and Charnos; 1867, Duke of Marlborough; 1868-73, Earl de Grey and Ripon. For a biographical note on Granville, see Appendix 2.

(12) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 19/24, dated July 1859. Letter from Granville to Lingen.

observing, I do not think that I knew one of the persons I appointed [to the Inspectorate], even by sight, at the time of their receiving their appointment from me. Even now I have no idea what the political opinions of those gentlemen may be." (13)

Others objected to the principle of inspectorships being political appointments:

"A Crown appointment is never based on the simple merits of the case. The other day a Chair of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh had to be filled. Government had to make the appointment From the very first some of the best men were known to have no chance because they were Whigs. What in the earth had Toryism or Whiggism to do with Biblical criticism? And so it is with inspectorships They owe their appointment to the influence of their political friends, to the amount of support which has been given, or may be given by their friend or friends to the Government, and by similar considerations." (14)

In the "highly competitive labour market" (15) that existed for senior jobs in the Education Department, contacts certainly counted. This was made apparent soon after Lingen, a Balliol man himself, became Secretary in 1849. Between then and 1870, when Lingen left the Education Department, no fewer than eight inspectors were appointed who had passed through Balliol College, where Lingen's

(13) Speech to the House of Lords, Hansard, 18th April 1864, vol.CLXXIV, col.1187.

(14) The Museum, vol.IV (new series), June 1868, p.120.

(15) J.S. Hurt, op.cit., 1971, p.178.

friend and former tutor, Benjamin Jowett, was the link. (16) An even closer connection seems to have existed between the Department and Trinity College, Cambridge, fourteen of whose former students joined the Inspectorate before 1870. (17) Knowing a Cabinet Minister was also a help in placing a son in the Inspectorate. Such a fortunate son was E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley, who was appointed in 1871 after a Cabinet Minister who was friendly with his father had contacted the Lord President. In return for the favour, the Minister appointed a friend of the Lord President's to another post. (18)

At a time when

"the Civil Service was crowded by the dependents and friends, and friends of friends, of the Ministers in whose hands the patronage lay, and the very messengers were the former footmen, coachmen and butlers of Ministers," (19)

the Inspectorate was more open to jobbery than most appointments. (20) Yet, during Granville's Lord Presidency, there is plenty of evidence that the man who was ultimately responsible went out of his way to be fair and rejected many overtures from those who felt that they had his confidence. When, for example, Frederick Temple resigned as Inspector of Training Colleges in 1857, James Moncreiff, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, whose recommendation of Daniel Scrimgeour as a Scottish H.M.I. had been accepted by Granville, wrote to the Lord

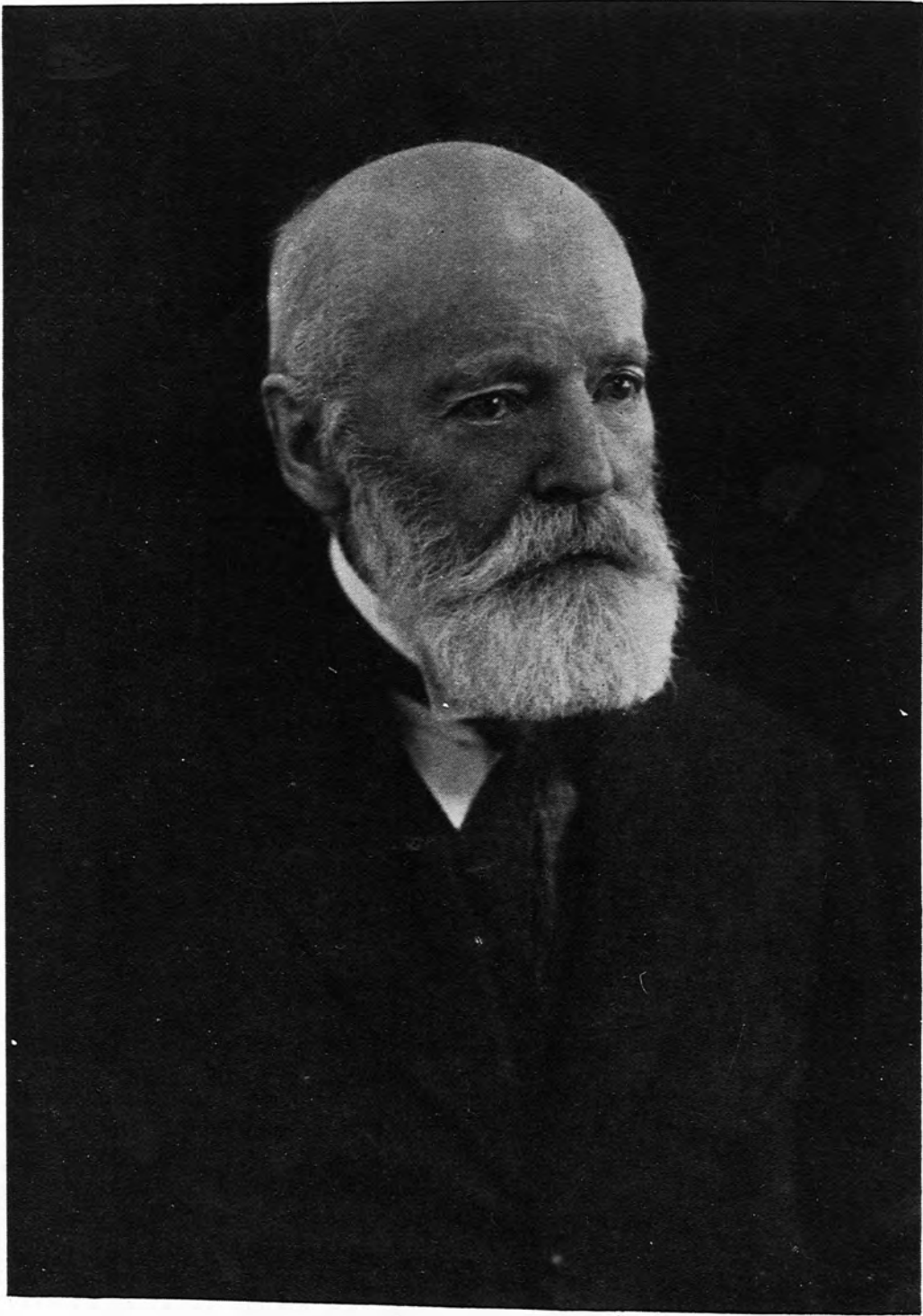
(16) Ibid., p.181.

(17) Other links noted by Hurt included Rugby School - thirteen former pupils became inspectors - and the Athenaeum Club, where inspectors met socially with many of the political heads of the Department and its senior civil servants.

(18) E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley, H.M.I. Passages in the life of an Inspector of Schools, London, 1908, p.58.

(19) Sir G.W. Kekewich, The Education Department and after, London, 1920, p.4.

(20) Nassau Senior made this point with some vehemence in Suggestions on Popular Education, London, 1861, p.350.



E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley

4. E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley, H.M.I.

President suggesting that his brother, Rev. G.R. Moncreiff H.M.I., should be moved from his uncongenial northern district to succeed Temple. However, after Frederick Cook had declined the job, it was offered to Rev. Benjamin Cowie, who accepted it. George Moncreiff remained in the north. (21) Other requests which found the Lord President unresponsive included one from Henry Moseley, the former H.M.I., asking that his brother Joseph be appointed a lay inspector (22), a letter from Charles Yonge stating that his learned writing did not bring in much income and asking for an inspectorship in order to avoid going into debt (23), and a letter asking that Thomas Arnold's son, Thomas, be made an inspector of Catholic schools. (24) In reply to this last request, Granville wrote explaining that there was no vacancy and fearing that "there is a great feeling about to explode among the English Catholic Bishops at my having again appointed a convert instead of an original Catholic." (25) This would seem to imply that the Catholic hierarchy had no say in the appointment of Catholic inspectors, which expressly contradicts the agreement of 18th December 1847 between the Education Department and the Catholic Poor School Committee, in which they were accorded the same rights over Catholic elementary education as had the National Society and the B.F.S.S. over their respective areas. (26) Certainly the B.F.S.S. retained its power of veto over appointments to the British and

(21) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 19/19/pp.212-37. Moncreiff was eventually moved from the four northern counties to Kent in 1865.

(22) Ibid., Box 19/7/33, dated 15th November 1856.

(23) Ibid., Box 19/8/59, undated. Henry Bellairs had become an H.M.I. fifteen years earlier after writing four times to Gladstone concerning his distressed financial state in Stockport after losing his private income in a long Chancery suit. J.R.B. Johnson, The Education Department, 1839-64, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1968, p.164.

(24) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 19/8/6, dated March 1857.

(25) Ibid., 19/8/7.

(26) Minutes, 1847-8, vol.I, p.xlvii.

Wesleyan schools Inspectorate, as is instanced by the case of Walter Perry. Granville had offered Perry a lay inspectorship in 1859 on the recommendation of Lord Belper, but he "was rejected by the bigotry of a certain clique in the British and Foreign Society." (27)

The Northcote/Trevelyan Report of 1853 on recruitment to the Civil Service (28) had recommended that "no one ... unless a graduate high in honours at one of the Universities, should be selected without passing an examination which should be of a searching character" and that all inspectors should be subject to a three-year probationary period. During the period under consideration, the first of these recommendations was ignored. Patronage, as we have seen, operated to the total exclusion of competitive examination and the period of probation, though nominally in operation, was never used penally. (29) In the unstructured Inspectorate probation was difficult to operate as there were no Chief Inspectors to watch the progress of the newcomers. In fact, the training which was given to inspectors was derisory. In 1848 Kennedy spent three months with Mitchell (30) and two years later Warburton, "after a few weeks' work in the Office in London" was sent on his own to inspect a school "having never been in one before except as a Sunday school teacher" and was told to do his best. (31) Warburton's memory may be at fault here, as the 1850-1 Minutes state that, after attending the Office for a time, he accompanied Cook on a number of visits before becoming assistant inspector

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- (27) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 19/24/pp.109-44. Granville remedied the rejection by appointing Perry to an examinership, although Lingen was opposed to this, mainly on the grounds of Perry's age.
- (28) P.P. 1854, XXVII, 1. Report on the organisation of the permanent Civil Service.
- (29) P.P. 1864, IX, 144. Instructions to new inspectors.
- (30) Minutes, 1848-49-50, vol.II, p.143.
- (31) Evidence to the Cross Commission, 1886, q.8321 ff.

in Cook's district. (32) This combination of attending the Office and accompanying an H.M.I. for a short time was thought to be sufficient training for the intellectually able, though educationally inexperienced, inspectors. The length of time that it lasted varied greatly: in 1853 Stokes did seven visits with Marshall and attended an examination for certificated mistresses (33); in 1863 Waddington spent one month with Scoltock (34) and four years later Pryce spent twice as long accompanying Binns. (35)

Teachers, who had spent a long period of training themselves, felt that such a short period of training for their inspectors was insufficient, one letter to a teachers' paper even suggesting that intending inspectors should first spend two or three years as masters of elementary schools. (36) This, it was felt, would give H.M.I.s "a standard of personal and individual experience in estimating the value of a teacher's service." (37) These arguments carried little weight with the Department, however, as they could be seen to form part of the teachers' continuing campaign for promotion to the Inspectorate. One school manager claimed that, because there was no training for inspectors, two years were wasted for a school until a new inspector became familiar with his job. (38) When pressed, however, this manager was unable to say what type of men would be most suitable as H.M.I.s, although she greatly criticised the present ones. Later on in her evidence she praised the inspectors and asked

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- (32) Minutes, 1850-1, vol.I, p.xiv. Warburton and Moncreiff, who were both appointed in 1850, were the first assistant inspectors.
 (33) Ibid., 1853-4, vol.II, p.886.
 (34) Report, 1864-5, p.188.
 (35) Ibid., 1867-8, p.74.
 (36) Papers for the Schoolmaster, vol.V (new series), 1869, p.229.
 (37) Ibid., p.82.
 (38) Evidence of Mrs Fielden to the Cross Commission, 1887, q.25892.

Year	Number of inspectors in England & Wales			Average number of annual grants schools visited per inspector			Average number of simple inspection visits per inspector		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
1859	35	7	3	100	109	75	28	4	6
1860	36	8	3	113	104	75	23	4	6
1861	36	8	3	122	111	86	19	4	5
1862	37	8	3	119	114	91	13	1	4
1863	36	9	3	127	100	83	12	1	1
1864	39	10	3	119	101	71	12	5	2
1865	41	11	3	122	98	88	10	3	0
1866	43	11	3	123	103	90	8	3	0
1867	45	11	3	123	109	99	8	4	2
1868	47	12	3	123	109	104	11	4	2
1869	48	12	3	127	118	109	13	5	1

Table 6: Number of inspectors and the number of their school visits, by denomination, 1859-69.

Sources: Many, including Committee of Council Reports and M.E. Sadler and J.W. Edwards, "Summary of Statistics, Regulations, etc., of Elementary Education in England and Wales, 1833-70", Special Reports on Educational Subjects, vol.2, London, 1898.

- A - Anglican
- B - British and Wesleyan
- C - Roman Catholic

Year	Inspection	Administration London office	Total cost of elementary education
	£	£	£
1853	26,260	1,831	250,658
1854	30,443	7,589	326,436
1855	30,241	12,164	369,602
1856	30,830	13,081	423,633
1857	34,434	16,731	557,756
1858	39,276	17,211	668,873
1859	41,230	18,260	723,115
1860	43,165	18,682	724,403
1861	44,143	19,168	813,442
1862	44,327	18,823	774,743
1863	45,507	18,336	721,391
1864	49,937	19,066	655,041
1865	49,514	19,887	636,810
1866	49,458	20,047	622,730
1867	52,031	20,885	685,201
1868	53,703	21,091	680,429
1869	58,509	22,437	773,839
1870	61,483	23,325	840,336

Table 7: Cost of inspection and administration, and the total cost of elementary education, 1853-70.

Source: Minutes and Reports of the Committee of Council on Education, 1853-70.

that they should visit the schools more often. (39) No such contradictions existed in Frederick Cook's evidence to the Newcastle Commission nearly thirty years earlier. He was unequivocal in believing that there should be some course of training for H.M.I.s. (40) The Newcastle Report, though it recommended the structuring of the Inspectorate, made no comment on the training of H.M.I.s and Lingen only hinted at it in the 1862 Instructions to Inspectors. Discussing the abolition of assistant inspectors, he wrote: "So far as [this] office has served for probation, that object admits of being otherwise provided for." (41) Little provision was made, however, and the school inspectors began their often arduous labours with the barest minimum of introduction.

How arduous these labours were varied from district to district, but some kind of overall picture can be drawn from the annual reports. Schools that were in receipt of annual grants from the government had to be visited and any time remaining could be filled with simple inspections. (42) In the 1840s, it had been common for Anglican inspectors to visit well over 200 schools in the course of a year but, with the added responsibilities given them by the 1846 Minutes, it was thought that 175 schools was the maximum reasonable to allot to a single inspector. (43) As the pupil-teacher system grew and the capitation grant scheme was introduced, this average came down to around 100 by the end of the fifties. This progress was arrested when economy became the politicians' watchword in education and the

(39) Ibid., q.26059.

(40) Evidence to the Newcastle Commission, vol.VI, q.948.

(41) Report, 1862-3, p.xvii.

(42) Visits to non-grant earning schools.

(43) Minutes, 1850-1, vol.I, p.x.

average settled in the 120s. (44) For British and Catholic inspectors, the average was lower, owing to the greater geographical spread of their schools which involved them in much more travelling. The increases in the number of inspectors that occurred during the 1860s were made simply in order to keep pace with the increasing number of schools that received an annual grant and not to lighten the inspectors' load. As it was, the cost of inspection increased at a much faster rate than either the cost of the London office or the overall cost of elementary education. (45) Since the inspectors were paid on an incremental scale going from £200 to £600, this was not surprising. Table 8 reveals some wide differences in the actual payments made to inspectors, owing to their position on the incremental scale and the amount of travelling that they had to do.

Inspector	Salary	Personal Allowance	Travelling Expenses	Total
<u>H.M.I.s</u>	£	£	£	£
Bellairs	600	250	167	1017
Jones	500	250	128	878
Woolley	450	250	65	765
Moncreiff	425	250	116	791
Fussell	375	250	48	673
<u>Assistant Inspectors</u>				
Hernemann	300	250	128	678
Howard	250	250	145	645
Meyrick	200	250	139	589
Gream	200	250	76	526

Table 8: Remuneration of certain inspectors, 1860.

Source: P.P., 1861, (369), XLVIII, 338.

(44) See Table 6.

(45) See Table 7.

Average figures of school visits, such as those in Table 6, conceal wide individual differences. For example, H.M.I. Binns inspected 191 schools in 1865 (46) and Howard visited 182 schools in the following year. (47) In Lancashire, where schools tended to be larger, both Anglican and British inspectors bore a heavy load of examining under the Revised Code, testing over twenty thousand children each in a year. (48) The British inspector, Brodie, who had to cover Yorkshire as well as some of Lancashire, not surprisingly found that the individual examinations left him no time for general inspections of schools (49) and in the first year of operation of the new Code he failed to visit fourteen schools at all. (50)

	1855	1863
	days	days
Inspecting schools	144	156½
Inspecting Training Colleges	6	6
Pupil-teacher exams and candidates	11½	12½
Exams for Queen's Scholarships and Certificates of Merit	11	9
Exams for registered teachers	3	-
Marking exam papers	23¾	29¾
Correspondence	57¾	59½
Travelling (only)	1½	1¼
General report	23½	13½
Vacation	21	20
Public holidays	3	-
Sundays	52	53
Private business	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>
	365	365

Table 9: How H.M.I. Watkins spent the years 1855 and 1863.

Sources: Minutes, 1855-6, p.257; Report, 1863-4, p.177.

(46) Report, 1865-6, p.53.

(47) Ibid., 1866-7, p.109.

(48) Ibid., 1864-5, p.81; ibid., 1869-70, p.301.

(49) Ibid.

(50) Ibid., 1862-3, p.104. Payments were made to these schools without an inspection.

Table 9 shows how, by cutting almost in half the time he spent writing his annual report, H.M.I. Watkins was able to give himself an extra $12\frac{1}{2}$ days for inspecting schools in 1863. Even though he was one of the first H.M.I.s to be given an assistant, he would have needed at least that much time in order to get through all the extra examining that the Revised Code necessitated. Many half-days were spent travelling and the three Catholic inspectors were hardest hit in this respect. Peter le Page Renouf often covered more than a thousand miles in three weeks - no mean feat in the mid-sixties when travelling was not yet an easy business (51), as we are reminded by Frederick Watkins whose district included both the Humber and Trent:

"No one who is in haste or who is encumbered with carriage and horses should trust himself to the ferry-boats; they are slow, cumbrous and costly. Nor should an Inspector, if he reckon on a fair day's work in school, travel with one horse to it." (52)

The denominational structure of the Inspectorate merely emphasised these difficulties, particularly when different inspectors visited schools in the same town. Oakeley, a British inspector, tells of a journey of eleven hours that he made to and from a school where he examined just fourteen children. His Anglican colleague had within the previous month been less than six miles from the same school. (53)

As new schools came under government aid and extra inspectors were appointed, the inspectoral areas were constantly been altered in order to ensure that no one was unduly overloaded. This sometimes

(51) Ibid., 1865-6, p.272.

(52) Ibid., p.231.

(53) Ibid., 1869-70, p.334.

made it very difficult for the school managers and teachers to build up a relationship with "their" inspector but, in the wake of a change, it often left inspectors with a little time to spare for simple inspections. (54) These were requested by school managers who took a pride in their school and were rich enough to do without government grants, or as a first step towards seeking a grant in the future. Alternatively the school may have received a building grant in the past and not been withdrawn from inspection by the managers. (55) A thesis on inspectors naturally concentrates on education in grant-aided schools and it is easy to forget how bad things were in the much more numerous unaided schools, in most of which no change to aided status was being contemplated. H.M.I. Stewart described one such place:

"The master is eighty-six years of age and was once a farmer, but is now in receipt of parish relief. The mistress, who is also a pauper, has only one leg, and can barely read the easy words on a tattered card. There are no books, and the old master drills the poor children in a page of the prophecies of Isaiah, which he considers well suited for elementary instruction. As far as I can make out there are no voluntary contributions. Neither master, mistress, nor children appeared till nearly ten o'clock in the morning and then the fire had to be lighted before any attempt could be made to begin work." (56)

The Department believed it important to keep the number of inspectors

(54) See, for example, ibid., 1865-6, p.87.

(55) Ibid., p.217.

(56) Ibid., 1862-3, p.68.

above the necessary minimum in order to stimulate such schools through simple inspections (57), but economic considerations outweighed educational benefits and the average number of simple inspections carried out by Anglican H.M.I.s sunk from nearly thirty in 1859 to single figures in 1866 and 1867. With their heavier load of travelling, British and Catholic inspectors hardly carried out any at all, a situation which must have contributed to the small number of these schools which came into the grant-aided structure during the sixties. Considering that H.M.I. Kennedy believed that, with the help of one organising master, he could bring nearly all the Anglican schools in his area who desired it within the government scheme (58), this was a regrettable reflection of the priority given by governments to the spread of elementary education. Even with extra appointments to the Inspectorate and frequent changes in boundary areas (59), the number of inspectors was only just large enough to cover what had to be done in grant-aided schools under the Revised Code. It could be argued that this was a deliberate policy on the part of government officials to gag the inspectors by increasing their workload. With the Revised Code provisions also implying a more detailed supervision of the inspectors' daily routine, the Department, it might be argued, had effectively given the inspectors so much dull work to do that there would be no problems of "discipline" (60).

Although the number of inspectors was undoubtedly limited mainly by economic arguments, some of the inspectors took a sufficiently

(57) *Ibid.*, 1858-9, p.xli. See Table 6.

(58) *Minutes*, 1857-8, p.402.

(59) The 1869 change used registration districts instead of parishes, to define the areas.

(60) See chapter 7 for a discussion of Robert Lowe's attitude to the need to discipline the inspectors.

narrow view of their job to make the Department's "discipline" policy much easier to enforce. Shadrach Pryce, for example, who was unsympathetic to the language difficulties of Welsh children when he conducted the examinations in English, revealed such an attitude in his 1868 report: "The work of the first and second Standards is so mechanical that a very imperfect knowledge of English ... cannot interfere much with the instruction." (61) Later in the same report, when advocating inspectoral visits without prior notice, Pryce seems to assume that the major role of an H.M.I. was akin to that of an educational policeman, ensuring the adherence of schools to every petty Code regulation. (62) Even if this was a view with which the Office concurred - and Lingen had reminded the H.M.I.s in 1858 of their need to observe the 1840 Instruction not to "interfere in the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the school" (63) - it was not shared by many of the inspectors, who held a wider view, helping in the work of teachers' associations or giving private advice to managers. Others looked at the overall educational picture and called for legislation to combat particular evils, one specifically co-operating with the local police in order to enforce the Workshops Regulation Act. (64) Most recognised that the Revised Code was failing to touch the three great educational evils of irregular attendance, early leaving and the lack of good schools in rural areas. In their different ways they tried to overcome these, either by advocating national measures like rate-aid and compulsion or by merely localised methods such as prize schemes, half-time schemes or methods of gaining parental co-operation.

(61) Report, 1868-9, p.165.

(62) Ibid., p.170.

(63) Minutes, 1857-8, p.32.

(64) Blakiston's report, Report, 1869-70, p.96.

All recognised that, in Matthew Arnold's words, their "first duty is that of a simple and faithful reporter to your Lordships" (65), but many went beyond this. J.P. Norris, who was one of the leaders of the band of inspectors who concentrated on local help and who carried on a long campaign in favour of prize schemes, believed that the duties of an inspector were two-fold: "The one a duty which he owes to the central authority from which he holds his commission, the other a duty which he owes to those among whom his work is carried on." (66) Joshua Fitch, who had had none of the advantages of Norris' upper-middle class upbringing, and who had achieved his goals by hard work and skill, nevertheless combined Norris' feeling for the teacher's difficulties with Matthew Arnold's broad view of the purpose of elementary education. It was Arnold who had recommended Fitch's appointment to Lord Granville in 1863 and it is appropriate that one of the best summaries of an inspector's duty should be written in Fitch's biography of Arnold, which appeared soon after Fitch's retirement in the 1890s:

"His [the inspector's] first duty, of course, is to verify the conditions on which public aid is offered to schools and to assure the Department that the nation is obtaining a good equivalent for its outlay. But this is not the whole. He is called upon to visit from day to day schools of very different types, to observe carefully the merits and demerits of each, to recognise with impartiality very varied forms of good work, to place himself in sympathy with teachers and their

(65) Minutes, 1854-5, p.622.

(66) J.P. Norris, The Teacher's Difficulties, London, 1855, p.3.

difficulties, to convey to each of them kindly suggestions as to methods of discipline and instruction he has observed elsewhere, and to leave behind him at every school he inspects some stimulus to improvement, some useful counsel to managers, and some encouragement to teachers and children to do their best. There are few posts in the public service which offer larger scope for the beneficial exercise of intellectual and moral power, or which bring the holder into personal and influential relations with a larger number of people. It will be an unfortunate day for the Civil Service if ever the time comes when an office of this kind is regarded as one of inferior rank, or is thought unworthy of men of high scholarship and intellectual gifts. To hundreds of schools in remote and apathetic districts the annual visit of an experienced public officer, conversant with educational work, and charged with the duty of ascertaining how far the ideal formed at headquarters and under the authority of Parliament has been fulfilled, is an event of no small importance. And it matters much to the civilisation of the whole district whether this duty is entrusted to pedants and detectives who confine their attention to the routine of examination, or to men whose own attainments command respect, and who are qualified by insight, enthusiasm, and breadth of sympathy to advise local authorities, and to form a just judgment of the work of a school and of the spirit in which the work is done. He whose own thoughts and tastes

move habitually on the higher plane is the best qualified to see in true perspective the business of the lower plane, and to recognise the real meaning and value of the humblest detail." (67)

As an inspector, Matthew Arnold was an enigma. That his "own tastes and thoughts moved habitually on the higher plane" there can be no doubt. Indeed, one of his assistants wrote that Arnold's usefulness as an inspector "lay very much in his success in bringing some tincture of letters into the curriculum of the elementary school." (68) He encouraged young teachers to read for London University external degrees and gave an annual prize for French to a pupil-teacher in his district, believing that, with Latin, French should be encouraged in the top classes of elementary schools. If this seems far from the needs of most children in mid-Victorian elementary schools, it was entirely consistent with what W.F. Connell describes as "the central feature of his educational thought. It is human beings that we are educating, and our aim must therefore be to make them more perfect as human beings." (69) Such an attitude was, however, far from the mainstream of elementary educational thinking with which most H.M.I.s concurred and which found its legislative fulfilment in the Revised Code of 1862. What Arnold saw as the central pillar of education, most inspectors saw as the job of religious instruction, regarding a certain minimum of basic education as necessary before such humanising influences could be brought to bear. To Arnold, this represented drudgery (70) and he never carried out the main part

(67) J.G. Fitch, Thomas and Matthew Arnold, London, 1897, p.168. Fitch's italics.

(68) Ibid., p.175.

(69) W.F. Connell, The educational thought and influence of Matthew Arnold, London, 1950, p.206.

(70) J.G. Fitch, op.cit., 1897, pp.163-5.

of his job with relish. As a school manager in Arnold's district described to Sneyd-Kynnersley:

"Mr Arnold inspects our school. Of course we are much honoured, and the managers make a point of attending to meet him. He arrives in the course of the morning; shakes hands with the managers and teachers; and talks very pleasantly for a few minutes; then he walks through the classes between the desks, looking over the children's shoulders at some exercises, and so makes his way to the door, and we see him no more." (71)

Arnold's assistant must have been a busy man. No doubt the honour of assisting the Professor of Poetry at Oxford University was some consolation. (72)

Another inspector who moved in the leading literary circles of the day was W.H. Brookfield who, after being rejected on his first application in 1847, was appointed a year later, and "took to inspecting because he had failed in other things." (73) His wife was a great London socialite and Brookfield was friendly with Carlyle, Tennyson and the Hallams, having great prospects in the Church until he preached a "perfectly heretical sermon before the Prime Minister." (74) He was portrayed in Thackeray's Curate's Walk as Frank Whitestock. For the last four years of his inspector-

(71) E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley, op.cit., 1908, p.156.

(72) Arnold enjoyed his three major foreign investigations. In 1861 he visited France, Holland and Switzerland on behalf of the Newcastle Commission; in 1865 he went to France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy for the Taunton Commission on Middle Class Education and in 1885 he again visited France, Germany and Switzerland for the Education Department.

(73) N. Ball, op.cit., 1963, pp.111-2.

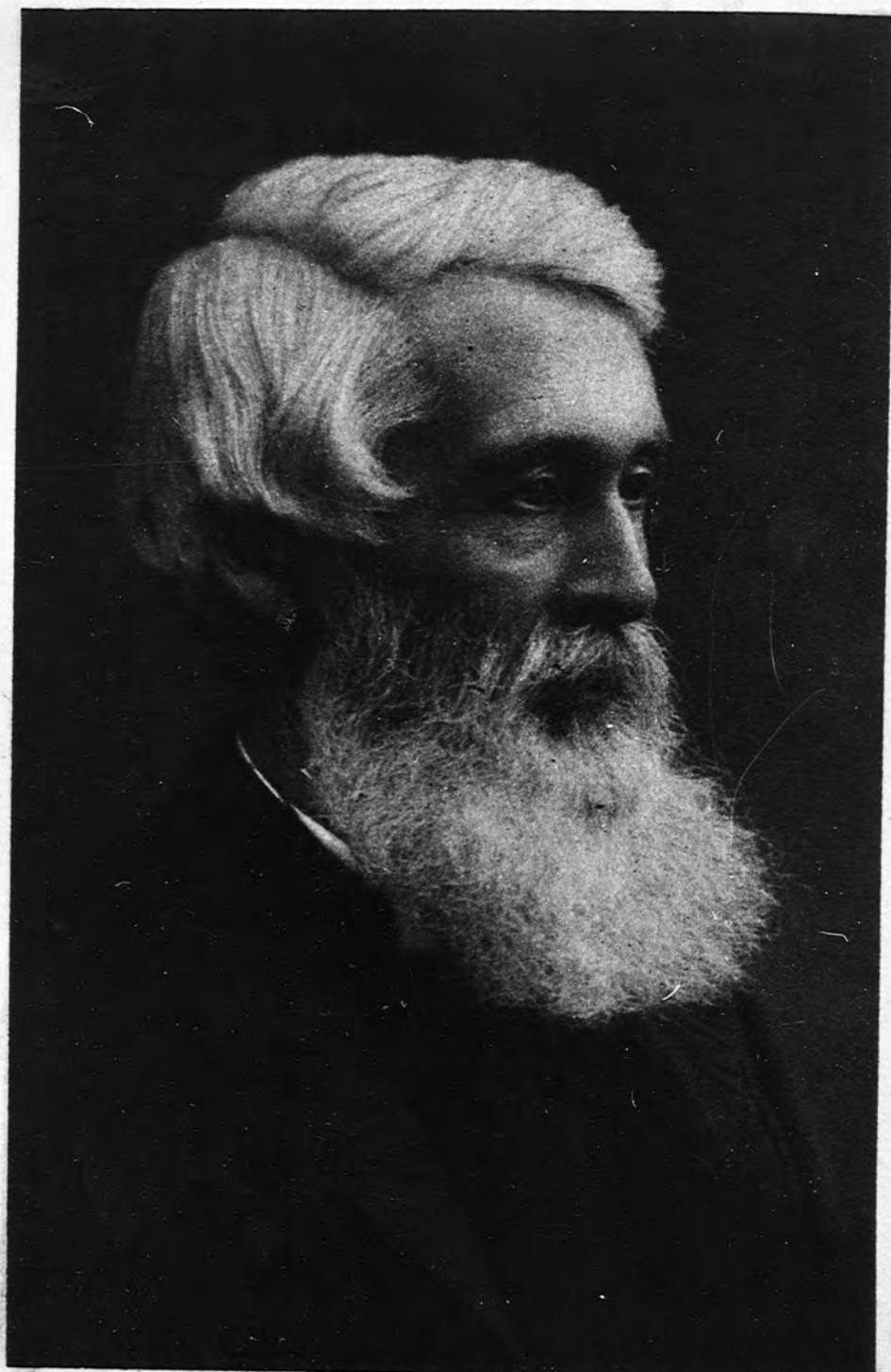
(74) J. Leese, Personalities and Power in English Education, Leeds, 1950, p.49.

ship, although his district was the south-east, he also had a good living in Lincolnshire under the patronage of Lord Willoughby, a fact which merely confirms his lack of devotion to the mundane task of inspecting schools.

Frederick Meyrick was another Churchman who moved in elevated circles and who gave something less than his whole attention to inspection. Indeed, his memoirs contain virtually no mention of his time as an inspector, a job which he accepted from Lord Salisbury because he had had to resign his Oxford Fellowship on his marriage.(75) Meyrick's great interest was the Church and he found that the main advantage of school inspecting was the opportunity that it gave him to observe at first hand the parochial clergy at work. Such men, he considered, were "a body of men to be proud of," a distinction which Meyrick attributed to their being drawn from the gentry, as opposed to the continental clergy who were mainly peasants. Meyrick had a close connection with the rest of Europe, being for forty-six years secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society, which was dedicated to promoting the Anglican Church on the continent. Although he was one of the few High Church inspectors, being on close terms with J.H. Newman and Dr. Pusey, and organising a petition against the admission of dissenters to Oxford University, he was also anti-Catholic, not liking certain moral implications of Catholicism, nor its "superstition". (76) Meyrick inspected the mainly small rural schools of East Anglia and wrote that all the school managers, except

(75) F. Meyrick, Memories of life at Oxford and elsewhere, London, 1905, p.216. J.S. Hurt, op.cit., 1971, p.180 states that Meyrick was friendly with Lord Salisbury's son.

(76) F. Meyrick, op.cit., p.176.



The Art Repro'.

F. Meyrick

5. Rev. Frederick Meyrick, H.M.I.

one, were firmly against the introduction of a Conscience Clause and would withdraw all co-operation with the Department if such a clause were enforced. (77) No other inspector found such a reaction anywhere and it would appear that Meyrick was using his report to promote his High Church attitudes.

The Catholic inspectors were notorious for the religious bias which entered their reports, two of them meeting with such disapproval from the Office that they lost their inspectorships. Perhaps it was because they were converts that they allowed their personal feelings so strongly to intrude into their work. Marshall's memoir is a blistering attack on Protestantism in general and the Church of England in particular. He deplored the trend towards greater government interference in education, "as the system which it had led them to adopt is one of the symptoms of their impotence in dealing with evils which the Church alone can remedy." (78)

Such an attitude may be contrasted with that of the cousin of one of the sacked Catholic inspectors, John Daniel Morell, who was an inspector of British and Wesleyan schools throughout the fifties and sixties. Born the ninth child of a Congregationalist minister who kept a school in order to supplement his income, J.D. Morell trained for the Congregationalist ministry before attending Glasgow and Bonn Universities. In fact he only remained an active minister for three years, thereafter concentrating on his studies in the field of philosophy, in which he had taken top place at Glasgow. In 1846 he published the Historical and Critical View of the Specu-

(77) Report, 1865-6, p.147.

(78) T.W. Marshall, My Clerical Friends, London, 1873, p.377.

lative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century, a work which made his reputation as a philosopher. He believed that grammar was at the basis of metaphysics and wrote two school grammar books which were widely used. Thus he brought to schools the kind of scholarship and intellectual power that Joshua Fitch advocated and of which Matthew Arnold was the classic example. Unlike Arnold, however, Morell's feet were firmly on the ground and he took a deep interest in his work. He shared with Norris the gift of being able to remember individual children from year to year and of few other inspectors could a young lady teacher have written:

"I have a vivid recollection of those three occasions as the pleasantest I ever spent with one of Her Majesty's Inspectors. Of course, these gentlemen are apt to be formidable personages to children and teachers, especially to nervous young teachers; but it needed but one glance at the pleasant face, and but one touch of the kindly hand, to make one feel that here was no severe martinet or hard taskmaster, but a genuine friend. What had been dreaded as a trying ordeal turned out a bright experience, upon which we could look back with pleasure, while it lightened the burden of the next year's work with the confidence that all that was well done would be appreciated, and that the inevitable shortcomings incident to youth and inexperience would be judged with the toleration of wide knowledge, wide experience and wide sympathy." (79)

Other people emphasised the gift he had of bringing the best out of children or his habit of joining in when examining music classes and

(79) R.M. Theobald, Memorials of John Daniel Morell H.M.I., London, 1891, p.29.

all recognised his absorption in his work and his sympathetic interest in the teachers and children of the schools he inspected.

In spite of his two books on the subject, J.D. Morell only encouraged the teaching of grammar where it was appropriate, believing that the lower classes "do not need advanced subjects of study, but rather thoroughness in all the elementary subjects." (80) In the late fifties he considered the needs of the country and put forward an ideal of national education:

"The first great requisite for every country is, that the means of mental enlightenment and moral training should be placed upon easy conditions in the hands of every individual in the community; the second is, that professional training should likewise be provided on similar terms to all, whatever their position may be in the social state." (81)

He went on to recommend a four-tier system of education for all; primary schools in "every village, hamlet and suburb in the kingdom", graded according to the financial resources of the local population, those in the very poorest areas being free. Secondly, there should be commercial schools which would fulfil the manpower needs of the larger towns and trading communities; and thirdly, high schools which give a classical and mathematical preparation for those who would go on to University. "Lastly, the national universities should be open to all without religious distinctions." (82)

Morell shared with his fellow inspectors the view that education

(80) Minutes, 1857-8, p.522. Morell's italics.

(81) Ibid., p.512, Morell's italics. See also J.D. Morell, On the progress of society in England as affected by the advancement of National Education, paper read before the United Association of Schoolmasters of Great Britain, 27th December 1858, Edinburgh, 1859.

(82) Minutes, 1857-8, p.512.

was needed in order to civilise the lower classes (83) and was one of the few to make ^{an} ~~any~~ reference in his reports to the educational implications of the 1867 Reform Bill (84), a subject which Robert Lowe was stressing in his speeches in the late sixties. (85) If the working classes were to have the vote - and Lowe had opposed the Bill with all his usual oratorical power - then steps must be taken to ensure that it was an educated vote. Education, Lowe ~~now~~ recognised, had to be spread more widely. Henry Bellairs, who was one of the older and most conventional of the inspectors of the sixties, believed that the level of crime was linked with ignorance (86) and he did a survey of literacy in Oxford prison to prove his point.(87) Social conditions, such as housing, he recognised, also adversely affected education (88); this concern with social factors had long been a feature of inspectors' reports, starting with Hugh Seymour Tremenheere's report on the mining districts of Cornwall, in which education and social factors were inextricably linked.(89) Frederick Watkins, the campaigning Yorkshire inspector, who opposed the Department on many occasions, notably over the introduction of the Revised Code, and who was one of the strongest of the teachers' champions, frequently drew attention to the social evils that affected elementary education: "The general case of the schools is a continued and exhaus-

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- (83) Ibid., p.509. See also, for example, Mitchell's report, ibid., p.348.
- (84) Report, 1868-9, pp.292-3.
- (85) See, for example, Robert Lowe, Primary and Classical Education: an address delivered before the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh, November 1867, Edinburgh, 1867, pp.8-9.
- (86) Report, 1868-9, p.28.
- (87) Evidence to the 1866 Select Committee, q.616. Bellairs found that 505 out of 695 prisoners could not write.
- (88) Report, 1864-5, p.22. Where families were all sleeping in one room, he claimed, "incest is not an uncommon sin among the poor."
- (89) Minutes, 1840-1, p.188 ff.

ting struggle with the labour market." (90) He was particularly concerned about the annual evil that existed in agricultural areas of the "hirings", the yearly statutes for hiring servants. A great deal of money was evidently spent on these occasions and there was gambling, theft, "drunkenness of one sex, and loss of chastity in the other." (91) Watkins condemned the social state of the working classes which was, he believed, "alike their fault and their misfortune", the latter because, "being uneducated themselves, they know nothing of self-denial, of prudence, and of domestic economy. They neither know how to save their money, nor how to spend it." (92) Other inspectors drew attention to the difficulties of their particular areas. Thus Charles Robinson and Henry Alington condemned the straw-plaiting industry and other agricultural hindrances like bird-keeping (93) and Binns publicised the situation in South Wales:

"The condition of children amid the iron works and coal mines of Glamorgan is sad to contemplate, and one that calls aloud for sympathy and redress. They are brought up amid dirt and squalor, in dwellings for the most part crowded and unhealthy, and without any better place for recreation than the adjoining roadway or cinder heap.

They are further doomed from too early an age to dangerous and protracted toil in mines." (94)

William Kennedy, the Lancashire inspector, who had been Secretary of the National Society before his appointment to the Inspectorate,

(90) Ibid., 1854-5, p.428.

(91) Ibid., p.429. For the effect of the hirings on an individual school see, for example, the log book of Old Shildon British School, Co. Durham, May 1865.

(92) Minutes, 1854-5, p.428.

(93) Report, 1865-6, pp.177-83; ibid., 1867-8, p.19.

(94) Ibid., p.96.

was the counterpart of Watkins in Yorkshire. The two northern counties were indeed fortunate to have two such men to look after their interests. They held similar views on rate-aid to schools, compulsion and the Revised Code and both were active on the teachers' behalf. Kennedy helped with the Mechanics' Institutes in Lancashire and publicised the work of the Manchester Education Aid Society, whose 1865 house-to-house survey in Manchester revealed that, out of every fifteen children between the ages of three and twelve, one was at work, six at school and eight did nothing. (95) By January 1866, the Society was paying the school fees of 7,200 elementary schoolchildren, but it soon became apparent that this would not solve the problem and, while H.M.I. Brodie was carping at the failure of the Society (96), Kennedy was recognising that the inefficiency of schools, where it existed, came not from educational defects, but from social evils. "But give us better homes, better dwellings, better habits, better social life among the poor and better food, and then we should have better schools everywhere." (97) Kennedy was, above all, a realist and he saw that education provided no social panacea. It was, and always has been, inextricably linked with social problems and was subject to social and economic influences beyond its control. In 1860, for example, a period of industrial prosperity was injurious to elementary education both because rich people had less time to devote to it and because the poor had plenty of job opportunities without it. (98) Two years later there was great unemployment and poverty and schools were overflowing. Whilst larger numbers were benefitting from education, regular pupils

(95) Ibid., 1865-6, p.128.

(96) Ibid., 1867-8, p.307.

(97) Ibid., 1869-70, p.152.

(98) Kennedy's report, ibid., 1860-1, p.89.

had to be largely neglected owing to the influx of newcomers. (99) By 1863-4 the cotton famine, caused by the U.S. Civil War, was becoming a serious threat to voluntary education in Lancashire as many operatives left the area to seek work elsewhere. School income and numbers fell and the rich people now had less money to spend on schools. (100) In chronicling all this, Kennedy was typical of the better school inspectors of the sixties. Class-conscious they may have been, but socially aware they certainly were. If some of the Inspectorate took a narrow view of their job, fulfilling only their obligations to the Department and its Revised Code and largely ignoring the overall view, then there were enough men of high calibre to take the wider view and keep the Inspectorate above the mundane level to which Robert Lowe and his colleagues in the Department were trying to restrict it.

(99) Ibid., 1862-3, p.44.

(100) Ibid., 1863-4, p.81.

CHAPTER 6THE INSPECTORS AND EDUCATION

The accumulated expertise of an inspector, often gathered through long hours of inspecting and examining in places that the mandarins of the Education Department hardly knew existed, was only rarely used to advantage by the Department during the 1860s. Schools and children were to the officials just names on a schedule, annual grants an administrative convenience that had to be calculated exactly. A close identification with school managers and the constant personal contact with teachers and pupils meant much more than this to the inspector. With a basically unsympathetic Department, however, there were only two ways in which an inspector could publicise his observations and opinions. He could write articles and letters in the newspapers or he could use his annual report. Of ~~course~~ ^{these}, the annual reports provide by far the best account of mid-nineteenth century education. The prohibition in the early 1860s of the expression of private opinions in annual reports restricted their interest value for a while, but the inspectors soon learnt the art of including their own opinions, thinly disguised, either as observed fact or as an expression of current public opinion which they were recounting.

The reports usually included a statistical summary of the inspector's year and comments on the general educational progress of his district. The Department would generally have indicated an area of special interest upon which inspectors were to comment that year and then the remainder of the report would concentrate on those areas of education which the inspector particularly wanted to draw to public attention. Certain topics received constant attention during the

1860s and these are now examined in turn.

Curriculum

Up to 1870, the writings of the inspectors on the curriculum of schools went through four distinct phases. In the period up to the mid-fifties their reports regularly refer to the need to escape from purely mechanical teaching. Schools were encouraged to broaden their horizons beyond the mundane elements of education and ideas which worked well in one part of the country were soon expounded by the much travelled inspectors in other parts. In the second half of the 1850s this trend was reversed as the inspectors realised that they had over-reacted to mechanical teaching. The need for schools to concentrate on their lower classes and improve the children's knowledge of the 3Rs was constantly emphasised until in 1862 the gradualist methods of the Inspectorate to encourage the 3Rs were overtaken by the suddenness of the Revised Code. Now the pendulum had swung too far the other way and the reports of 1863-7 contain many references to the regrettable exclusion of "higher" subjects from schools. The need to earn a grant according to the Revised Code had led many schools to concentrate exclusively on the 3Rs, and geography, history, grammar and science disappeared from many school time-tables altogether. Finally, when the 1867 Minute had ushered in the return of higher subjects, many H.M.I.s turned their attention to the overall effect of the curriculum on the intelligence of pupils and the length of their attendance at school.

The first of these four stages - up to the mid-fifties - was marked by an emphasis in the reports on the need to broaden the curriculum.

Rev. Richard Dawes' elementary school at King's Somborne in Dorset was held up by inspectors throughout the country as the example for all to follow "dealing with reason rather than facts, and with things rather than words." (1) Canon Moseley, the inspector whose reports gave the most thorough account of Dawes' system (2), noted that elsewhere "geography, history and grammar are mere fact-teaching" (3) and stressed that elementary education for the masses should not simply be a fragment of middle-class education, but should be an education specially tailored to the needs of the working classes. A wide, but untechnical, curriculum was required, wrote J.D. Morell, and this view was echoed by all the early inspectors. Some form of industrial education was championed by H.M.I. Bellairs, and Moncrieff and others put great emphasis on housecraft for girls. In this respect H.M.I. Norris later noted the decline in the quality of domestic servants and advocated the purchase of a model-house in connection with an elementary school where the woman in charge should

"throw her spirit into the domestic training of the girls, and infuse some of George Herbert's Elixir into their housework, teaching them that -

A servant with the clause

Makes drudgery divine;

Who sweeps a room, as for Thy laws,

Makes that and the action fine -

Such a presence would give to our girls precisely what we most want for them - a sense of the gracefulness and dignity

(1) Minutes, 1847-8, vol.I, p.7.

(2) Ibid., pp.7-27.

(3) Ibid., 1848-9-50, vol.I, p.23.

of household ministrations." (4)

Only in British and Wesleyan schools was such work discouraged since they tended to have a higher class of pupil whose parents objected to practical and household work taking up school time. (5)

At the beginning of the second phase, in 1854-5, H.M.I. Jones criticised young teachers, maintaining that

"The lower classes are starved [intellectually] and neglected in education, while the list of subjects taught in the upper classes of a school is unnecessarily diffuse." (6)

In order to emphasise the need for more attention to the 3Rs, Jones confined his examination of schools "to the elements of reading, writing, counting, the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments and the most elementary ideas of Christian instruction." (7) Certainly such an emphasis was badly needed: for example, there is the following letter which all miners at a certain Yorkshire pit wrote when they resigned their jobs - it was always written out for them by the best writer in the pit - "Master Willam Higgen hi hear dy giv you Won month notis to leav you employment. 'Rodat Right'." (8) Though almost all reports of the late fifties put an emphasis on the need to improve the 3Rs and give more attention to the lower classes (9), there were still some inspectors who favoured a wide curriculum. H.M.I. Mitchell

(4) J.P. Norris, Education of the people, Edinburgh, 1869, p.124.

(5) Report, 1858-9, p.348.

(6) Minutes, 1854-5, p.601.

(7) Ibid., p.602.

(8) Ibid., p.441.

(9) Minutes, 1854-5, p.617; ibid., 1855-6, pp.414, 549, 568; ibid., 1857-8, pp.348, 522, 574; Report, 1858-9, pp.30, 43-4, 103, 105, 173; ibid., 1859-60, pp.82, 112, 154.

thought that the 3Rs were best done in schools where higher subjects were also taught. (10) H.M.I. Stokes was exceptional in regretting the disappearance of small Latin classes at the top of schools where older boys were being "sacrificed to the larger number of little children." (11) Other unusual points of view were those of H.M.I. Alderson (12), who laid stress on higher subjects in town schools because of the greater opportunity for children to advance themselves there, and Laurie (13) who believed in a wide curriculum but advocated the graduation of instruction according to age in all subjects, instead of the usual practice of 3Rs in the lower forms and other subjects for older children. For the majority of H.M.I.s in the late fifties, however, the early leaving age of children and their infrequent attendance reinforced the need for teachers to concentrate on the 3Rs. Their stratified view of society encouraged this opinion, as is clearly expounded by H.M.I. Watkins. Is the education system, he asked,

"suited to the wants and circumstances of the nation? Has it not attempted to reach too high an intellectual standard? Has it been sound or showy? Has it been sufficiently practical? - and, above all things, has it aimed to fit children for their work in life, for that position which must be the lot of the million, and not for that higher career which may be reached ... by one in a thousand." (14)

The emphasis on elementary subjects clearly had some effect for the

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- (10) Report, 1861-2, p.41. See also the reports of Moncrieff (ibid., p.117) and J.D. Morell (ibid., p.129) where the same point of view is expressed.
 (11) Ibid., p.202.
 (12) Ibid., p.179.
 (13) Ibid., 1859-60, p.172.
 (14) Ibid., 1858-9, p.43.

reports around 1860 contain many references to the improvement that had recently taken place in the 3Rs. (15)

After the Revised Code, however, the inspectors became greatly concerned about the exclusion of everything except the 3Rs from the curriculum. (16) According to their reports, this happened in all but the best and largest schools (17) and in those where the existence of prize schemes kept the higher subjects going. (18) After studying nearly two hundred school log books of the period 1862-7, Dr. Nancy Ball has recently questioned this version of events immediately after the Revised Code. In the schools whose log books she had seen, the following subjects were taught:

Subject	Percentage of schools
Geography	70.2%
Music	52.4%
Grammar	45.5%
History	39.2%
Drawing	35.6%
Other	47.6%

Table 10: Higher subjects taught in a sample of elementary schools, 1862-7.

Source: N. Ball, Voluntary effort in English elementary education, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Keele University, 1970, pp.103-4.

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- (15) Ibid., pp.103, 141; ibid., 1859-60, pp.185, 192; ibid., 1860-1, pp.19, 97, 163; ibid., 1861-2, pp.41, 74, 81-2, 137, 147.
 (16) Ibid., 1862-3, pp.15, 41; ibid., 1863-4, pp.73, 84, 93, 140; ibid., 1864-5, pp.29, 62, 76, 119, 171, 185; ibid., 1865-6, pp.25, 49, 66-7, 90, 102, 111, 135, 145, 208, 228, 245.
 (17) Ibid., 1863-4, pp.73, 181.
 (18) Ibid., p.69.

If what the inspectors said in their reports was correct, these percentages are remarkably high and Dr. Ball, though admitting that her sample is a small one, believes that the H.M.I.s exaggerated the disappearance of the higher subjects. This writer has seen many fewer log books than Dr. Ball, but the overall impression of larger schools in Durham and Somerset agrees with hers. There was, however, an inclination in smaller schools to give up higher subjects in order to concentrate on the 3Rs. (19) Herein probably lies the answer to this discrepancy: a high proportion of the schools that inspectors visited were small and hence their view, looking back at the end of a year in their annual reports, would be strongly coloured by what happened in these. On inspection day, too, all the emphasis would be on the grant-earning subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic and, if time was short, as it often was, other subjects which took place in a school would be forgotten. H.M.I. Moncrieff, a consistent opponent of the Revised Code, referred to the neglect of higher subjects, but felt that there was little that the schools could reasonably be expected to do about it:

"I cannot take upon me to advise teachers or managers to devote time to these matters at the risk of losing part of their expected income; nor do I conceive that I have any right to recommend the infliction of a penalty ... for neglect of subjects not required as conditions of the grant." (20)

Other inspectors took a different attitude, at least one of them

(19) See, for example, the log book of Boldon C.E. Boys' School, Co. Durham, 6.1.64.

(20) Report, 1863-4, p.106.

threatening to deduct one-tenth of the grant, under Article 52a of the Revised Code, for schools which did not teach any higher subjects. This created such a furore that Sir Stafford Northcote asked a question in Parliament about it, but H.A. Bruce, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, stated that inspectors "were perfectly competent to recommend the withholding of the grant." (21) Although most of the inspectors noted the falling-off in the amount of teaching of higher subjects that took place in the period 1862-7, many of them approved of this trend, believing that the narrower curriculum was of greater benefit to working-class children. (22)

The constant references to the lack of higher subjects had their effect in 1867 when the Department issued a Minute, one object of which was "to encourage elementary instruction in subjects beyond those specified in Article 48." (23) This provided for an additional grant of 1s 4d per pass in each of the 3Rs, up to a total of £8 for each department of a school provided that

- (a) the school had one certificated teacher for every 80 scholars, or one pupil-teacher for every 40 scholars, after the first 25 of the average attendance
- (b) the total number of passes in the 3Rs exceeded 200 per cent of the average attendance, and that one fifth of these passes were in Standards 4-6
- (c) "the time-tables of the school ... must provide for one or more specific subjects of secular instruction

(21) Hansard, 4th May 1865, vol.CLXXVIII, cols.1465-6. See also the reports of Perez (Report, 1866-7, p.149) and Alington (ibid., 1867-8, p.23)

(22) Ibid., 1861-2, p.72; ibid., 1863-4, pp.131, 152; ibid., 1865-6, pp.198, 153. The Office endorsed this view - "As long as the examination in indispensable subjects continues to show such [poor] results, it can hardly be said the day of higher subjects for these young scholars has arrived." (Ibid., 1864-5, p.xxiv.)

(23) Ibid., 1866-7, p.c.

beyond Article 48. The inspector must name the subjects in his report and must state that at least one-fifth of the average number in attendance over six years of age have passed a satisfactory examination therein." (24)

Robert Lowe opposed this measure in Parliament, believing that his Revised Code was working well and should be left alone (25) and the teachers felt that it held out little hope for improvement. (26) The inspectors, however, were much more hopeful, as indeed they should have been, since the government seems to have reacted on this question as a result of pressure from them.

In the fourth phase of the inspectors' reports on the curriculum, a great deal of attention was paid to the effect of the 1867 Minute. The best schools received an immediate boost but those schools which had given up teaching higher subjects in 1862 found it difficult to take advantage of the new regulations (27) because, whilst they were willing to expand their curricula, they could not fulfil the subsidiary requirements of the Minute. For most schools the cost of an extra pupil-teacher was not covered by the extra grant received and the sudden introduction of a higher subject and the short attendance of many children made it impossible to bring one-fifth of the children into learning the subject immediately. (28) Some inspectors called for further measures to encourage length of attendance at school and

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- (24) Minute of 20th February 1867, *ibid.*, 1866-7, p.xcix.
 (25) Hansard, 28th February 1867, vol.CLXXV, cols.1147-64. Lowe's motion was defeated by 203 votes to 40.
 (26) Papers for the schoolmaster, vol.III (new series), April 1867, p.78.
 (27) Report, 1867-8, pp.23, 116, 135; *ibid.*, 1868-9, p.22. In 1869, only 29% of schools examined under the new Minute obtained an extra grant. *Ibid.*, 1868-9, p.xxxviii.
 (28) *Ibid.*, p.286.

to reward schools which were doing an especially good job. (29)
 Many inspectors urged on schools the need to use subjects like geography, not just to cram the child's brain with useless facts, but to stimulate its intelligence: "To impress upon the children the use and the broad features of a map is much more important than to teach them the heights of the mountains and the length of the rivers." (30)

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s there was a lot of bad teaching in schools and the 1867 Minute did not bring this to an end. The inspectors had, through their criticism and encouragement, both public and private, helped to improve the situation, but, as long as the Revised Code remained in force, mechanical teaching for the purpose of passing the examination continued to be a dominant feature of school life. (31)

Pupil-teachers

Candidates for pupil-teacherships had to be at least thirteen years old, with no bodily infirmities and of sound moral character and intellectual proficiency. They were paid by the government an annual stipend, of £10 at the end of the first year of their apprenticeship, rising to £20 at the end of their fifth year, subject to their passing an annual examination by Her Majesty's Inspector. (32)
 They had to be taught by the schoolmaster, outside school hours,

(29) Ibid., pp.198, 291; ibid., 1869-70, pp.79, 88, 114.

(30) Ibid., 1869-70, p.71.

(31) The Code's effect on arithmetic was most notable: "Government arithmetic will soon be known as a modification of the science peculiar to inspected schools, and remarkable chiefly for its meagreness and sterility." Matthew Arnold, quoted by H.M.I. Alderson, Report, 1869-70, p.292.

(32) For the full effect of the 1846 Minutes on the Inspectorate, see above, p.7.

for one and a half hours a day, five days a week, a task for which the master was paid £5 per year for one, £9 for two, and £3 for each additional pupil-teacher. At the end of five years, a pupil-teacher could win, by public examination, a Queen's Scholarship of £20 or £25 to attend a Training College, after which he could pass the Certificate of Merit and was entitled to augmentation of his salary from the government. (33) These conditions, which formed the bulk of the 1846 Minutes, were later altered slightly. From 1851, eligibility for salary augmentation only came for those ex-pupil-teachers who had resided at least one full year in a Training College or who had served three years as head or assistant teacher in an efficient school and, after 1852, such people had to be at least twenty-two years old and working in an efficient school. (34) These attempts to raise standards were continued in 1856 when it was stipulated that pupil-teachers could spend the fifth year of their apprenticeship in a College and those who were Queen's Scholars were to be allowed a second year of College training.

The initial reaction of the inspectors to the pupil-teacher system was very favourable - not surprisingly, since it contrasted so well with the monitorial system that it began to replace. In the words of J.D. Morell, "a new era has dawned upon our country, as it regards the education of the people." (35) Soon, however, the system's disadvantages were being discussed in the inspectors' annual reports:

(33) Provided that the school managers supplied him with a rent-free house and a salary of at least twice the augmentation grant, and provided also that the inspector each year reported the school to be efficient. Minutes, 1846, vol.I, pp.4-10.

(34) Ibid., 1852-3, vol.I, p.9.

(35) Ibid., 1848-49-50, vol.II, p.479.

many country schools were too small to benefit from the system (36), pupil-teachers were not being properly instructed by schoolmasters (37), the pay of pupil-teachers was insufficient (38), and their supply depended not on educational need but on the employment situation in the locality. (39)

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1847	430	1855	7127	1863	11888
1848	1308	1856	8549	1864	10199
1849	3252	1857	10367	1865	9356
1850	4190	1858	11920	1866	8937
1851	4993	1859	12952	1867	9488
1852	5343	1860	13237	1868	11117
1853	5841	1861	13964	1869	12842
1854	6389	1862	13438	1870	14612

Table 11: Number of pupil-teachers under apprenticeship (England and Wales).

Source: M.E. Sadler and J.W. Edwards, "Summary of Statistics, Regulations, etc. of Elementary Education in England and Wales 1833-70", Special Reports on Educational Subjects, vol.II, H.M.S.O., 1898, p.541.

Nevertheless, as can be seen from Table 11, the number of pupil-teachers grew steadily through the 1850s and was not checked by the Minute of 1858 which limited the number in any one school to

(36) Ibid., 1850-1, vol.II, p.4.

(37) Ibid., 1848-49-50, vol.I, p.137; ibid., 1851-2, vol.II, p.43; ibid., 1854-5, p.495; ibid., 1855-6, p.222.

(38) Ibid., 1852-3, p.491; ibid., 1856-7, p.440; ibid., 1857-8, p.297.

(39) Ibid., 1848-49-50, vol.I, p.149; ibid., 1853-4, vol.II, pp.157, 346, 447; ibid., 1854-5, p.437.

four. Most H.M.I.s deplored this regulation (40), although C.B. Alderson thought it would lead to greater care being taken in the choice of pupil-teachers. (41) Since 87.3% of pupil-teachers were completing their apprenticeship successfully at this time, such concern was probably unfounded. (42) More worrying was the Department's attitude: "The number of pupil-teachers must be regulated with some regard to the ultimate demand for trained schoolmasters and schoolmistresses ..." (43) At a time when elementary education was still woefully inadequate, such an attitude was hardly visionary. Nor was the Department concerned that 24% of pupil-teachers were leaving teaching altogether; they believed that such well educated young men and women would be good influences in other walks of life (44), an attitude which did not encourage the spread of elementary education.

The education of the pupil-teachers was left very much in the hands of the schoolmaster. The inspector examined the apprentices, but apparently had little time for

"pointing out their mistakes or the weak points in their teaching, or to address them quietly and individually the passing words of advice, which may often prevent the necessity of formal reproof." (45)

Only H.M.I. Howard took any unusual steps in this respect, encouraging fourth and fifth year pupil-teachers to send him regularly a dozen lines of poetry analysed. (46) In spite of this, most of the appren-

(40) See, for example, J. Bowstead, Report, 1859-60, p.167; J.D. Morell, ibid., 1860-1, p.151.

(41) Ibid., 1859-60, p.185.

(42) Ibid., 1858-9, p.xxxi.

(43) Ibid., p.xvii.

(44) Ibid., p.xxxi.

(45) Ibid., 1859-60, p.145. See also, ibid., 1868-9, p.23 and evidence to the Cross Commission, 1888, q.54731.

(46) Report, 1864-5, p.92.

tices' teaching was, not surprisingly, a mechanical repetition of information they had learned from the head teacher. (47) Because of their age they tended to be given the lower classes (48), and there is little doubt that many of the complaints concerning the education of younger children at this time stemmed from this innate disadvantage of the pupil-teacher system.

Such difficulties were minimal, however, compared with the effect of the Revised Code on apprentices. After fifteen years of steady increase, recruitment dropped alarmingly and many pupil-teachers were unwilling even to complete their apprenticeships. (49) Almost all inspectors' reports noted this disturbing trend and it was said that managers were desperate for boy pupil-teachers. (50) Although the position concerning the number of girls was not so bad, the Department was hardly recognising the seriousness of the situation it had created when it claimed that the principal cause of the decrease in the number of pupil-teachers was the competition from other jobs with higher wages. (51) As the inspectors made clear in their reports, the main reason for the fall was the changed conditions of pupil-teachers' apprenticeships, which had been introduced by the Revised Code.

The direct connection between the Department and the apprentices, which had existed under the 1846 scheme of paying pupil-teachers, had been severed in 1862. Subsequently, the statutory agreement was made between the school managers and the apprentice

(47) Ibid., 1860-1, p.174.
 (48) Ibid., 1859-60, p.86.
 (49) Ibid., 1862-3, pp.15, 42.
 (50) Ibid., 1865-6, p.126.
 (51) Ibid., p.x.

and the rate of pay was fixed according to prevailing local conditions. The security of tenure for the pupil-teacher, which had been such a feature of the old system, had largely disappeared, as had the feeling that pupil-teachers were government servants who had a right to expect certain privileges and financial advantages, provided only that they passed the requisite examinations. H.M.I. Kennedy admitted to the 1865 Select Committee on Education that, if he was asked for his private opinion, he was bound to tell prospective pupil-teachers that there existed better openings than that of schoolmastering. He also referred to the decrease in the quality of pupil-teachers. (52) Sir John Pakington, the Committee's Chairman, was clearly impressed by Kennedy's evidence as he recommended in his draft report an increase in pupil-teachers' pay and a decrease in the minimum number of children required in a school before one pupil-teacher had to be employed. (53)

It was the Revised Code's change in this minimum number which caused much of the initial upset to the pupil-teacher system in 1862-3: in schools of ninety pupils, at least one pupil-teacher had to be employed and, for every additional forty children, one more apprentice had to be taken on. Crucially, therefore, schools containing up to 89 pupils were not required to employ a pupil-teacher and schools of up to 129 scholars only needed to have one. (54) Since the financial burdens on school managers were so great, the minimum number of apprentices were usually employed and monitors

(52) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.2563.

(53) Select Committee Report, 1866, p.127.

(54) Instructions to Inspectors, 1862, in Report, 1862-3, p.xxvii.

were once again used extensively. (55) Although these children were better than the monitors of former years (56), this was little consolation for the future prospects of teacher supply and there was less security, since parents did not always like their children being used as monitors and often withdrew them to earn more elsewhere. (57) School log books contain many references to the problems which the Revised Code created for the pupil-teacher system and make it clear that some apprentices were actually dismissed in the wake of the Revised Code. (58) The Revised Code also gave school managers a new problem:

"It is almost amusing to see the different kind of feeling which prevails about the number of scholars returned as in average attendance. Under the old Code, in a school of about 130 children, for instance, the desire was to prove that the average attendance reached 130, in order that two pupil-teachers might be granted. In the same school the desire now is to show that the average falls below 130, in order that the pupil-teachers may not be required." (59)

Several inspectors felt that the Revised Code had had a good effect on the pupil-teacher system, in that it had tended to check a situation of over-supply (60) and the Department certainly took

(55) Ibid., 1863-4, pp.94, 130, 181; ibid., 1864-5, p.113.

(56) Ibid., 1863-4, p.22.

(57) Ibid., 1864-5, p.146; ibid., 1865-6, p.19.

(58) See, for example, R.R. Sellman, Devon village schools in the nineteenth century, Newton Abbot, 1967, p.28.

(59) Report, 1865-6, p.121.

(60) Ibid., 1862-3, p.51; ibid., 1863-4, p.140.

this view in the first half of the 1860s. (61) The great majority of inspectors, however, were more concerned to warn the Department of the difficulties created by the Revised Code in this area and were particularly anxious about the effect on schools of between 50 and 90 pupils. (62) J.D. Morell wrote of the increasing pessimism of both apprentices and teachers concerning the future of the profession (63) and the Welsh inspector, J. Bowstead, warned that in his area the pupil-teacher system had been "seriously damaged for a time, if not permanently endangered." (64)

By 1867, the government had clearly understood the inspectors' message. The minimum number of children, before it became necessary to employ pupil-teachers, was reduced and £10 grants were offered to school managers for every male pupil-teacher admitted into a Training College. After this the number of pupil-teachers steadily increased once again and the inspectors' reports reflected this with renewed optimism. (65) Yet there was still a great deal of criticism of pupil-teachers in the late 1860s. Because they were less well instructed by the schoolmasters (66), the lessons given by the apprentices before the inspectors - which had usually been given five or six times previously - were "generally painful to listen to." (67) Yet the monitors, who were used in many schools, were

(61) Ibid., 1864-5, p.xiii.

(62) Several H.M.I.s recommended a decrease in the minimum number of children. Ibid., 1865-6, pp.19, 229, 404; ibid., 1866-7, pp. 122, 211, 253.

(63) Ibid., 1864-5, p.185.

(64) Ibid., 1866-7, p.247.

(65) Ibid., 1867-8, p.ix.

(66) Ibid., 1868-9, pp.106, 287, 409; ibid., 1869-70, p.269.

(67) Ibid., 1868-9, p.189.

much worse (68) and, though there is little doubt that the pupil-teacher system suffered a severe setback in the years after the Revised Code, it started to recover soon after the 1867 Minute and remained the one valuable source of recruitment to the teaching profession at a time when the financial difficulties of school managers made it all too easy to fall back on the monitorial system.

Training Colleges

By the beginning of the 1860s, the system of inspecting Training Colleges had been established for over ten years. Two inspectors were specially allocated to male and female Training Colleges of the Church of England (69) and they paid an annual visit to each College, accompanied by the Anglican H.M.I. of the area in which the College was situated. All Colleges held their examinations in December, the papers being prepared by the Training College inspectors and the Secretary, and being marked by the whole corps of inspectors.

The Colleges' syllabus, which had been drawn up by the Training College inspectors, was considered in the second half of the fifties to be too advanced. It was thought to contain too little on the basic subjects and on the rudiments of school organisation and management. (70) The new inspector of male Training Colleges, B.M. Cowie, was especially keen to see the syllabus narrowed and when, in 1862, he drew up a new syllabus along these lines, Robert Lowe quickly

(68) Ibid., p.232.

(69) The few British and Catholic Colleges were inspected by the denominational inspector of the area in which they were situated.

(70) Minutes, 1855-6, p.452; ibid., 1856-7, p.684; ibid., 1857-8, p.739; Report, 1858-9, p.35; ibid., 1859-60, p.82; ibid., 1860-1, pp.103, 147.

approved it (71) but the teachers were most offended. (72) Cowie had prescribed more arithmetic but no algebra, history only from the time of Henry VII for first-years but no ecclesiastical history, and subjects like chemistry or mechanics only if local employment conditions made them worthwhile. (73) What particularly angered the teachers was his belief that giving students a glimpse of such subjects could be dangerous in so far as it might lead them later to frighten pupils with the use of long words. Though there was no doubt room for greater emphasis on the teaching of elementary subjects like reading (74), his more limited syllabus, allied to the type of questions that were set in the examinations, in fact led to more cram in the Colleges. (75)

The mid-fifties marked the beginning of a period of financial crisis in the Colleges, initially caused by the number of men's Colleges having expanded so fast that they outstripped demand. (76) Anxiety was expressed that Colleges might lower admission standards in order to fill the empty places (77), a policy which, H.M.I. Mitchell wrote, would ruin the chance of the existing system ridding the country of bad schools. (78) The number of Colleges set up by individual dioceses had risen faster than the National Society's ability to pay for them. Consequently the financing of the Colleges relied more

(71) Ibid., 1862-3, p.xiii.

(72) Educational Guardian, February 1863, p.265.

(73) Report, 1861-2, pp.273-83.

(74) Cowie acted quickly on this; see ibid., 1860-1, p.277.

(75) Ibid., 1869-70, p.428. Cowie here admitted that all officers of Training Colleges agreed with these criticisms.

(76) Minutes, 1856-7, p.684; Report, 1859-60, p.356.

(77) Minutes, 1856-7, p.686.

(78) Report, 1859-60, p.356.

heavily on the government than either they or the government would have wanted. (79)

Year	Total income of Colleges	Government grant to Colleges	Government grant as a percentage of total income
	£	£	%
1854	29625	10809	36.5
1856	34870	16291	46.7
1857	37355	20615	55.2
1858	39568	25450	64.3
1859	42165	29582	70.2

Table 12: Government grants to Training Colleges as a percentage of the Colleges' total income, 1854-9.

Source: Report, 1859-60, p.287.

The independent Colleges at Cheltenham and Highbury were in even deeper trouble, Cheltenham attracting so few voluntary contributions that 94% of its income came from government grants. "As the certificated schoolmaster's position is one of honourable independence, attained early in life," considered Cowie, "prima facie, no reason is apparent why he should be educated in so great a degree at public expense." (80) He went on to examine ways in which the government could reasonably reduce its expenditure, concluding that the number of Queen's Scholarships could be reduced. Cook, on the other hand, believed that "a reduction in the grants now made would have one certain effect, that of diminishing the present insufficient supply of teachers." (81)

(79) See Table 12.

(80) Report, 1859-60, p.288.

(81) Ibid., p.370. Two years later Cook seems to have changed his mind on this. (Ibid., 1861-2, p.326)

During the course of this public debate on Training College finance, the Revised Code was introduced and the Colleges joined in the uproar. The Revised Code, claimed one College, would be disastrous because of the limitation on the number of lecturers who could receive grants, the withdrawal of the augmentation grant, the limitation on the number of Queen's Scholarships and, primarily, because the principal motive for coming to College had been taken away by the provision enabling pupil-teachers, without obtaining a Certificate, to become assistant teachers in any school or head teachers in small rural schools. (82) C.H. Bromby, the distinguished Principal of Cheltenham, claimed that his College was suffering from the daily withdrawal of candidates for Queen's Scholarships and from the refusal of many students to remain a second year. (83) Durham Diocesan Training College lost 40% of its applicants in two weeks. (84)

By the end of 1862, the Colleges were really beginning to feel the pinch; the number of applicants had fallen alarmingly and contraction and retrenchment were the watchwords. (85) In March 1863 a further blow fell on the Colleges when the government announced that their grants would be limited to 75% of a College's expenditure and would in any case not exceed £50 per male student and £37 per female student. Queen's Scholarships were to end and Colleges would not be paid for students who left after only one year. (86) Cowie,

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- (82) Revised Code, Articles 90, 132, 133. Report, 1861-2, p.xxxii ff. The complaints may be found in Copies of all memorials and letters which have been addressed to the Lord President of the Council or to the Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education on the subject of the Revised Code, P.P. 1862, XLI, 189.
- (83) Ibid., 203.
- (84) Ibid., 201.
- (85) See H.J. Burgess, Enterprise in education, London, 1958, p.126.
- (86) Report, 1862-3, p.xliv.

who had never regarded himself as a spokesman on behalf of the Colleges, was unrepentent: "the law of supply and demand must here determine ... there can be no reason why the State should continue to pay for what the public does not want." (87) In their desperate financial straits, Colleges now started charging - up to £10 admission fee or up to £5 per year's residence (88) - which Cook welcomed because he thought it would lead to only the better, more interested students entering College. (89)

It was at this time that the Colleges reached their nadir. When Rev. Derwent Coleridge, the eminent Principal of St. Mark's College, retired in 1864, St. Mark's wanted to amalgamate with Battersea, but Battersea declined to do so. The College at Chichester and the independent Highbury College were forced to close, Cheltenham only being saved by the transfer to them of Highbury's assets and students. (90) By the mid-sixties, the effect of the Revised Code on pupil-teacher recruitment in the schools was beginning to have its effect on College applications. Teaching was no longer regarded as the secure job that it had been in the fifties and the continuing debate on John Walter's proposals for giving grants to schools with untrained teachers (91) also had a deleterious effect on College applications. As Table 13 shows, the Colleges were having to take an increasing proportion of applicants.

As the sixties drew to a close, however, the number of applications began to rise again, largely owing to the government's Minute

(87) *Ibid.*, p.202.

(88) *Ibid.*, 1863-4, p.309.

(89) *Ibid.*, p.314.

(90) H.J. Burgess, *op.cit.*, pp.126-7.

(91) See below, p.216.

of 1867 which was discussed in the previous sections of this chapter.(92) Cowie remained inspector of male Training Colleges, but Tinling, the south-western H.M.I., had taken over from Cook as inspector of female Training Colleges. During a period when the Colleges had gone through a particularly difficult time, they were unlucky to have as their inspectors men who were so unsympathetic to their problems. In spite of the dual nature of their appointment by State and Church, Training College inspectors regarded themselves, not as the Colleges' friends or advocates, but more as the guardians of the public purse.

Year	Number of applicants	Number admitted	Percentage
1861	650	509	78
1862	650	489	75
1863	632	542	86
1864	427	370	87
1865	341	316	93
1866	371	340	92

Table 13: Percentage of applicants admitted to male Training Colleges, 1861-6.

Source: Report, 1865-6, p.399.

Age and attendance

The early age at which children left school and their irregular attendance were soon highlighted as the main problems of elementary education and continued to be among the most consistent themes in the inspectors' reports. As H.M.I. Watkins put it in 1845: "the state of education is simply this - we begin to sow the field, but

(92) Report, 1869-70, p.426.

have not time to finish it." (93) The rural analogy here was apt, for the problem of attendance was worse in agricultural than in manufacturing areas. This was partly owing to the nature of the work and partly because of the lack of sympathy that farmers had for elementary education, labourers being "unable to resist the solicitations and threats of employers who, regardless of the education of such children, urged their fathers to send their boys into the field instead of the school." (94) In some areas the situation was so bad that it was difficult to fix a time of year when a fair inspection of the school could be carried out:

"In certain country districts I have known the spring months objected to, because the lambing season empties the school; a little later the hay harvest dissipates the children; then come the holidays and the corn harvest, after which two months are required for the children to recover from their disastrous effects. In many towns there are great annual fairs or feasts, which obtain an easy and complete victory over the school, and distract the juvenile mind for many weeks, whilst throughout my present district the hopping season is viewed by managers and teachers as their great enemy." (95)

Many other events caused children to stay away from school, as the school log books remind us on almost every page (96), and the system of paying school pence weekly often meant that, if a child missed one or two days' school, he would be kept at home for the whole week as

(93) Minutes, 1845, vol.II, p.145.

(94) Report, 1866-7, p.88.

(95) Ibid., 1861-2, p.183.

(96) Every log book that I examined contains evidence of this. See also R.R. Sellman, op.cit., pp.31-2; H.S. Toy, A history of education at Launceston, London, 1966, p.308.

the parents considered it not worth paying for only part of a week's education.

Greater difficulties than this were made for teachers by the frequent changes of school by children, sometimes only because offence had been taken at some disciplinary measure. The level of trade prosperity of an area was another disturbing factor: when trade was flourishing, the children were sent to work at an earlier age; when it was gloomy, they stayed longer at school; when it was really depressed and parents could not afford the school pence, attendance was once again adversely affected. Just how bad the situation was at the beginning of the sixties can be judged from H.M.I. Stewart's 1861-2 report in which he stated that the average age of children in schools - excluding infant schools - was $8\frac{1}{2}$ years and the average length of their stay at school was $1\frac{1}{2}$ years. This situation improved a little during the 1860s, but it remained a great problem.

The suggestions that the inspectors put forward for solving the problems of early leaving and irregular attendance may be divided into two categories. There were the schemes that only offered partial solutions and which required no legislation to bring them into effect and there were the wider schemes, such as rate-aid, compulsory attendance and alterations to the Factory Acts, which called for government action. Into the first of these categories came many schemes which were rarely, if ever, carried out. H.M.I. Howard, for example, suggested that school fees should be 2d per week instead of 1d, the extra pennies being returned to those children who had over two hundred attendances, including the inspection; the pennies forfeited by those

with less than two hundred attendances would then be distributed to those with more than three hundred. Prize schemes were the most important of the partial solutions, inspectors such as Norris and Bellairs being in the forefront of their development. But, whilst many inspectors actively supported prize schemes as a means of keeping children longer at school (97), there was also a number of H.M.I.s who were sceptical of their value. Scoltock thought that it was only the better-off children who competed for prizes, and they would probably have remained at school anyway. (98) J.D. Morell was against prize schemes because they led teachers to concentrate too heavily on potential prize-winning pupils. (99) Sewell believed that the causes of bad attendance were too deeply rooted for prize schemes to be really effective. (100) Yet a lot of money was put into prize schemes by worthy local people (101) and prizes did have some beneficial effects. They encouraged the teaching of higher subjects in the period 1862-7 when the introduction of the Revised Code often led to their disappearance in schools. They also counteracted the tendency of the Code to ignore the better pupils. (102) Scholars' certificates were another means of keeping children longer at school. H.M.I. Watkins' suggestion of these had been largely taken up by the Department in 1855 and, in some areas, the major local employers agreed to take on only

(97) See, for example, W.H. Brookfield, Minutes, 1853-4, vol.II, p.380; J.J. Blandford, ibid., 1854-5, p.492; J. Bowstead, ibid., 1857-8, p.540; S. Fraser, Report, 1867-8, p.142.

(98) Ibid., 1861-2, p.158.

(99) Ibid., 1859-60, p.159.

(100) Ibid., 1867-8, p.242.

(101) Norris specifically rejected the idea of asking the government to support prize schemes. N. Ball, Voluntary effort in English elementary schools, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Keele University, 1970, p.475.

(102) Report, 1863-4, p.62; ibid., 1869-70, p.279.

children who, through their good conduct, regular attendance, and adequate standard of reading and writing, had earned such certificates. (103) But this scheme had very little effect, mainly because there were always some employers who ignored it.

Half-time education schemes were recommended by many inspectors, particularly in rural areas and, as with prize schemes and scholars' certificates, H.M.I. Norris was one of their strongest advocates. (104) Even in the fifties, when such schemes were being encouraged most strongly, a lack of co-operation between employers and teachers proved a severe discouragement. Yet many such schemes were in existence and they ensured some education for children who would otherwise have had none. The Revised Code dealt them a heavy blow since it expected half-time attenders to have achieved the same level of attainment as full-timers.

Many of the inspectors were looking for something more than the partial solutions offered by these measures. Throughout the period, compulsory education was advocated in the reports of almost half the H.M.I.s. Because of the number of places available and the uneven distribution of schools, inspectors stopped short of calling for full compulsion but advocated indirect methods. (105) Others looked for an extension of the Factory Act to improve the situation. H.M.I. Routledge, for example, recommended that the Act should specify that in all areas no child under ten should work at all unless he had passed Standard 2, and no child under

(103) Minutes, 1855-6, p.18.

(104) See, for example, ibid., 1857-8, p.417.

(105) See, for example, Report, 1868-9, pp. 82, 184, 256; ibid., 1869-70, pp. 20, 159, 171, 183, 210, 298.

fourteen should work full-time unless he had passed Standard 6. (106) This could have improved the situation in the mines as well as in the agricultural areas and the cottage industries such as lace-making, but the impracticality of enforcing such a law prevented its introduction.

On the question of rate-aid for education, which Lingen favoured (107) and Sir John Pakington recommended (108), the inspectors were more divided. Whereas only four H.M.I.s said specifically that they were against compulsion (109), there were nearly as many against rate-aid as there were in favour of it. Matthew Arnold opposed it because of the inefficiency of municipal authorities (110), Bonner and Hernamann because they felt that such a scheme would decrease the amount of voluntary support for education (111) and Bowstead warned that nonconformists in Wales would object strongly to the imposition of a rate in support of Anglican schools. (112) Many H.M.I.s, however, shared the views of Muirhead Mitchell that voluntary effort alone could not be relied upon to satisfy the country's needs for elementary education (113), a view which was gaining greater popularity among the inspectors towards the end of the 1860s.

On the great issues of age and attendance, as on so many other

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- (106) Ibid., 1868-9, p.184.
 (107) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.101.
 (108) Select Committee Report, 1866, p.128. Pakington's draft report.
 (109) J.R. Blakiston, Report, 1867-8, p.96; J. Rice Byrne, ibid., 1868-9, p.41; Capel Sewell, ibid., 1867-8, p.243; M. Arnold, ibid., p.297. All except Byrne, however, qualified this view in their reports for other years.
 (110) Ibid., p.297.
 (111) Ibid., pp.130, 153.
 (112) Ibid., 1868-9, p.282.
 (113) Ibid., p.140.

matters, it is impossible to say that there was a single view of the Inspectorate. There was unanimity on the gravity of the problems but a difference of opinion on the best solution. The fragmentation of the Inspectorate no doubt increased these differences, which only began to lessen as the sixties drew to a close. By then, many inspectors were coming to the same view as W.E. Forster, that first, rate-aid was needed in order to increase the supply of schools, then compulsion could follow to fill the places. In the meantime the palliatives such as prize schemes and scholars' certificates were pursued in order to reduce the problem rather than to solve it.

School Finance

"There are three things wanting for elementary schools; first, money; secondly, money; thirdly, money." (114)

H.M.I. Kennedy believed that most of the evils inherent in the existing elementary education system could be alleviated if more funds were available and he, like many other inspectors, advocated rate-aid as the best means of providing these funds. (115) The major disadvantage of the voluntary aided system was that, in areas where there was no money, there were no schools; where there was a school and insufficient money to run it, the burden of balancing the budget fell on the manager's pocket. Too often this meant the local clergyman: as former H.M.I. Alexander Thurtell, who was by then himself a school manager, said in 1865, "the people give me what they please, and I pay the rest." (116) Yet this was not a

(114) Minutes, 1851-2, vol.II, p.346.

(115) Ibid., p.353.

(116) N. Ball, op.cit., 1970, p.366.

direct result of the Revised Code. As early as 1842, H.M.I. Allen was writing in his report that too often the burden of a school's finances fell solely on the local clergyman. (117)

Apart from this, there were various ways in which a school could raise money. Some parishes had a voluntary education rate, others relied heavily on annual subscriptions. Collections were taken, often preceded by a special education sermon, and these were sometimes as lucrative as the subscriptions. Fees - school pence, as they were known - nearly always provided most of the income. H.M.I.s were against free schools, believing that schools were more highly valued by parents if they had to pay for their children to attend them. (118) As a corollary to this, many inspectors called for the raising of school fees (119), although this sometimes led to a smaller proportion of needy children in school attendance. (120) The average level of school pence was between 2d. and 3d. per week. (121) In many schools the children were charged according to what they were taught and, as late as 1869, Ashbourne Wesleyan School was charging 2d. a week for those who were taught to read and write on slates, whilst those writing in copy-books had to pay 3d. (122) Such a system of payment was attacked by the inspectors (123), who often advocated payment being graduated according to parental income, a system which was being more widely adopted during the 1860s. (124)

(117) Minutes, 1841-2, p.189.

(118) See, for example, Report, 1869-70, p.284.

(119) See, for example, ibid., 1865-6, p.xvii.

(120) Minutes, 1855-6, p.231.

(121) Report, 1859-60, p.xvi.

(122) M. Johnson, Derbyshire Village Schools in the nineteenth century, Newton Abbot, 1970, p.36.

(123) See, for example, Report, 1861-2, p.71.

(124) Ibid., 1867-8, p.33.

The practice among managers of farming out their schools to teachers was widely attacked in inspectors' reports (125), although some H.M.I.s believed that teachers should be given a small proportion of the government grant in addition to a fixed salary. (126) Farming out, in whole or in part, was a common practice in the 1860s and "dunning for Pence from house to house was one of the chores of the master of Holsworthy Wesleyan" and many others at this time. (127) In areas where there was little money, managers felt that they had little alternative to farming out, for their own ability to subsidise the schools was not limitless and, the total grant to schools having decreased under the Revised Code, the problem of finance became more acute during the sixties. (128) In some of the poorer rural areas, schemes of united schools were started, in which parishes joined together to pay a qualified "circulating master" to oversee the education in several villages. (129) According to one inspector, such schools

"are not equal in all respects to those under a good certified teacher; but they are better than some schools under an indifferent certified teacher, and in the mere subjects of reading, writing, and spelling, and arithmetic make a very respectable appearance." (130)

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- (125) Ibid., 1863-4, p.83; ibid., 1867-8, pp. 133, 157, 207; ibid., 1868-9, pp. 237, 265; ibid., 1869-70, p.312.
- (126) See, for example, ibid., 1864-5, p.193; ibid., 1867-8, p.107.
- (127) R.R. Sellman, op.cit., p.126.
- (128) The amount by which the government education grant decreased has recently been disputed by Norman Morris but, as I have only seen a summary of his figures in the Autumn 1975 Bulletin of the History of Education Society, I cannot go more deeply into this question here.
- (129) Regulations governing the appointment of such teachers were incorporated into the Revised Code in February 1865. See Report, 1864-5, p.lxx.
- (130) Ibid., 1868-9, p.120.

If the sixty per cent of parishes without a government grant-aided school (131) were in a bad way, then the aided schools with small endowments were put into an almost equally serious predicament by the Revised Code. On the one hand, the Revised Code reduced the amount earned by the total amount of the endowment (132), whilst on the other hand people were less likely to give money to schools that they knew to be benefitting from endowments, however small. As H.M.I. Kennedy and others told the 1865 Select Committee, the Endowment Minute had caused greater dissatisfaction than any other (133) and two debates on the subject took place in Parliament. On the first occasion C.B. Adderley's motion that grants should not in all cases be reduced by the amount of the endowment was carried, but three days later Article 52d nevertheless came into existence. Adderley's second motion, condemning this Article, was later defeated by eight votes. (134)

Buildings and Books

Allied to the general problem of school finance were the particular problems of providing buildings and books. As a result of the voluntary system, schools were erected in a haphazard way and, although the Department had a measure of discretion in giving aid to applicants for building (135), there were virtually no standards to which schools had to be designed. The procedure for applying was enough to deter

(131) N. Ball, *op.cit.*, 1970, p.98.

(132) Article 52d.

(133) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.2525, 2616 ff.

(134) *Hansard*, 8th March 1864, vol.CLXXIII, cols.1659-98; *ibid.*, 2nd June 1864, vol.CLXXV, cols.1065-92.

(135) *Report*, 1868-9, p.xii. For example, grants were not given to parishes with less than 200 inhabitants. *Ibid.*, 1863-4, p.xxvi.

all but the most zealous of prospective school managers, for many detailed forms had to be completed. Personal visits to the Office to press a case were actively discouraged by the Whitehall officials. (136) Having obtained permission to build, the school managers could go ahead more or less as they pleased and many schools were built with the wrong type of floor, poor ventilation, lighting or drainage and inadequate playground facilities. It was shortcomings such as these to which inspectors frequently turned their attention in their reports. Muirhead Mitchell was the leading campaigner in this respect, believing that, for example, pale yellow walls were injurious to health (137) whilst the glare from whitewashed walls was too great. "A French white is perhaps the most cheerful colour, without being too distressing to the eye." (138) Poor ventilation and lattice windows were singled out by Mitchell as having a particularly bad effect on the health of teachers (139) and his opinion of lattice windows received

"a remarkable confirmation from a distinguished medical gentleman connected with a county lunatic asylum, who is of opinion that they have a decidedly injurious effect on the brain. This has been, I understand, so much perceived in Bavaria, that there is a law against such windows in that country." (140)

(136) H. Chester, Hints on the building and management of schools, London, 1860, contains such useful advice as "Never provide a separate entrance for visitors, but keep the children's lobbies in a state fit for the passing of visitors, and if the children's doors are large enough to admit crinoline of reasonable size, unreasonable crinoline need not be admitted." p.22.

(137) Minutes, 1856-7, p.339.

(138) Ibid., 1852-3, vol.II, p.627.

(139) Report, 1859-60, p.57.

(140) Minutes, 1854-5, p.470.

The inspectors' campaign against poor buildings continued throughout the sixties. H.M.I. Robinson, for example, stated that many of the older schools needed renovating:

"clumsy, ill-shaped, battered desks are kept in use for want of better; rickety forms ... do duty, when no great amount of mending and re-adjusting would render them tolerably efficient." (141)

As H.M.I. Jones predicted, school buildings continued to be poor because managers did not exert sufficiently close supervision of the builders and because the inspectors, who had perhaps the widest experience of school buildings, good and bad, had no say in their design, whilst uninformed officials in the Department passed plans without a close examination of them. (142)

In July 1847 Kay-Shuttleworth had written to H.M.I.s suggesting that they should draw up a list of books that were suitable for use in schools and in December of that year the Book Grant was introduced, one-third of the cost of these approved books being paid for by the government. Bearing in mind that in most schools the only reading book had previously been the Bible, the Book Grant scheme initially improved the situation but, because of the limited nature of the list and the fact that many books were badly written anyway, the new system soon came under criticism, not least by the Newcastle Commission. (143) The abolition of the scheme by the Revised Code brought few regrets, even in the publishing world, where virtual monopoly control of the scheme had been in the hands of Messrs.

(141) Report, 1865-6, p.167.

(142) Ibid., 1858-9, p.139.

(143) J.S. Hurt, op.cit., 1971, p.80.

Longmans, and it caused no decrease in the quality or quantity of books in the schools.

Although H.M.I. Campbell maintained that, since the Revised Code, "we have had a douche of new school books which has been anything but refreshing" (144), Matthew Arnold, who was one of the most frequent reporters on school books and who was certainly no advocate of the new Code in most respects, thought that it had improved the quality of school books. The new ones did not contain such sentences as "the crocodile is viviparous" (145), and no longer was the Bible used as a class reader. (146) Both Arnold and Mitchell believed that the government should have more control over school books (147), but the lessons of the Book Grant were not quickly forgotten and the Department avoided any further interference in the book market.

Infant Schools

"Between four years old and seven, he, under favourable circumstances, learns at the infant school to read very easy narratives, and a little Scripture history, and, perhaps, to write and cypher a little; and, if the school has been very good, he has also had his curiosity awakened, his powers of observation sharpened, and those of attention and imagination strengthened." (148)

Unfortunately the ideal expounded here by H.M.I. Kennedy occurred all too rarely and the shortage of infant schools was noted by the

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- (144) Report, 1855-6, p.91.
 (145) Ibid., 1863-4, p.190.
 (146) Ibid., 1869-70, p.163.
 (147) Ibid., 1867-8, p.299; ibid., 1868-9, p.136.
 (148) Minutes, 1855-6, p.358.

inspectors. (149) The Revised Code failed to give infant schools the required stimulus (150), although the 1862 Instructions to Inspectors contained a specific section on infant schools and the Code itself provided for a grant for schools, without individual examination, for children under six years of age with the required number of attendances. (151) H.M.I.s could only deduct money from this for inefficient discipline and instruction of the type prescribed by Articles 51e and 52a of the Code. In one respect the Instructions specifically encouraged the quality of work done in the larger infant schools since it required those with more than forty children to be taught by a certificated teacher. (152)

The supply of such teachers was not an easy matter, for the Revised Code came at a time when there was a "prevalent delusion that inferior teachers will do for infants." (153) As the Training College inspector, Frederick Cook, pointed out, there was then no special provision for training infant teachers, apart from a small class at the Home and Colonial College. Cook believed that the first year at a girls' college should be confined to infant teacher training and anyone leaving after that time should only be so qualified. (154) He later modified this view to a recommendation that all first-year examination papers in girls' colleges should contain questions on infant teaching and that there should be a completely different set of papers for those intending to be infant teachers. (155)

(149) Report, 1859-60, pp. 172, 182.

(150) Ibid., 1854-5, pp. 114, 130.

(151) Article 40. See Appendix 3.

(152) Report, 1865-6, p.246.

(153) Ibid., 1852-3, p.64.

(154) Ibid., 1861-2, p.313.

(155) Ibid., 1853-4, p.332. Little seems to have come of this though.

The inspectors had few good words to say about the instruction in infant schools. The great inefficiency of the schools before the Revised Code, on which H.M.I. Stewart had remarked (156), improved little during the 1860s. There was a tendency to neglect children under six in favour of the older children who had to pass an examination in the 3Rs before they could earn any grant for the school (157), the infants frequently being put at one end of the schoolroom under an older child (158) or alternatively being taught badly by very young teachers. (159) On the other hand those infant schools that were in the charge of a separate mistress were often good (160), although there existed a tendency on the part of the teachers to give

"unintelligible ideas in an unfamiliar jargon ... and conceives it a great triumph when some infantile phenomenon has succeeded in articulating, falteringly enough, a hard word such as 'quadruped', 'malleable', or 'parallelogram'. And, meantime, what are the other children doing? Some are embracing each other, others pulling their companion's hair, others sleeping or yawning, some playing with string, or eating sweets, and all utterly inattentive." (161)

The infant schools of the 1860s clearly remained a long way from Kennedy's ideal.

Night Schools

From small beginnings in the 1840s and with some legislative

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- (156) Ibid., 1860-1, p.122.
 (157) Ibid., 1863-4, p.95.
 (158) Ibid., 1866-7, p.23.
 (159) Ibid., 1867-8, p.25.
 (160) Ibid., 1868-9, p.71.
 (161) Ibid., 1863-4, p.203.

encouragement in the fifties, the night school movement was beginning to make considerable progress in the sixties. Throughout the period, however, the major problems remained the quality of teaching and the poor attainments of those who attended, a state of affairs which meant that little more than the 3Rs was being taught at night schools before 1870.

The inspectors were consistent in their support for night schools, repeatedly enumerating their difficulties and suggesting remedies and it is to the credit of the Department that, in this area at least, the inspectors' recommendations were often acted upon. The Minute of March 1855, for example, was prompted by H.M.I. Norris' report of the previous year (162) and led to the establishment of a large number of successful night schools, often under the Sunday school teacher or some other voluntary, unqualified teacher, who was permitted to sit an examination for a Certificate of Merit after three years. (163) As H.M.I. Bowstead pointed out, however, the restrictions of the 1855 Minute still created "insuperable difficulties", particularly in rural areas (164), and the government responded to his pleas by admitting night schools to the capitation grant system and allowing probationer teachers to take classes in them. (165)

The inspectors encouraged local schemes along the lines of the Mechanics' Institutes evening classes which Kay-Shuttleworth had helped to establish in Lancashire, which had an itinerant organising

(162) Minutes, 1854-5, pp.109, 543-4; ibid., 1855-6, p.387.

(163) Ibid., 1857-8, p.432.

(164) Ibid., 1857-8, p.538.

(165) Report, 1858-9, pp.xii - xv.

master (166) and which fulfilled a great need during the cotton famine of the early 1860s. (167) Such local schemes, however, did not solve the national shortage of evening schools, particularly in the rural areas, and the inspectors continued to complain that government regulations were too stringent. (168)

Another problem was that the night schools were closed during the summer months, which made inspection impossible during that time. Since the summer break ensured that the children forgot most of what they had learnt the previous winter, it also meant that an inspection and examination of the 3Rs in the autumn hardly did justice to a school's performance. (169) In order to overcome this, a Minute was issued permitting managers of night schools to conduct the annual examination. The writing and arithmetic questions were sent from London in a sealed envelope and, after the examination, they had to be returned to the Office from where they were sent out to the local H.M.I.s to be marked. The reading was tested and marked by the managers themselves (170), an experiment in delegation to which the Office was not accustomed and on the success of which there were widely differing reports. (171) This latest Minute led to a marked increase in the number of night schools (172), though

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- (166) F. Smith, The life and work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, London, 1923, pp. 250-3; Report, 1859-60, p.100. See also F. Watkins, A letter to the Archbishop of York on the State of Education in the Church Schools in Yorkshire, London, 1860, p.25, and J.P. Norris' report, Report, 1860-1, p.107.
- (167) H.B. Binns, A century of education, London, 1908, p.180.
- (168) Report, 1859-60, p.51; ibid., 1860-1, pp.148-9.
- (169) Ibid., 1861-2, p.143; ibid., 1863-4, pp. 109, 117.
- (170) Ibid., 1864-5, pp. xxi, lxxi.
- (171) H.M.I. du Port thought that managers were too lax in their pass standards (ibid., 1868-9, p.80), while H.M.I. Watkins considered that they were fair in their assessment of the reading (ibid., 1869-70, p.261).
- (172) Ibid., 1868-9, p.xxxviii.

it did little to improve their overall standards. (173) It must not be forgotten, however, that even as strong an opponent of the Revised Code as H.M.I. Kennedy thought that the development of night schools during the 1860s was "undoubtedly due to the Revised Code" which, by offering grants for night scholars on a similar basis to those given for day scholars, injected both finance and a sense of purpose into the night schools. (174) Nevertheless, at the end of the 1860s, they still had a long way to go, as H.M.I. Norris, who had been one of their first and strongest advocates, reminds us. In spite of the greatly increased numbers, he wrote,

"we must confess that evening schools are still experiments, struggling to maintain their existence, dependent on the exertions and self-sacrifice of persons who ought not and cannot long be expected to endure the labour of their support. (175)

Religious Education

"In the case of Schools connected with the National Church, the Inspectors will inquire, with special care, how far the Doctrines and Principles of the Church are instilled into the minds of the Children." (176)

Only in Anglican schools were the inspectors to look into religious education, a requirement that was carefully phrased after the 1840 Concordat between Kay-Shuttleworth and the Church of England. The position in British and Wesleyan schools was governed by a Minute

(173) Ibid., 1865-6, p.xv.

(174) Ibid., 1869-70, p.154.

(175) J.P. Norris, op.cit., 1869, p.76.

(176) Instruction to Inspectors, 1840, in Minutes, 1840-1, p.7.

of 10th July 1847 in which the Committee of Council agreed that grants could still be made to these schools even if they objected to the inspector reporting on the religious instruction. Also, no certificate of religious knowledge was required from school managers on behalf of intending nonconformist pupil-teachers. (177) Clearly there remained some doubt in the minds of the British inspectors concerning the propriety of their inspecting religious instruction, as H.M.I. Alderson asked for clarification of the position in 1867. Lingen replied that "it depends primarily" on the 1840 Instructions to Inspectors but, if an H.M.I. was not sure of what he should do in a particular school, "he may always act as if the Minute of 10th July 1847 applied to the School and wait to be asked" to inspect the religious knowledge. (178)

Since the whole scheme of education at the time depended on the co-operation between voluntary religious bodies and the government, it is not surprising that the Department trod warily in the sphere of religious education. As Kay-Shuttleworth wrote to the inspectors in 1840, "no plan of education ought to be encouraged in which intellectual instruction is not subordinate to the regulation of the thoughts and habits of the children by the doctrines and precepts of revealed religion." (179) During the 1860s, which was generally a period of religious revival and during which the Church was fighting hard to defend its hallowed traditions against Darwin and others (180), this emphasis on the religious and moral

(177) Minutes, 1846, vol.I, p.34.

(178) PRO Ed. 9/4, 231, dated 2nd August 1867.

(179) Instructions to Inspectors, 1840. Minutes, 1840-1, p.1.

(180) G. Kitson-Clark, An expanding society. Britain 1830-1900, Cambridge, 1967, pp.95-6.

background to education was as pronounced as ever. Many of the Anglican inspectors were strong advocates of this view (181) even to the extent of allowing a suspicion of denominational bias to enter their reports. (182) In general, however, the inspectors kept out of the denominational battles and they retained a moderate viewpoint on the Conscience Clause controversy which continued throughout the period. After a decade of uncertainty and argument between the government and the National Society, the government began in 1860 to demand a conscience clause in the deeds of new schools. This was done for 125 out of the 954 applications for building grants in the period 1861-67 (183) in areas where there was to be only one school. (184) Under pressure from the Tractarian movement, and in particular Archdeacon G.A. Denison, the National Society refused grants to school managers who accepted a conscience clause and sometimes even increased grants to managers who, by resisting the imposition of a clause, lost their government grant. (185) The controversy was greatest in Wales where the proportion of dissenters was much higher than in England and where church schools were greatly distrusted by nonconformists. There were frequent conflicts in Wales over who should build a village school, each denomination on occasions writing to the Department claiming that it constituted 75% or 80% of the population of a parish. H.M.I.

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- (181) See, for example, Report, 1860-1, p.323; ibid., 1861-2, p.25; ibid., 1863-4, p.311; ibid., 1869-70, p.137.
- (182) Ibid., 1860-1, p.323.
- (183) N. Hall, op.cit., 1970, p.417.
- (184) The criteria used by the Department for judging whether a conscience clause should be insisted upon are complicated and included a religious survey of the parish for which the application had been made. They are given in full in H.A. Bruce's evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.912. The conscience clause was applied universally after 1867.
- (185) H.J. Burgess, op.cit., p.168.

Bowstead consulted denominational leaders to see whether a compromise could be struck but none was found. (186) Elsewhere, however, inspectors wisely had little to do with the conscience clause arguments (187) and in their reports they tended to confine the religious aspect of their comments to homilies on the moral benefits of good religious teaching and to the factual content of Scripture lessons. Several H.M.I.s advocated the learning of portions of the Bible by heart (188) and one inspector specifically included hymns and prayers as well. (189) Unfortunately this parrot-learning was extended to the Catechism with usually disastrous results for the understanding and the moral benefits contained therein (190) and resulted in many delightful errors which the inspectors loved to record, such as part of the Lord's Prayer, "butter liverus from evle". (191) Since the teaching of religion was done in such a factual way, the inspectors found it difficult to be anything other than mechanical in their questions to the children (192) and this in turn led to even more fact-loaded Scripture lessons. (193) This was particularly unfortunate as, during the first half of the sixties when only the 3Rs provided

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- (186) Evidence to the 1866 Select Committee, q.3058. As the 1865 Select Committee had failed to produce a report, it began hearing evidence again in the 1866 parliamentary session, and it was to this committee that H.M.I. Bowstead spoke.
- (187) Ibid., q.1849.
- (188) Minutes, 1857-8, p.265; Report, 1863-4, p.44; ibid., 1865-6, p.17.
- (189) Ibid., 1863-4, p.28.
- (190) Ibid., 1859-60, pp.87-9. H.M.I. Kennedy believed the Catechism to be too difficult for young children (ibid., 1863-4, p.86).
- (191) Ibid., p.63.
- (192) Ibid., p.26.
- (193) Ibid., 1865-6, p.x.

the grant and subjects like history and geography had been abandoned, religion was the only subject on which the inspectors could test the intelligence of children. (194) This situation gradually improved, however, and by the end of the decade there was less memorizing and more understanding. (195)

The end of the sixties also saw the return of the Congregationalist Board of Education into the grant system, when the Board withdrew its objection to government interference. (196) The "religious difficulty" which had dogged education for thirty years had in many ways been illusory, since few schools insisted on doctrinal points in anything other than R.I. lessons and children of other denominations were often allowed to miss these. As Lord Granville, all of whose teachers had been Anglican clergymen, wrote of his own school career: "I cannot remember an instance during ordinary school lessons, in which incidental religious instruction was given inextricably bound up with the doctrines in dispute between Churchmen and Dissenters." (197) Few schools were as strict as Ermington National School where, in 1865, five boys were suspended "for attending the Dissenting Meeting House instead of attending Sunday School." (198) In practice, most schools accepted children of any denomination and most parents were not too particular about the denomination of their children's school, provided it gave a good education. (199) Although some Churchmen and some politicians

(194) Ibid., 1864-5, p.119.

(195) Ibid., 1866-7, pp. 180-1; ibid., 1867-8, p.81.

(196) Ibid., 1868-9, pp. 287-8.

(197) Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, The life of Lord Granville, 1815-91, London, 1905, vol.I, p.422.

(198) R.R. Sellman, op.cit., p.26.

(199) Report, 1861-2, p.120.

magnified the religious differences, it is to the credit of the inspectors that they encouraged co-operation in these fields and did nothing to inflame the difficulties.

CHAPTER 7CENSORSHIP OR FREEDOM?CONFLICT WITH ROBERT LOWE

The independence of the Inspectorate was nowhere more strongly challenged than over the question of what they should be permitted to write in their reports. Though the debate on this subject reached a climax with the Select Committee of 1864 which was set up after Lowe's resignation, the problems which led to the challenge on their independence can be traced back to the day when the first inspectors were appointed.

Because the Concordat of 1840 had given both the Government and the Church a share in the appointment of inspectors, the control of the Inspectorate had always been a sensitive issue. The early inspectors, clearly aware of this, and not wishing to be the pawns in a battle between Church and State, quickly asserted their independence, to the extent that Chester was moved to say to Kay-Shuttleworth in July 1844: "I share your anxieties about the non-supervision of the inspection ... our own positions must be improved and made superior to theirs." (1) John Allen who, perhaps because of the special manner of his appointment as the first H.M.I., was the most independent of the early inspectors, objected to any increase in supervision and this objection was upheld by the Committee of Council in August 1844. As if to test this decision, Allen criticised the Chapter of Canterbury in his report for the following year. (2)

(1) Quoted in N. Ball, Her Majesty's Inspectorate 1839-49, Birmingham, 1963, p.205.

(2) Minutes, 1845, pp.86-7.

The Dean and Archbishop lodged an objection with the Privy Council and the offending passage was excised but Allen complained to the Lord President that the Committee of Council had no right to alter inspectors' reports. The Lord President agreed and the passage was reinstated, thus establishing a principle that was to be broken in the following decade.

There were two types of report which H.M.I.s were required to write, the most frequent being the special report, one of which was written after every school visit. After the first visit to any school, this was no small task; all the 140 questions on the "Form of Report" had to be answered, together with a general description of the school's condition. On subsequent visits, only changes had to be reported and a summary of the school's current condition recorded. These were sent off to the Privy Council Office at monthly intervals, where they were copied and returned. They were printed in the annual volume of Minutes in tabulated form and no one was particularly concerned about the great variations between the reports of the different inspectors until after the 1946 Minutes when the grants to schools began to depend partly upon what was contained in them. The Office now saw the need for greater supervision of their style and content and then, as Lingen said at a later date, "I and a gentleman from Cambridge were made the first examiners, and our duties were to see that, within certain limits, uniformity of administration was observed in issuing public money on the reports of inspectors." (3) Thus Frederick Temple, later an H.M.I., Headmaster

(3) Evidence to the 1864 Select Committee, q.636.

of Rugby and Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ralph Lingen who himself rose to be Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, both "gentlemen of the same rank and character and class as the inspectors" were appointed "to compare and collate" the special reports.

These reports continued to be printed in tabulated form until 1858 when it was thought that the annual volume of Minutes - now well over a thousand pages - was becoming too bulky and too costly. In the following year it was agreed that the tabulated reports should be printed separately from the Minutes, but so few copies of these reports were sold that printing of them ceased altogether in 1861. After 1858, school managers were sent a full manuscript copy of the report relating to their school, together with such observations as the Department considered necessary. From 1861, the inspector made a summary of his report to the Department and only this summary was sent to the managers. Throughout this time, and particularly after 1861 when these summaries did not always accord with the full report, amendments were made by the Office to the reports on schools without apparently any major objection from the inspectors. The amendments were made in one of three ways. Either the report was altered by the inspector at the suggestion of the Department, or else the requisite alternative was submitted to the inspector and, with his assent, posted to the managers, or thirdly, minor amendments of style or grammar were made by the Office without reference to the inspector. Only J.R. Morell seems to have objected strongly to this procedure,

and on one occasion his report on a school was suppressed. (4)

The second type of report which the inspector wrote was the annual general report, a longer and more reflective document, the contents of which depended at first entirely on the inspectors themselves. Consequently they range from a bald summary of the state of education in an inspector's district to a discourse on some topic of current debate in the sphere of education. Some of the early reports covered even more ground and ran to enormous length (5), to the extent that Kay-Shuttleworth was forced to give frequent instructions to his inspectors to shorten their annual essays. Because these were all published in the annual volume of Minutes, they have become a most valuable account of social and educational conditions in the mid-nineteenth century. But an Office that was anxious to create a favourable impression on a sceptical public could not afford to lose the opportunity given by the annual publication of the reports to influence public opinion and, from the very beginning, Kay-Shuttleworth kept a careful eye on what the inspectors wrote. He "criticised their reports, and sometimes returned them with suggested emendations in style and matter before they were printed". (6)

During the 1850s the inspectors continued to exercise to the full that freedom of expression which Allen had secured for them and they did not always write matter which was entirely complimentary to the Department for which they worked. Jones, for

(4) See below, p.269.

(5) Fletcher was the most verbose, his 1846 report, for example, taking up 294 pages.

(6) F. Smith, Life of Kay-Shuttleworth, London, 1923, p.133.

example, discussing in one of his reports the way in which an H.M.I. was bound to become involved in local affairs in his district and particularly in local discussions on "this momentous social question" of education, included the observation that "He may meet with very little official encouragement in so doing." (7) It was no doubt statements such as this that led C.B. Adderley, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council, to attempt to print only extracts from the annual reports, with "the excision of such matters as the Committee conceived to be unnecessary." (8) Brookfield, "the enfant terrible of the Education Department [whose] vivid, racy reports were despair to Whitehall, amusement to the public" (9), and whose contacts in London society were impeccable, clearly heard rumours of this move whilst he was still writing his 1857-8 report for it contains the unusual and ironical statement that

"I know of no public documents which exhibit more evident signs of independence, i.e. of not having been subjected to any censorship in the department through which they pass, than the Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. This acknowledgement is made with an unaffectedly grateful sense of the courteous liberality of the Department of Education." (10)

It was also Brookfield who drew up the "Grand Remonstrance" in

(7) Minutes, 1857-8, p.492.

(8) Quoted in M. Sturt, Education of the People, London, 1967, p.239.

(9) J. Leese, The history and character of educational inspection in England, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1934, p.70.

(10) Minutes, 1857-8, p.394.

reply to Adderley which was signed by nearly all the H.M.I.s. (11) This was debated in Parliament and the opposition to Adderley, which was led by Cowper, included Palmerston and Lord John Russell. Eventually Adderley approved of the suggestion that the reports should be printed in their entirety, but demanded that they should be divided into six sections - "if there was anything in the report which did not fall under one or other of these heads, he would send it back to the inspector for excision." (12)

If Adderley was forced to publish more of the inspectors' reports than he would have liked, then he did his best to ensure that he did not have to publish those parts of them which did not fall into the above six categories. From 1858 it was the job of one of the Office clerks, James Tilleard, a former master at Kneller Hall Training College, to read the annual reports and, if he found anything objectionable, to mark the offending passages or mention them orally to Lingen. (13) If Lingen agreed with Tilleard, the report would then be sent to the Vice-President for a decision. (14)

"Mr Adderley, while he was Vice-President, used to read the manuscript reports himself, and to strike out with his own hand those passages which he thought inadmissible. The Inspectors, on receiving back their manuscripts with the proof, had an opportunity of seeing what had been objected to and of correcting

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- (11) 1864 Select Committee Report, p.139.
 (12) Hansard, 22nd February 1859, vol.CIII, cols.695-714.
 (13) The examiners never read the reports as they found them "dull and uninteresting." Sir G.W. Kekewich, The Education Department and After, London, 1920, p.23.
 (14) On becoming Vice-President in 1859, Lowe continued this practice which had begun under Adderley.

the proof accordingly." (15)

No doubt the inspectors whose reports were returned to them with the addition of liberal quantities of red ink were as surprised as we are at some of the passages that had been cut out. For example, six passages were deleted from Watkins' 1858 report; in four of them he is complaining about the exclusion of the tabulated reports from the Minutes and discussing the consequences of this, while in the fifth he complains of the reduced time allowed for writing the reports. The sixth, which Lingen was made to read to the 1864 Select Committee, says more about the censor than the writer:

"Whatever good results, either instructional or educational - either of progress in intellectual attainments, or of formation of character - may be observed in school children, must be attributed mainly to their teachers; anything, therefore, that affects the teacher's social position, his (or her) comfort, independence and respectability, bears directly, and with great force, on the well-being of the school, and upon the general progress and prospects of national education." (16)

Not surprisingly, Lingen could not explain to the Committee why this passage had been excised. The fact that only one of the clerks was reading through these reports should have brought about a high degree of consistency in what it was thought proper to in-

(15) 1864 Select Committee Report, p.16.

(16) Evidence to the 1864 Select Committee, q.240.

clude and what was not suitable for publication, yet in the following year Jones was permitted to call publicly for greater elasticity in the system of awarding grants to schools (17) at a time when the Office was trying to tighten up the grant system by drawing together all the previous educational Minutes into a Code. (18)

J.R. Morell's report of the same year can have got through the censorship process only because Tilleard was less sensitive to religious controversy than either of his superiors. Morell, a Catholic inspector, spent much of his report discussing the comparative morality of Catholics and Protestants, in the guise of "a comprehensive view of the general results of education in my district." (19) His fifth point concerned "a serious grievance" whereby

"Many Protestant millowners oblige the parents of Catholic children in their mills to pay school-pence to their Protestant mill-schools . . ., and as they are conscientious, they cannot agree to their children risking, as they think, the salvation of their souls, by mixing with other children, who are frequently of immoral habits, and who mock at their faith

[so] many of these children receive no instruction." (20)

Where millowners enforced attendance of the children "I have been informed that many Catholic children thus compelled to attend

(17) Minutes, 1859-60, p.154.

(18) Copy of Minutes and Regulations of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, reduced into the form of a Code, P.P., 1860; (252), LIII.

(19) Minutes, 1859-60, p.218.

(20) Ibid., p.219.

abstain from learning anything, for fear of learning what is objectionable." (21) Later in his report, Morell turned his attention to night schools for girls between fourteen and twenty, and used three sets of figures to prove that Catholicism was superior to Protestantism in matters of moral education. Firstly Italy, though its education system was inferior to that of France or Prussia, was said to have a much smaller proportion of female criminals. "Such a result can only be attributed to the fact that a proper religious influence is universal in Italy, considerable in France, and very partial in Prussia." (22) Secondly, Morell quoted a report that the number of illegitimate births in different workhouses in Ireland was in proportion to the religious faith of the inmates, and thirdly, he cited the figures for illegitimate births in Scottish towns, the more Catholic of which apparently had the lowest percentages.

When Lowe, whose eyesight was so bad that he had to have the reports read to him by his private secretary, heard about the publication of Morell's 1859-60 report he was "very much ashamed" and ordered a review of the Instructions to Inspectors concerning the writing of their reports. The result of this was that a Minute was issued on 31st January 1861:

"Their Lordships having considered the instructions issued from time to time to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools for the preparation of their annual reports, find the sum of these instructions to be that Inspectors must confine themselves to the state of the schools under

(21) Ibid., p.219, n.2.

(22) Ibid., p.223.



John Fergus photo.

Sherbrooke
(1889)

6. Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke,
Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education
1859-64

their inspection and to practical suggestions for their improvement. If any report, on the judgement of their Lordships, does not conform to this standard, it is to be returned to the Inspector for revision, and if, on its being again received from him it appears to be open to the same objection, it is to be put aside as a document not proper to be printed at the public expense." (23)

As the first sentence makes clear, and as Lingen confirmed in his evidence to the 1864 Select Committee, this was intended to be an interpretation of previous instructions, not a new instruction, though it certainly instituted a new procedure. (24) Within a month of the Minute being issued, the first report was suppressed. Inevitably, perhaps, it had been written by J.R. Morell. (25)

The following year, the debate on the Revised Code was at its height and Tilleard marked a number of passages for Lingen's attention. After they had been read to Lowe, eight of these were returned to H.M.I.s with passages marked and a copy of the 1861 Minute attached to remind the errant inspectors of the straight and narrow road from which they had allegedly strayed. The grounds on which reports were returned were explained by Lingen in his evidence to the 1864 Select Committee:

"Wherever an inspector related anything, upon his own experience, as a fact which had come under his knowledge,

(23) P.P. 1864, IX, 143.

(24) Evidence to the 1864 Select Committee, q.450.

(25) Marshall's report was also excluded, although this is not stated in Lingen's evidence to the 1864 Select Committee. But see Hansard, 30th July 1861, vol.CLXIV, cols.1788, 1832.

that was not objected to; but that so far as he argued respecting the future, and if his arguments respecting the future contradicted the policy of his department, then those reports were not presented." (26)

Consequently Matthew Arnold's report was returned to him in early 1862, accompanied by a letter from Lingen which stated that Arnold would have to omit a passage in which he argued that too great a concentration on the 3Rs was not the best way of improving attainments in those subjects. Lingen did not, however, mention the grounds outlined above, but told Arnold that, as he had already had one report on France printed at the public expense, these remarks would have to be omitted. (27) In spite of the fact that his previous annual report, which had passed uncensored, had contained a great deal on the subject of Continental education, Arnold does not appear to have argued with Lingen over his remarks on the 3Rs, and his amended report was duly printed. Frederick Watkins, however, was not so reticent and wrote to Lowe inquiring why certain passages (28) had been marked. As Watkins felt that he could not allow these to be omitted, the report was excluded from the annual volume. (29) Watkins' letter had surprised Lowe, who had intended that errant reports should be returned to the inspectors unmarked. Since he could not himself read the reports Lowe had not seen the marks. On 14th February he sent an internal office memorandum to Tilleard

(26) Evidence to 1864 Select Committee, q.41.

(27) Ibid., q.592.

(28) These were all unfavourable comments on the proposed Revised Code.

(29) Warburton's report for 1861 was also suppressed at this time.

ordering that reports were no longer to be marked. (30) After this, if Tilleard considered that a report offended the Office code he pointed out the relevant section to Lingen verbally or by a separate memo. Consequently an H.M.I. receiving his unapproved report, together with a copy of the 1861 Minute, had to determine which were the offending passages before deciding whether he would oblige the Office by cutting them out. As Lingen put it, the departmental policy was to say to an inspector

"This is not a report which we will print at the public expense; if the inspector said, Why? There was no answer to that question; he was merely referred to his Instructions." (31)

Both Lingen and Lowe were subjected to hostile questioning by the 1864 Select Committee on the reasons for this procedure. Lowe's explanation, being much clearer than Lingen's, would seem to indicate that the procedure had been introduced on his initiative and not that of the Secretary. Explaining the difference between marking a report for eradication by the inspector and returning the report in toto with a copy of the 1861 Minute, Lowe stated:

"The difference consists in this, if I give them an order they must obey it, or be dismissed; but if I sent the reports back to them they had the choice of making them unobjectionable, or of their reports being laid aside." (32)

(30) The only report that was marked by the Office after this date was Jones' 1862-3 report and there were special reasons for this. See below, p.188.

(31) Evidence to the 1864 Select Committee, q.87.

(32) Ibid., q.742.

It also enabled Lowe to avoid entering into direct controversy with an H.M.I. It would, after all, be degrading for him to argue with his subordinates. This idea of subordination was a recurring theme in Lowe's attitude to the Inspectorate and comes to the fore in another part of his evidence to the same Committee:

"I considered that I had a perfect right ... to repress anything like insubordination in the office. It is the duty of an inspector ... [to state] ... his views on the schools which he inspects, and to make any practical suggestions for their improvements; but it is not his duty, indeed it is contrary to it, to enter avowedly into a controversy with the Department; and it is not his duty, in my opinion, to write in a manner which displays a decidedly hostile animus towards the Department. I think that there needs no Minute to lay aside such Reports as those; it is a mere matter of common official subordination, that they should not be printed. I should never, without any Minute, have hesitated to lay aside a report upon such grounds." (33)

We have come a long way from the tactful and friendly approach of Kay-Shuttleworth to the blunt superiority of Lowe; from the "suggested emendations in style and matter" (34) to "this is not a report which we will print at the public expense." In 1846 the Office and the Inspectorate had been working together for the furtherance of elementary education among the poor; in 1864 (35) the Office were engaged in the administration of a rigid system

(33) Ibid., q.711.

(34) See above, p.174.

(35) When Lowe made the two statements quoted above.

and the Inspectorate ^{was} ~~were~~ a subordinate part of that system.

Even subordination, however, came in different degrees and some inspectors were clearly more favoured than others. Although no indication of which parts of a report were offensive was supposed to be given to inspectors, Tinling, who must have been on very good terms with the Office, was more fortunate. When his report was returned to him in February 1862 with no indication of which parts were objectionable, he wrote a confidential letter to Lingen who replied that if six lines were omitted, the report would be satisfactory. These six lines were hardly a devastating indictment of departmental policy:

"With regard to the schoolteachers, the withholding of the payment of any future augmentation grants has greatly loosened the hold which the country possessed over them for their continuance in the work of national education amongst the children of the poor, and this change in the future prospects of the teachers has spread still deeper amongst the pupil-teachers and candidates for apprenticeship." (36)

The following year, both Watkins and Matthew Arnold received rather different treatment from the Office. Both men were at a loss concerning the reasons for the return of their reports and Arnold

"sent it back, saying that I did not see in what way

(36) P.P. 1864, IX, 118. Apart from those of Tinling and Matthew Arnold, four other reports for 1861-2 were published in amended form. They were written by Moncreiff, Bowyer, and two Scottish inspectors, Middleton and Cumming.

it did not conform to the instructions, but if it were pointed out to me that in any way it did not conform to the instructions, I would alter it. I heard no more of it; it was suppressed." (37)

Eight other reports incurred the displeasure of the Office in early 1863. Three of these were returned because they contained opinions which were favourable to the Revised Code. It is not usually recognised that the expression of favourable opinions was disapproved, but Lingen went out of his way to explain to the 1864 Select Committee that this was the case. After quoting Lowe's remark that "They [the inspectors] should maintain silence if they cannot agree with the heads of their department," Lingen also quoted a later part of the same speech in which Lowe criticised the discussion of controversy by inspectors "whether they were for or against it." (38) The Committee members (39) were somewhat sceptical over this point as they had the impression that a considerable amount of favourable comment on the Revised Code had appeared in the published reports. But Lingen thought that the reports as a whole presented a good balance of opinion on both sides and was keen to emphasise that Norris, Blandford and Bellairs had all agreed to the exclusions of matter favourable to the Revised Code. Bellairs, for example, had wanted to outline some of the difficulties inherent in the Revised Code examinations "but each month's trial seems to

(37) Evidence to the 1864 Select Committee, q.585.

(38) Ibid., q.43, quoting Lowe's speech in Parliament, Hansard, 11th June, 1863, vol.CLXXI, col.722.

(39) Edward Howes, chairman, J.G. Dodson, Sir Philip Edgerton, Lord Hotham and Hon. Charles Howard. The Lord Advocate and Lord Robert Cecil were non-voting members, with power to question witnesses.

me to reduce some of the objections; and if the managers, clergy, and teachers will give this Code as fair a trial as they did the Minutes of 1846, I cannot but hope that a similar successful result will ensue." (40)

In spite of their hostile questioning of Lingen concerning the bias of the Department's excisions, the Committee in its final Report seemed happy enough with his explanations. But public opinion was not so easily satisfied and the murmurings of discontent had risen to a peak in 1863. The teachers' magazines led the way, starting with the restrained hope that the power of the Office censor would be curtailed. (41) At the same time the article criticised the H.M.I.s for "writing at great length upon pet educational hobbies in their reports." Another teachers' paper noted that Bowstead's 1862-3 report was missing because of his illness, but that the reports of Moncreiff, Jones and Matthew Arnold must have been deliberately left out by the Office and "we have reason to believe that two other Reports have been omitted or suppressed in the same way." (42) Robert Lowe, they wrote,

"had incurred the censure of public opinion ... His policy is felt to be a trifle too arbitrary, while it is also seen not to be altogether impartial; for he has accepted and published reports in which educational systems and modes of administration are discussed in a

(40) Evidence to the 1864 Select Committee, q.257.

(41) Educational Guardian, March 1863, p.288.

(42) The Museum, vol.III, October 1863, p.273. They were nearly correct. Watkins' report was suppressed and those of Ruddock, Tinling, Fussell, and J.R. Morell had to be altered as well as the three favourable ones mentioned above.

direction favourable to his own measures." (43)

But it was not only the mutilated and suppressed inspectors' reports that concerned the teachers. The effect of this policy on all the reports was beginning to worry them for

"we are occasionally finding important reforms foreshadowed in Inspectors' Reports ... Now it is right that the Inspectors should make suggestions, ... but they cannot be called suggestions, and they have none of their value, when the proposals are the result of connivance between the 'heads of the department' and some of their more 'loyal' officials. The Report thus becomes less a record from which proceedings of the past may be ascertained, than an oracle - like an imperial pamphlet - which we eagerly consult as to the next move on the educational chessboard." (44)

In spite of the "clipped wings" state of the Inspectorate (45), and the mistakes in punctuation, weak composition, grammar and spelling in some of the inspectors' reports which the same magazine noted (46), it congratulated the inspectors on the "ability, intelligence and zeal which characterize their reports as a whole, and upon the interest which they succeed in imparting to a subject so tedious, and prima facie, so repulsive as the statistics of education." (47)

One inspector who had most definitely not had his wings clipped, however, was Harry Longueville Jones whose 1862-3 report generated

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- (43) Ibid., p.402.
 (44) Ibid., pp.273-4.
 (45) Ibid., August 1864, p.161.
 (46) Ibid., October 1863, p.278.
 (47) Ibid., p.286.

more heat than light in the Office when it was received. Apparently Jones had incurred Lingen's displeasure on a number of previous occasions and the Secretary found Jones' report so hostile to the Department that he himself brought it directly to Lord Granville's attention "that the Inspector might see that it was not with myself only that he had to do." (48) While showing the reports to Lord Granville, Lingen had marked a number of passages in order to draw them to the attention of the Lord President, so that when the report was returned to Jones for alteration, there were marks on it. This was the first time since February 1862 that a report had been marked and it was to have grave implications for the Vice-President whose order had been broken.

Parliamentary interest in the mutilation of inspectors' reports, which had begun in 1859 with a debate on Brookfield's Remonstrance (49) was renewed on 30th July 1861 when Mr. Whalley raised the omission of the reports of Marshall and J.R. Morell from the annual volume. (50) The question was raised in a more general way two years later by Sir John Pakington and once again Lowe explained the procedure for censoring inspectors' reports and refused to lay the suppressed reports on the table of the House, since this would give the errant inspectors "notoriety and publicity" and would be offering a premium to the inspectors to disregard the rules of the Department, and be thereby striking at the foundation of discipline. (51) When W.E. Forster raised the question again ten weeks later, Lowe returned

(48) Evidence to the 1864 Select Committee, q.171.

(49) See above, p.175.

(50) Hansard, 30th July 1861, vol.CLXIV, cols.1788, 1832.

(51) Hansard, 27th March 1863, vol.CLXX, col.24.

to the theme of "discipline" and "subordination within the Department":

"No person will say that subordinates ought to be allowed to write controversial letters in the newspaper disputing the policy of their superiors. So with respect to official reports laid before the House ... It is also the duty of every Department to prevent these gentlemen from entering into arguments in support of its policy." (52)

A year later the office of assistant inspector had been abolished, so that there were now about twice as many H.M.I.s eligible to make a report (53) and Lowe used this opportunity to cut down the inspectors' influence by claiming that it would now be too expensive to print all the H.M.I.s' reports every year, so they were to put in a general report only once every two years. When asked about this in the House by Pakington, Lowe cited expense as the reason for this move, since inspectors' reports already cost £2000 a year to print. (54) Pakington also used the opportunity to inquire whether this year's reports would be mutilated and Lowe replied that the normal procedure would be followed. The increasing parliamentary interest was clearly having some effect as no alterations were asked for in the reports that were submitted in early 1864. Lowe claimed that this was because they were all in accordance with the 1861 Minute

(52) Hansard, 11th June 1863, vol.CLXXI, col.722.

(53) Previously assistant inspectors' figures had been included in the report of the full H.M.I. for their districts. In 1864 the districts were made smaller and all the assistant inspectors became full H.M.I.s with a district of their own on which to report.

(54) Hansard, 11th March 1864, vol.CLXXIII, col.1823.

but, to take just one example from many, we find in Barry's report that

"when this change [the Revised Code] ... is fairly and fully at work, those who have felt themselves most aggrieved by its introduction will be the first to experience the beneficial effects of a system which by payment for results stimulates, measures and rewards the sound progress of elementary education." (55)

On the other hand the inspectors who were opposed to the Revised Code showed an "evident caution" (56), confining their comments to statements of fact on the disadvantageous results that the new Code was having in areas like pupil-teacher recruitment. Moncreiff, for example, contented himself with the conclusion that "These are the present facts of my district. I wish I could draw from them encouragement or hope. Such as they are I leave them to speak for themselves." (57) So the inspectors were being tamed and, as a teachers' magazine put it, were writing "under the dread of official censure." (58)

It was ironical that, in the first year for some time when reports had not been altered, Lord Robert Cecil should introduce the motion that was to bring the affair to a climax. He proposed

"That, in the opinion of this House, the mutilation of the Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools,

(55) Report, 1863-4, p.41.

(56) The Museum, vol.I, (new series), August 1864, p.161.

(57) Report, 1863-4, p.110.

(58) The Museum, vol.I, (new series), August 1864, p.161.

and the exclusion from them of statements and opinions adverse to the educational views entertained by the Committee of Council, while matters favourable to them is admitted, are violations of the understanding under which the appointment of the Inspectors was originally sanctioned by Parliament, and tend entirely to destroy the value of their Reports." (59)

He was supported by both W.E. Forster and John Walter who was particularly aggrieved because the inspectors' reports contained a great deal of material which was opposed to his suggestion concerning uncertificated teachers (60) and no favourable comments on the scheme. While Lowe was in the process of making his defence, in which he stated that reports were not marked by the Office, a copy of Jones' 1862 report - the only one to be marked since Lowe issued his Office memorandum - was circulating on the back benches, and Cecil's motion was carried by 101 votes to 93. (61) Lowe promptly resigned, not because of any feeling of departmental responsibility for the censoring of reports, but because he believed that his "personal honour had been struck at, when, as I understood, the statement which I had made appeared to be disbelieved by the House." (62) He asked for a Select Committee to investigate the matter. Granville also tendered his resignation, but Palmerston persuaded him to withdraw it. Granville tried to persuade Lowe to alter his

(59) Hansard, 12th April 1864, vol.CLXXIV, col.897.

(60) See below, p.216.

(61) More than one report appears to have been passed round. See Hansard, 18th April 1864, vol.CLXXIV, col.1206. The others may have been 1861 annual reports, or special reports on schools, e.g. J.R. Morell's controversial Coventry report of 1863. See below, p.269.

(62) Evidence to the 1864 Select Committee, q.707.

decision, telling him that he "should have awaited the decision of the Committee" (63), but Lowe had made up his mind. The Committee was duly set up by the House on 12th May 1864, its terms of reference being "to inquire into the practice of the Committee of Council on Education with respect to the Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools" (64), but it was not until 7th June, after protracted debate, that the composition of the Committee was determined. Lowe himself had declined an invitation to serve on the Committee, but Palmerston attempted to make all the combatants of the parliamentary debates on the subject, as well as H.A. Bruce the current Vice-President, members of the Select Committee. (65) This would undoubtedly have devalued the independent judgment of the Committee and greatly prolonged its proceedings, and the House eventually accepted an amendment for a Committee of five "to be nominated by the General Committee of Elections." (66)

The government ^{was} ~~were~~ clearly in no hurry to clear Lowe's name, for ^{it} ~~they~~ had taken a whole month to set up the Committee, but ~~the~~ ^{the} Report was all that they must have hoped for, and it appeared at a most convenient time, having to be debated at one o'clock in the morning, just four days before the end of the 1864 session of Parliament. There was no opposition to Palmerston's resolution which stated that "the personal honour of [Lowe] is absolutely and entirely

(63) Letter from Granville to Lowe, 17th April 1864, quoted in Lord E. Fitzmaurice, The life of Lord Granville, London, 1905, p.426.

(64) Hansard, 12th May 1864, vol.CLXXV, col.371. Pakington's amendment to widen the terms of reference to inquire into the constitution and working of the Committee of Council and its Department was defeated by 49 votes and he had to wait a year before obtaining such an investigation.

(65) Hansard, 31st May 1864, vol.CLXXV, col.982.

(66) Hansard, 2nd June 1864, vol.CLXXV, col.1092.

clear and untouched," and which rescinded the motion of 12th April.

(67) The short debate concentrated on this personal aspect of the affair and the impending close of the session meant that any consideration of the wider issues raised by the Report would have to await the Report of Pakington's 1865 Select Committee. But this was not the only reason for the narrowness of the debate: the 1864 Committee had manifestly failed to give due consideration to the results of Lord Robert Cecil's incisive questioning of Lingen and Lowe. Their Report consisted of just three pages, describing the history of the censorship of inspector's reports, and concluding

"that the supervision exercised in objecting to the insertion of irrelevant matter, or mere dissertation, and of controversial argument, is consistent with the powers of the Committee of Council, and has, on the whole, been exercised fairly, and without excessive strictness." (68)

They added that they believed some censorship to be desirable, indeed

"essential to the effectual working of the Department, so long as it retains its present constitution and functions, even though it lowers the value of the reports as sources of independent testimony." (69)

Educational historians, in discussing this affair, tend to treat it briefly and lace their discussion of it with the emotive

(67) Hansard, 25th July 1864, vol. CLXXVI, col. 2070.

(68) 1864 Select Committee Report, p. 17.

(69) Ibid.

terms "mutilation" and "suppression". It is too easy with the benefit of twentieth century hindsight to condemn the Office and ignore the conclusions of the 1864 Select Committee Report. The Committee may be justly accused of failing to give due weight to the evidence in concluding that the "supervision" had been exercised "fairly and ... without excessive strictness," but any criticism of its general conclusions must be tempered by the knowledge that the Office were carrying out a procedure that was quite normal at the time. (70) Two of the Office's greatest opponents, John Walter and Matthew Arnold, both agreed that some censorship should take place; it was with the manner of the censorship and the matter which was excluded that they disagreed. (71) Arnold was particularly aggrieved by the custom of excluding comment which was not in agreement with departmental policy, which he believed to be inconsistent with the Instructions under which H.M.I.s were appointed. To make matters worse, he must have seen that the same restrictions did not apply to the factory inspectors, who were allowed to include in their reports suggestions which contradicted government policy. Indeed, in 1862 the government brought in a Bill to give effect to a change which one of them had recommended in his report (72) and in at least four important Acts dealing with labour in the 1860s, "the factory inspectors were all-important." (73) The differences

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- (70) Lord Granville makes it clear that other government departments censored their inspectors' reports. See Hansard, 18th April 1864, vol.CLXXIV, col.1185.
- (71) See Walters' speech in Hansard, 25th July 1864, vol.CLXXVI, col.2073, and Arnold's evidence to the 1864 Select Committee, q.601.
- (72) Quoted in Hansard, 25th July 1864, vol.CLXXVI, col.2079.
- (73) See G. Kitson-Clark, An expanding society. Britain 1830-1900, Cambridge, 1967, pp.148-9.

between departmental procedures here illustrate the problem of the "expert" in the government service, which the positions of Chadwick and Lord Salisbury had highlighted. The doctrine of ministerial responsibility was still in the early stages of its development and, just as a Minister would not resign after a serious mistake by his department, so there was no guarantee that he would back up his civil servants. (74) Nor would men like Chadwick and Matthew Arnold, who had great reputations outside the field of their immediate public service, blindly follow their Minister's policy if they disagreed with it. The independent outlook of the Inspectorate was modelled on the example of men like these and had been strengthened by the resolve of John Allen and his colleagues in the 1840s.

The debate over inspectors' reports, therefore, must be studied in the context of the developing relationship between the Minister and his civil servant, the Department and its officials in the field. Through the 1861 Minute and its implementation, Robert Lowe was attempting to formalise this relationship, which he saw as a matter of subordination and discipline. But, in his own ruthless way, and with the help of Lingen to administer the letter of his law, Lowe was being entirely consistent with the prevailing trend towards increasing supervision of civil servants. He was not the only person who saw the situation in this way:

"It is no arbitrary rule which requires that all holders of permanent offices must be subordinate to some Minister responsible to Parliament since

(74) For a discussion of this, see *ibid.*, pp.142-8.

it is obvious that without it the first principle of our system of government - the control of all branches of the administration by Parliament - would be abandoned." (75)

The teachers' magazines did not take such a broad view, noting only that, of the twin charges of mutilation and suppression levelled against the Office, the first had not been denied and there was no doubt about the second. (76) The teachers were remembering the days of Kay-Shuttleworth and the early H.M.I.s when

"great delicacy was felt ... in interfering with the reports of the inspectors ... and it was thought desirable to give inspectors a larger amount of discretion in the form of report than would have been permitted if they had been officers appointed solely by the government and without the power of withdrawal and sanction by the archbishops or by a religious body." (77)

Nevertheless alterations were suggested to his inspectors by Kay-Shuttleworth in the late 1840s and, though the teachers might have been surprised to know this, the principle of alteration of inspectors' reports - with their permission - was never really in doubt after about 1846. The great differences lay in the manner in which the alterations were carried out and in the matter which was excised.

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- (75) 3rd Earl Grey, in 1864, quoted in G. Kitson-Clark "'Statesmen in disguise': Reflexions on the History of the Neutrality of the Civil Service", Historical Journal, II, 1959, p.24.
 (76) The Museum, July - October, 1864.
 (77) Kay-Shuttleworth's evidence to the Newcastle Commission, Vol.VI, q.3123, quoted in N. Ball, op.cit., 1963, p.206.

After Kay-Shuttleworth's delicate suggestions, there occurred Adderley's crude attempt to publish only extracts from the reports. This was followed by Lowe's high-minded returning of unmarked reports for the inspectors to censor themselves. In this we can trace exactly the path of the developing relationship between the effective head of the Office and the field corps - from confident interdependence, through a period of hardening attitudes on both sides to an assertion of superiority by the politician in an attempt to discipline "wayward" civil servants. The lack of wisdom of one inspector in expounding the virtues of the Catholic faith in a government publication had given those who subscribed to the narrow view of the inspector's role all the ammunition they needed, and Lowe was quick to make the most of it. He clearly enjoyed it:

"--, you will easily believe, is a very bumptious, though an active and honest inspector, and requires to be kept in order. It must be excruciating torture to a man of his conceit to be made to act the censor on his own productions, under the pain of having them suppressed altogether." (78)

If the Department were exercising a proper degree of responsibility in censoring reports, then one might ask why the inspectors continued to include matter which was outside the limits laid down by the 1861 Minute. The Department, however, had for some years been exerting a totally negative influence both on education policy in general and on H.M.I.s' exhortations and protestations in parti-

(78) Letter to his brother, 9th April 1863, quoted in A.P. Martin, Life and letters of Viscount Sherbrooke, London, 1893, pp.225-6.

cular. It was unfortunate that the inspectors tried to overcome this by publicising their views in a government document at a time when the government was peculiarly sensitive to the more independent elements in the Civil Service.

CHAPTER 8INSPECTORS AND TEACHERSBackground

The idea that the Revised Code brought about a sudden change in the relationship between inspectors and teachers has often been put forward. (1) According to this theory, the Revised Code changed the inspector overnight from an adviser and friend into an examiner whose aim was to deprive the school of as much money as possible. In order to study the extent of this change and see whether it occurred as suddenly as this, we must first return to the situation before 1860.

With the control of a religiously-based elementary education firmly in the hands of the clergy and inspectors whose appointments were approved by religious bodies and who had little experience of the social situation from which teachers and pupils came (2), the overriding impression created by inspectors and managers alike was one of paternalism, inspired by the religious, and often social, consciences of these well-educated men. During the 1840s, the first inspectors became the educational missionaries of the country, broadcasting new ideas and improving the abysmally low standards of working-class education. The untrained teacher, who never found his job an easy one, welcomed advice from any quarter, not least from the inspector who spoke with an authority which the teacher

(1) E.g. A. Tropp, The School Teachers, London, 1957, p.96; E.L. Edmonds, The School Inspector, London, 1962, p.81; C. Leach, Elementary School Inspection in the county of Somerset, 1839-97, unpublished M.Ed. thesis, Bristol University, 1972.

(2) See above, pp.17 - 18.

found both awe-inspiring and encouraging. The inspector, if not always liked, was always respected and some of the H.M.I.s were both. When Joseph Fletcher died in 1852, the B.F.S.S. teachers' paper wrote:

"Of all the young people with whom he thus annually came in contact, there are few who will not lament his death; and none, we hope, who will soon forget the grave and affectionate counsel which he was wont to give them on those occasions. The masters and mistresses of the schools will long remember with how much acuteness he discerned the failings or excellences of their management, and with what wisdom and delicacy he used to advise with them on the subject. The main purpose which he kept before him in all he did, was the improvement of the moral tone of the schools; and we believe he seldom entered one which he did not leave the better for his visit, and to which he did not, in some degree, impart a wholesome and religious influence." (3)

An extract from a schoolmaster's letter to the same paper captures the spirit of the typical relationship between inspector and teacher in the early years:

"I liked Mr. Fletcher, though he did keen-haul me so thoroughly ... No one could witness his careful and affectionate teaching without great benefit. No one could be the subject of his day's inspection without

(3) The Educational Record, vol.II, March 1852, p.69.

becoming wiser and better. No one could be in his company without partaking of his genial and loving spirit ... The most trifling boys were willingly subdued into seriousness with him, and his departure was often regretted with tears. Children and teachers all felt he was a friend." (4)

By the 1850s changes were beginning which affected this relationship. Isolated, but significant, adverse comments on the Inspectorate began to appear in the teachers' press. (5) Yet the religious basis of education and inspection, the paternalism and the advice all continued. The major factors which led to the deterioration in the relationship between teacher and inspector at this time were precipitated by the 1846 Minutes (6) which, ironically, were instituted by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth who was also the inspiration behind the inspectors. Yet there was no sign in the Instructions to Inspectors which followed the Minutes that Kay-Shuttleworth foresaw the deterioration or tried to prevent it. Perhaps he thought it was inevitable. By the 1850s, as a result of the Minutes, there was an increasing flow of better qualified teachers who were more able to evaluate the advice given to them by the inspectors and who were less inclined to bow down before the paternalistic attitude which accompanied the advice. At the same time, the quality of the inspectors was falling and the advice they gave, which in the case of new inspectors was not backed by

(4) Ibid., p.135.

(5) E.g. See above, pp.10-11.

(6) See above, pp.7-10.

any practical experience or training, was sometimes unworkable - or so the teachers felt. (7) The new role which the 1846 Minutes gave to the inspectors changed their relationship with the teachers. Now the H.M.I.s had executive power over them for, if a school wanted to employ a pupil-teacher, the inspector had first to certify the schoolteacher as competent to instruct him. Before the Minutes it had been the school manager who had decided whether to act against a teacher after an unfavourable report from an H.M.I.

"But now the immediate effect of the failure of a pupil-teacher, or an unsatisfactory report from the inspector, is a pecuniary loss to the teacher. And the Committee of Council have also the power virtually of saying that a teacher shall not hold his situation: for the refusal to appoint pupil-teachers amounts to this, as there are few managers who will retain one to whom pupil-teachers cannot be apprenticed." (8)

It was in his role as the agent of the Committee of Council that the inspector was given this power over teachers but, whatever an offended teacher may have thought of that near-mythical Committee and its officious Department, the inspector would usually be the individual on whom his anger settled.

As will be seen, all the factors which have already been mentioned continued in the 1860s. The paternalism was as strong as ever; the advice continued to pour down, though there was perhaps less time to give it and less inclination to receive it under the

(7) See above, pp.11-13.

(8) The School and the Teacher, vol.II, April 1855, p.62.

Revised Code; the religious basis of the Inspectorate continued right up to 1870, reinforced by its denominational structure and, in Church of England schools, the necessity to inspect religious knowledge. The executive power of the inspectors, which had begun to be felt by teachers from 1846 onwards, was strengthened by the Revised Code which attempted in some ways to standardise the use of that power. To what extent the Code affected the whole relationship between inspector and teacher will now be examined.

Public opinion in 1860

At the beginning of the period, teachers were on the defensive. The Newcastle Commission (9) had taken a very restrictive view of both the training and the lack of a career structure for teachers. It also took the narrow view of the school curriculum, thus giving currency to the popular view that teachers were over-educated, over-ambitious for social position and that they were giving the children the wrong sort of education. As always with education, uninformed public opinion was no doubt coloured by experience of the previous generation's schools where the majority of teachers were men who had failed at some other trade and who had had to be helped by the local clergyman. The trained teachers of 1860 resented such "help" as much as they resented the interference of an inexperienced inspector, but public opinion had little sympathy for the teachers' lot. (10) If the Newcastle Commission had taken the restrictive view of teaching, then it was the Revised Code that put this into

(9) See above, chapter 2, for a full discussion of this.

(10) The early history of the teaching profession is covered in detail in A. Tropp, op.cit., chapters 1-3.

practice and substituted a range of weapons in the inspectors' arsenal for the pass-or-fail blunderbuss which had been available since 1846. There was, of course, the deduction of two-and-eight-pences for the failure of children in the 3Rs examination. But the inspector could also withhold the grant altogether if "the state of the school" (11), or, under Article 51, the school building, did not meet certain requirements, if the girls were not taught needle-work, if the registers were not properly kept or if "there appears to be any prima facie objection of a gross kind." (12) He could also withhold from one-tenth to one-half of the grant "for faults of instruction or discipline on the part of the teacher" (13) and various failures on the part of the managers including the provision of insufficient pupil-teachers. The teacher also had to keep the school log-book according to the regulations laid down in the Code and it was the inspector's duty to report whether it had been properly kept. (14) These books were intended to "furnish valuable records of school-keeping." (15) In fact, they were largely useless for informing the H.M.I. of daily progress during the past year (16), as the teachers naturally failed to include anything that they thought the inspector would consider an adverse reflection on themselves.

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- (11) Article 50.
 (12) Article 51 (e). A footnote includes religious education in this.
 (13) Article 52 (a). This again included religious instruction.
 (14) Articles 56-63.
 (15) Report, 1862-3, p.xxviii, Instructions to Inspectors, September 1862.
 (16) See H.M.I. Kennedy's report, Report, 1867-8, p.171.

Differences in social position

So the teacher entered the period of the Revised Code with public opinion largely against him and unsure of the new relationship with the school manager who was now his sole paymaster, the Committee of Council having ended the augmentation grant and so having ceased to pay the teacher directly. With the inspector now appearing to the teacher to be increasingly hostile, he had no one to confide in or to lean upon for advice. Yet some inspectors understood the social isolation of the teacher. Watkins, for example, had in 1360 defended certificated teachers against an attack on them at the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science meeting at Bradford. (17)

Most H.M.I.s, however, took a sterner view of the teachers' position. They were, after all, from very different backgrounds and the religious nature of the inspector's appointment only emphasised the gap between them. The idea of inspection as a means of social control (18) was extended by the Revised Code and the control was now more detailed. This gave greater opportunity for mistrust between inspector and teacher, although this was hardly new. As early as 1842, H.M.I. Allen had suggested that the teacher's house should not be built with a connecting door to the school for "it is a help towards keeping the teacher faithful at his post if the times of his entering and quitting his school be open to public observation." (19) Even in the heyday of co-operation between

(17) Ibid., 1859-60, p.37.

(18) See above, p.17.

(19) Minutes, 1841-2, p.180.

inspector and teacher, that most respected of early H.M.I.s Henry Moseley found schoolmasters lying and cheating during the certificate examinations. (20) When money was directly at stake, as in the Revised Code examinations in schools, the temptation to dishonesty on the part of the teachers was increased and, although most teachers and most inspectors continued to work in the same atmosphere of trust, the number of cases where this did not occur undoubtedly increased. The marking of registers was one area where the teachers' veracity was questioned (21); the conduct of examinations was another:

"I have seen instances in the day schools," wrote H.M.I. Binns, "where the teacher would try to get behind the desks, overlook the work of the children, and then by a push or a thump on the back, intimate to them that they had committed an error." (22)

Clearly some H.M.I.s went out of their way to safeguard against teachers' dishonesty and it is perhaps as much a criticism of H.M.I. Blakiston as of the system itself that he reported

"the existence of a widespread and deep-seated dissatisfaction and irritation in the minds of both teachers and managers produced by what they regard as needlessly suspicious questions which they are required to answer ... They complain that they are treated as though dishonesty were expected and ... assert that attempts to detect

(20) Ibid., 1851-2, vol.I, p.296.

(21) Report, 1866-7, p.296.

(22) Ibid., 1869-70, p.84.

and guard against dishonesty are easily baffled, and that being treated with suspicion they are constantly tempted to act in a questionable way, and 'let the Government find out if they can'." (23)

It was a further irritation to teachers that they were not allowed to supplement their salaries by teaching private pupils. To the authorities this was presumably a small part of the paternalistic interest that they took in their teachers' health and welfare; to the teacher it was "an undue interference with our liberties." (24) Nor were certificated teachers allowed to be churchwardens; since teaching was such an onerous job in a school where there were pupil-teachers, "Their Lordships could not sanction the appointment of the Master of Fairford Endowed School to be one of the Churchwardens of the Parish." (25)

Like most of the inspectors, therefore, the Department's officials failed to understand the teachers' position. But it was the new inspectors particularly who tended to stand on the dignity of their social position and look down on the teacher struggling below.

"The feelings, or the capacities, or the aspirations of the lower classes are to them [the inspectors] sounds without harmony, voices which speak to them in an unknown tongue ... sympathy is wanting in their relations with both teachers and scholars." (26)

(23) Ibid., 1867-8, p.109.

(24) The School and the Teacher, vol.II, April 1855, p.62.

(25) PRO Ed., 9/12, 349. Letter to Rev. F.W. Rice, Vicar of Fairford, 11th July 1855.

(26) Papers for the Schoolmaster, vol.V (new series), April 1869, p.69.

Understanding the teachers' difficulties

Although the inspectors were irrevocably divided from the teachers by their backgrounds in a class-conscious society, many of them continued during the 1860s to sympathise with the teachers' difficulties and publicise their grievances. H.M.I. Norris, Rugby-educated, with a first-class Classical degree from Trinity College, Cambridge, and later to have a distinguished career in the Church (27), had shown the way in the 1850s. Here was a man whose passionate interest in education helped him to cross the class barriers and identify with the teachers' difficulties:

"No one can have gone about five years among the elementary schools of the mining and manufacturing districts of the North, without being aware that indeed the teacher's task is in no ordinary degree an arduous one. I have seen him at the end of his day's work, pale with the impure air and confinement of a crowded school, exhausted by over-tension of mind and continual trials of temper, pained and dispirited by the waywardness and carelessness of his children; returning wearily to his home or his lodging ...; and, worst of all, feeling that he has to bear all this alone, that he has no redress, little or no compassion or kindly encouragement to look for; - that if he goes to the parents of those children for whom he is spending his strength, he will

(27) See Appendix 1.

meet with indifference or perhaps abuse; if to the managers, whose confidence he has a right to claim, he will find himself regarded as their pensioner rather than their almoner and - most cruel mockery - will be met by an ill-concealed or perhaps openly - expressed doubt, whether all his schooling is not doing him more harm than good." (28)

Norris identified four areas of difficulty, the children, the parents, the public and the "teacher's self", for which he recommended greater cheerfulness in teaching, an extension of the Factory Act, home visits and prize schemes, greater responsibility in loco parentis on the part of the teacher and greater single-mindedness of purpose. (29) Few inspectors went so far as this in analysing the teacher's position. Yet there were others who showed that they understood the difficulties:

"... good work has been done for a very large body of very ignorant children ... great credit is due to them [the teachers] for the discipline, order and general efficiency of the school." (30)

H.M.I. Waddington, on the other hand, betrayed his lack of understanding of the relationship between teacher and children when he told a teacher:

"In order to get excellent discipline, the children

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- (28) J.P. Norris, The Teacher's Difficulties, an address delivered on November 18th 1854 to the Metropolitan Association of Church Schoolmasters, London, 1855, p.4.
- (29) Ibid., pp.5-16.
- (30) Log book of Yeovil Trinity School. H.M.I. Tinling's report on the school in 1864.

must be able to sit perfectly still, without doing any work, for one hour, or two if required, while he is examining the separate Standards." (31)

Other inspectors similarly gave away their lack of empathy in their annual reports. Blandford, for example, attributed the high proportion of failures in Standard 1, not to attendance and family reasons, but to the lack of attention which teachers paid to their lower classes. (32) Such a comment is far removed from H.M.I. Kennedy's comparison of teaching with Penelope's web

"inasmuch as it is always beginning over again in a disheartening way, in consequence of the irregular attendance, and the early age at which the children leave, and the rapid succession of new scholars." (33)

By the mid-1860s the teachers were beginning to lose heart and H.M.I. J.D. Morell notes their pessimistic outlook on the future of the profession. (34) There can be little doubt that this attitude would not have been so marked had the Department and its inspectors shown a greater understanding of the teachers' difficulties. That many of the inspectors did not do so arose partly from an inability to unbend from their dignified social position and academic background and partly owing to the nature of the Revised Code examination which made the inspection essentially one of facts rather than people. The teachers, however, always considered that it was for a different reason:

(31) Log book of Ashwick Oakhill British School, Somerset, 17th June 1864.

(32) Report, 1863-4, p.57.

(33) Minutes, 1848-50, vol.II, p.183. J.D. Morell draws the same parallel on p.466 of the same volume.

(34) Report, 1864-5, p.185.

"Inside the profession it has always been felt, with varying degrees of consciousness, that the sympathies of the inspectors did not, nay, perhaps could not, embrace all the doubts and difficulties of a teacher's life. Even the most popular inspector would be more warmly welcomed by teachers, if in addition to his other qualifications he owned this, that he had himself at one time actually laboured in a school." (35)

This formed the basis of one of the teachers' main grievances during the 1850s and 1860s: there were no avenues of promotion within education for the successful teacher. He could go to a larger school or, if he was very lucky, he could obtain a lecturership at a College. But H.M. Inspectorate was a closed door. The reason for this was that it was felt that inspectors had to be the social equals of school managers and that, if teachers were appointed to the Inspectorate, managers would not respect them. Although, as Tropp states, "the teachers pointed to the success of the organising masters of the National Schools [recruited from experienced teachers] who had always been treated with 'becoming respect' by school managers." (36) Of the H.M.I.s themselves, only Watkins and Kennedy expressed any sympathy concerning this lack of promotion prospects, although even they did not go so far as to suggest that teachers should join their own ranks. (37) Only the teachers themselves consistently pressed for this and they did not form a sufficiently strong pressure group to win public opinion to their side until the Cross Commission came

(35) The Educational Guardian, March 1863, p.288.

(36) A. Tropp, op.cit., p.41.

(37) Minutes, 1851-2, vol.II, p.345; ibid., 1854-5, p.524; ibid., 1857-8, p.293.

out in their support in 1888. (38) The pressure was not entirely without success as inspectors' assistants were appointed from the ranks of serving teachers from 1863 onwards.

The teachers' champions

In other ways, the inspectors continued during the 1860s to be the teachers' champions. (39) First, there was the continuing struggle to elevate the social position of the teacher. Not all the H.M.I.s were sympathetic to this, Jones having described such strivings during the 1850s as "these vanities and fond aspirations". (40) Bellairs too was chary of educating teachers above their station, giving them "knowledge that will be of no use to them in their schools, and this will also give them an undesirable marketable value for other jobs." (41) Norris, on the other hand, felt that teachers should have a cultivated mind (42) and Matthew Arnold went so far as to recommend them to raise themselves socially by reading for external degrees at London University. (43) Sandford helped in a more direct way by giving Latin and German classes at each monthly meeting of the South Staffordshire Schoolmasters Association. (44)

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- (38) Royal Commission on the working of the Elementary Education Acts, 1886-9, final report, 1888, pp.73-4. As P.H.J.H. Gosden (Evolution of a profession, London, 1972, p.332) points out, however, even in 1907 promotion to the Inspectorate depended "more or less on social rank and less rather than more on natural ability." Quoted from The Schoolmaster, 30th November 1907.
- (39) J. Leese (Personalities and power in English education, London, 1950, p.59) described the early inspectors as the teachers' "most consistent champions and defenders."
- (40) Minutes, 1853-4, vol.II, p.663.
- (41) Report, 1858-9, p.36.
- (42) Ibid., 1861-2, p.84.
- (43) Ibid., 1862-3, p.192.
- (44) Papers for the Schoolmaster, vol.V (new series), January 1869, p.2.

In their different ways, therefore, a number of H.M.I.s encouraged the teachers to elevate their status.

A much higher proportion of H.M.I.s helped teachers in the formation and running of their associations, not necessarily with the support of their superiors. Lingen's attitude to schoolmasters' associations in the 1860s is not known though we may be sure that he was against the trend towards forming national associations, since he had earlier told an Anglican inspector "not to encourage the idea of independent action, and deliberation on the part of teachers, by correspondence with them in collective capacities or as independent of the Managers of their several Schools." (45) Nevertheless the H.M.I.s always played an active part in the formation and running of schoolmasters' associations and regretted the dissolution of many of them in the wake of the Revised Code. (46) According to Tropp, however, they were reviving by the end of the 1860s (47) and schoolmistresses' associations, though there were fewer of them, had never waned. The inspectors' support of teachers' associations, although it tended to be rather patronising in that the H.M.I.s had a fixed view of what such an association ought, or ought not, to do, was at least consistent and there is evidence of many H.M.I.s taking an active part in the associations in their district, either by speaking at meetings, chairing them, or merely

(45) PRO Ed., 9/12, 278. Letter to Church of England inspector, 19th February 1852. H.M.I. Norris specifically regretted the formation of the National Association (Granville Papers, PRO 30/29. 19/10/9. 14th December 1855) although Kennedy and Moseley helped in the formation of such a body. (W. Ball, op.cit., 1970, p.225)

(46) Report, 1867-8, p.169.

(47) A. Tropp, op.cit., p.100.

being in attendance. (48) H.M.I. Fitch, who was also a supporter of the movement to register teachers with a General Council, at a time when other professions were gaining a measure of self-control (49), strongly believed that teachers' associations should be un-denominational but, with the whole structure of education, including the Inspectorate, being denominational, he had little chance of carrying his views.

Although the Revised Code had no effect on the inspectors' support for teachers' associations, a change in their opinions on teachers' pay did occur at the beginning of the 1860s. Until that time the inspectors had consistently called for an increase in remuneration for teachers (50) but, in spite of the fact that the Revised Code brought a decrease in teachers' salaries, there is no evidence during the 1860s that inspectors felt the salaries to be too low. There were a number of reasons for this apparent change in outlook. First, the Code had made teachers' pay a matter entirely between manager and teacher; the Department was no longer a party to the salary agreement. Hence it was less directly a matter of concern to the Department's agents, the inspectors. Secondly, the number of teachers becoming qualified at the beginning of the 1860s was greatly in excess of the number required by the schools. This imba-

(48) N. Ball (op.cit., 1970, p.225) lists the following inspectors as having spoken at Teachers' Association meetings in the 1850s: Bellairs, Brookfield, Kennedy, J.D. Morell, Moseley and Norris. A study of teachers' papers for the 1860s adds to this list: Watkins, Sherpe, Capel, Fitch, Sandford, Tufnell, Tinling, Bonner and Scoltock.

(49) See G. Kitson-Clark, The making of Victorian England, London, 1962, p.261.

(50) See, for example, Minutes, 1845, vol.II, p.109; ibid., 1846, vol.I, p.167; ibid., 1855-6, pp.242, 362, 636; Report, 1858-9, p.193; ibid., 1860-1, p.44.

lance of supply and demand, though illusory in terms of the nation's real needs, led to a decrease in salaries at the time, which was considered by the Department itself to be "neither alarming nor unreasonable." (51) Thirdly, this decrease had been brought about partly by the Revised Code and any criticism of salary levels would almost certainly have been taken by the Office as a criticism of the Code itself at a time when the Office was peculiarly sensitive to critical reports by H.M.I.s. Finally, towards the end of the decade, average salaries had increased to the point where H.M.I. Oakeley thought teachers well paid, considering the holidays, and Watkins, who had been one of the early campaigners for an increase in teachers' pay, was content to note its steady rise. (52)

This lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Inspectorate for the teachers' complaints over pay was matched by a similar reticence on the question of pensions. H.M.I. Moseley in particular had campaigned hard during the 1850s for a Teachers' Superannuation Fund but the government had refused to sanction his scheme and the limited pensions' arrangements that had been established were abolished in 1862. Although the teachers were very bitter about what they regarded as the Department's breach of faith over pensions (53), there is no mention in inspectors' reports of the need for a pension fund after H.M.I. Jones' report of 1862.

(51) Ibid., 1864-5, p.xviii. The average salary of certificated masters in 1860 was £94; in 1865 it was £87; by 1870 it had risen again to £96. M.E. Sadler and J.#. Edwards, "Summary of Statistics, Regulations, etc. of Elementary Education in England and Wales 1833-70", Special Reports on Educational Subjects, vol.II, London, 1898, p.542.

(52) Ibid., 1867-8, p.351; ibid., 1869-70, p.257.

(53) The Museum, vol.V (new series), October 1868, p.250.

Particularly over the questions of pay and pensions the Revised Code marked a turning point in the role of the inspector as the champion of the teachers' causes. But there is no evidence that it was the Code itself that led to this change and it should be remembered that the teachers were by 1862 much more the champions of their own causes. They did this through their newspapers and associations which the inspectors had helped to establish and which they were continuing to support.

The Walter debate

On one very important matter, the inspectors were almost unanimous in their support of the position of the certificated teacher. Government grants, they believed, should under no circumstances be given to schools that were in the charge of uncertificated teachers. Such a suggestion had been made by the Newcastle Commission (54), but the public discussion on this point, which rumbled on throughout the decade, was really initiated at the end of the parliamentary debate on the Revised Code by John Walter, a Member of Parliament who was also a friend of Robert Lowe and a proprietor of the Times. (55) Walter, who was opposed at the time by both Adderley and Lowe and later by most of the Inspectorate, argued that the only way to extend good education to the rural areas was to give grants for children's success in the Revised Code examination, regardless of whether the teacher possessed a certificate of proficiency from a

(54) See above, p.24.

(55) Hansard, 5th May 1862, vol.CLXVI, cols.1243-71. The 1865 Select Committee of which Walter was a member, called many witnesses who supported his view (mainly clergy). But Sir John Pakington, in his draft report, disagreed with Walter. P.P. 1866, VII, 115, pp.126-7.

Training College. Schools in "neglected areas" had entered a vicious circle of bad teachers, bad education, fewer children, less school income and so worse teachers. Walter saw his plan as the only way of breaking into the circle, giving the teachers of such schools something to strive for and, in keeping with current dogma, rewarding their success. He maintained that certificated teachers did not have a monopoly of teaching skill and that it was the inspector's job to keep a check on the general state of the school. The managers, he felt, would still have an incentive to employ a good teacher in order to continue receiving the grant. H.M.I. Norris was the first to take up the pen against these views which he saw as threatening the whole fabric of elementary education. Inspection, replied Norris, was insufficient as a sole check on schools and the certificate examination, he believed, had a moral as well as an intellectual value. (56)

Many other H.M.I.s joined in the chorus of opposition, seeing Walter's plan as the beginning of the end for Training Colleges. H.M.I. Cowie, the inspector of men's Training Colleges, who had two years earlier noted the bad effect that the debate was having on teacher recruitment, felt that

"the present Certificate examination is as low as it can be with any claim to be sufficient, or to be a test of power and knowledge; and men who cannot satisfy this criterion must generally be unfit for the office." (57)

(56) P.P. 1863, (III), XLVI, 531.

(57) Report, 1866-7, p.395. See also Bellairs, *ibid.*, 1868-9, p.29; Bonner, *ibid.*, 1865-6, p.87; Fussell, *ibid.*, 1868-9, p.107; Meyrick, *ibid.*, 1865-6, p.141; Mitchell, *ibid.*, 1864-5, p.112; Perez, *ibid.*, 1868-9, p.144; Robinson, *ibid.*, 1867-8, p.210; Alderson, *ibid.*, 1867-8, p.284; Fitch, *ibid.*, 1867-8, p.349; J.D. Morell, *ibid.*, 1866-7, p.264; Renouf, *ibid.*, 1867-8, p.376; Stokes, *ibid.*, 1867-8, p.249; Watkins, *ibid.*, 1865-6, p.232.

But there was undeniably a problem in the rural areas and, as the length of the debate suggests, many people were on Walter's side, including a number of H.M.I.s. (58) Other inspectors suggested compromises. E.P. Arnold, discussing the need for government aid to reach schools with uncertificated teachers, suggested a one-year grant to such schools, renewable only if the teacher obtained a certificate during the course of the year. (59) Another of the south-western inspectors, Tregarthen, suggested that H.M.I.s should be able to grant "provisional certificates" to country schoolmasters. (60) The schoolmasters themselves were uncertain about Walter's plan, one of their associations praising it in 1864 and then condemning it two years later (61), but by the end of the decade the public debate on education had taken a different turn and fewer people were in favour of a scheme which would have lowered the professional standards of teachers. For the first and only time in the decade, quality had won the argument at the expense of quantity.

The power of the inspectors over teachers

By their opposition to Walter's plan, the inspectors had upheld the existing position of the teachers and helped to consolidate the teachers' growing professional reputation. Yet the teachers were far from being their own bosses. The Department

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- (58) See, for example, the reports of Alington, *ibid.*, 1869-70, p.25; Blakiston, *ibid.*, 1867-8, p.105; Byrne, *ibid.*, 1868-9, p.47; Gream, *ibid.*, 1868-9, p.112, Watts, *ibid.*, 1868-9, p.268. It should perhaps be noted that these men were all recent appointments to the Inspectorate.
- (59) *Ibid.*, 1867-8, p.39.
- (60) *Ibid.*, 1868-9, p.244.
- (61) A. Tropp, *op.cit.*, p.99.

issued copious regulations which they had to follow; the managers, who decided their pay and conditions of work, were their immediate superiors, and parents were always anxious that teachers should be giving value for money. Yet the inspectors, as the agents of the government, had more power than anyone over the teachers.

This had really started with the 1846 Minutes when the government grant in augmentation of his salary was dependent on a favourable report from the inspector, as was the teacher's licence to have pupil-teachers under him. H.M.I. Cook doubted whether inspectors were in fact able to judge whether a teacher was competent to instruct pupil-teachers (62) and only rarely was such permission refused. H.M.I. Blandford, however, records that he found it necessary to withhold a number of teachers' certificates (63) and there is little doubt that the exercise of inspectors' power dates not from 1862, but from 1846. For example, one of the teachers' complaints was that they were not allowed to communicate directly with the Office; all such letters had to be signed by the school manager. As one teachers' paper put it:

"There is no redress for an aggrieved master, he has not the privilege of addressing government at all except through the secretary or clergyman, but as is familiar to the whole profession, these are sometimes the offending parties, and of course will not address government against themselves; and any master grumbling against an inspector feels the whole weight of that

(62) Minutes, 1851-2, vol.II, p.42.

(63) Report, 1860-1, p.45.

gentleman's vengeance the next year." (64)

The point here was not just that the Department and its inspectors were thought by the writer to be acting highhandedly, but that this was being thought five years before the Revised Code. Five years after it, the complaints were still being levelled against the Department:

"They [the teachers] complain of the obscurity and want of simplicity of the Code, of the seemingly grudging spirit in which the grant is doled out, and of the irritating tone of official communications." (65)

The Department seems to have almost encouraged this view and certainly had much less regard for the teachers than had its inspectors. It could hardly have exuded confidence in them or care for their well-being when it stated as policy on applicants for pupil-teacherships:

"... nor is it a reason against making necessary changes in the mode of examining and aiding elementary schools, that the office of teacher no longer attracts the same or the same number of applicants. Such applicants are means to an end, and valuable only so far as they conform to it." (66)

It must be remembered that the teacher's view of his inspector

(64) The School and the Teacher, vol.IV, August 1857, p.162.

(65) Report, 1867-8, p.109. One example of the Department's attitude occurred over the question of issuing copies of a teacher's parchment certificate. Lingen wrote that "refusal should be absolute in all cases except those in which (a) the destruction of the Certificate was witnessed (b) no blame attaches to the owner." Heywood St. James Infant School: "Parchment stolen. New one refused." PRO Ed. 9/4, 209, dated 16th October 1866.

(66) Ibid., 1864-5, p.xiii.

was coloured by the fact that the H.M.I. was the emissary of what the teachers regarded as a callous Department.

The teachers, therefore, had no recourse to the Department if the inspector misused his power and, if the power was considerable before the Revised Code, it was extended in 1862 by becoming so much more detailed. There was also less room for the inspector to make allowances for a recent change in teacher or bad weather on inspection day or any of the numerous other things that might go wrong for the teacher on the big day.

Apart from the Code itself there were other ways in which the inspector could exercise power over the teacher. For example, if a manager who could pay well wanted a new teacher, he would turn to the inspector for a recommendation (67) or if there was a suspicion on the part of the manager of misconduct by a teacher, the manager would ask the inspector to investigate. (68)

The situation at the annual examination was therefore fraught with tension and the teacher's nervousness was easily passed onto the children. (69) The practice of paying part or all of the teacher's salary on the result of the annual examination (70) made it worse for the teacher and the fact that several weeks of intense examination practice had just taken place would have had

(67) Minutes, 1851-2, vol.II, p.37.

(68) Report, 1858-9, p.166.

(69) Ibid., 1863-4, p.42.

(70) See above, p.156.

some effect on even the calmest of children. (71) Matthew Arnold, in discussing the difficulties of conducting a fair examination, referred to the "appealing looks of master or scholars for a more prolonged trial of a doubtful scholar." (72) The effect of all this on the mode of inspection has already been discussed (73) but it must not be forgotten how the situation on the examination day emphasised the power which the inspector held over the teacher. The inspector was empowered not only to fail children who did not reach the required standard but also to deduct a proportion of the grant, if necessary. Articles 4 and 52 apparently caused most trouble and it is easy to understand why. Article 4 required that children whose parents were above the labouring class should not be eligible for grants whilst Article 52 outlined a number of reasons for deducting a proportion of the grant if the inspector felt this to be necessary. When we add to all this the differing standards of the inspectors (74), it is a tribute to both the inspectors and teachers that relationships between them were not much worse than they were.

Opinions of each other

Contrary to the belief quoted at the beginning of the chapter,

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- (71) Evidence of such last-minute cramming frequently occurs in school log books. See, for example, Old Shildon St. John's C.E. Mixed School, County Durham, 4th April 1867; St. Oswald's Boys, Durham, 7th November 1864; Castle Eden National Boys, County Durham, June 1864 and 1866. Such examination practice was encouraged by at least one H.M.I. - see C.W. King's comment in the log book of Hartlepool Middleton St. John's C.E. Mixed, October 1865.
- (72) Report, 1862-3, p.189.
- (73) See above, pp.84-5.
- (74) See above, pp.86-9. Overall, inspectors tended to be lenient in their grant reductions. In 1864/5 the reduction amounted to seven per cent of the total grant and in 1866/7 and 1869/70 the comparable figure was only three per cent.

the relationship between inspectors and teachers was not a simple story where everything was good before 1862 and everything was bad afterwards.

It is certainly true that inspectors frequently praised teachers before that time (75) but, equally, they found plenty to criticise. (76) From the other side, teachers' magazines normally praised the inspectors before 1862 although, as has been pointed out already, the 1850s signalled the start of the criticisms (77) and these occasional salvos continued during the early part of the next decade when H.M.I. Glennie was criticised for stating that inspectorships should not be open to teachers (78) and Brookfield and Grant were the subject of an acid comment when they resigned their inspectorships for "livings of some value ... Our readers will remember these Reverend gentlemen as the chief complainers concerning the 'high intellectual attainments' of teachers." (79) Yet, not long before, the same magazine has been generous in its praise of another inspector:

"We cannot refrain from expressing a wish that every inspector, school manager and educationalist, possessed as thorough a knowledge of, and earnest sympathy with, the feelings of the vast majority of teachers, ... ,

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- (75) See, for example, the reports of Kennedy, Minutes, 1853-4, vol.II, p.446; M. Arnold, ibid., 1854-5, p.624; Bowstead, Report, 1858-9, p.152; Alderson, ibid., 1859-60, p.182; Watkins, ibid., 1860-1, p.44.
- (76) See, for example, the reports of Allen, Minutes, 1841-2, p.180; Stewart on teachers in colliery schools, ibid., 1853-4, vol.II, p.605; Scoltock, Report, 1859-60, p.181; Alderson on rural teachers, ibid., 1860-1, p.180.
- (77) See above, pp.10-11.
- (78) Educational Guardian, vol.III, June 1861, p.57.
- (79) Ibid., July 1861, p.61.

and put forward his views with the boldness, energy and perseverance, which Mr. Watkins has so constantly exhibited." (80)

After the Revised Code the published opinions continued to vary in much the same way. Many inspectors praised the teachers, though few more heartily than H.M.I. Mitchell:

"It is a great pleasure to be able to bear very satisfactory testimony to the zeal, energy and desire to improve and advance of by far the greater part of the teachers of the district. The character of the teachers has been very deserving of the highest commendation in the east of London during the late infliction of cholera; not a single teacher deserted his post, and many rendered most valuable aid and assistance under circumstances of great anxiety and terror." (81)

Such praise occurred fairly commonly in the inspectors' reports. H.M.I. Campbell's limiting attitude towards the teachers was more rare:

"I find them almost invariably earnest, untiring and conscientious, and most willing to carry out any regulations which your Lordships may see fit to impose." (82)

(80) Ibid., vol.I, March 1859, p.114.

(81) Report, 1866-7, p.132. For other laudatory comments see the reports of E.P. Arnold, ibid., 1863-4, p.19; French, ibid., 1868-9, pp.86-7; Howard, ibid., p.115; Pryce, ibid., p.169; Lynch, ibid., p.312; Kennedy, ibid., 1869-70, p.155.

(82) Ibid., p.118.

Such faint praise reveals an exceptionally narrow view of the teacher's task although, in fairness to Campbell, it must be pointed out that he had a few years earlier complained that teachers were cramming children too much when they should be strengthening their characters and improving the moral principles of their pupils. (83) H.M.I. Fitch, who had formerly been Principal of a Training College and who had changed from opposition of to support for the Revised Code, felt that this mechanical teaching was the fault not of the Code, but of "overworked and unskilful" teachers.(84), whom he criticised elsewhere for not advancing themselves intellectually by, for example, reading for an external degree, as he himself had done nearly twenty years earlier. (85) Only Kennedy made a direct comparison between the schoolmasters of the 1850s and the 1860s and he said of the post-Revised Code teachers that "their attainments and refinement seem inferior, their aims and aspirations seem lower, and they work with less spirit and zest." (86)

Criticism from inspectors of the calibre and experience of Fitch and Kennedy would no doubt have been taken to heart by the teachers, but on occasions when criticism was felt to be unjust, the teachers' magazines were quick to spring to the defence of their colleagues. The most notable occurrence of this was in 1864 when H.M.I. Cowie had complained in his report that "the lachrymose and peevish tone" of elementary schoolteachers was

(83) Ibid., 1865-6, p.91. Moncreiff made the same point, ibid., p.158.

(84) Ibid., 1869-70, p.319.

(85) See A.L. Lilley, Sir Joshua Fitch, London, 1906, pp.52-4.

(86) Report, 1867-8, p.169. But this was apparently not so of schoolmistresses.

discouraging young pupil-teachers from going to College.

"Lavish subsidy," continued Rev. Cowie, "had lasted too long, and when stopped it was found to have enervated its recipients and it will take some years, perhaps, to recover a healthy and vigorous tone." (87)

The other Training College inspector, Frederick Cook, angered the teachers by stating in the same Report how he had addressed all College students on the proper attitude for them to take in the light of the new Code. (88) After several years when the teachers' magazines had contained very little criticism of inspectors, both the Museum and the Educational Guardian were furious at these reports and the Museum launched a particularly bitter attack on both Cowie and Cook. (89) Although such attacks in teachers' magazines were sporadic, they have a strength which suggests that the grievances had remained under the surface for some time. An article published in 1869 outlined the disadvantages under which the writer felt that inspectors laboured. (90) The main complaint was that inspectors had no firsthand experience of elementary teaching and therefore could have no appreciation of the teachers' difficulties. As we have seen, this was simply not true of some inspectors. (91) But it was the new inspectors that the writer was mainly criticising: their cant phrases, their lack of scientific knowledge and their poor judgment of the tea-

(87) Ibid., 1863-4, p.311.

(88) Ibid., p.321.

(89) The Museum, vol.I (new series), August 1864, pp.161-3; Educational Guardian, vol.IV, May 1862, p.265.

(90) Papers for the Schoolmaster, vol.V (new series), April 1869, p.82.

(91) See above, p.97.

cher's achievements in a difficult school. What the writer was really aiming at, however, was the promotion of teachers to the Inspectorate. Twenty years later the Cross Commission was told by a headmaster of a lack of sympathy on the part of the inspectors:

"They simply come to measure certain results, not educationally; we cannot point out our difficulties and they are not weighed if we do so." (92)

But he was really complaining about the system of inspection, not the inspectors themselves. (93) The same point was put most eloquently by a Scottish teacher in the mid-1860s:

"Since an inspector is no more competent to test exactly the quantity and quality of the educative influence exerted on a boy during the year, than of determining the quantity of beef consumed by him, during the same period, by an annual process of weighing him, is it very much more absurd to pay the butcher than the teacher by results?" (94)

Throughout the 1860s the teachers' magazines were full of praise for the inspectors' annual reports (95) and an inspector's retirement from a district was often the occasion for a generous presentation and speech-making. When, for example, J.D. Morell was moved from the northern district in 1865, nearly £90 was raised from 230 subscribers. During the speeches

(92) Evidence to the Cross Commission, 1887, q.14170.

(93) See also a letter from a teacher in The Museum, vol.II, November 1865, p.299, which complains that a year's work on a child is tested in $1\frac{1}{2}$ minutes. Here also the writer is attacking the system, not the inspectors.

(94) The Museum, vol.II, November 1865, p.335.

(95) See, for example, ibid., vol.II, September 1865, p.201.

"they esteemed him for his abilities, for his distinction in philosophical literature, for his character, his geniality, his goodness of heart; for his promotion of educational progress; for his exquisite tact in the manipulation of educational machinery, and for the interest he had taken in their own work." (96)

In reply, Morell looked back to his early inspectoral days "with something of pleasure and regret, because there seemed to be a mutual confidence between schools and the inspector which, somehow, had disappeared." He hoped that "a purely mechanical system of government inspection must at least be regarded as tentative," and that a final system of education would soon emerge. Clearly Morell believed, two years after the introduction of the Revised Code, that its more mechanical approach had damaged the relationship between teacher and inspector. Before we accept this statement as a full summary of the situation, however, it would be as well to qualify it. First, looking back always encourages one to remember the good points and forget the bad. Secondly the Revised Code was in its infancy and education - particularly the teacher - was only just beginning to recover from the shock which its inception undoubtedly caused. Finally, Morell was the kind of inspector whom the Revised Code affected most. He was an idealist who firmly believed that good results were more likely to come in elementary subjects if there was also considerable emphasis on

(96) The Educational Record, vol.VI, 1865, p.159. Similar tributes were made to others, including Tinling (Papers for the Schoolmaster, vol.XIII, September 1863, p.179), Oakeley (Educational Record, vol.X, July 1878, p.199), and Alderson (Ibid., vol.XII, January 1886, p.151).

the so-called higher subjects of geography, history and grammar.

(97) This was at a time when many people held the view that too much emphasis was being placed on these higher subjects at the expense of the 3Rs.

The Revised Code, therefore, by making the inspection more mechanical, formalised the relationship between inspector and teacher and, whilst this led to a deterioration in the relationships between some inspectors and some teachers, it improved the relationships between others. (98) Teachers' complaints tended not to be against the inspectors so much as against the Code itself, though there were cases of complaint, particularly against the less experienced H.M.I.s. Even these, however, must be looked at in the light of the continuing campaign by the teachers to establish an avenue of promotion to the Inspectorate.

It must not be forgotten that the inspectors were trying to improve the standard of elementary education and they were trying to do this in areas determined, not by themselves or the teachers, but by the Department. In the very early days of inspection this raising of standards was carried on in a more encouraging way, with the inspectors being driven on by the missionary zeal of both themselves and Kay-Shuttleworth. By the 1860s this kind of zeal had completely disappeared in the Department, a trend which was reflected in many of the inspectors. A patronising form of social control was now the main driving force and this was brought

(97) See, for example, his report in the year of the Revised Code, Report, 1861-2, p.129.

(98) See Bellairs' comments on this, ibid., 1864-5, pp.14-16.

out in the attitudes of many inspectors to the social position of the teacher and his difficulties in the classroom. Yet, as has been pointed out, these attitudes were always present in the Inspectorate. The Revised Code had continued the process of bringing them more to the surface.

CHAPTER 9
INSPECTORS AND MANAGERS

Much of the voluntary educational work in the mid-nineteenth century was done

"under the impulse of a strong sense of social responsibility and at the promptings of an unquiet conscience, and the sequel was to show that neither of these agents by itself sufficed to do anything significant In fact, something had to be added to the conscientious virtues; and what was needed was fire, fire which would not only burn in those who despatched the mission, or in the missionary, but would cross the gap and blaze away among those to whom the mission was sent.

And in many cases fire was granted." (1)

Every school had its management committee, but the fire burned, if at all, in only one or two of its members. In B.F.S.S. schools this would be the wife of a wealthy local or, more rarely, the wealthy man himself or a businessman. In Roman Catholic schools it would be one of a number of local clergymen. In National schools it would nearly always be the local vicar or the squire's lady. (2) In rural areas, these people would receive little support from farmers whose attitudes to education were governed

(1) G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England, London, 1962, pp.176-7.

(2) For a detailed analysis of school managers in the nineteenth century, see Peter Gordon, The Victorian School Manager, London, 1974; and N. Ball, Voluntary Effort in English Elementary Schools, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Keele University, 1970.

by their need for cheap labour and who believed that too much education was damaging to farm labourers. H.M.I. Bellairs quoted a classic example in the West Midlands where a country parson had for a long time been trying to establish a school to replace the existing one which was taking place "in a small damp cold cottage, because neither the squire nor farmers will assist in building a school-room." In response to the vicar's request, one of the farmers replied:

"Dr Revd,

I will give the same as my neighbour's dos towards the, School but I have alarg. Famoly of my own to educate and is expencive to do, I am willing for the low clas of peopel to learn to read the, Bibal and to right but shall not contribute to anything more than that for anything more than that I consider to be a great injury to them.

I remain yours

Respectful." (3)

The squire apparently replied in similar vein although the spelling and grammar were correct.

Unless the squire gave the school his support, its management was an uphill task owing to the poverty of the remaining inhabitants of the area. (4) In such cases the burden of balancing a school's budget nearly always fell on the local clergyman and, because the

(3) Report, 1861-2, p.30.

(4) Roman Catholic schools, which were often situated in very poor city areas with a large Irish population, were in a similar financial position. Ibid., 1868-9, p.xxxi.

great majority of schools had been established under the auspices of the National Society, this usually meant that the local Church of England vicar bore the brunt of school management and financing. The inspectors were painfully aware of this situation:

"I find a school, perhaps, in which a poor clergyman, struggling to support himself and family in respectability, engages a trained and certificated teacher. The teacher fails in securing a proper standard of discipline and attainments in the school, for in spite of all our care some inefficient teachers do obtain certificates, and after the examination of the school I am obliged to recommend a deduction of the grant, well knowing that the loss will fall upon the only person in the parish who is interested in the school, and who alone undergoes pecuniary loss on its behalf." (5)

For it was one of the weaknesses as well as one of the strengths of mid-nineteenth century elementary education that managers really did manage their schools and those "who did less were open to charges of neglect." (6) This situation provided the opportunity for the sort of voluntary zeal which fired much educational

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- (5) Ibid., 1864-5, p.21. H.M.I. Bellairs, who wrote this, was in a good position to know the situation of the manager for he had himself been a manager whilst he was Perpetual Curate of St. Thomas', Stockport. Many of the other Anglican H.M.I.s are likely to have played a part in school management when they were curates or incumbents before they joined the Inspectorate. Apart from Bellairs, we can be certain of five others: Du Port, while he was Curate of Holy Trinity, Marylebone; King, who established a new infants' school in Durham; Mitchell, who helped with the Model School at Battersea when he was Curate there; Robert Temple, who started an Industrial School in Cheshire; and Watts, who was at the time Perpetual Curate of Dyserth, Flintshire.
- (6) Ball, op.cit., 1970, p.163.

progress and made the government of education dependent on religious co-operation throughout the period. No one could have succeeded in establishing and running the Education Department in Whitehall without being continually aware of this state of affairs. Yet, if the Church's grip on education gave them an influential voice in its government, it also put some local clergymen into very difficult situations. Apart from the financial problems which occurred, the main difficulty for school managers was staffing. With teachers making frequent moves between schools for better salaries and some managers creating vacancies by sacking teachers whom they considered inefficient, the teacher employment situation was continually in a state of change, even when the supply of male teachers exceeded the apparent demand in the early sixties. (7) This unsatisfactory state was aggravated by the financial straits of managers which dictated that they offered teachers the lowest salary necessary to obtain the type they wanted. Though presents of £5 or £10 were sometimes given to teachers after a successful inspection, and occasionally a salary rise might be granted in order to keep a teacher, it was very rare for increments to be given. (8) More often teachers were encouraged towards success by the partial "farming out" of school income, a practice on which inspectorial opinions were sharply divided. (9)

A further problem for managers was the attendance of children at school, especially on inspection day and, in order to increase

(7) Ibid., pp.176-9.

(8) Ibid., p.182.

(9) See above, p.156.

the co-operation of parents and children in this respect, many subsidiary activities were started. These took the form of clothing clubs, shoe clubs or savings banks, and sometimes more tangible rewards were offered for attendance at, and success in, the Revised Code examination, such as prizes, a printed certificate or money payments ranging from 4d to 1/6d. (10) School treats were also a common occurrence, schools having several of these in a year, as for example one Somerset school where, between Christmas presents from the Hon. and Mrs. Boyle at the end of the Autumn term and a "bountiful tea" on the occasion of Mrs. Boyle's birthday on 1st May, it is also recorded in the school log book that

"The Rector gave 67 of the children a dinner of good old English fare 'roast beef and plum pudding' at the Rectory."

"The children went today to Marston House to partake of a dinner of roast beef and plum pudding, provided by Lady Cork."

"Birthday of the Rector, who treated the children (66 in number) to a bountiful tea." (11)

Even more blatant bribes for good attendance are to be found in other school log books (12), for the Revised Code had shaken school managers into a state of concern for the future of their

(10) Ball, *op.cit.*, 1970, pp.213, 462.

(11) Log book of Marston Bigot C.E. School, 18.1.65, 26.1.65, 28.2.65.

(12) For example, "Gave a copy of 'Band of Hope' to every boy who had not been absent once during the month of February", log book of Taunton South Street British School, 5.3.63; "Vicar gave money to those who had good attendance records", log book of Buish Champflower C.E. School, Somerset, 4.12.66.

schools. One Committee anticipated that

"the annual loss thus occasioned ... will be very considerable, and the Committee look with great anxiety towards the future, for unless they are sustained by liberal subscriptions, this excellent school with a daily attendance exceeding 300 must be absolutely closed.

sgd. T. Coker, Secretary" (13)

As part of this fund-raising effort, a meeting was held a year later, with Lord Taunton in the chair. After speeches had been made, the children were examined in public by the managers - "about a thousand people attended." (14) Surely no Revised Code examination by an H.M.I. could have been more frightening than that.

To say, as H.M.I. Hernemann did, that the Revised Code was acceptable to managers (15) was far from the truth. The Code was too much of a shock to a comfortably running system for that to be the case and one has only to read the papers and memorials which were written by the school managers and diocesan committees at the time to realise how strong was the initial management reaction against the provisions of the Code. (16) It was probably true, however, that managers were in favour of the principle behind the Code. As members of the upper-middle class, payment-by-results would have been an approved doctrine with most of them.

(13) Log book of Taunton South Street British School, 22.12.62.

(14) Ibid., 18.11.65.

(15) Report, 1861-2, p.76; see also, Mitchell's report, ibid., 1864-5, p.113.

(16) See above, p.48.

Even closer supervision of the running of the school was one way of helping to ensure those results. School log books have numerous examples of managers' visits, until the teacher tired of recording them. But we are reminded that they were still occurring when we read "Rev. R. Shepherd did not look in today - a very unusual circumstance." (17) The conscientious manager of a National school would take morning and afternoon prayers as well as religious instruction, in which he would be assisted by his curate. He would also help the teacher to plan the school time-table and he would be so familiar with the school that he would sometimes take over if the teacher was absent for a day. The cutting back on pupil-teacher recruitment was due in large part to the financial worries of managers, as was the pruning of the curriculum. According to one of the H.M.I.s who opposed the Revised Code, the main objective of managers in the three years following the Code was "where to curtail with least detriment." (18)

Until the Revised Code, the government and the school managers had been running a parallel course in the development of elementary education but, as one writer recently put it, "from the early sixties divergencies appeared, not in the basic aims, but as to the way those aims ought to be achieved." (19) The Revised Code gave managers no room for experiment - that would have been to risk the following year's grant - and, as many of them must have seen it, restricted their independence of action to give the

(17) Log book of St. Paul's C.E. School, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 14.12.66.

(18) Report, 1865-6, p.164.

(19) Ball, op.cit., 1970, p.52.

children the type of education they thought would be best for them. Not least, the Code discouraged them from bringing children from a higher social class into the elementary schools, as Richard Dawes had done at his famous King's Somborne School which had attracted so much approval in the 1840s. (20) In short, the Revised Code interfered and it did this in a more detailed and financial way than any government had done before. The rigidity of the Code and the fact that most of the Department's correspondence was carried out by junior clerks, acting according to precedent, meant that government communications sounded formal, off-hand and petty to the managers who were not used to receiving such letters. (21) Nor were they accustomed to what they considered to be the excessive amount of form-filling which the government required from them - up to fifty folio sheets per school each year. (22) If the managers had failed to fill in the examination schedule before the inspector's arrival, Lingen told H.M.I. Stokes, the inspector should "proceed with the inspection of the school

(20) A description of Dawes' school and its interesting curriculum appears in Moseley's report, Minutes, 1847-8, vol.I, pp.7-27. Under the Revised Code, Article 4, children whose parents were above the manual labour class were excluded from the grant. Supplementary Rule 10 advised H.M.I.s to determine cases of doubt, as follows:

- "a. Does A.B. work for himself or for a master? If for himself, does he employ apprentices, or journeymen? ...
- b. Would it be unreasonable to expect him to pay 9d. per week for the schooling of each of his children? ...
- c. Does he rank and associate with the working men or with the tradesmen of the place? ..."

Report, 1863-4, p.lxvi.

(21) See above, the quotations from H.M.I. Blakiston's 1867-8 report, p.206. Concerning the Office's practice in these matters, see below, p.257.

(22) Report, 1868-9, p.139.

and report the fact to the Committee of Council. The managers will lose the grant for examination." (23) This would have formed one of the precedents which a junior official would follow in future correspondence. Many important decisions were therefore made by these juniors, who always wrote in the name of the Secretary and on behalf of the Committee of Council. "My Lords decline any further correspondence on the subject" would have been the end for most people, though when one of Herbert Birley's schools in Manchester was the subject of such a letter, Mr Birley, a well-known supporter of education in the area and evidently an acquaintance of Lord Granville, wrote to the Lord President personally and the decision of the junior clerk was reversed. (24) With the business of the Office being conducted in such a way and with changes in the Code taking place every year, it is hardly surprising that inspectors complained that managers did not know the Code well enough. (25) One manager, in evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, illustrated their difficulties in the early days of the Code, when a number of changes were made in a short space of time:

"First of all came the withdrawal of the Endowment Grant, which cut off £20; then when the inspector came to visit the school, a Supplementary Rule had come out which deducted all boys whose parents employ labour; that ... deprived us of £7; then the inspector told me that if I had no boys above the fourth Standard there

(23) PRO 9/4, 104, 24th August 1863.

(24) H.M.I. Kennedy's evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.2497.

(25) Report, 1866-7, pp.216, 253.

would be one-tenth deducted for that. Then with regard to infants under six years of age, unless they had been present at the examination they were deducted, though they had attended a proper number of times; that was the fourth change. Then with regard to the attendance at night schools, nothing was said in the Revised Code, except that a boy should make twenty-four attendances, but the inspector informed me that unless the school had been open sixty nights, no grant would be given, that was the fifth change." (26)

Managers who were, after all, only acting in a voluntary part-time capacity, must have felt that they had a right to be treated better than that by the Department.

One way in which such a feeling came to the surface in the 1860s was the Conscience Clause debate (27) which, considering the public furore which it created, received surprisingly little coverage in inspectors' reports. This was because the inspectors were tending by then to write more exclusively about the schools as they saw them and less on the general educational questions of the day, and the Conscience Clause, even though its compulsory introduction was objected to by many Churchmen, was carried out unobtrusively in practice by almost all schools. (28)

(26) Rev. William Lea's evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.1988.

(27) See above, p.167.

(28) Report, 1867-8, p.94; ibid., 1868-9, p.267; ibid., 1867-8, p.263, where H.M.I. Warburton states that few parents took advantage of the Conscience Clause anyway to claim exemption for their children.

Although the operation of the Revised Code brought about a deterioration in the relations between school managers and the Office, it did not worsen those between managers and teachers. All had not always been well in this respect before the Code (29), but managers and teachers were thrown closer together because of the financial arrangements in the new system. Now that the direct responsibility for the payment of teachers had passed from the Department to individual managers, it made them "more attentive to the condition of their schools" (30) and therefore more helpful. Apart from the religious instruction already mentioned and the help in securing children's attendance, managers took part in the practice examinations of the children in preparation for the H.M.I.'s visit, and also attempted to shield the teachers from parental complaints. (31) This co-operative spirit never breached the social barriers between manager and teacher, however, and the Revised Code did nothing to alleviate the teachers' social isolation, which continued until the end of the century. The vicar's wife in the eighties whom Flora Thompson quoted in her autobiography felt this dilemma as strongly as the schoolmistress whom she wanted to ask to tea: "but do I ask her to kitchen or dining-room tea?" (32)

Relations between the managers described above and the inspectors were matters of history and class, rather than education, and were therefore less subject to change from external factors

(29) See, for example, *ibid.*, 1859-60, p.86.

(30) *Ibid.*, 1864-5, p.15.

(31) Ball, *op.cit.*, 1970, pp.183, 250.

(32) Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, Oxford, 1945, Penguin edition 1973, p.196.

like the Revised Code. Through constant contact, Kennedy told the 1865 Select Committee, inspectors came to sympathise with managers' views and he thought it regrettable that so little account was taken of these views by the Office. (33) Most of the inspectors, like most of the school managers, were clergymen and therefore they regarded each other as social equals. After an initial wariness on both sides, the relationship quickly became closer. The causes of the managers' original suspicions were described in the opening chapter when their initial reaction was against government interference. This had been matched by Kay-Shuttleworth's advice to the first H.M.I., John Allen:

"... you will carefully avoid acting on the presumption that you are invested with any authority to enter or inspect any schools without the express permission of the managers, or to require from them any individual facts or information which they are unwilling to communicate to you. You will rely solely on the co-operation of the gentlemen, magistrates, clergy and others to whom you may be introduced ..." (34)

This cautious approach was still visible in 1861. The inspector, Lingen told the Newcastle Commission, must not examine in such a way as to lose

"the kind of indirect and unofficial influence which an inspector now exerts among managers ... The inspector is a kind of envoy ... on the part of the

(33) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.2490-1.

(34) Minutes, 1840-1, p.124.

government and not a mere examiner of children." (35)

Though the Revised Code made the inspector more nearly "a mere examiner" than Lingen apparently would have liked, it did not put an end to the "indirect and unofficial influence". The inspectoral round was, after all, not an easy one under the conditions of mid-nineteenth century transport and lunchtime or overnight hospitality from school managers was always welcome. (36) It was on these occasions that inspectors were prevailed upon for information and through them that they continued to influence the managers:

"Many managers invited us out of pure brotherly kindness, some possibly because it was usual to 'lunch' the inspector: a few perhaps with a faint hope that a good lunch might soothe the savage beast ... A colleague told me that he disliked lunching with managers because it was so unpleasant to give them a bad report after having eaten their salt.

I had no such scruple, because I admitted no connection between the two things. It would be an affront to my hosts to suppose that they wished to corrupt me ...

"Lunch was extra-official; and much of our work was extra-official. After a few years we became informal advisers to very many managers. We advised on sites; recommended architects; recommended head teachers and assistants ... I think I earned my lunches." (37)

(35) Evidence to the Newcastle Commission, vol.VI, q.435-6.

(36) Throughout the period, inspectors' reports were laced with gratitude to managers for their hospitality. For example, see Minutes, 1842-3, p.41; Report, 1868-9, p.98.

(37) E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley, H.M.I. Passages in the life of an inspector of schools, London, 1908, p.128.

The writer of this was appointed in 1871 and his inspectoral career therefore took place during the period of payment-by-results, though not the period directly under discussion in this thesis. Nevertheless, it is interesting that, under this system, an inspector with a few years' experience of a district was able to establish the type of informal relations with managers that had existed before 1861. (38) An example of this occurred at St. Chad's School, Shrewsbury. After the Revised Code had abolished fixed rates of pay for pupil-teachers, the school managers were uncertain as to how to interpret the new regulations on this. They therefore consulted the local H.M.I., Arthur Bonner, who suggested certain rates but advised the managers that "it must always depend on the rates of wages given in the neighbourhood, and the advantages of any particular school wherein to learn the business of a teacher." (39)

That good relations continued to exist between managers and inspectors during a period of change was no doubt due in part to the fact that, as Kennedy put it, "I always considered that I was, to a certain extent, at least, a kind of representative of the Church as well as of the State." (40) H.M.I. Blakiston was another inspector who clearly felt a close identification with school managers for he disliked deducting one-tenth from a school's grant because it would hurt the manager financially. He would have preferred to deduct it from the salary of the teacher whose inefficiency

(38) For a description of these at their best, see H.M.I. Bowstead's report, Minutes, 1853-4, p.759.

(39) Quoted in N. Ball, op.cit., 1970, p.186.

(40) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.2485.

had lost the grant. (41) Similarly H.M.I. Binns showed his bias by failing to take into account the effect of bad managers when he ^{wrote} ~~says~~ of young schoolmasters:

"It is their duty to settle down contentedly in the place they have chosen, and apply themselves steadily and faithfully to their appointed labour." (42)

If public criticism of managers was unthinkable to Blakiston and Binns, however, this was not the case with other inspectors. Bellairs, who in 1865 had announced that the Revised Code improved the standard of management, told us in his next report that one of the reasons why schools were still inefficient was the poor superintendence by managers, including clergy, and two years later he emphasised this by stating that management by one individual only was generally inefficient. (43) Kennedy maintained that, under the Revised Code, managers were taking less interest in schools because so much detail was laid down by the Department. (44) Such lack of interest, however, was not uniquely dependent on the Revised Code (45) and it is likely that Kennedy's opinion was coloured by his dislike of the Code. Many other cases of mismanagement, which could be put down to a lack of interest but had little to do with the Department's detailed supervision, occurred under the Code. There was the vicar who "agreed to have the school cleaned out" five months after the teacher asked him (46)

(41) Report, 1867-8, pp.106-7.

(42) Ibid., 1869-70, p.86.

(43) Ibid., 1864-5, p.15; ibid., 1866-7, p.23; ibid., 1868-9, p.20.

(44) Ibid., 1867-8, p.175.

(45) H.M.I.s Blandford and Scoltock made similar complaints before the Revised Code was introduced. Ibid., 1858-9, p.166; ibid., 1859-60, p.66.

(46) Log book of Old Shildon St. John's C.E. Mixed, Co. Durham, 8.4.68.

and another clergyman in nearby Durham who went into his school in the morning to say prayers and "exhorted obedience from the children". Then he left the teacher, whose first day it was in that school, to find that the work and discipline was "wretched". After the teacher had had an extremely difficult day, during which he caned one boy, the curate came at the end of the afternoon to say prayers. (47) Evidently the vicar only felt a small degree of obligation towards teacher and school which could be fulfilled in a few minutes in the morning.

The businessmen who managed B.F.S.S. schools had less time to spend on them than the clergy had for the National Society schools. Matthew Arnold maintained that they had less talent too: such men were, he wrote,

"perfectly to be relied on for carrying into effect the requirements of the Education Department and their own undertakings with it, and for the most part liberally enough disposed, but hardly capable of supplementing the action of the Department where it falls short, and of remedying by their own efforts and inventiveness any weakness against which the Department does not directly provide." (48)

The inspectors were not afraid to criticise managers, therefore, although they remained on good terms with them and, after a few years, often became quite close. Good relationships between men of equal social standing were too strong to be broken by the

(47) Log book of St. Oswald's C.E. Boys, Durham, 5.4.69.
 (48) Report, 1867-8, p.293.

actions of the Department or its regulations.

Not everyone was well disposed towards the Inspectorate, however, as the H.M.I.s discovered when they found time to carry out simple inspections of unaided schools:

"My experience of many years is that 'simple inspection' is in most cases wasted," wrote Henry Bellairs. "In many instances the managers dislike, in others neglect, to fill up the forms. The classification is so imperfect that it is impossible to examine with strict accuracy or comfort. The teachers are so ignorant and unskilful that recommendations are thrown away, and the managers, if suggestions are offered, receive them with either dislike or a good-humoured smile, saying 'Your advice may be all very good, but we have no means to carry it out.'" (49)

Such polite refusals on the part of managers were in some cases due to their attitude to government interference, rather than their lack of resources. Landowners in Dorset, for example, disliked the government system and did not use it but, as Lord Shaftesbury said in 1865, he was

"perfectly sure that they [the government] would interfere with religious teaching ... I knew that inspectors come down and give the 'cold shoulder' to one thing and the 'cold shoulder' to another;

(49) Ibid., 1868-9, p.24. School log books of unaided schools (where they exist) also indicate a lack of preparation for an inspector's visit. See, for example, Biddisham C.E. Mixed, Somerset, 1863, -64, -66, -74.

that they would sneer at this thing and sneer at that; and when the hour of necessity came -- when you had gone into great expense, calculating upon their continued assistance -- they would leave you like a piece of stranded sea-weed. That is what has come to pass ..." (50)

There is little doubt that many managers whose schools did receive government aid were discouraged by the provisions and deductions of the Revised Code. In its early days their first question to the H.M.I. after his inspection was no longer "How is my school getting on?" but "How much shall we get?" (51) at the end of a day which had probably started with an anxious counting of heads and chasing up of errant children. Because the attendance grant was so important to the school's income, and because school rivalry and parental apathy towards education meant that forms of bribery to attend were commonplace, the status of the managers and school-teachers in the eyes of the parents must have been lowered by the Revised Code. Yet the fire of the educational practitioners burned strongly during this period and the number of schools and teachers greatly increased. With their worries of finance, staffing and attendance, it was not surprising that the managers were frustrated by the government's attitude to their voluntary efforts. Yet they generally treated their teachers well and, once they came to know an individual inspector, their relations with him were generally good.

(50) Report, 1868-9, p.247.

(51) Ibid., 1864-5, p.114.

CHAPTER 10INSPECTORS AND THE OFFICE

The 1850s had seen the beginning of a change in the relationship between the Inspectorate and an Education Department which was by then exerting a negative influence on educational policy for elementary schools. (1) This was illustrated by the lack of legislative initiative during that decade and the implicit rejection of the inspectors as instigators of the legislative process. When we also consider the stopping of inspectors' conferences and the lack of a proper structure of seniority within the Inspectorate, together with its continued fragmentation by denomination, it becomes apparent that the Department was indulging in a consistent campaign to curb the inspectors' power. The existence of such a situation at the beginning of the 1860s inevitably meant that the debate over the suppression of inspectors' reports involved considerable matters of principle. (2) The Department were not simply engaged in a process of censorship over reports, the contents of which were disliked by officialdom. Its chiefs were in fact taking part in a systematic reduction of inspectoral independence. As one writer has pointed out, the first inspectors had no power and so their early independence had been somewhat artificial, but they were extremely independently-minded (3), as is illustrated in their annual reports. The independence of expression had been tactfully controlled by Kay-Shuttleworth with whom the inspectors

(1) See above, p.15.

(2) See above, chapter 7.

(3) J.R.B. Johnson, The Education Department 1839-64, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1968, p.157.

built up a lasting mutual respect. By the late 1850s and early 1860s the methods which Kay-Shuttleworth used to influence the Inspectorate would in any case have been impossible; the numbers of inspectors had increased too far for even such a prodigious letter-writer as Kay-Shuttleworth to keep up a regular correspondence with each of them individually. Robert Lowe and Ralph Lingden, as we have seen, used other methods. By the time they were censoring inspectors' reports, the tone of communications between the Office and the inspectors had changed, for Lowe was attempting to formalise the relationship between the Department and its field corps. Mutual respect was a thing of the past; now there was an insistence that inspectors should not enter into controversy with the Department. Lowe talked of "discipline" and "the subordination of the Inspectorate", and herein lay the key to the new relationship. The inspectors' independence had to be curbed because they were employed by, and therefore subordinate to, the Education Department and its Vice-President and Lord President. It is tragic that Lowe acted in such a way as to reduce the effectiveness of his field corps at a time when the government needed all the expert advice it could obtain in order to overcome the great educational problems of the mid-nineteenth century. With the Inspectorate thus restrained and the Office unwilling or unable to take the initiative itself, it was not surprising that so much legislative opportunity was wasted.

The structure of the Education Department did not encourage initiatives. Firstly, the Committee of Council was an ill-defined body which rarely met. Secondly, it was not entirely clear who

was the Minister responsible for education. Thirdly, the "indoor staff" of the Department were given too little responsibility and fourthly, the Permanent Secretary was an administrator and not an educationalist. Let us examine these in turn.

The Committee of Council on Education was always intended to be temporary (4) and Johnson believes that the Committee grew "naturally" out of the Cabinet meetings of the parliamentary recess of 1839 when Lord John Russell's plans for education were being discussed. (5) Certainly the Committee never had a clearly defined membership and it seems that those Ministers who were interested were appointed. Its size varied from four to ten and, whilst it always included the Lord President of the Council and, after his appointment in 1856, the Vice-President for Education, the offices of the other members varied. The Home Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were generally included but, at various times, the Foreign Secretary, the Secretary for India, the President of the Board of Trade and the First Lord of the Admiralty, were among its members. Not surprisingly, the Committee soon fell into abeyance, minutes often being issued without a meeting taking place. (6) Russell was particularly irritated by this at the time

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- (4) A.S. Bishop, The rise of a central authority for English education, Cambridge, 1971, and J.S. Hurt, Education in evolution, London, 1971, contain a full history of the Education Department of this period and the detailed development of the Committee of Council may be found there. See especially Appendix A of Bishop's book. J.R.B. Johnson, op.cit., 1968, is also particularly useful in the study of the Department up to the mid-1860s.
- (5) J.R.B. Johnson, op.cit., 1968, p.59.
- (6) P.H.J.H. Gosden, The development of educational administration in England and Wales, Oxford, 1966, p.16. All minutes were later drafted by Lingen, after consultation with the Lord President and the Vice-President. Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.372.

of the Revised Code (7) when, according to Lingen, there had in fact been several meetings of the Committee. (8) H.A. Bruce, who succeeded Lowe as Vice-President, later agreed that the existing constitution of the Committee of Council was most unsatisfactory. (9) Although the full Select Committee of 1866 did not come to any conclusion on the future of the Committee of Council, Sir John Pakington in his draft report left no doubt as to what he thought should happen to it. "The agency of the Committee of Council," he wrote, "whether administrative or legislative, is anomalous and unnecessary." (10) He therefore concluded that the Committee of Council should cease to exist, that there should be one Minister of Public Instruction, and he should be in the Cabinet. (11)

The question of who really was the Minister responsible for education had been in doubt since 1856 when the Bill to appoint a Vice-President of the Committee of Council for Education was passed. Before that date the Secretary had carried out educational policy largely by himself but was clearly responsible to the Lord President of the Council in whose department he worked. After that date, the Lord President and the Vice-President acted together, considering "that they have the powers of the Committee of Council without necessarily summoning the Committee" (12), but

(7) See above, p.43.

(8) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.60.

(9) Memorandum by the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, Constitution of the Office, October 1867, PRO Ed 24/54, p.9.

(10) Select Committee on Education, 1866, Pakington's draft report, P.P. 1866, VII, 115, p.124.

(11) Ibid., p.126.

(12) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.362.

without any clear demarcation of responsibility between them. After 1856, the Secretary had to refer more frequently to his superior, the Vice-President, than he had ever had to do with the Lord President before then. Lingen saw the chain of responsibility as being led by the Lord President, who was in overall charge of the Privy Council Department, with a Committee of Council on Education and a Vice-President to advise him and, under them, a Secretary and staff to carry out the policy of their superiors. (13) The Lord President had responsibility for education in the House of Lords and the Vice-President was the appropriate Minister in the Commons. This, Lingen thought, was a good system. (14) The structure might have worked if the ideas had flowed up and down the chain of command, but they did not do so because the Lord President was too busy with other matters in his wide-ranging department (15) and the Vice-President was unsure of his constitutional position. Robert Lowe considered the position of Vice-President as analogous to that of an Under-Secretary in the India Board (a post that he had formerly occupied); the Committee of Council was, he told the 1865 Select Committee, the body responsible for passing Minutes and the administration of the Office was the responsibility of the Lord President. As Vice-President, he stated, he was responsible only for "administering with honesty and to the best of my ability, and for obedience to my official superiors, the Lord President and the

(13) *Ibid.*, q.39-40.

(14) *Ibid.*, q.106.

(15) In 1867 the Privy Council Department was, amongst other things, responsible for quarantine, assizes, burials, cattle diseases, university statutes, public health, prayers and thanksgivings, and polling places. PRO Ed. 24/55.

Committee of Council". (16) The Lord President, however, took much less part in the running of the Office than the Vice-President, as was seen in the evolution of the Revised Code. (17) If the Ministers themselves could not decide the proper constitutional situation, the teachers had no doubt that it was the Vice-President who was the "real Minister" (18), but there were difficulties attached to Pakington's plan for a single Minister of Instruction with a seat in the Cabinet. In December 1865 Russell had suggested to Granville a plan whereby the Lord President of the Council became head of the British Museum, with the Vice-President becoming responsible for primary education. But Granville felt that he could not agree to such a scheme because education would not then be represented in the House of Lords. (19)

If the situation was unclear at the top of the Education Department, the permanent staff had no such hierarchical problems. There was a clear chain of responsibility from the Secretary downwards, although it really amounted to a chain of lack of responsibility. At the bottom of the pyramid, the number of junior clerks increased from about twenty-five in 1853 to fifty-four ten years later. After the rapid increase in the Office staff during these ten years, the number increased by only four between 1861 and 1867, and in fact remained the same between 1864 and 1870. (20)

(16) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.620-1.

(17) See above, pp.41-3.

(18) The Museum, vol.II, April 1865, p.40.

(19) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 18/6/44 and 18/6/45, dated 13th and 18th December 1865.

(20) A.S. Bishop, op.cit., 1971, p.55.

	Office	Number	max. salary	min. salary	Increments
Permanent Indoor Staff	Vice-President	1	2000		
	Secretary	1	1500		
	Assistant Secretary	2	1000	700	50
	Examiner	10	650	300	25
	Clerk	2	300	110	15
	Assistant Clerk	54	300	100	5 & 10
	Private Secretary to V-P.	1	150		
Advisory Staff	Advising Counsel	1	450	300	15
	Architect	1	400		
	Accountant	1	450	300	15
Outdoor Staff	H.M.I.	68	600	200	50 every 4th year
	Inspectors' Assistants	20	250	100	10

Table 14: Number and salaries of employees of the Education Department in November 1867.

Source: PRO Ed. 24/55. (21)

Table 14 reveals the delicate nature of the balance of seniority in the Department, reflected in the minimum and the maximum salaries and the different increments between them. The smallness of the increments and the consequent length of the salary scales was clearly aimed at providing a career structure for life and must have added to the enjoyment of the older clerks who not only checked the examiners' work (22) but were also paid more than young inspectors. The relative status of the H.M.I.s and the

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- (21) One of the Examiners acted as Private Secretary to the Vice-President and his salary appears to be rather an anomaly in this Table. Perhaps the £150 stated there was an allowance above his normal salary as an examiner.
- (22) Sir G.W. Kekewich, The Education Department and after, London, 1920, p.32.

examiners who checked their work was a particularly delicate point. When Section 4 of the 1859 Superannuation Act was applied to the Education Department, H.M.I.s were put into the "third class, with an addition of five years" on account of their having been employed elsewhere before they entered the Inspectorate. In 1863, the Department claimed that "since examiners and inspectors were 'to be selected according to the same general rules' and since examiners must be men 'who both were and were known to be of high attainments', requested that examiners be placed on the same footing for superannuation as inspectors". (23) Three months after this letter the Treasury granted the Education Department's request and so the examiners retained their much-valued parity with the H.M.I.s. The Northcote-Trevelyan Report on recruitment to the Civil Service in 1853 had also recognised that parity was important and realised that men with special qualifications were needed to be examiners. In the words of one writer, they included "some of the most scholarly and cultured men who have ever sat behind a civil servant's desk." (24) They were men with distinguished academic backgrounds (25) who knew little about education and had mostly never been inside a school. As training for their jobs, they were sent on a short tour with a senior H.M.I. (26) Then they began their task of either answering correspondence or of settling the school grant dependent on the inspector's report. Yet, in spite of their excellent qualifications, their responsi-

(23) Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1912-14, "History of the appointment of inspectors and examiners under the Education Department", Second Report, Appendix XII.

(24) J.S. Hurt, op.cit., 1971, p.13.

(25) For a full analysis of the examiners, see J.S. Hurt, op.cit., 1971, pp.171-85.

(26) Sir G.W. Kekewich, op.cit., 1920, p.8.

bility was strictly limited. They could not, for example, sign either an official letter or the form which was sent to school managers. (27) With so little responsibility the examiners, perhaps not surprisingly, became somewhat irresponsible. If they found difficulty in answering a letter, it would be pigeon-holed

"either for consideration in the distant future, or in the hope that future developments might providentially render any consideration unnecessary ... Indeed there was at no time any hurry about answering letters. If a man had the temerity to write to the Office, we felt that he ought to take his chance of an answer, and the greater the difficulty he was in, and the more necessary an immediate reply was to him, the less likely he was to get it. Besides which, we considered that an early reply would be an inducement to him to continue the correspondence - a result which was naturally regarded by us as undesirable." (28)

The five examiners who were employed on inspectors' reports all worked in the same room, allocating themselves eight reports each per day, a number which apparently represented about an hour's work and which left plenty of time for discussion and other pursuits. (29) Office hours were eleven till five, but examiners were nearly always late (30) and left early, and this included

(27) Ibid., p. 9

(28) Ibid., p. 21.

(29) Ibid., p. 15. Some time later, when the Office were particularly busy, Kekewich recalls that he dealt with seventy reports in a day.

(30) PRO Ed. 9/4, 172; contains a memorandum from Lingen to the examiners, dated 25th July 1865, complaining that "At 11.25 this morning, I found two visitors, but no examiners ..."

a prolonged hour's lunch interval. Yet the examiners retained their position of superiority in the Office. Promotion was strictly by seniority and there was a considerable stir when W.E. Forster appointed Patric Cumin from outside as his private secretary in 1869 because he needed a lawyer to help him prepare the 1870 Act. (31) The clerks were apparently no more diligent than their superiors, the examiners, for in 1860 Lingen "received applications for leave of absence on the ground of health from clerks who have other occupations besides their official one" (32), and five years later Lingen had to invoke the name of the Lord President to curb "the present practice of introducing beer during all hours of the day ... The passages of the Office are, at times, more like those of a public house." (33)

The lack of responsibility of the examiners and junior staff in the Department, together with their lack of experience of the subject with which they were dealing, meant that no initiatives came from that direction. Nor were they asked or expected to take any, for the Secretary himself was purely an administrator and saw the role of the Department as administering the status quo rather than extending the benefits of the system to all. The strictness with which he made the Office carry out the system did not endear Lingen to the teachers who, despite their satisfaction at Lowe's resignation in 1864, believed that

"this satisfactory change is accompanied by one serious

(31) Sir G.W. Kekewich, op.cit., 1920, p.19. Cumin later rose to become Secretary.

(32) PRO Ed. 9/4, 101, dated 27th June 1860.

(33) Ibid., 153, dated 17th February 1865.

drawback. Mr. Lingen still wields the pen of 'My Lords' at the Education Office. The country now sees through the fiction of 'My Lords', and is pretty well aware with how much of the odium the Committee has lately incurred their Secretary should be credited . . . We do not know whether any system of pensions is in vogue in the Education Office, but certain we are that nothing would so much tend to restore confidence in the department as the announcement that their Lordships . . . had seen fit to grant a handsome retiring allowance to Mr. R.R.W. Lingen." (34)

Letters from the Department were always written in the name of 'My Lords' of the Committee of Council but very few of the letters were seen even by the Vice-President, let alone Their Lordships themselves. As one clergyman told H.M.I. Kennedy, "When I write to that department I always put 'My Lords' in inverted commas to show what I think it means." (35) Lingen, therefore, was certainly master in his own house and, although he referred some decisions to the Vice-President, it was always at the Secretary's discretion that the decision went to higher authority. (36)

One of the purposes of the Revised Code had been to decrease the administrative burden on the Department. In particular, the Code attempted to reduce the number of communications which were sent out by making one annual payment to the school managers

(34) The Museum, vol.I (new series), June 1864, p.119.

(35) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.2529.

(36) Ibid., q.25 ff.

instead of the multiplicity of payments to the managers, teachers and pupil-teachers individually. (37) Because of the complications of the new Code, however, the number of letters increased at first (38) and, if the examiners' working methods in the early part of the decade were as sluggish as Kekewich describes them at the end of it, a considerable backlog must have occurred. They did manage to get through the work, however, without increasing their staff and with only a twenty per cent increase in the cost of running the Department, despite a forty-eight per cent increase in the number of children in elementary schools. In an age when economy in government was one of the great virtues, this was an achievement to be admired. Table 7 (39) indicates how much smaller an effect the Revised Code had on the cost of administering the London Office than did the capitation grants of 1853 and 1856, which required a large increase in staff. Not only did Lingen manage to keep down the total cost of the education budget during the 1860s but he also managed to keep down the cost of running his own office. He did this by not increasing the number of staff employed there and by not increasing the scope of the Department's activities more than was absolutely necessary.

The work that the Department did carry out was done with a unified strictness which could only come through strong guidelines from the top. If Lingen's aims were limited, his methods were inflexible and he was supported in these by both Lowe and

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- (37) There were twenty-three separate forms concerning examinations and maintenance payments for schools after 1846. A.S. Bishop, *op.cit.*, 1971, p.29.
- (38) Lingen told the 1865 Select Committee that more than 66,000 letters had been received in 1864. Evidence, q.579.
- (39) See above, p.106.

Bruce. The departmental records which remain show that a constant stream of memoranda flowed from Lingen to the examiners, reminding them of the need for strict adherence to the Code and giving points of interpretation and rules to be followed. (40) If the examiners were in any doubt, or if they thought it necessary to depart from the letter of the Code, they had to refer the matter to one of the Assistant Secretaries who would consult the other Assistant Secretary and Lingen. As well as keeping the examiners in their place in this way, Lingen had to ensure that the delicate balance between examiners and inspectors was maintained. Where an examiner disagreed with an inspector concerning the grant to be given to a school, he had to refer it back to the inspector once and, if they still differed, refer the case to higher authority "and not suffer it to enter on the stage of a contest between two officers."

(41) Apparently the examiners continued to step outside their authority in this matter for, within a year, Lingen had to lay down the procedure even more clearly:

"The Vice-President directs that when refusal or reduction of a grant is enforced at variance with the Inspector's recommendation ... for any reason which turns upon judgement and discretion and not upon simple fact provided by the letter of the Code, or the Supplementary Rules, there must be an express reference of the report itself back to the inspector, with the reasons for dissenting from his recommendation

(40) This had started as soon as the first Code was put together in 1860. See PRO Ed. 9/4, 70, dated 12th June 1860 and 73, dated 18th August 1860.

(41) Ibid., 136, dated 11th July 1864.

of a full grant; and, if he still maintains it, the case is to be referred for decision to the Vice-President." (42)

The influence of Lowe in the strict administrative regime should not be underestimated for he and Lingen were in daily communication during the period immediately following the Revised Code and they decided questions of doubt between them. (43) Bruce continued where Lowe left off in 1864 and there is evidence to suggest that he was a more strict interpreter of the Code's provisions than either Lowe or Lingen. (44) It is noteworthy that, in the last quotation, Lingen is discussing cases where the examiner is reducing the grant calculated by the inspector, the implication being that inspectors tended to be more lenient than examiners. It was Article 52 of the Code that caused most bother and the Secretary's Minute Book (45) is full of questions relating to the provisions of this Article. When an H.M.I. did exercise his judgement he received a letter from Lingen saying that "you are expressly not authorized to promulgate any rule upon the subject beyond the strict letter of the Code." (46) H.M.I. Stokes had earlier been told with typical Lingen forthrightness that he could not exercise any discretion in favour of handicapped children:

"Children suffering from physical infirmity must be estimated how?" asked Stokes. "e.g. the Reading of

(42) Ibid., 162, dated 19th May 1865.

(43) Lingen's evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.279.

(44) See J.S. Hurt, op.cit., 1971, pp.216-7.

(45) PRO Ed. 9/4.

(46) Ibid., 215, dated 24th July 1866.

one with impeded utterance, or writing with hand lamed by a whitlow ..."

"As to reading," the Secretary replied, "the inspector must satisfy himself that the child can itself understand what it reads. If the impediment does not permit this much to be ascertained, not to pay.

"As to writing, it must be performed within a sufficiently short time for practical use, and must be legible; if the impediment does not permit this much to be ascertained, not to pay. In all cases where the infirmity is not self-evident, require a certificate signed by managers and teachers ..." (47)

As if to excuse his strictness before his readers, H.M.I. Brodie stated in his 1865 Report that he could make no exceptions to the Revised Code rules, though he apparently did make some allowance during an examination for children who had either a stammer or a hand injury. (48) Fortunately the days of the censorship of inspectors' reports were over or he might have had to delete this sentence and cease such a practice forthwith. Most inspectors probably made such allowances without any reference to the Department. (49) If they did ask, however, they always received a strict reply (50), yet there were days when Lingen was in a more lenient mood. He showed this for the first time in the Instructions to

(47) Ibid., 104, dated 15th and 24th August 1863.

(48) Report, 1865-6, p.252.

(49) Sneyd-Kynnersley describes how "even in my greenest days I cannot remember that I was so green as to obey that recommendation" with reference to a particularly stringent regulation concerning the inspection of infant schools; op.cit., 1908, p.43.

(50) See, for example, PRO Ed. 9/4, 128, dated 27th February 1864.

Inspectors in 1853 when he told them that, in cases where buildings and facilities were poor, but not too bad,

"My Lords will be disposed to look for amelioration from the grant of assistance, and from the influence of your inspection, rather than as a condition of such aid." (51)

Then, in both 1864 and 1867, the Secretary's Minute Book contained a memorandum to the examiners to show leniency in the administration of the troublesome Article 52 of the Revised Code. Considering that the grants were low and that these reductions were unpopular, Lingen wrote in reply to an examiner's query, "I think the more liberal view the better to take in each of the cases." (52) Yet these were the exceptions to the general strictness of Lingen's regime and the overall impression created by the Department through its interpretation of the Revised Code was "in some cases too dictatorial, and in others ... unnecessarily exasperating". (53) As well as deterring some schools from applying for grants (54) and making the Department unpopular with the teachers and managers of the schools who did receive aid, the Office extended its strict outlook to its own field corps. We have already seen that questions from inspectors were answered in a most curt manner and according to a most rigid interpretation of the Code. The implication behind the Secretary's replies to their letters was that they were junior officers of the Department who had no right to deviate from their

(51) Minutes, 1853-4, vol.I, p.13.

(52) PRO Ed. 9/4, 139, dated 5th June 1864 and 223, dated 7th May 1867.

(53) H.M.I. Kennedy's evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.2669.

(54) Ibid., q.2674.

Instructions.

This disciplining of inspectors who stepped out of line followed the same pattern, letters of correction being written to them in an acid tone which was emphasised by the invocation of 'My Lords'. H.M.I. Lynch received a severe reprimand for not deducting one-tenth of a school's grant and for saying that it was in a satisfactory condition when it had failed to exhibit sufficiently advanced instruction in the 3Rs. (55) Blandford was chastised for sending examination papers to the Office in four parcels on successive days instead of all on one day (56) and Matthew Arnold had a similar disagreement with the Office owing to the fact that he sent his school reports in separately from their examination papers, which were sent in by his assistant. Arnold pointed out to Lingen the stupidity of his assistant sending the scripts to him - wherever he happened to be - only for Arnold to have to repack the parcel and send it, with his report, to the Office. Lingen's reply pointed out the difficulty of the Office registering separately all the parcels and forms that arrived. Next time he was in the Office, Arnold saw Sir F.R. Sandford (57), as a result of which "Mr. Arnold will arrange with his assistants accordingly." (58) So Arnold lost;

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- (55) PRO Ed. 9/4, 177, dated 20th November 1865. The regulation concerning the proportion of children who should be undergoing more advanced instruction was in Supplementary Rule 9.
- (56) PRO Ed. 9/12, 367, dated 25th March 1857.
- (57) The Assistant Secretary, who was Lingen's successor as Secretary from 1870 to 1884.
- (58) PRO Ed. 36, Papers of Matthew Arnold, June and July 1864. The file in which these papers are kept is the only one on a 19th century H.M.I. Apart from the incidents recorded here, it tells us little about Arnold or inspection.

but this was not the only time that the Office attempted to put him in his place. In 1859 he had got into trouble for spending too much time on his work as an Assistant Commissioner for the Newcastle Commission (59) and in 1868 his inspection methods were publicly criticised in the Report of the Committee of Council. (60)

Complaints against inspectors were occasionally sent into the Office by school managers and these were evidently treated on their merits. When Birley was a newly appointed assistant inspector he appears to have exceeded his powers in some way during an examination and the senior H.M.I. in his district, W.J. Kennedy, was asked to have a "friendly" word with him. (61) The letter from Lingen to Kennedy urged the inspector to stress to Birley that the Office was always willing to support inspectors in the discharge of their duties - a theme which was often mentioned in the early Letter Books, for the Office did seem to understand the difficulties of an inspector's job during the fifties. After the appointment of a Vice-President in 1856, complaints were often dealt with by him, rather than by the Secretary, and in 1860 we find Robert Lowe writing to tell the Lord President that the charges of a Mr. Bull against John Glennie, an assistant inspector, were so generalised as to be unanswerable, so he was going to return the letter to Bull and take no action against Glennie. (62)

Other inspectors were not so fortunate. Muirhead Mitchell

(59) Ibid.

(60) Report, 1867-8, p.xxxiv.

(61) PRO Ed. 9/12, 306, dated 25th May 1853.

(62) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 19/5/8, dated 1st March 1860.

was the first H.M.I. against whom serious disciplinary action was taken and, in view of what happened later to the Catholic inspectors, Marshall and J.R. Morell, Mitchell was fortunate not to be asked to resign. When Mitchell was an H.M.I. in Cheshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire in 1848, complaints had been made against him because, inter alia, he "jumped from side to side across the room" and made the children do the same, "asked questions about hair on their bodies and thoroughly embarrassed the mistress." (63) In the following year the former H.M.I. John Allen complained of Mitchell's "levity of tone and manner in conducting examinations on religious subjects" and asked that he be removed from the district. (64) The Lord President duly reprimanded Mitchell and transferred him to the Eastern Counties in May 1849. Further complaints were made against Mitchell there, notably by Rev. Pearson whose school was afterwards inspected by Mitchell's assistant. Lingen apparently believed Mitchell to be innocent of Rev. Pearson's charges and it has been suggested that Mitchell's strictness was the cause of many of the complaints against him. (65) Nevertheless the Lord President, wrote Lingen, "feels bound to state that it would be impossible for him to pass over such complaints if they continue to be made without taking measures which would be painful to him." (66) They did continue (67), but Mitchell remained an H.M.I. until his death in 1876.

(63) Ibid., 19/16/pp.9-90, dated 1848.

(64) Ibid., dated 27th February 1849.

(65) J.R.B. Johnson, op.cit., 1968, p.466.

(66) PRO Ed. 9/13, 296, dated 31st January 1853.

(67) See, for example, ibid., dated 17th September 1853.

T.W. Marshall was given no second chance in 1860. He had been accused of showing the examination papers of pupil-teachers to the Catholic priests who were teaching them. (68) Marshall contended that he was free from blame and that "the stricture with which I conducted the examination of pupil-teachers is notorious." In resigning his inspectorship, Marshall complained that his position had become untenable only because others had made it so. He was clearly referring to the senior officers of the Department because "I had to contend not with the facts of the case, but with the judges of it." (69)

The Roman Catholic inspectors were unpopular with the Office because of the religious bias which they showed in their reports (70) and with the other H.M.I.s because of their tendency to over-rate the quality of education in Catholic schools (71) and, although J.R. Morell was given at least two previous warnings, the reason for his dismissal in 1864 was distinctly flimsy. The first complaint against J.R. Morell occurred in 1861 after he had permitted a student at St. Leonard's Normal School to alter her paper after the end of an examination. This had been brought to the attention of another H.M.I. when a pupil-teacher had shown him a letter she had received from the girl. He apparently wrote to Morell complaining of this unfair conduct and Morell went up to London "expressly to explain the whole case fully and orally

(68) The Museum, vol.II, October 1862, p.367.

(69) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 19/5/53, dated 18th August 1860.

(70) See especially J.R. Morell's 1860 report which is described at length above, p.178.

(71) See H.M.I. Watkins' report, Minutes, 1854-5, p.446.

to the secretary." Lingen "refused to listen to me and required concise written answers to questions put by him." (72) Morell received a sharp rebuke for his conduct.

Immediately after the Revised Code came into operation, Morell inspected a new school in Coventry which proposed to put no children in for the Code examination above the second Standard. This, of course, conflicted with the Supplementary Rules, although there was nothing to prevent it in the Code itself. Morell seems to have carried out the remainder of the inspection properly and found that, considering its difficulties and newness, the school was proceeding well. He therefore gave it a reasonably favourable report. The Department, however, wanted to refuse all the grant to the school on the grounds of their having broken the Supplementary Rule. Since the inspector's report would not accord with such an action, part of it was expunged. This was done without going through the usual procedure of first informing the inspector of the proposed change. (73) The Office clearly suspected Morell of collusion with the school managers.

Soon after this came the final act. A Cardiff teacher named James Kelly had lost his job as a result of Morell's report on him in June 1862. Seventeen months later Kelly sent a letter to the Committee of Council on Education accusing Morell of various irregularities during the inspection. In the course of the departmental investigation into these complaints it was discovered by

(72) The Case of J.R. Morell, No.2, Printed for private circulation, 1864, p.12.

(73) The Coventry Case - a mutilated report, Printed for private circulation, 1864.

Lingen that, whilst Morell had in fact spent the night following the inspection in Bristol (74), his weekly diary had stated that it had been spent in Cardiff. After a protracted correspondence, during which Morell elicited the support of many other inspectors, notably his cousin J.D. Morell, the Catholic inspector was dismissed for making an inaccurate statement in his diary and attempting to justify it. Morell's previous "unexampled irregularity" also contributed to his dismissal. (75) Had Morell not given the Department previous cause for complaint, this would certainly have been harsh treatment for he was surely correct in saying that

"the object of a diary is to acquaint the authorities with the daily official work of Inspectors, and not to specify all his doings, private and public, day and night." (76)

It was this general principle that concerned the other H.M.I.s for it was their common practice

"when on a journey to parcel out a fair week's work, and then if by working or travelling over hours he can accomplish it in a day, or half a day, less, to do so without indicating it on his diary." (77)

The filling in of the diary was an unmitigated chore for the inspector and it is understandable that the labour involved was minimised by, for example, putting broken journeys into one place

(74) His next inspection being in Plymouth.

(75) The Case of J.R. Morell, No.1, p.16. Letter from Lingen to Morell, dated 13th February 1864.

(76) Ibid., p.6.

(77) Ibid., p.8. Letter written by J.R. Morell to Lingen, 2nd February 1864, but composed by J.D. Morell. This is stated in The Museum, vol.I (new series), July 1864.

instead of two. Such a convenience was no excuse to Robert Lowe who, when Morell sought to explain his conduct retorted: "Do you call an untruth unimportant?" (78) To Lowe, the inspectors were subordinates who had to be kept in their place and this is exactly what the Office did during the 1860s.

In his evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, Lowe stated that three inspectors had been dismissed in the course of the previous three years. (79) As we have seen, there is ample documentary evidence concerning Marshall and J.R. Morell, but the identity of the third inspector remains a mystery. (80) It is possible that Lowe was in error and that only two inspectors were sacked - he was certainly wrong in the figure of three years, as Marshall finished in 1860 - but in view of his close association with the subject and his normally scrupulous accuracy it would be unsafe to conclude that this was necessarily the case. It cannot have been a Scottish inspector, as none of them retired in the period 1860-65. (81) Of the English H.M.I.s whose inspectorships came to an end during this period, Birley and Jelinger Symons died; Brookfield, Cook and Norris retired, but they were all senior inspectors whose opinions were much respected in Whitehall. R.E. Hughes retired owing to ill-health and died soon afterwards. Glennie and Grant both left in 1861 for good livings in the Church, which they would have been unlikely to obtain if they had left the

(78) The Case of J.R. Morell, No.1, p.12.

(79) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.634.

(80) No educational historians ever seem to have discussed this point.

(81) T.R. Bone, School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966, London,

Inspectorate under a cloud, and Woolley was promoted from the Inspectorate in 1864 to become Inspector and Director of Studies of the new Royal School of Naval Architecture. Of the three others who come under consideration, we know very little about James Laurie or Joshua Ruddock, and it could have been either of them, but the most likely candidate seems to be Harry Longueville Jones, whom we know was on very poor terms with the Office and about whom the following memorandum was written, probably in 1864 after Lowe had retired, by H.A. Bruce to Lord Granville: "I hope you will soon be able to deliberate on the fate of Longueville Jones which keeps (?) for decision." (82) This is flimsy evidence on which to decide that Jones was the third inspector to be sacked but, unless Robert Lowe gave the 1865 Select Committee inaccurate evidence concerning the number of inspectors dismissed, or unless it was Laurie or Ruddock, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion. Almost certainly, Jones suffered the indignity of dismissal at least partly because of his strenuous opposition to the Revised Code at a time when the Office was trying to instil a feeling of subordination into the inspectors.

When this relationship between the senior officers of the Department and the inspectors is taken into account, it becomes less surprising that the Office consulted the inspectors so little during the period under discussion. This had not always been the case. Since the inspectors were so widely spread around the country, Kay-Shuttleworth had instituted an annual conference at which he and the Lord President obtained the views of the inspectors

(82) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 19/2/66, undated.

on a wide range of subjects. (83) No doubt Granville and Kay-Shuttleworth used the opportunity to urge their point of view onto the inspectors, as well as listening to their suggestions, grievances and difficulties. During the 1850s, however, these conferences frequently developed into discussions of government policy on education and, since the inspectors were in the habit of voting at the end of their debates, embarrassing situations no doubt occurred for the departmental chiefs. In 1858 the new Vice-President, C.B. Adderley, presided over the annual conference and quickly put a stop to the practice of voting. (84) The following year, Robert Lowe, who had taken over from Adderley after the downfall of Derby's minority government, and who later publicly stated that he did not trust the inspectors (85), stopped the conferences altogether. No other form of consultation was

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- (83) An account of the 1853 Conference, for example, may be found in the Granville Papers, PRO 30/29. 23/3/pp.159-170. It lasted two days and was attended by both H.M.I.s and assistant inspectors, with the Lord President in the chair. When he left, towards the end, the senior H.M.I., Moseley, took the chair. The agenda was:
1. Examination of 5th year pupil-teachers. (Watkins)
 2. Insufficient pupil-teachers. (Cook)
 3. Raising 3rd class certificates of teachers under certain conditions. (Mitchell) (It was unanimously agreed that certificates should depend more on the condition of a school and less on the examination results of the teacher.)
 4. Higher augmentation grant needed for Training College lecturers. (Moseley)
 5. The need for sub-inspectors; to be ex-schoolmasters.
 6. Should certificates of competency be given to uncertificated teachers? (Lord President)
 7. Need for better, quicker information on building regulations. (Watkins)
 8. Industrial schools. (Cook)
 9. Difficulties of examining schools under 1853 Minute.
 10. A book list for schools. (Bellairs)
 11. Cancellation of pupil-teacher indentures. (Jones)
 12. Grants to endowed schools. (Bowstead)
- (84) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.968.
- (85) Hansard, vol.CLX, 14th August 1860, col.1293.

substituted for the conferences, a point on which Sir John Pakington repeatedly questioned the inspectors who gave evidence to the 1865 Select Committee. In the course of the preparation of the Revised Code, a major piece of legislation on which one would expect a department to consult its field officers, only Norris was consulted. (86) Tufnell, Kennedy and J.D. Morell, in spite of having nearly sixty years experience of inspecting between them, all claimed that they had never been consulted. (87) Granville somewhat surprisingly maintained that inspectors were frequently consulted, by himself, Bruce and Lingen, before the Office came to a final conclusion on any issue. He claimed that he frequently consulted Tufnell. (88) The Lord President and the inspectors must have had different ideas about what constituted consultation, but then it was not unusual for inspectors to be out of sympathy with their administrative masters. One of the greatest benefits of consultation, Kennedy told the Select Committee, was that it would act as a check on the "chiefs of the Office." (89) It was not through the actions of its political masters that the Department had become so unpopular, he said, but because of the daily management of the Office and, in particular, the Secretary. Earlier in his evidence he had quoted a teachers' paper (90): "There is no public office, perhaps, at the present moment, held in so little favour as the Education Department of the Privy Council." (91) It would be more popular,

(86) Tufnell's evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.1159.

(87) Ibid., q.1146, 2520, 3081.

(88) Ibid., q.1923-7.

(89) Ibid., q.2787-8.

(90) Educational Guardian, 19th April 1865.

(91) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.2492.

Kennedy believed, if it were better informed and this could have been achieved by consulting its inspectors. Undoubtedly the main reason why it did not do so was because its chiefs did not want to emphasise the importance of a subordinate Inspectorate. It is also possible that they did not consult the inspectors because they were members of a predominately Anglican Inspectorate, appointments to which were still partly the province of the bishops. The inspectors were therefore seen as being too closely identified with the Church at a time when some people in the Office were trying to pull elementary education away from its religious apron strings. It was not until 1881 that a "Code Committee" containing three senior inspectors formalised a system of consultation with the inspectors (92), who thereafter played a major part in amending the Code.

No such machinery existed during the late 1850s and 1860s however, and consequently, until Forster came to the Education Department in 1868, there was no legislation designed to tackle the two great problems of elementary education, poor attendance and the early leaving age of children. Between the time of Kay-Shuttleworth and Forster the chiefs of the Department had been neither legislators nor educators. They failed to understand the problems of educating children from a class with which they had no sympathy and, in any case, they became so bogged down in administrative detail that no one had any time to look to the future and "lay the foundation for something really like a national

(92) Evidence to the Cross Commission, q.7999; J. Leese, Personalities and Power in English Education, London, 1950, p.138.

system of education." (93) Lingen, who was not a good delegator, neither had the time himself to step outside the system and plan for the future nor did he have the courage to use one of the well-qualified examiners in such a role. (94) As we have seen, they certainly had the time.

It has been argued that, for legislative initiative to come from within government, there are three essential prerequisites:

- "1. adequate machinery and an appropriate personnel for the investigation, revelation and publicising of specific abuses in existing systems ...
2. the findings of the field corps, especially where spontaneous unanimity does not exist, need to be sifted, assimilated and presented in the form of precise recommendations of policy ...
3. the Departmental plans must have a means of being brought to Cabinet attention." (95)

With many of the inspectors continually stating in their annual reports what was wrong with elementary education, the first of these conditions was met during the period under consideration, but the administrative narrowness of Lingen and the Office ensured that the necessary digestion of evidence did not take place to meet the second condition. Finally, education was represented in the Cabinet by the Lord President who had very little knowledge of the daily working of the system. The one

(93) H. Chester's evidence to the Newcastle Commission, vol.VI, q.703.

(94) He was in favour of more locally-based educational administration, though he stated that he had not fully thought out a plan. Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.191 ff.

(95) J.R.B. Johnson, op.cit., 1968, pp.361-2.

piece of major legislation during the period - the Revised Code - was the only time that the third condition was ever fulfilled and one of the reasons why it caused so much trouble was that the connection between the first and second conditions broke down. In other words, the framers of the legislation not only failed to take sufficient account of the recommendations of the field corps, but actively discouraged them from making those recommendations in the first place.

After the mid-sixties, which were, in the words of H.M.I. Watkins, "unmarked years in educational work, years of quiet and of consolidation, rather than of activity or progress" (96), the Department became more amenable to inspectors' suggestions and it would appear that the 1867 Minute was a clear response by the Department to their complaints about the lack of higher subjects, the decrease in pupil-teachers and the disincentive to remain at school exerted by the Revised Code. (97) When W.E. Forster came to the Department in the following year, the situation was greatly improved. Parliament once again became interested in education. For many years this interest had been stifled by the Department, who had been carrying out government by Minute, rather than by legislation. Since the "public with which the department deals ... is not a political, but a religious one, and a religious one in fragments," this method avoided a direct "clash between the political and religious system" (98) and was probably therefore

(96) Report, 1867-8, p.270.

(97) See above, p.133.

(98) R.R.W. Lingen, Confidential memorandum concerning the representation of the Committee of Council in the House of Commons, 6th June 1865, PRO Ed.25/53.

beneficial to the maintenance of a stable political system at a time when many other European countries had no such stability.(99) Educational legislation on a major scale was delayed until 1870 therefore, not because of some overriding policy of laissez-faire - the sixties was a period of increasing legislative interference in other areas (100) - but because the method of government by Minute had pushed education into the background of the parliamentary conscience, and

"moreover, while men remained interested in popular education for purely religious reasons, the most powerful secular reasons for desiring to educate the poor, the fear of the menace to society of the barbarous and disorderly masses, began to lose its urgency in the quieter and more prosperous conditions of the 1850s and 1860s." (101)

If Parliament had taken a more active part in education, it is doubtful whether the inspectors would have had any more influence on the legislation, except in a purely informal way. Although inspectors' reports were frequently quoted by M.P.s in the debates which did occur, the H.M.I.s were appointed by, and responsible to, the Department, not Parliament. (102) The Department, therefore, and particularly its Secretary, had a great

(99) Notably Italy, Poland, Prussia and Austria. Also the U.S.A.

(100) There were, for example, four Acts dealing with labour and two Sanitary Acts during this decade in which, incidentally, the Factory and Sanitary Inspectors played a considerable part. G. Kitson Clark, An Expanding Society, Britain 1830-1900, Cambridge, 1967, pp.148-54.

(101) Ibid., p.159.

(102) C.B. Adderley's evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, q.1024-5.

deal of power over them and never let them forget it. This was made worse by the fact that Lingen was out of sympathy with many of the inspectors. They were predominantly educational expansionists; his great strength "lay ... in his ability to negative claims upon the public purse." (103) They were appointed denominationally; he was predominantly a secularist. Although the Department's attitude towards the Inspectorate did become more encouraging towards the end of the sixties and the inspectors' reports were quoted at length from 1864-5 in the Department's own report which introduced the annual volume (104), Lingen ensured that the amount of freedom that the Inspectorate exercised was strictly limited by swamping them with red tape. The Instructions to Inspectors, which in the early days had been uplifting documents, became matter-of-fact interpretations of the latest Minutes. The Revised Code was perhaps the best example of this and, in addition, there were its Supplementary Rules and the increasing number of precedents created in the Office, as well as the additions consequent on the 1867 Minute. Then there were the weekly diaries:

"If any one saw our weekly diaries he would never abuse an H.M.I. again, for very pity ... So numerous and galling - as well as senseless - ... were the columns to be filled, that I once officially asked for yet one more column in which to record time spent in filling diaries." (105)

(103) Dictionary of National Biography, second supplement, vol.2, p.467.

(104) An index was also introduced at this time.

(105) A.J. Swinburne, Memories of a School Inspector. Thirty-five years in Lancashire and Suffolk, Author, 1912, p.88.

Yet the Office never triumphed wholly over the Inspectorate, and to suggest that "the inspectors ... lost their independent power to speculate, to suggest and to recommend" (106) is a gross overstatement of the case, as a reading of the inspectors' reports for 1868 indicates. However, the negative effect which the Department, and particularly Robert Lowe and Ralph Lingen, exerted on the Inspectorate left it a far weaker body than it might otherwise have been and, at a time when the proper relationship between the government and its field officers was in the early days of its establishment, the inspectors were particularly unfortunate to have such men as their superiors. Some wilted under the pressure from the Office, but many adapted themselves to the more structured framework of the Revised Code and remained good influences for educational progress. With a strict approach to inspectoral methods from the Office, more consultation and proper avenues for the translation of suggestions into legislative action, English elementary education might have made much faster progress than it did in the years before 1870.

(106) J.R.B. Johnson, op.cit., 1968, p.498.

CHAPTER 11
OTHER INSPECTORS

The ninety or so H.M.I.s were not the only inspectors who visited elementary schools before 1870, for there were also the inspectors of the religious denominations which aided the schools. In addition, there were a number of inspectors who were entitled to refer to themselves as H.M.I.s, but who never visited elementary schools, as these institutions have been defined in the preceding chapters. These were the inspectors of Poor Law Schools who, until they were transferred from the Education Department to the Poor Law Board in 1863, had their annual reports included in the Minutes in the same way as other H.M.I.s. Joseph Woolley, who was the only other H.M.I. who did not visit ordinary elementary schools, was appointed specifically to inspect the Admiralty schools. Because the educational background in which these men worked was so different from that of the majority of H.M.I.s, it has not been possible to consider their role in the main part of this thesis. Their work as inspectors was nonetheless important and is worthy of further research. Certainly too little consideration has been given to them in the past. A discussion of the work of inspectors other than H.M.I.s should properly begin with the most numerous category: the men who visited the National schools.

Church of England inspectors

Church schools already had a long history of school inspection when H.M.I.s were first appointed in 1839. By 1813, for example,

the Hampshire branch of the National Society had appointed Visitors to each of its districts and also employed a General Visitor who inspected every school in the county once a year. (1)

In 1840 Rev. Edward Field M.A. became the first full-time national inspector and Mr. Tancred was appointed inspecting agent. Two more inspectors were appointed in the following year. Their duties were very similar to those of an H.M.I. (2) and, when a system of diocesan inspection began to grow, the overlapping caused the demise of the Society's system of national inspection. A further contributory factor in this decline was the trust in which the National Society held the early H.M.I.s. Since it also had a voice in their appointments, the Church soon realised that the money spent on paying their own inspectors could be better used elsewhere.

The first full-time diocesan inspector was Rev. F.C. Cook in London whose appointment in 1841 led to a speedy development of the system of local inspection in other dioceses. (3) This was usually done by part-time inspectors who received only their expenses and it was often organised on the basis of rural deaneries. Indeed, in many places it was the Rural Dean himself who carried out the inspection on behalf of the diocese. In other areas organising masters were appointed who combined inspection with an advisory role. (4) They were paid from £120 to £150 per

(1) H.J. Burgess, Enterprise in Education, London, 1958, p.35.

(2) Ibid., p.85.

(3) By 1864, the Gloucester diocese was the only one with no local inspection. N. Ball, op.cit., 1970, p.155.

(4) Minutes, 1850-1, vol.II, p.74.

year, plus travelling expenses, and, as well as suggesting improvements in schools, they helped many teachers to study for their certificate of merit and conducted vacation courses for teachers - harvest schools, as they were called. In 1857 the Education Department agreed to pay augmentation grants to these masters at the same rate as qualified teachers in schools. The remainder of their salary was paid equally by the National Society and the local diocesan board. After the Revised Code, the government ceased to augment the salaries of the organising masters and their numbers decreased rapidly. (5)

The diocesan inspectors continued to play an important role, however, even though the Department had turned down Bishop Wilberforce's suggestion that the diocesan system should be amalgamated with H.M. Inspectorate. (6) At its best, diocesan inspection provided a necessary stimulus to schools and the inspectors took a keen interest in all aspects of school life, especially religious education to which "as the Bishop's officer, he will give a special prominence." (7) At its worst, it was little more than a grudging visit by a clergyman with too much else to do and no knowledge of elementary education. There was criticism of the system from notable educationalists within the Church (8), although it would appear that it usually worked well and, in particular, there was a degree of co-operation between diocesan inspectors and H.M.I.s.

(5) H.J. Burgess, *op.cit.*, p.138.

(6) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 19/10/2, dated January 1854.

(7) From the fifth report of the Northampton National Society, quoted in E.L. Edmonds, The School Inspector, London, 1962, p.56.

(8) Ibid., p.57.

As the Newcastle Commission was told, the two men could be on the friendliest of terms and in frequent unofficial communication. (9) One way in which diocesan inspectors helped H.M.I.s was by furnishing them with statistics on schools that did not receive government grants. With this information, H.M.I.s were enabled to make more comprehensive statistical investigations of their areas and they acknowledged the assistance when it was given. (10) As fellow clergymen, the H.M.I.s and the diocesan inspectors should have found it easy enough to work together and it is perhaps surprising that more co-operative ventures did not take place. Diocesan inspectors, however, were not educational experts and probably had lower standards (11); the amount of co-operation that they could give to the H.M.I.s was therefore very limited. After the Revised Code, although they continued to look closely at religious education, they became the anxious supervisors of practice examinations in the 3Rs and their advisory role became even more restricted.

British and Foreign School Society inspectors

The B.F.S.S. spent considerably more on inspection than the National Society, having five national inspectors as early as 1845 and six in 1860 when their salaries totalled £1786. (12)

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- (9) Evidence of Rev. Robert Hey, Diocesan inspector for Lichfield and Rural Dean of Alfreton, Newcastle Report, vol.VI, q.3424. Lichfield was, however, one of the areas where co-operation was greatest. (Report, 1869-70, p.125.)
- (10) Report, 1859-60, p.48; ibid., 1863-4, p.92; ibid., 1868-9, p.244; ibid., 1869-70, p.172.
- (11) H.M.I. Bellairs certainly believed that this was the case. Evidence to the 1866 Select Committee, q.616.
- (12) E.L. Edmonds "School inspection: the contribution of religious denominations", British Journal of Educational Studies, vol.VII, 1958, p.20.

In addition, the Wesleyan Education Committee had one full-time inspector, Mr. H. Armstrong, who served from 1843 until his death in 1865. He was clearly a man of great energy and his reports were printed as appendices to the Society's Annual Report. (13) No successor to Armstrong was appointed and the Committee's inspection of their schools was left in the hands of the Circuit Ministers, one of whose duties was to visit and inspect the Wesleyan elementary schools on a regular basis, and the B.F.S.S. inspectors, whose services were frequently needed by school managers "to explain the requirements and regulations of the Code, to answer questions as to the actual working of certain enactments, or to advise on courses of action, and generally to initiate official correspondence." (14) Their most common duty, however, was to conduct the annual public examinations of children which took place in all B.F.S.S. schools (15) and which parents were encouraged to attend. There is no evidence of any co-operation between the B.F.S.S. inspectors and the H.M.I.s and it is clear that the size of the areas covered by these men militated against this.

Catholic inspectors

E.L. Edmonds quotes evidence to support the view that the Catholic Poor School Committee was becoming concerned about the

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- (13) Ibid., p.22. Armstrong had previously been organiser of missionary schools in the West Indies and superintendent of Wesleyan schools in Glasgow. (N.Ball, op.cit., 1970, p.121)
- (14) Mr. Saunders, the London inspector, writing in 1868-9, quoted in H.B. Binns, A century of education, 1808-1908, London, 1908, p.220.
- (15) This was quite separate from the grant-earning examination conducted by the H.M.I.

lack of inspections in their schools in the 1850s and about the fact that the Catholics had no officials of their own to inspect schools. In 1856, four paid inspectors were appointed with an intention to add three more subsequently. They developed an elaborate system of rewards to encourage pupil-teachers, but it was only after 1870, when H.M.I.s ceased to inspect religious education, that the Catholic Poor School Committee's own inspectors began to play a significant part in the inspection of Catholic elementary schools. (16)

Inspectors of Workhouse schools

In 1846, Kay-Shuttleworth drew up a scheme for workhouse schools to be inspected by the Church of England H.M.I.s. This, he considered, would lead to the establishment of a useful relationship between the inspector and the workhouse chaplain and would economise on the inspector's travelling time. (17) No such economy was effected, however, and Kay-Shuttleworth soon amended this scheme and appointed four inspectors of workhouse schools, the first of whom was his friend and former colleague, E. Carleton Tufnell. They acted under a different set of instructions from the other H.M.I.s having

"authority to examine the conditions of schools for the education of pauper children, and to ascertain the character and qualifications of the persons employed as schoolmaster and mistresses, in order

(16) E.L. Edmonds, *op.cit.*, 1962, p.60.

(17) F. Smith, The life and work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, London, 1923, p.150.

that unfit and incompetent persons may no longer be employed in that capacity." (18)

In addition to assessing the workhouse teachers, most of whom were of a very low standard of education themselves, the inspectors explained the government aid system and suggested improvements. Their reports, which were printed in the annual volume of the Committee of Council on Education, make depressing reading, except for their accounts of the district schools. These housed children from several Poor Law Unions, employed teachers of a higher standard and had considerably better sanitary conditions than other workhouse schools. Owing to the lack of co-operation between adjacent Poor Law Unions, only six district schools had been set up by 1860 and Kneller Hall, a college which had been established under Frederick Temple to train workhouse teachers for these institutions, was a complete failure. (19) The Newcastle Commission was far from happy with this state of affairs and recommended that the enabling powers to provide district schools and outdoor poor relief should not be permissive but imperative. (20) No such legislation was ever enacted and the workhouses remained as bad as ever.

As Dr. Ball points out, the workhouse school inspectors differed from the other H.M.I.s in three ways. First, the religious bodies had no say in their appointment, which was entirely in the hands of the Committee of Council; secondly, their powers

(18) Minutes, 1846, vol.I, pp.13-15, quoted in N. Ball, op.cit., 1963, p.185.

(19) Tufnell's evidence to the Newcastle Commission, vol.VI, q.3133. See also Report, 1860-1, pp.478-86.

(20) F.P. Burns, op.cit., p.73. Newcastle Report, vol.I, pp.352-85.

were greater and more specific and thirdly, since teachers in these schools were responsible for all aspects of the life of the children in their charge, the inspectors' sphere of interest was wider and went far beyond what could be discovered in an examination of elementary subjects. (21) With such wide differences it has not been possible for this writer to examine in depth the influence of the workhouse school inspectors and this remains an area which would benefit from further research.

From 1846 to 1863, the workhouse inspectors, who were appointed by the Poor Law Board, inspected the whole workhouse, whilst the H.M.I.s for workhouse schools inspected the education in them. Since the latter found it impossible to keep their attention strictly on the education, this led to difficulties between the two sets of inspectors which could only be resolved by placing them in the same department. In March 1863, without any prior consultation with the inspectors themselves (22), the workhouse school inspectors were transferred from the Committee of Council on Education to the Poor Law Board. (23)

Inspectors of the Army and Navy schools

The inspection of the army and navy schools touches only peripherally on the activities of Her Majesty's Inspectorate in the 1860s. Admiralty and Dockyard schools had been inspected by H.M.I. Henry Moseley from 1847 to 1856, during which time he was

(21) N. Ball, op.cit., 1963, p.186.

(22) R.J. Phillips, E.C. Tufnell, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Sheffield University, 1973, p.268 ff.

(23) Report, 1862-3, p.xlvii.

also inspecting other schools and colleges in the same way as other H.M.I.s. After this Joseph Woolley took over the naval schools' inspection, being as critical of the work taking place in them as Moseley had been. (24) This criticism was echoed by the Newcastle Commission (25), although little seems to have been done to improve the schools. In 1864 Woolley ceased to be an H.M.I. and became Inspector-General of Navy Schools and Director of Studies of the new Royal School of Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering. A year after the Committee of Council had shed its responsibility for workhouse schools, therefore, it passed the Navy schools to the Admiralty, a further sign that there was to be no attempt to establish a policy of co-operation of all aspects of elementary education.

Army schools had been inspected by Rev. G.H. Gleig from 1846 to 1857 and by Colonel J.H. Lefroy from 1857 until 1860, when the post which these men had held - Inspector-General of Army Schools - was abolished and all control of army schools passed into the hands of the Council on Military Education. (26)

Inspectors of the Science and Art Department

In 1842 the Director of the Central School of Design began to act as inspector of the provincial schools of design, a job for which he was given an additional allowance plus expenses. He was succeeded in 1850 by the first full-time inspector who was

(24) See, for example, Report, 1859-60, p.508.

(25) Newcastle Report, vol.I, p.428.

(26) I am grateful to Mr. R. Fallister of Neville's Cross College, Durham, for this information.

paid a salary of £500 but was not given the title H.M.I. (27) After the Science Department had been added to make the new Department of Science and Art in 1853, the joint secretaries, Henry Cole and Dr. Lyon Playfair, both did some inspecting. When, in 1855, this arrangement was found to be unsatisfactory, Playfair became Secretary and Cole Inspector-General. In 1857, Cole replaced Playfair as Secretary and Captain Donnelly R.E. was appointed inspector. (28) The following year, T.C. Buckmaster became Organising Master, travelling around explaining how science and art grants could be obtained and promoting the teaching of these subjects. His work was very successful and the number of grants that were given under the payment-by-results scheme that started in 1859 increased more than tenfold in the years 1862-72. (29) The reason that this increase was not matched by a similar increase in the number of full-time inspectors (30) was that members of the Royal Engineers were used on a part-time basis for much of the work of inspecting. They were paid a guinea a day and given a daily allowance plus travelling expenses. This arrangement had been sanctioned by the Treasury in 1868 as "the cheapest mode of obtaining science inspection" (31) but the lack of educational expertise of the Royal Engineers inevitably led to "complaints that the inspectors were of little real assistance in advising teachers." (32)

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- (27) H.E. Boothroyd, A history of the Inspectorate, privately printed, 1923, pp.39-40.
 (28) A.S. Bishop, op.cit., 1971, p.167.
 (29) Ibid., p.169.
 (30) There were still only two in 1870. Ibid., p.173.
 (31) H. Butterworth, The Science and Art Department, 1853-1900, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Sheffield University, 1968, vol.II, p.324.
 (32) Ibid., p.327.

Charity Commission inspectors

Endowed schools came under the aegis of the Charity Commission, but formed only a small part of the Commission's work. Owing to the very small number of inspectors employed by the Commission, it was impossible for all the charities to be examined, still less for all the schools to be inspected. In any case, the inspectors had no special qualifications for inspecting schools. (33) The Newcastle Commission recognised this and recommended that the Charity Commission should become part of the Privy Council Department. The inspection of its schools could then be put in the hands of H.M.I.s who would be given additional powers to audit the accounts of endowed schools during the course of their annual visits. These recommendations were never enacted and the position remained sufficiently bad for Parliament to appoint the Taunton Commission on endowed schools in 1864. Their report, which was published in 1868, called for the proper inspection of endowed schools by qualified men in order to prevent the waste and inefficiency that existed. (34) When Forster introduced the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, however, the major difference between it and the Taunton Commission's Report was the omission in the Act of any provision for examination or inspection. (35)

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The theme running through this brief analysis of the work of inspectors other than H.M.I.s has been the repeatedly wasted

(33) A.S. Bishop, op.cit., 1971, p.216.

(34) Ibid., p.222.

(35) P.H.J.H. Gosden, The development of educational administration in England and Wales, Oxford, 1966, p.64.

opportunities to establish a co-ordinated system of educational inspection. There was a limited amount of co-operation between H.M.I.s and diocesan inspectors, but there were no guidelines from the centre to encourage it. Workhouse schools, army and navy schools, and endowed schools could all, with a strong lead from Whitehall, have benefitted from inspection by H.M.I.s, working either in smaller areas or by special appointments in close co-operation with the area inspectors. (36) In the same way that the Inspectorate was hindered by its denominationalism and lack of structure, so the development of these schools was retarded by the absence of a proper system of inspection.

(36) A scheme for inspecting middle-class schools had been drawn up by H.M.I.s Frederick Temple and J.P. Norris in 1857. Inspections started in 1862 and four schools were visited but the scheme was killed because of lack of co-operation from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge under whose aegis it was to take place. The government gave the scheme no support. Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 18/11/3.

CHAPTER 12

UP TO THE 1870 EDUCATION ACT

"The general question of the education of the people requires your most serious attention, and I have no doubt that you will approach the subject with a full appreciation both of its vital importance, and of its acknowledged difficulty." (1)

Gladstone's victory in the 1868 General Election and his promise of early legislation on education resulted from pressures for change which had been increasing for some time. There were signs abroad that well-educated countries were growing in both military and commercial power, while at home the 1867 Reform Bill had widened the franchise and had brought people such as Robert Lowe round to the opinion that "from the moment that you entrust the masses with power their education becomes an absolute necessity." (2)

Dissatisfaction with the existing system of education and in particular with its inability to solve the problems of irregular attendance and early leaving had led to the formation in 1864 of the Manchester Education Aid Society whose members produced statistics to illustrate the extent of the attendance problem.

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- (1) From the Queen's speech to Parliament after the election of the new Liberal government, 1868, quoted in M. Sturt, The education of the people, London, 1967, p.300.
- (2) From Lowe's speech on the third reading of the 1867 Reform Bill, when he realised that his opposition to the Bill would not be successful. Quoted in Papers for the Schoolmaster, vol.III (new series), June 1867, p.126. A.S. Bishop, op.cit., 1971, pp.88-9, contains a fuller discussion of the influences, both foreign and home, leading to the 1870 Act.

It was the Society's aim to pay for very poor children to attend existing schools, although it was soon found that the problem could not be solved by such methods. The Society then turned its attention from practical help to political pressure. A report was presented to the 1866 Social Science Congress calling for free, rate-aided, compulsory education. This led to the formation of the Manchester Bill Committee which in the following year produced a Bill that was introduced into Parliament by H.A. Bruce, W.E. Forster and Algernon Egerton. This Bill proposed to permit rate-aid both for schools that charged less than ninepence per week and in areas which had no schools, a device which, Bruce argued, would maintain the voluntary system but which would help because it had become apparent that the voluntary bodies could not provide education for all. (3) Compulsion was not in the Bill itself, but was put as an amendment by Mr. Bazley, by prior agreement with the Bill's sponsors. (4) Because of the approaching end of the Parliamentary session, the Bill was withdrawn on 10th July 1867. The following January a conference was held in Manchester to review the position. Bruce and Forster were elected Presidents of the meeting and Forster spoke in favour of extending the Bill to include compulsion both for the attendance of children and for the provision of schools, propositions that were unanimously adopted by the conference. (5) H.M.I. Joshua Fitch spoke in support of this (6) and his fellow inspector,

(3) Hansard, 10th July 1867, vol.CLXXXVIII, col.1332.

(4) Report of the National Conference on Education held in the Town Hall, Manchester, 15th and 16th January 1868, Manchester, 1868, p.iv.

(5) Ibid., pp.38 ff, 155.

(6) Ibid., p.55.

G.R. Moncrieff, although he could not attend the conference, wrote to the organisers stating that he believed it to be the "most important step yet taken in the right direction." (7)

In the early part of the 1868 parliamentary session Forster asked the Conservative government what they were doing about education (8) and received his reply in the form of a Bill, introduced by the Duke of Marlborough, which failed to include provisions for rate-aid but which proposed to appoint a Secretary of State for Education. There was little enthusiasm for this measure which, like Lord John Russell's four resolutions of the previous autumn, came to nothing. (9) Meanwhile Forster and Bruce had reintroduced their 1867 Bill with the notable addition of compulsory, instead of permissive, rating. Before this had had time to pass through all its parliamentary stages, however, a General Election was called which resulted in Gladstone becoming Prime Minister and appointing Forster to the Education Office with a seat in the Cabinet, an innovation which emphasised the importance that the Liberals attached to education. The radical lobby not unnaturally hoped that Forster would reintroduce his second Manchester Bill, but they were soon given warning of their impending disillusionment. In a speech in St. James' Hall in 1869, Forster promised "not to destroy anything in the existing system which was good." (10) To those people who had hoped that

(7) Ibid., p.19. Other H.M.I.s who attended were Sandford, Sewell, Stokes and Watkins.

(8) Hansard, 14th February 1868, vol.CXC, cols. 734-42.

(9) Ibid., 2nd December 1867, vol.CXC, cols.478-506; ibid., 27th April 1868, vol.CXCI, cols.1305-31.

(10) T. Wemyss Reid, The life of F.E. Forster, London, 1888, vol.I, p.461.

he would do just that in order to establish a completely new system, this was a grave setback and in the same year the National Education League was formed in Birmingham. Its members, who included Joseph Chamberlain, George Dixon, A.J. Mundella and Robert Applegarth, called for a free, non-sectarian, rate-aided system of elementary schools. Because the Manchester Bill Committee was less extreme in its demands, a split occurred in the radical education lobby. (11) Further opposition to the League's demands came when the National Education Union was formed with a membership that included two archbishops, five dukes, one marquis, eighteen earls, twenty-one bishops and the same number of barons. (12) In addition to the Church and Tory establishment, Edward Baines and Cowper-Temple were members of the N.E.U., the latter being chairman. They wanted any new educational legislation to do no more than supplement the existing system with a strictly limited form of rate-aid, and they were supported by a number of H.M.I.s. Frederick Meyrick, for example, urged at the Union's first meeting in November 1869 that there should be no education without religion and no rating. William Kennedy, although a supporter of rate-aid, gave a paper entitled "A plea for denominational education" in which he strongly attacked George Dixon, while two former H.M.I.s, John Allen and J.P. Norris, expounded the need for the conscience clause. (13)

Meanwhile Forster was preparing his ground. He knew that

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- (11) F. Adams, History of the elementary school contest in England, London, 1882, pp.193-99. Adams was secretary of the National Education League in 1869.
- (12) Ibid., Introduction to 2nd edition by A. Briggs, p.xxvi.
- (13) Papers for the Schoolmaster, vol.V (new series), December 1869, p.297.

he would have to make out a strong case for change in order to offset the powerful influence of the N.E.U. Two H.M.I.s, Joshua Fitch and Daniel Fearon, were therefore asked to make an assessment of the educational condition of four major cities. Their reports were largely statistical and contained no recommendations but their impact was considerable. Fitch, for example, found that although there were 141,438 children between the ages of three and thirteen in Birmingham and Leeds, the average school attendance for this age group was only 28,475. (14) As one Birmingham clergyman wrote:

"Mr. Fitch's report was a very able and exhaustive one, and furnished a complete picture of what was then the condition of educational machinery, in the town which was admittedly the most advanced in the kingdom. His picture of the state of things even there was sufficiently depressing to open the eyes of Parliament to the immediate necessity of legislation, and largely helped Mr. Forster to pass the memorable Education Act of 1870." (15).

Not all clergymen found the reports so welcome. Rev. Joseph Nunn of Ardwick, Manchester, wrote to Forster attacking both the principles on which the inspectors had conducted their surveys and the way in which they had assembled their statistics. (16) Nunn

(14) P.P. 1870, LIV, 265.

(15) A.L. Lilley, Sir Joshua Fitch, London, 1906, pp.94-5.

(16) Rev. J. Nunn, Strictures on the reports on education in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Leeds, presented to the House of Commons by J.G. Fitch and D.R. Fearon; together with an appendix on the government education bill and government hindrances to education. Addressed to W.E. Forster, London and Manchester, 1870.

was a strong supporter of the existing voluntary system but, by 1870, he and his allies were fighting a rearguard action. Apart from the reports of Fitch and Fearon, the situation in the cities had been exposed in letters to the Manchester Guardian (17) and in G.C.T. Bartley's survey of the East End of London in which he revealed an appalling lack of education among the poor people and a gross shortage of school accommodation. (18)

Forster's Act had been foreshadowed as early as 1861 by Lord Granville when he was considering a compromise between the 1846 system and the newly-introduced Revised Code. In order to spread elementary education to the neglected areas, he thought that a local Commissioner might say to a district where no school existed, "I give you such and such a time to establish a school on the voluntary system ...; if it be not done within that time I shall proceed to levy a school-building rate, out of which, together with Charity funds and government aid, I require you to build a Church school with a conscience clause in its trust deed." (19) A similar suggestion was put to the 1866 Select Committee by H.M.I. Bellairs (20) and the Act was further foreshadowed in inspectors' reports at the end of the decade. (21) H.M.I. Sewell was typical of the middle viewpoint in wanting schools to be better spread over the country by the government, but without

(17) E. B(rotherton), The present state of popular education in Manchester and Salford, Manchester, 1864.

(18) G.C.T. Bartley, The educational condition and requirements of one square mile in the East End of London, 2nd ed., London, 1870.

(19) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 18/11/4.

(20) Evidence to the 1866 Select Committee, q.661-3.

(21) Report, 1869-70, pp.61, 136, 317.

alienating the voluntary spirit or incurring too great an expenditure. (22) Forster himself had given an early clue to his ministerial thinking in the Report which was published in 1869. He praised the 194,745 private citizens who supported education to the extent of £492,941 in 1868,

"but while it would be alike ungrateful to ignore, and impossible to reject, the social force which is thus attested, the error would be hardly less of assuming that the national benefit is as great as the effort made to promote it is meritorious and surprising. The foregoing aggregate figure takes no account of the distribution of schools, of their injurious rivalry in one place, of their absence or worthlessness in another. Voluntary zeal acts where, and to what extent, it pleases." (23)

There were four plans on which Forster could draw for his inspiration in framing the 1870 Act. The Manchester Bills of 1867/8, the N.E.L. plans and those of the N.E.U. have already been outlined. The fourth plan had been put forward by Robert Lowe in a speech in Edinburgh in 1867. First, Lowe stated, since "the inspectors owe a divided allegiance" to Church and State (24), denominational inspection must end. The State, he believed, should give up its partnership with the Churches and confine its interest to secular education. Secondly, all schools should have

(22) Ibid., pp.215-6.

(23) Ibid., 1868-9, p.xii.

(24) R. Lowe, Primary and classical education: an address delivered before the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh, November 1867, Edinburgh, 1867, p.4.

a conscience clause. Thirdly, an educational survey of the country, parish by parish, should be carried out and, if there existed no school in an area, it was the job of the government to tell the parish to establish one. Lowe thought, however, that existing schools should not be disturbed, except insofar as they ought to submit to the conditions about religious education mentioned above. If the parish did not establish a school, Lowe favoured the levying of a compulsory rate. Then, he considered, discussion could begin on compulsory education. Of the four plans, Lowe's was the one on which Forster most closely modelled his Act (25), a point which is rarely taken into account when assessing Lowe's contribution to the development of elementary education.

The provisions of the Act itself and the furore created by the radicals on its introduction are not within the terms of reference of this work and can be found in many other places.(26) However, it is pertinent to note that Lowe's recommendation concerning the ending of denominational inspection was put into effect. The voice of Frederick Meyrick was one of the few that was raised against this part of the Act. The High Church inspector claimed that the system of denominational inspection was not more costly, since inspectors could only look at one school per day, and that it was no more difficult for the Office to administer. Denominational inspection, he continued in a letter to Forster,

(25) T. Wemyss Reid, op.cit., p.464 ff.

(26) See, for example, ibid., and E.E. Rich, The Education Act 1870, London, 1970.

"is most beneficial. All inspectors of Church of England schools are clergymen of the Church of England. In consequence, their visits are not looked upon as those of a hostile official, so much as of a friend I have myself found that I could do more to promote the education of a parish or of a district in the parsonage than in the schoolroom, and that because I combined the character of clergyman and inspector If you continue to urge its abolition, I trust that you will do so ... upon the only ground on which it can be defended - the ground of simple, unadulterated, absolute, unalloyed sectarian, or, if not sectarian, anti-religious bigotry." (27)

The only other H.M.I. who publicly favoured the retention of denominational inspection was Frederick Cook who had told the Newcastle Commission that, because of the system, "wherever an inspector is received he is received with the full concurrence of the religious bodies with which the schools are severally connected." (28) H.M.I. Johnstone, on the other hand, called the denominational system of inspection "a serious obstacle to any thorough knowledge of the educational condition of a district" (29) and Joshua Fitch was even more vigorous in his denunciation. Relating the lack of a unified teachers' association to the "system of sectional inspection", he continued,

(27) F. Meyrick, A letter to the Rt. Hon. W.E. Forster, 1870, pp.7, 8, 15.

(28) Evidence to the Newcastle Commission, vol.VI, q.1022-9.

(29) Report, 1869-70, p.149.

"The Nonconformist is irritated by an arrangement which brings out the whole power and prestige of a Government officer to bear on the inculcation of Anglican theology, and gives no corresponding help to religious teaching of any other kind. The politician is struck with the inconvenience of a system which forbids any one of those officers to take cognizance of the needs of a district, or of its educational provision, as a whole. The economist wonders at its extravagance. But it is the inspector of schools who knows best how much of his time and strength it wastes, how powerless it makes him to institute a fair comparison between rival schools, and to bring them into friendly relations, and above all, how it alienates the teachers, and prevents the growth of a proper esprit de corps, or of useful professional associations in the various districts." (30)

After 1870, no more clergymen were appointed as H.M.I.s, the need for this having been removed by relieving the inspectors of the duty to report on religious instruction in National schools. The main consequence of these measures was that an H.M.I. at last began to inspect all the schools in his area and so, for the first time, became truly the district inspector. In addition, an attempt was made to co-ordinate the work of the inspectors, eight senior H.M.I.s being appointed. The 1870 Act, therefore, was the begin-

(30) Ibid., p.333. Other H.M.I.s who wrote disapprovingly of the denominational system of inspection were Byrne (ibid., 1868-9, p.42), Blakiston (ibid., 1869-70, p.94), Kennedy (ibid., p.162) and Warburton (ibid., p.245). Lingen was also against it. (Evidence to the Newcastle Commission, vol.VI, q.500)

ning of the properly structured Inspectorate which should have been instituted much earlier. Had it been, there is little doubt that the Inspectorate would have played a greater part in the genesis of the 1870 Education Act.

CHAPTER 13CONCLUSION

The 1860s could not be described as years of enrichment for elementary education in this country. Yet they were years of great significance in the development of the system. The Revised Code, though it had many faults, encouraged the teaching of the basic subjects and so broadened the base of the educational pyramid. By placing the emphasis on secular subjects for grant-earning purposes, the Code lessened the stranglehold which the religious bodies, and particularly the Church of England, held over education and it can now be seen as part of the process which smoothed the path of the 1870 Act. Yet the Church never surrendered any of its status or rights willingly and its influence in the corridors of nineteenth century power meant that legislative initiatives in elementary education were either modified or abandoned before coming to fruition. The Church had the great advantage over the State in the field of elementary education in that it was through the activity of the religious bodies that the system had begun and it was through their work, often involving personal financial sacrifice on the part of their supporters, that it continued. Even Robert Lowe, who was a secularist in educational philosophy, recognised the reality of the situation and the impossibility of proceeding without the Church's support. Although Lowe maintained the main principles of his first Revised Code, he made many concessions in the Code that eventually came into operation.

The Church's unwillingness to surrender its freedom of action in the sphere of elementary education had limited the scope of the

Inspectorate's role from its inception. The inspectors' inability to interfere in the running of schools was consistently being re-affirmed in their Instructions and this limitation continued to be emphasised long after the passing of the 1870 Act. (1) Their scope for independent action was further reduced by the detailed supervision which the Revised Code exerted over their work and the heavy load of examining which the Code imposed on them left them with much less time for the general inspection of schools which, through its informality, had originally been of great benefit to the teachers and managers. Because of the nature of the examination, the Revised Code led to a deterioration, as well as a formalisation, of the relationships between many inspectors and teachers, although the affinities of social background between inspector and manager ensured that they usually remained on good terms and enabled the inspector to continue to give friendly advice.

There is little evidence to support the view that the Revised Code brought a sudden deterioration in any of these relationships. In almost every case, the effects which have sometimes been attributed wholly to the Revised Code began before 1862 and were often the result, not of educational legislation, but of existing social or political dogma. It has already been noted that the power of the Church was a significant factor throughout the development up to 1870 of both the education system in general and of the Inspectorate in particular. It had its effect on the Revised Code as much as on the Pupil-Teacher Minutes of 1846.

(1) See J. Leese, Personalities and Power in English Education, London, 1950, pp.128-30, where he discusses the Instructions to Inspectors of 1871, 1878 and 1881, inter alia.

It contributed to the legislative stalemate of the 1860s as it had to the inaction of the fifties, a situation which greatly reduced the influence of the Inspectorate throughout the period. Only in minor areas, such as evening schools, were the inspectors' suggestions translated into legislation, although some of their recommendations were acted upon in the later sixties. For a field corps to be really effective, it must be part of a two-way process, ensuring on the one hand that the guidelines laid down by central authority and good practice are adhered to and, on the other hand, using daily contact with the working of the system to recommend back to the central authority where changes might advantageously be made. The final part of the process leading to legislation, and this was where the effectiveness of H.M. Inspectorate was most reduced, was that the central authority had to notice, sift and act upon the recommendations of the field corps. That it did not do so was partly because of the personalities involved and partly because of the particular situation which existed around 1860 when the relationship between government ministers and civil servants was in the early stages of being moulded into the form in which we know it today. To those at the head of the Department this necessitated the "disciplining" of inspectors who stepped out of the line of official thinking. The H.M.I.s were considered more as a subordinate part of the Department's administrative machine than as a source of information from the field, and it was the misfortune of the inspectors that men as coldly logical as Robert Lowe and Ralph Lingens were in charge of the Department at such a crucial time. Although

the censoring of inspectors' reports could be said to have taken place from the earliest days of the grant system, it was the manner in which it was done that led to the difficulties in the early sixties, although this was a function not so much of the general debate on the role of the Inspectorate as of the characters of Lowe and Lingen. The stopping of inspectors' conferences can be seen in the same light since such men would not wish to risk giving their subordinates the opportunity to criticise them. The whole pattern of non-consultation of the inspectors can also be viewed as a corollary to the religious situation since the need to have their appointments ratified by a religious body led to the inspectors' being regarded by some people as too closely identified with the Church - and consultation with the Church was not always a politically expedient course of action.

It is very much to the credit of the inspectors that they did not permit their close contact with the Church to cloud their educational judgment. In cases where this did occur, other inspectors deplored the situation. In fact, the inspectors tended to play down the religious difficulty under which education was labouring during this period and, in so doing, there is little doubt that they contributed to the more liberal atmosphere in which the 1870 Act was discussed and which led to the passing of the famous Cowper-Temple clause. Also as a result of the inspectors' attitude to the religious arguments, the ending of the denominational structure of the Inspectorate by the same Act caused hardly a ripple of dissent.

The denominational nature of the Inspectorate up to 1870 was no substitute for a proper structure. It was costly and wasteful and led to invidious comparisons being made between different inspectors in the same locality. Above all, it reduced the effectiveness of an inspector in that he was unable to speak for education as a whole in his area. In addition, there was no seniority structure and therefore no real probationary period and training. Likewise, there was no attempt at standardisation between inspectors in anything other than administrative detail. All of this, had it been introduced, would have strengthened the effectiveness of the Inspectorate, but the actions of the Department sometimes gave the impression of an attempt to reduce the Inspectorate to a disparate body of travelling form-fillers. That this did not occur was due to the fact that many of the inspectors refused to limit their role in this way. Though there was certainly great diversity in the quality of inspectors, there were many who took the wider view of their job. These men saw themselves not merely as reporters of educational shortcomings to the central authority, but as ambassadors of good education and advocates of improvements both to the schools they visited and to the Department which employed them. Even when that Department took little notice of them, they continued to suggest improvements which would alleviate what they saw as the great educational evils of poor attendance, early leaving and neglected rural areas. In their different ways many of the inspectors fought for what they believed was needed, although their influence was also limited by the suspicions of the teachers who were

never able to forget that the H.M.I. was the Department's representative. Many inspectors worked hard in the formation and running of teachers' associations and this no doubt helped the relationship. Yet the power which inspectors had over teachers and the patronising view which almost all of them held of the teacher's job did not improve the understanding between them.

The Revised Code continued the trend, which had been set by the 1846 Minutes and confirmed by the 1853 and 1856 capitation grant regulations, of putting more power into the hands of the inspectors and it would be wrong to suggest that all the inspectors used this power wisely and sensitively. (2) The emphasis of the Revised Code was certainly more on "exercising control" than "affording assistance" and the attitudes of a proportion of the inspectors reflected this. Yet there remained in the Inspectorate a number of men for whom inspection was more than merely examining and visiting schools was more than an hour's call before catching a train back to London. These were the men who set the educational standards of the 1860s and who continued to work in the spirit of their predecessors who had acted under a more benevolent authority. Throughout the period, however, their influence was restricted by a Church that was itself going through a difficult period and by a Department at the helm of which were men who cared little for elementary education and much for administrative detail. Nevertheless the Inspectorate

(2) There are many examples of this throughout the period of the Revised Code, both in teachers' periodicals and in fiction. See, for example, the effect of an inspector's visit on Sue Bridehead when she was a pupil-teacher. Thomas Hardy, Jude the Obscure, 1895, Macmillan paperback edition, p.116.

survived this difficult period and was able to play a significant part in the development of elementary education during the remainder of the century. By the end of it, the Inspectorate had a proper structure and was taking a major role in the preparation of legislation. Conferences took place and standards were established. One is left to reflect on how much greater might have been the inspectors' contribution to education before 1870 if such measures had been introduced earlier.

APPENDIX 1BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTORSOF SCHOOLS BEFORE 1870

Abbreviations used in this Appendix: ed. - educated at
 dn. - ordained deacon
 pr. - ordained priest
 cl. - class

ALDERSON, Charles Henry (1831-)

Second son of Sir E.H. Alderson, Baron of the Exchequer; brother-in-law of the Marquess of Salisbury.

ed. Eton

Scholar of Trinity College,	1st cl. Mod.	1852
Oxford, 1851.	B.A. 2nd cl. Lit.Hum.	1854
	M.A.	1856

Barrister at Inner Temple, 1850. Called to the Bar, 1855.

Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, 1857.

H.M.I., 1857-1885

Second Charity Commissioner, 1885-1900.

Member of the Cross Commission on Elementary Education, 1886-88,
 for which he signed the minority report.

Chief Charity Commissioner, 1900-03.

Member of the Athenaeum Club.

ALINGTON, Rev. Henry Giles (1837-1929)

Son of Rev. John Alington, clergyman.

ed. Magdalen College, Oxford. (Demy)	1st cl. Mod.	1857
	B.A. 2nd cl. Lit.Hum.	1859
	M.A.	1865

dn. 1866 pr. 1885

H.M.I., 1866-1902

Rector of Candlesby, Lincs, 1902-22

ALLEN, Ven. John (1810-86)

Son of Rev. David Bird Allen, Rector of Burton-in-Rhos, Pembs.
ed. Westminster

Trinity College, Cambridge B.A. (18th Sen.Optime) 1832

M.A. 1835

dn. 1833 pr. 1834

Second master at a proprietary school in Pimlico, 1832-34

Chaplain of King's College, London, 1833

Examining Chaplain to Bishop Otter of Chichester, 1836

H.M.I., 1839-47

Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lichfield, 1843

Archdeacon of Salop, 1847-83

Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral, 18~~63~~⁴⁸-59

Master of St John's Hospital, Lichfield, 1883-86

Author: Sermons, Editor of Cudworth on Free Will, 1835, etc.

He also edited works of Bunyan and Law, published two books
on Durer and compiled The Penny Hymn Book.

Thackeray modelled the character of Major Dobbin in Vanity Fair
on Allen.

Whilst Vicar of Prees and Archdeacon of Salop, and after he had
retired as an H.M.I., Allen wrote to the Times criticising
H.M.I. Norris (q.v.) for the manner of his inspection and
claiming that the role of the H.M.I. was more limited than
Norris implied. (English Journal of Education, 1854,
vol.VIII, p.357)

ARNOLD, Rev. Edward Penrose (1827-78)

Third son of Thomas Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby.

ed. Rugby

Balliol College, Oxford B.A. 3rd cl. Lit.Hum. 1848

M.A. 1851

Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, 1851-54.

dn. 1852 pr. 1855

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1854-64

H.M.I., 1864-77

ARNOLD, Matthew (1822-88)

Eldest son of Thomas Arnold

ed. Winchester and Rugby

Scholar of Balliol College, English Verse Prize 1843

Oxford B.A. 2nd cl. Lit.Hum. 1844

Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, 1845

Briefly a master at Rugby School, 1845

Private Secretary to the Marquis of Lansdowne, 1847

H.M.I., 1851-83

Professor of Poetry, Oxford, 1857-67

Assistant Commissioner abroad for Newcastle Commission, 1859-60

Assistant Commissioner abroad for Taunton Commission on Middle
Class Education, 1865

Hon. D.C.L., Oxford University, 1870

1883. Gladstone gave Arnold a Civil List pension of £250,

enabling him to retire.

Member of the Athenaeum Club.

Author: Many works of poetry, essays and educational commentary.

Also Culture and Anarchy, 1869; A Bible Reading for Schools, 1872;

On Translating Homer, 1861-2. Some of Arnold's educational papers are retained in the Public Record Office (PRO Ed. 36). No other H.M.I. of the period is accorded this privilege.

BARRY, Rev. Henry Boothby (1821-1906)

Son of Rev. Henry Barry, clergyman.

ed. Queen's College, Oxford.	B.A. 2nd cl. Lit.Hum.	1842
	English Essay Prize	1843
	Ellerton Prize	1845
	M.A. & Theol.Exhib.	1845

dn. 1844 pr. 1848

Michel Fellow and Chaplain, Queen's College, Oxford

Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Yarborough

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1855-64

H.M.I., 1864-84. Chief H.M.I., 1884-96, when he retired.

Author: Articles on the constitution of Oxford University during the 1850's.

BELLAIRS, Rev. Henry Walford (1812-1900).

Son of Rev. Henry Bellairs, Vicar of Hunsingore, Yorks.

ed. Shrewsbury

Christ Church College and New Inn Hall	B.A.	1835
Oxford	M.A.	1840

dn. 1835 pr. 1836

Curate of Hunsingore, 1835-8

Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Chester, 1838-40

Perpetual Curate of St Thomas', Stockport, 1840-44, where he maintained a large school.

H.M.I., 1844-72. Bellairs owed his appointment to Gladstone, to whom he had written four times concerning his distressed state in Stockport, having lost his private income in a long Chancery suit. (J.R.B. Johnson, op.cit., 1968, p.164)

Vicar of Nuneaton, 1872-91, where the erection of St Mary's Abbey Church was largely due to his efforts. (Boase)

Rural Dean of Atherstone, 1872

Canon of Worcester, 1880-1900

Assisted in the foundation of Cheltenham Ladies College, 1854

Illness, brought on by overwork, 1850

Advocated Oxbridge local examinations.

Refused to sign the H.M.I.s' 1862 letter to Granville.

Author: The Church and the School, 1868, and a history of his family.

BINNS, Rev. Benjamin James (c.1821 - c.1898)

ed. Trinity College, Dublin	B.A. Downes Premium and 1st cl.
	Final Divinity exam. 1842
	M.A. 1858
	ad.eund.Ox. 1861

dn. 1844 pr. 1845

Principal of Carnarvon Training College, 1849-55

Incumbent of St Ann's, Llandegai, 1855-7

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1857-64

H.M.I., 1864-81, when he retired.

In H.M.I. Norris' annual report for 1850-1 (Minutes, vol.2, p.516-9), there is a glowing tribute to Binns' work at Carnarvon, together with a description of the institution by Binns himself.

BIRLEY, Rev. William (1813-65)

Son of John Birley, armiger. The Birley family were great supporters of education in the Manchester area.

ed. Trinity College, Oxford	B.A.	1835
	M.A.	1838

dn. 1837 pr. 1838

Incumbent of Chorlton-cum-Hardy, 1843-65

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1852-64

H.M.I., 1864-65

BLAKISTON, Rev. John Richard (1829-1917)

Eldest son of Rev. Peyton Blakiston, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge

ed. King Edward's School, Birmingham	Scholar	1851-3
Trinity College, Cambridge	B.A. (5th Jun. Optime)	
	Second in 1st cl. Classical	
	Tripes	1853
	M.A.	1856

married daughter of Gen. Sir Edward Nicholls, 1854

dn. 1855 pr. 1856

Senior Classics Master, Uppingham School, 1854-57

Headmaster of Preston Grammar School, 1858

Headmaster of Giggleswick School, Yorks, 1859-65

H.M.I., 1866-94, when he retired

Author: The Teacher, Glimpses of the Globe

BLANDFORD, Rev. Josias Jessop (1816-1901)

Son of Rev. Joseph Blandford, of Kirton, Notts.

ed. Rugby School

Scholar of Christ's College, B.A. 1839

Cambridge M.A. 1878

dn. 1840 pr. 1841

Curate of Cherhill, Wilts, 1840-45

Curate of Calne, Wilts, 1845-47

H.M.I., 1847-81 Senior Inspector, 1881-93, when he retired.

Blandford owed his appointment to the patronage of the Earl of Lansdowne whose country house was in Calne parish.

(Ball, op.cit., p.111)

BONNER, Rev. Arthur Thompson (1829-68)

Son of Charles Bonner, of Spalding, Lincs, gentleman.

Scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford B.A. 3rd cl. Lit.Hum.1851

M.A. 1853

dn. 1853 pr. 1854

Assistant Curate of St Mary's, Stafford

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1861-64

H.M.I., 1864-68

BOWSTEAD, Joseph (1812-76)

Son of Joseph Bowstead, gentleman.

Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge B.A. (2nd Wrangler) 1833

M.A. 1836

Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford

Called to the Bar, 1839 (Inner Temple)

Ceased bar practice, 1860

Examiner in the Education Department (before 1852)

H.M.I., 1852-76

Bowstead had a public row with the Bishop of St David's in 1861

after Bowstead had complained that Church schools insisted on teaching the Catechism and other denominational peculiarities to Dissenters' children.

BOWYER, Henry George (1818-83)

Son of Sir George Bowyer M.P. of Radley House, nr. Abingdon and brother of Sir George Bowyer, writer on jurisprudence, who was expelled from the Reform Club for voting against the Liberals too often in 1876, and who became a Catholic in 1850.

H.M. Inspector of Poor Law Schools, 1847-80

Succeeded to the baronetcy in 1883, but died 3 months later.

BRODIE, Erasmus Henry (1832-)

Son of William Bird Brodie of the Precincts, Salisbury Cathedral, gentleman

Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford	1st class Mods	1852
	B.A. 3rd cl. Lit.Hum.	1854
	M.A.	1860

H.M.I., 1859-

Refused to sign the H.M.I.s' letter to Granville

BROOKFIELD, Rev. William Henry (1809-74)

Son of Charles Brookfield, of Sheffield, solicitor ed. Leeds G.S. and Rugby

Trinity College, Cambridge	B.A.	1833
	M.A.	1833

President of the Union, 1831

and 1833

dn. 1834 pr. 1836

Private tutor to Lord Lyttleton's sons
 Curate of Holyrood, Southampton, 1836-40
 Curate of St James', Piccadilly, 1840-41
 Perpetual Curate of St Luke's, Soho, 1841-48
 H.M.I., 1848-65
 Chaplain-in-ordinary to Queen Victoria, 1862-74
 Rector of Somerby, Lincs, 1861-74
 Prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral, 1868-74

Brookfield moved in the leading literary circles of the day, and was a friend of Carlyle, Tennyson and the Hallams. He was a superb preacher and was portrayed in Thackeray's Curate's Walk as Frank Whitelock. After his prospects in the Church had dimmed following a sermon which he preached before the Prime Minister, he obtained an inspectorship. Dr. Ball (op.cit., p.111-2) comments that he was the first H.M.I. who had no vocation and concludes "The character of the Inspectorate was undoubtedly changing:" His name had in fact been put forward to the Lord President a year earlier, but after Allen had given Kay-Shuttleworth a bad report on him, he was not appointed then. With one exception, teachers' magazines spoke of him in glowing terms.

Refused to sign the H.M.I.s' 1862 letter to Granville

BROWNE, Thomas Browne (1806-74)

Son of Pryce Jones, of Coffronwydd, Montgomeryshire, armiger.

Changed his name to Browne in 1823

ed. Harrow

Brasenose College, Oxford

Admitted Lincoln's Inn, 1827

Spent some years in Germany

H.M. Inspector of Poor Law Schools, 1847-74

J.P. for Montgomery

Member of the Athenaeum Club

BYRNE, Rev. John Rice (1828-1906)

Son of Henry George Byrne of Madras, armiger

Scholar of University College, Oxford B.A. 2nd cl. Lit.Hum. 1850

M.A. 1854

dn. 1851 pr. 1854

Curate of Tadley, Hants.

Curate of St James', Westminster

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1862-64

H.M.I., 1864-92, retired

CAMPBELL, Rev. William (1824-86)

Son of Robert Campbell

ed. University of Glasgow School

Christ College, Cambridge

Tancred Student, 1843

(forfeited by non-residence)

B.A. 1848

M.A. 1867

dn. 1848 pr. 1851

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1854-64

H.M.I., 1864-86

Author: Materials for a history of the reign of Henry VII,

vol.I appeared in 1873, vol.II in 1878

CAPEL, Rev. Henry Martyn (1832-1911)

Son of Rev. Samuel Richard Capel, Vicar of Wareham.

ed. (Cheltenham College) and Marlborough

Scholar of St John's College, B.A. (8th Sen.Optime) 1854

Cambridge M.A. 1858

dn. 1855 pr. 1856

Curate of Wareham, Dorset, 1855-57

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1857-63

H.M.I., 1863-96

Licensed preacher, Canterbury Cathedral, 1897-1911

Capel's father wrote a memorial to Lord Granville, signed by all his school's managers, attacking the Revised Code (P.P., 1862, XLI, 358)

COOK, Rev. Frederick Charles (1810-89)

Sizar of St John's College, Cambridge, 1824 B.A. 4th in 1st cl.

Classical Tripos 1828

M.A. 1840

Studied under Niebuhr in Bonn

dn. 1839 pr. 1840

Curate of Trinity Church, Gray's Inn Lane, 1839-41

Inspector of Schools for London Diocesan Board, 1841-44

H.M.I., 1844-64

Prebendary and Examining Chaplain of St Paul's, 1855-65

Chaplain to Queen Victoria, 1857

Prebendary and Examining Chaplain of Lincoln Cathedral, 1861-64

Canon of Exeter, 1864-89

Precentor of Exeter, 1872-89

An eminent Egyptologist and Hebrew scholar, who had some knowledge

of fifty-two languages, Cook became an H.M.I. after Allen (q.v.) had put him in touch with the Lord President, Wharncliffe, who found Cook's views "fully in accord with his own." He was also a friend of Moseley (q.v.)

Apart from an episode in 1862, teachers papers always referred to Cook in the most favourable terms.

Author: Poetry for Schools, 1849; ed. Speaker's Commentary (on the Bible), 1871-88, a revised version of the first three gospels, 1882.

CORNISH, Rev. Frank Fortescue (1838-1912)

Son of Sidney William Cornish of Ottery St Mary, clergyman.

Scholar of Exeter College, Oxford 1st cl. Mods. 1858

B.A. 2nd cl. Lit. Hum. 1861

M.A. 1863

dn. 1863 pr. 1864

Curate of St Mark's, Victoria Docks, 1863-66

Curate of Greenhill, Harrow, 1867-68

H.M.I., 1868-92

Chief Inspector for N.W. district 1892-1902, retired.

COWARD, Walter Scott (1838 -)

I have been unable to trace any details concerning Coward's career, except that he substituted for S.N. Stokes (q.v.) in 1868 when Stokes served on the Royal Commission on Primary Education in Ireland.

Coward became a full H.M.I. in 1870 and retired in 1903, having been a Chief Inspector since 1886.

COWIE, Rev. Benjamin Morgan (1816-1900)

Son of Robert Cowie, merchant and insurance agent.

ed. at Passy, near Paris

Sizar of St John's College, Cambridge B.A. (Sen. Wrangler) 1839

M.A. 1842

2nd Smith's Prizeman

Fellow, 1839-43, when he
married

Moderator 1843

dn. 1841 pr. 1842

Curate of St Paul's, Knightsbridge, 1843

Principal of Engineer's College, Putney, 1844-51 (While here he

acted as Hon. Secretary to the Committee of Management of
St Mark's College, Chelsea)

Select Preacher, 1852

Hulsean Lecturer, 1853-54

Gresham Professor of Geometry, 1854-1900

Minor Canon of St Paul's, 1856

Vicar of St Lawrence-Jewry, 1857

Warburtonian Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn

H.M.I., 1858-72

Member of the Royal Commission on Primary Education in Ireland, 1868

Chaplain in ordinary to Queen Victoria, 1871

Dean of Manchester, 1872-83

Dean of Exeter, 1883-1900

Member of Owen's College, Manchester

In 1881 Cowie, who was a High Churchman, urged on the Archbishop

of Canterbury the desirability of treating ritualism with toleration.

Author of numerous published sermons, letters, etc.

CRABTREE, Rev. Ely Willcox (1835-74)

Son of William Crabtree, plasterer

ed. St Catherine's College, Cambridge B.A. (8th Wrangler) 1858

M.A. 1862

Fellow and Tutor of College, 1860-67

Assistant master at Shrewsbury School, 1859-60

dn. 1861 pr. 1862

H.M.I., 1867-74

DU PORT, Rev. Charles Durell (1836-1905)

Son of James Du Port, Assistant Treasurer of the States of Guernsey

ed. Queen Elizabeth's College, Guernsey

Scholar of Caius College, Cambridge B.A. (6th Sen. Optime) 1859

M.A. 1862

dn. 1860 pr. 1861

Curate of Holy Trinity, Marylebone, 1860-62, where he was manager of the local school. During this period the deanery of St Marylebone sent a memorial to Lord Granville attacking the Revised Code.

Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Sonapore, India, 1862-66

Fellow of University of Bombay, 1863-1901

H.M.I., 1866-1901

Rector of Staplegrove, Somerset, 1901-05

FEARON, Daniel Robert (1835-)

Son of Rev. Daniel Rose Fearon of Suffolk, clergyman

ed. Balliol College, Oxford B.A. 1859

M.A. 1865

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1860-64

H.M.I., 1864-70. Fearon seems to have inspected Anglican schools

from 1860-65, and B.F.S.S. schools after that. He was therefore
 (a) the only non-clergyman to inspect Anglican schools before
 1870, and (b) the only H.M.I. to inspect both types of school
 before 1870.

Assistant Commissioner, Royal Commission of Enquiry into Middle
 Class Education, 1865.

Special Commissioner to investigate the state of education in
 Birmingham and Leeds, 1869.

Barrister-at-Law, Lincoln's Inn, 1874

Assistant Charity Commissioner, 1875-86

Secretary to Charity Commission, 1886

Honorary Fellow, Worcester College, Oxford, and Professor of
 Political Economy at Oxford.

Member of the Athenaeum Club

FITCH, Joshua Girling (1824-1903)

Son of a clerk in Somerset House

ed. at a private day-school near his home in Southwark.

Assistant master at Borough Road School, where he prepared to
 matriculate for London University.

Headmaster of a school in Kingsland, during which time he took his
 degree (1st in Scripture, 1850) and obtained his M.A. (1852)

Tutor at the Borough Road Training College, then Vice-Principal.

Principal of Borough Road Training College, 1856-63.

H.M.I., 1863-94

Assistant Commissioner, Royal Commission of Enquiry into Middle
 Class Education, 1865.

Special Commissioner to investigate the state of education in
 Manchester and Liverpool, 1869.

Member of London University Senate and of the North of England Council for the Education of Women. Helped found University Extension Scheme. Sat on many committees for the furtherance of women's education, from the Governors of Cheltenham Ladies' College to the foundation of Maria Grey Training College.

Knighthood, 1896

During his time at Borough Road, Fitch was praised in Matthew Arnold's (q.v.) 1856 report, and J.D. Morell's (q.v.) 1856 report contained the following:

"J.G. Fitch, a gentleman who to sound scholastic attainments, both classical and mathematical, unites in a singular degree the patience, the industry, the power of clear statement, as well as the clear appreciation of educational methods and influences, which are so important to one filling the responsible post which he now occupies."

FLETCHER, Joseph (1813-52)

Son of George Fletcher, of Rennes, France

Admitted Middle Temple, 1838

Called to the Bar, 1841

Secretary to the Statistical Society of London and the Statistical Section of the British Association, 1841

Secretary to the Hand Loom Weavers' Commission, 1841-43

Founder member of the Central Society of Education

H.M.I., 1844-52

Author: Moral Statistics of England and Wales; ed. Statistical Journal

FRASER, Rev. Simon Jones Gordon (1825-1905)

Son of Simon Fraser of Calcutta, armiger

Christ's College, Cambridge	Trancred Scholar	1846
	B.A.	1848
	M.A.	1852

dn. 1849 pr. 1850

Curate of Postling, Kent, 1849-51

Curate of Lyminge, Kent, 1851-53

Secretary and Inspector of London Diocesan Board of Education,
1853-57. H.M.I. Cook's (q.v.) 1856 report praised Glennie's
work in this job: "By his suggestions and active assistance,"
London schools "have been generally much improved." (Report,
1856-7, p.240)

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1857-60

Curate in sole charge of Blore Ray, Staffs, 1861-69

Vicar of Croxton, 1869-1903

Author: Hints from an inspector of schools, 1858

GRANT, Rev. Alexander Ronald (1820-1903)

Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge	B.A. (7th Wrangler)	1845
	M.A.	1848

Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, 1847-55

dn. 1849 pr. 1850

Vicar of Helion-Bumstead, Essex, 1850-53

Perpetual Curate of St Michael's, Cambridge, 1853-55

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1855-61

Rector of Hitcham, 1861-1903

Rural Dean of Sudbury, 1864-77

Hon. Canon of Ely Cathedral, 1869

Author: Introductory Treatise on Plane Astronomy, 1850

GREAM, Rev. Neville (1818-78)

Son of Rev. Robert Gream, Rector of Rotherfield, Sussex

ed. Magdalene College, Cambridge B.A. 1843

M.A. 1846

dn. 1843 pr. 1844

Curate of Rotherfield and Chaplain to Uckfield Union, 1844-50

Curate of Blackawton, Devon, 1850-

Curate of Tetbury, Glos, -59

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1859-64

H.M.I., 1864-78

HADLEY, Rev. Augustus Vaughan (1834-67)

Son of George Hadley, merchant

Scholar of St John's College, Cambridge

B.A. (Senior wrangler &

1st Smith's prize) 1856

M.A. 1859

Fellow of St John's College, 1857-65, when he married

dn. 1857 pr. 1858

H.M.I., 1865-67

HERNAMANN, Rev. John William Duncombe (1826-1905)

Son of John Hernamann of Leeds, bookseller

ed. KEPHIR Grammar, Houghton-le-Spring

St John's College, Cambridge B.A. (28th wrangler) 1848

M.A. 1851

Assistant master at Repton School, 1848-50

dn. 1850 pr. 1851

Curate of St Mary's, Scarborough, 1851-52

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1852-64

H.M.I., 1864-94

HOWARD, Rev. William Wilberforce (1822-1908)

Son of Thomas Howard of the Isle of Man

ed. King William's College, Isle of Man

Scholar of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge

B.A. (16th wrangler) 1846

M.A. 1849

Fellow and Maths lecturer, 1849-52

dn. 1851 pr. 1852

Assistant master at Repton School, 1852-55

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1855-64

H.M.I., 1864-91

HUGHES, Rev. Henry (1843-1911)

Son of Rev. Henry Hughes, clergyman

Junior Student of Christ's College, Oxford

1st cl. Maths Mod. & Junior University Scholar, 1864

B.A. (1st cl. Maths) 1865

M.A. 1869

dn. 1868 pr. 1883

H.M.I., 1869-83

Curate of All Saints, Paddington, 1883-4

Author: The Redemption of the World, 1881, and other works on moral philosophy published in the 1880s and 1890s.

HUGHES, Rev. Robert Edgar (1822-63)

Son of Rev. Sir Thomas C. Hughes, 8th Baronet, Rector of

Little Billing, Northants.

ed. Shrewsbury

Magdalene College, Cambridge B.A. 1845

M.A. 1848

Fellow and Tutor of Magdalene College

dn. 1846 pr. 1847

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1856-61, retired owing to

ill-health

JOHNSTONE, Rev. Charles Frederick (1841-95)

Son of George Baker of Cork, armiger

ed. Balliol College, Oxford

3rd cl. Mods. 1860

B.A. 3rd cl. Lit. Hum. 1862

2nd cl. Jurisprudence 1863

M.A. 1865

dn. 1863 pr. 1864

Curate of Freshwater, Isle of Wight, 1863-66

H.M.I., 1866-93

JONES, Rev. Harry Longueville (1806-70)

Son of Edward Jones of Oswestry

ed. Ealing and St John's College, Cambridge and

Magdalene College, Cambridge B.A. (31st wrangler) 1828

M.A. 1832

Fellow and Dean of Magdalene College, 1828-34

dn. 1829 pr. 1831

Curate of Connington, 1829-34

Resigned his Fellowship on his marriage and lived for a time in Paris, where he was a reporter, Manchester, where he kept an unsuccessful school, and Anglesey

H.M.I., 1849-64, when he was almost certainly either dismissed or asked to resign. He had been appointed "on the understanding that his knowledge of the Welsh language shall enable him to converse fluently with the common people in Welsh, and to examine the scholars of parochial schools in that language." Department's Letter Book, quoted in N. Ball, op.cit., p.109. He attacked teachers in print and, during the 1850s, was the only H.M.I. to receive adverse publicity in the teachers' press.

Author: Illustrated history of Caernarvonshire, 1829;

founded the Cambrian Archeological Association, 1847, and edited its Journal, 1846-70

KENNEDY, Rev. William James (1814-91)

Son of Rev. Rann Kennedy of Fox Hollies, Birmingham, a schoolmaster at King Edward VI, poet and friend of Coleridge.

ed. King Edward VI School, Birmingham

St John's College, Cambridge

Porson Prize for Greek Iambics 1835

B.A. 1837

M.A. 1844

pr. 1840

Curate at St Martin-in-the-Fields, 1842-43

Secretary to the National Society, 1844-48, during which time

he helped Kay-Shuttleworth to draw up the Management Clauses.

H.M.I., 1848-78. In 1854, with Moseley (q.v.) he presented a

petition to the Lord President of the Council advocating the setting up of a Teachers' Superannuation Fund. He was active in the formation of schoolmasters' associations and Mechanics Institutes in Lancashire.

Vicar of Barnwood, Glos, 1878-91

Author: A clergyman's apology for favouring the removal of Jewish disabilities, 1847; The Conscience Clause, 1866.

n.b. Some of Kennedy's private papers survive in the possession of Rev. Patrick Kennedy

KING, Rev. Charles William (1832-72)

Son of the vicar of Norham, Northumberland.

Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford	1st cl. Mods	1851
	B.A. 2nd cl. Lit.Hum.	1853
	M.A.	1855

dn. 1854 pr. 1855

Curate of Woodhorn, Northumberland, 1855-59

Rector of St Mary-le-Bow, Durham, 1859-67

Principal of Female Training College, Durham, 1859-64

Secretary of Durham branch, National Society, 1860-64(?)

H.M.I., 1864-71, when he retired owing to ill-health

H.M.I. Cook (q.v.) praised King's work at Durham Training College
(Report, 1863-4, p.340)

King was responsible for building a new infants' school in Durham and, six months after his appointment as H.M.I. in the area, he went to inspect it. "This seems to have been a mixed blessing to the school for while his general report was favourable he obviously used his knowledge to disallow the grants for certain children whose parents 'did not

support themselves by manual labour'." (T. Harwood,
The development and achievements of the Inspectorate
of the Education Department and of the Board of Education,
1860-1920, unpublished M.Ed. thesis, Durham University, 1969)

KOE, Rev. Robert Louis (1819-1902)

Son of John Koe, barrister

ed. Rugby

Christ Church College, Cambridge B.A. 1843

M.A. 1846

dn. 1844 pr. 1845

Perpetual Curate of St Margaret's, Yelding, Kent, 1848-53

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1852-62

H.M.I., 1862-93

LAURIE, James Stuart (1832-)

Son of Rev. James Laurie, of Edinburgh

H.M.I., 1854-63

Sometime Director of Public Instruction, Ceylon

Student of Inner Temple, 1867

Called to the Bar, 1871

LOMAX, Rev. John (-1900)

ed. Hertford College, Oxford B.A. 1859

M.A. 1874

dn. 1861 pr. 1862

Domestic Chaplain to Lord Skelmersdale

Chaplain of Latham, 1865-68

H.M.I., 1868-

LYNCH, H. J. (- 1870)

I have been unable to obtain any information on this inspector, who was appointed to inspect Catholic schools in 1861. He was killed in a railway accident in 1870.

MARSHALL, Thomas William (1818-77)

Son of John Marshall, Government Agent for New South Wales.

ed. Trinity College, Cambridge B.A. 1840

pr. 1840

Curate of Anstey-with-Swallowcliffe, 1841-45

Became a Roman Catholic, 1845

H.M.I., 1848-60, when he was forced to resign. The Dictionary of English Catholics, 1895, p.479, states:

"... unfortunately, in 1860, he became the victim of prejudice, and was asked to resign his position of inspector, under circumstances of unmerited harshness.

He had created considerable ill-feeling against him by the publication of a pamphlet, an instalment of a larger work upon which he was engaged, in which he held up to scorn the Protestant methods of converting the heathen, and also their futility and utter failure."

Author: My Clerical Friends, 1873; Christian Missions,

Their Agents, Their Methods and Results, 1862,

3 vols, for which he was honoured by Pope Pius IX.

MEREDITH, Rev. Robert Fitzgerald (1816--93)

ed. Oriel College, Oxford (Crockford's, 1872)

Worcester College, Oxford (Crockford's, 1876)

B.A. 1840

M.A. 1841

Curate of Woolbridge, Dorset, 1842-43

Vicar of Halstock, 1843-51

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1851-62

H.M.I., 1862-68

Rector of Halstock, 1870-93

(The 1881 and 1890 editions of Crockford's state that Meredith was at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1838; M.A., 1841; incorporated as M.A. of Worcester College, Oxford, 1841.)

MEYRICK, Rev. Frederick (1827-1905)

Son of Rev. Edward Meyrick, of Ramsbury, Wilts.

ed. Eton

Trinity College, Oxford B.A. (2nd cl. Lit.Hum.) 1847

M.A. 1850

dn. 1850 pr. 1852

Fellow of Trinity College, 1847; Tutor, 1851; Dean, 1853;

Master of the Schools, 1855

Public Examiner, 1856

Whitehall Preacher, 1856

Junior Proctor, 1857

Select Preacher, 1855-56 and 1865-66

Throughout this period, Meyrick was in close contact with the High Church movement at Oxford. He organised a petition

against the admission of Dissenters and was in correspondence with Gladstone on the question of University reform, which Meyrick opposed on the grounds that it would sever the connection between Church and University. He was religiously opposed to Benjamin Jowett and took part in a series of Lent sermons in support of the doctrines that Jowett had denied.

(F. Meyrick, Memories of life at Oxford and elsewhere, 1870)

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1859-62

H.M.I., 1862-69

Secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society, designed to promote the Anglican Church on the Continent, for 46 years.

Rector of Blickling and Erpington, Norfolk, 1868-1905

Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln, 1868-85

Prebendary of Erpingham in Lincoln Cathedral, 1869

Principal of Codrington College, Barbados, 1886-87, before returning to Blickling.

Author: numerous works on Church of Spain, Liguori, etc.

ed. *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Religio, Disciplina, Ritusque, Sacri*, etc.

MITCHELL, Rev. Muirhead (1810-76)

Son of John Mitchell, of St Pancras, armiger.

ed. University College, Oxford B.A. 1832

M.A. 1835

Curate of Battersea, 1840-47. The village school at Battersea was the model school for the Battersea Training College and, in Moseley's (q.v.) 1846 report, he praises the vicar, Hon. & Rev. Robert Eden, for his educational efforts "most efficiently

seconded by the labours of his curate, Mr Mitchell ..."
H.M.I., 1847-76, when he died, leaving £100,000 in his Will.

MONCREIFF, Rev. George Robertson (1817-98)

Son of Sir James W. Moncreiff, Lord of Session and Judiciary
of Scotland

ed. Balliol College, Oxford	B.A. (2nd cl. Lit.Hum.	
	1st cl. Maths)	1838
	M.A.	1846

dn. 1840 pr. 1841

Rector of Tattenhall, Cheshire, 1842-55

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1850-56

H.M.I., 1856-84

MORELL, John Daniel (1816-91)

Son of Stephen Morell, Congregationalist Minister who kept a
school to supplement his income

Trained for the Congregationalist Ministry, Homerton, 1833-38

ed. Glasgow University, 1838-41	M.A.	1841
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Bonn University	1841-42
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Ll.D. from Glasgow University, 1860

pr. 1842

Minister at Gosport, 1842-45

Private tutor, University College, London, 1845-48

H.M.I., 1848-76

Member of the Scholastic Registration Association.

Wrote C.B. Adderley's 1860 Education Bill, (J.R.B. Johnson,

op.cit., p.443)

Author: many books on philosophy, especially the Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century, 1846; ed. The School Magazine, 1876; Morell's Grammar, 1857; Morell's Analysis of Sentences, 1852, which was very widely used in schools; and a number of other books for teachers. His first book, a pamphlet on the Evangelical Alliance, was destroyed in a fire at the printers before publication.

MORELL, John Reynell

Cousin of J.D. Morell (q.v.)

H.M.I., 1857-64

After being dismissed, Morell was appointed Inspector of Catholic Schools by the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund, with the sanction of the Committee of Council. (The Museum, August 1865, p.191)

MOSELEY, Rev. Henry (1801-72)

Son of Dr. William Willis Moseley, schoolmaster, of Newcastle-under-Lyme

ed. Newcastle, Abbeville, Portsmouth Naval School

St John's College, Cambridge	B.A. (7th wrangler)	1826
	M.A.	1835
	Hon. D.C.L.	1870

dn. 1827 pr. 1828

Curate of West Monckton, Somerset, 1827-31

Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, King's College, London, 1831-44

F.R.S. 1839

H.M.I., 1844-55. At King's College, Moseley would have known Allen (q.v.) well. He was also friendly with Cook (q.v.) and lived near Battersea, where he helped with the Maths and Mechanics teaching at the Training College. Before becoming an H.M.I. he had been a part-time inspector on special occasions and the Lord President, Wharncliffe, thought him "an excellent man ... most eligible to be one of our new inspectors." (J.R.B. Johnson, op.cit., p.161)

Canon of Bristol Cathedral, 1854-72

Vicar of Olveston, 1854-72

Chaplain-in-ordinary to the Queen, 1855

Moseley was active in the formation of teachers' associations and drew up the scheme for a Teachers' Superannuation Fund, which he and Kennedy (q.v.) presented to the Lord President.

Author: many works on Mechanical Engineering and Architecture.

NORRIS, Rev. John Pilkington (1823-91)

Son of Thomas Norris, physician, of Chester

ed. Rugby

Trinity College, Cambridge	B.A. (1st cl. Class. Tripos)	1846
	Latin Essay Prize	1848
	M.A.	1849
	B.D.	1875
	D.D.	1881

Fellow of Trinity College, 1848

dn. 1849 pr. 1850

Curate of Trumpington, 1849

H.M.I., 1849-64

Curate in sole charge of Lewknor, Oxon, 1864-5

Perpetual Curate of Hatchford, 1865-70

Canon Resident of Bristol Cathedral, 1865

Vicar of St George's, Brandon Hill, Bristol, 1870

Chief Inspector of Training Colleges, 1871-76

Rural Dean of Bristol, 1876

Vicar of St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, 1877-82

Archdeacon of Bristol, 1881-91

Dean of Chichester, 1891, but died four days after his appointment

Member of the Athenaeum Club

Refused to sign the H.M.I.s 1862 letter to Lord Granville.

Author: Works on education and many on religion, e.g.

Key to the Gospel Narratives, 1869; On the Inspiration of the
New Test, 1864; Education of the People, 1869.

NUTT, Rev. John William (1835-1923)

Son of Rev. Charles Nutt of Tiverton

Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford 1st cl. Mods. 1853

1st cl. Lit. Hum. 1855

B.A. 1856

M.A. 1858

Hebrew Scholar, 1856-57

Sanskrit Scholar, 1857

Fellow of All Souls, 1858-75

dn. 1859 pr. 1868

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1860-62

H.M.I., 1862-67

Chaplain of All Souls and Under Librarian of the Bodleian, 1867-79

Rector of Harrietsham, Kent, 1879-88

Rural Dean of Sutton, 1886-88

Rector of Chelsfield, Kent, 1888-92

Rector of Harpsden, Oxon, 1892-1914

Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London (Bishop Temple), 1887-92

Author: ed. Two Treatises on verbs by Jehuda Hayug, 1870;

Fragments of a Samaritan Targum with Preface, 1874; etc.

Also various Biblical commentaries.

OAKELEY, Henry Evelyn (1833-1915)

3rd son of Ven. Sir Herbert Oakeley, Bart.

ed. Rugby

Jesus College, Cambridge B.A. (10th wrangler) 1859

M.A. 1862

Fellow of Jesus College, 1860

Admitted at Inner Temple, 1861

H.M.I., 1864-78

Chief Inspector of Training Colleges, 1885-99

Knighthed, 1899

PAREZ, Rev. Claude Hubert (1835-1919)

Son of Louis Parez of Brighton

ed. Christ's Hospital School

Pembroke College, Cambridge B.A. (4th wrangler) 1857

M.A. 1861

Fellow of Pembroke College, 1859

dn. 1862 pr. 1863

Assistant master at King's School, Sherborne

H.M.I., 1864-99

Licensed preacher in the Diocese of Carlisle, 1871

Vicar of Mentmore, Bucks, 1899-1910

PICKARD, Rev. Henry Adair (1832-1905)

Son of Henry William Pickard, of Mansfield, armiger.

ed. Rugby

Christ's College, Oxford 1st cl. Mods 1853

B.A. (2nd cl. Lit.Hum. & Hon.

4th cl. Maths) 1855

M.A. 1858

dn. 1856 pr. 1858

Tutor of Christ's College, 1857-64

Curate of Dry Sandford, Berks, 1860-67

H.M.I., 1864-97

PRYCE, Rev. Shadrach (1833-1914)

Foundation Scholar, Librarian and Clark's Scholar of

Queen's College, Cambridge B.A. (8th Sen.Optime) 1858

M.A. 1867

dn. 1859 pr. 1860

Master at the Grammar School, and Curate of Dolgelly, 1859-64

Rector of Yspytty, Denbighs, 1864-67

H.M.I., 1867-94

Vicar of Llanfihangel-Aberbythich, Carmarthen, 1893-99

Archdeacon of Carmarthen and Prebendary of St David's, 1895-99

Dean of St Asaph, 1899-1910

Author: A Welsh translation of Dean Goodwin's Guide to the

Parish Church

RENOUF, Peter le Page (1822-97)

Son of Joseph Renouf, of Guernsey

ed. Queen Elizabeth College, Guernsey

Scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford, 1841

At Oxford he became involved with the Tractarians, especially Newman, and was received into the Catholic Church in 1842, having abandoned Oxford.

1846-55, "Occupied in desultory travel and study" (DNB)

Appointed by Newman to be Professor of Ancient History and

Eastern languages at the new Catholic University of

Ireland, 1855-64. Here he became an authority on Egyptology.

H.M.I., 1864-85. Continued his study of Egyptology during this time.

Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, 1885-91

President of the Society of Biblical Archeology, 1887

Knighthood, 1896

Author: numerous works on Egyptology. Also, in 1868, a condemnation of Pope Honorius, which was placed on the Index.

ROBINSON, Rev. Charles James (-1897)

Son of Rev. John Robinson, of Manchester, clergyman.

ed. Rugby

Queen's College, Oxford B.A. 1854

M.A. 1856

dn. 1855 pr. 1856

Curate of West Ham, 1855-56

Curate of Bishop's Hatfield, Herts, 1856-59, where he was possibly

Diocesan Inspector of Schools

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1859-62, to which he was
appointed by Lord Salisbury, whose parish was Hatfield.

H.M.I., 1862-1881

ROUTLEDGE, Rev. Charles Francis (1838-1904)

Son of Rev. William Routledge, D.D., Headmaster of Bishop's
Hull School, Somerset

ed. Eton

King's College, Cambridge	B.A. (1st cl. Classical Tripos; 11th classic)	1862
	M.A.	1865

Fellow of King's College, 1861-65

dn. 1862 pr. 1863

Curate of Richmond, Surrey, 1863-64

H.M.I., 1864-1901

Hon. Canon of Canterbury Cathedral, 1879

RUDDOCK, Joshua Festing

H.M.I. of Poor Law Schools, 1847-62

N. Ball, op.cit., p.255, states "No information as to his career
is available in the material used; possibly connected with
Joshua Ruddock, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and
vicar of Hitchin, (d.1821) and George Charles Ruddock Festing,
vicar of St Paul's-by-Penzance."

SANDFORD, Rev. Henry Ryder Poole (1827-83)

ed. at his father's elementary school in the village, then Rugby

Balliol College, Oxford, afterwards Magdalen Hall

B.A. 2nd cl. Lit.Hum. 1850

dn. 1850 pr. 1851

Curate of Prees, Salop, 1850-51, where he was under Archdeacon
Allen (q.v.)

Curate of Dunchurch, 1851-53

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1853-62

H.M.I., 1862-83, when he was heavily involved in schoolmasters'
associations.

He attended the Manchester Conference of Education, 1868

Author: Employment of children in the Potteries, 1862;
Education and Labour, 1865; Education in the Mining
Districts, 1868

SCOLTOCK, William (1823-86)

ed. Christ Church College, Oxford B.A. 2nd cl. Lit.Hum 1846

M.A. 1849

H.M.I., 1857-

Involved in teachers' association in Yorkshire.

SEWELL, Rev. Capel John (1834-96)

Son of Rev. Thomas Sewell, of Harlaaton, Norfolk, clergyman.

Hulmeian Exhibitioner of Brasenose College, Oxford

2nd cl. Mods. 1854

B.A. 3rd cl. Lit. Hum. 1856

M.A. 1859

dn. 1858 pr. 1859

Curate of Astbury, Cheshire

Curate of St Michael's, Paddington

H.M.I., 1863-96

He attended the Manchester Conference on Education, 1868

SHARPE, Rev. Thomas Wetherherd (1829-1905)

Son of Rev. John Sharpe, D.D., Vicar of Doncaster and Canon of York
ed. Rossall

Trinity College, Cambridge	Bell's University Scholar, 1849
	B.A. (12th wrangler) & 1st
	cl. Classical Tripos 1852
	M.A. 1855

Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1852-58

dn. 1852 pr. 1854

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1857-62

H.M.I., 1862-97, the last 7 years of which he was Senior
Chief Inspector

Principal of Queen's College, London, 1898-1905

SMITH, Rev. Henry (1833-1920)

Son of John Smith of Hooker's Brook, Cheshire, gentleman

Bridgeman Exhibitioner of Queen's College, Oxford

1st cl. Maths Mods. 1855

B.A. 1st cl. Maths 1857

M.A. 1861

dn. 1857 pr. 1860

Curate of Helidon, Northants, 1857-62

Perpetual Curate of Bankfoot, 1862-68

H.M.I., 1868-96

Licensed^s Preacher of Norwich Diocese, 1868-1920

STEELE, Rev. George (1831-1907)

Son of Rev. Jonathan Walkdon Steele, of Harlsey, Yorks, clergyman

ed. Worcester College, Oxford B.A. 1857

M.A. 1858

dn. 1857 pr. 1858

Curate of Blaydon, Oxon, 1857-62

Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough, 1862-

Curate of Woodstock, 1862-67

H.M.I., 1867-94

Author: Ritualism, 1869; Evangelical Counsels, 1871

STEWART, Rev. David James (1814-98)

ed. Trinity College, Cambridge B.A. (Jun.Optime) 1839

M.A. 1842

dn. 1839 pr. 1840

H.M.I., 1850-91

Hon.Canon of Ely Cathedral, 1893-98

Stewart was perhaps the most unpopular of 19th century H.M.I.s.

(See M. Sturt, Education of the People, London, 1967, p.348)

STOKES, Scott Nasymth (1821-91)

Son of Charles Scott Stokes, solicitor

ed. St Paul's School

Trinity College, Cambridge B.A. 1844

(Campden Exhibitioner, Perry Exhibitioner and scholar)

Secretary of Catholic Poor School Committee, during which time,

H.M.I. Marshall (q.v.) wrote of Stokes: "... to whose

assiduous labours and distinguished talents so much of what has already accomplished towards the improvement of Roman Catholic schools is due ..."

(Report, 1850-51, vol.2, p.671)

SYMONS, Jelinger Cookson (1809-60)

Son of Rev. Jelinger Symons, British Chaplain in Boulogne,
Vicar of Monkland, Herefords.

ed. Trinity Hall & Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

B.A. 1832

Commissioner on Hand Loom Weavers, 1835

Tithe Commissioner

Commissioner of inquiry into state of the Mining population

Called to the Bar (Middle Temple) 1843

Commissioner of inquiry into the state of education in Wales,
1846-47

H.M.I. of Poor Law Schools, 1848-60

Author: ed. Law magazine; many articles and books on law,
politics and education.

SYNGE, Rev. Francis (1837-96)

Son of Rev. Edward Synge, of Matlock

ed. Blackheath Proprietary

Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge B.A. 2nd cl.

Classical Tripos 1859

M.A. 1863

dn. 1860 pr. 1861

Curate of All Saints, Huntingdon, 1860-62

Curate of St Luke's, Chelsea, 1862-69

H.M.I., 1869-96

TEMPLE, Rev. Frederick (1821-1902)

Son of the Lt. Governor of Sierra Leone

ed. by his mother and at Blundell's

Balliol College, Oxford B.A. 1st cl. Lit.Hum. & Maths. 1842

M.A. 1846

B.D. & D.D. 1858

Fellow of Balliol College, 1842-48

dn. 1846 pr. 1847

Worked in the Education Office, 1849-54

Principal of Kneller Hall, the unsuccessful government Training

College for teachers for workhouses and prisons, 1854-55

H.M.I., 1855-58

Headmaster of Rugby, 1858-69

Bishop of Exeter, 1869-85

Bishop of London, 1885-96

Archbishop of Canterbury, 1896-1902

Member of the Athenaeum Club

Wrote to the Times, February 1862, supporting the Revised Code

Author: essay on National Education in Oxford Essays, 1856;

The relations between religion and science, 1884; many

collections of sermons, etc.

TEMPLE, Rev. Robert (1829-1902)

Son of a barrister of Lache, Cheshire

ed. Rugby

Tutor of Caius College, 1835-47

H.M.I., 1847-48, when he resigned owing to illness.

Rector of Oxburgh with Foulden, 1848-84

Rector of Caldecot, 1851-84

TINLING, Rev. Edward Douglas (1815-97)

Son of Charles Tinling, of Bury St Edmunds, armiger

ed. Christ Church College, Oxford B.A. 1837

M.A. 1840

dn. 1838 pr. 1839

Curate of Huntspill-Nettlecombe, 1839-44

Rector of West Worlington, Devon, 1844-47

H.M.I., 1847-87, when he helped with schoolmasters' associations
in his area.

Prebendary of Wells, 1863-67

Canon of Gloucester, 1867-97

Proctor for the Chapter of Gloucester, 1886-97

TREGARTHEN, Rev. William Francis (c.1832-1883)

ed. King's College, London. Theological Associate, 1st cl.

dn. 1855 pr. 1856

Curate of Tewkesbury and Walton, Cardiff

Curate of Osmington, Dorset

H.M.I., 1864-83

TREMENHEERE, Hugh Seymour (1804-93)

Son of Major Walter Tremenheere, of Glos., armiger

ed. Winchester

Chaired meetings of the United Association of Schoolmasters

Author of the 1862 H.M.I.s' Memorial to the Lord President

(PP 1862, XLIII, 171-4)

WADDINGTON, Horace (1835-)

Son of Major General Charles Waddington, of Poonah, armiger
ed. Rugby

University College, Oxford 1st cl. Mods. 1855

B.A. 1st cl. Lit.Hum. 1857

M.A. 1859

Barrister, Lincoln's Inn, 1862

Examiner in the Education Department, 1860-63

H.M.I., 1863-

WARBURTON, Rev. Williams Parsons (1826-1912)

ed. Rugby

Balliol College, Oxford B.A. 1st cl. Lit.Hum. 1849

M.A. 1853

Fellow of All Souls College, 1849-53

dn. 1851 pr. 1856

Assistant Inspector of Schools, 1850-53

H.M.I., 1853-85

Hon. Canon of Winchester Cathedral, 1878-81

Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, 1881-1901

Canon of Winchester, 1885-1901

Procurator for the Dean & Chapter of Winchester, 1880-1901

Rural Dean of Winchester, 1889

Member of Athenæum Club

Author: Edward III; Lecture on Bishop Bull

WATKINS, Rev. Frederick (1808-88)

ed. Shrewsbury and Westminster

Christ's College and Emmanuel College, Cambridge

B.A. (27th Sen. Optime) 1830

M.A. 1833

B.D. 1840

pr. 1838

Fellow of Emmanuel College, 1838-47

Schoolmaster at Haileybury

H.M.I., 1844-73

Rector of Long Marston, York, 1873-74

Archdeacon of York, 1874-84

Prebendary of Knaresborough, 1874-88

Attended Manchester Conference on Education, 1868

WATTS, Rev. Edmund Thomas (c.1833-1905)

ed. Trinity College, Dublin B.A. 1854

M.A. 1857

dn. 1855 pr. 1856

Curate of Llanefydd, 1855-60

Perpetual Curate of Dyserth, Flints, 1860-67. Here he

periodically examined the children in the parish school,

giving small prizes for each subject. (Report, 1868-9, p.267)

H.M.I., 1867-1905

WILDE, Rev. Richard (1832-1904)

ed. Clare College, Cambridge B.A. 1855

M.A. 1858

dn. 1857 pr. 1858

Curate of Little Drayton, Salop, 1857-60

Curate of Culford & Uggheshall, Suffolk, 1860-64

Curate of Aylesbury, Bucks, 1864-66

Curate of St Jude's, Englefield Green, Egham, Surrey, 1866-68

H.M.I., 1868-96

WILKINSON, Rev. Frederick (1837-1915)

Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge P.A. 1859

M.A. 1862

dn. 1859 pr. 1860

Curate of Kington Magna, 1859-62

Curate of Compton Abbas, 1862-66

Curate of Stour Provost, Dorset, 1866-67

H.M.I., 1867-1901

Vicar of St Helen's, Isle of Wight, 1901-04

Vicar of Torquay, 1905

Rector of Aldham, Essex, 1906-15

WILLIAMS, William (1833-96)

Son of John Williams of Coldstone, Pembs.

ed. Glasgow University and Trinity College, Cambridge

Scholar 1859

B.A. (24th wrangler) 1860

M.A. 1863

Lecturer at Glasgow University

H.M.I., 1868-96

"A well-known Congregationalist" (J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantab.)

Member of the Council of the University of Wales

WODEHOUSE, Edmund Henry (1837-)

Son of Rev. Thomas Wodehouse, of Norton, Kent, clergyman.

ed. Christ Church College, Oxford 1st cl. Mods. 1857

B.A. 2nd cl. Lit.Hum. 1859

M.A. 1862

Student at Lincoln's Inn, 1860

Barrister at Lincoln's Inn, 1863

Inspector of Poor Law Schools, 1863-71

Local Government Board Inspector, 1871-

WOOLLEY, Rev. Joseph (1817-89)

Brother of John Woolley, Principal of Sydney University

ed. Brompton Grammar School and St Paul's

St John's College, Cambridge B.A. (3rd wrangler) 1840

M.A. 1843

Incorporated M.A. Oxon. 1856

Fellow and Tutor of St John's College, 1840-46, when he married

Curate in Norfolk, 1846

Rector of Crostwight, 1847

Principal of the School of Naval Construction, 1848-53

Admiralty Inspector of Schools, 1853-58

H.M.I., 1859-64

Inspector General and Director of Studies of the new Royal

School of Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering,

1864-73

Took advantage of the Clergy Relief Bill to divest himself

of holy orders, 1865

Author: The Elements of Descriptive Geometry, 1850; many

other works on naval architecture.

APPENDIX 2BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE SENIOR OFFICIALSIN THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, 1860-70ROBERT LOWE

The son of a Nottinghamshire vicar, Robert Lowe was educated at Winchester and Oxford, where he had a brilliant career. He could not obtain a fellowship there because almost all of them were clerical and "as I had a decided objection to the Church, I determined to go to the Bar." (1) In order to pay for this, Lowe acted as a private tutor at Oxford and he obtained a lay fellowship in 1835, at the age of twenty-four. Having resigned his fellowship on his marriage the following year and being bitterly disappointed at narrowly missing the Professorship of Greek at Glasgow University, he immersed himself in his legal studies and was called to the bar in 1842. Throughout this time he was greatly troubled by his eyes and, no longer able to read by candlelight, he consulted specialists who told him that he would be completely blind within seven years and recommended that he should take outdoor employment in Australia or New Zealand. In evaluating Robert Lowe's political contribution, his poor eyesight and unusual appearance should not be underestimated. Both were caused by his being an albino and the difficulties which this caused were such that he mentions them on eighteen out of the forty-one pages of his "Chapter of Autobiography." He certainly determined to save his sight, for Lowe and his wife left for Australia

(1) A. Patchett Martin, Life and Letters of Viscount Sherbrooke, 2 vols, London, 1893, vol.1, p.23. This book begins with a "Chapter of Autobiography" by Robert Lowe, written in 1876. Whilst Martin's book is an invaluable source of reference, its sycophantic style does not recommend it as an objective study.

within six months of finishing his law studies.

Considering his disadvantages, few men could have made such an impact on Australia as Robert Lowe did during his eight years there. Not only was he a successful barrister and journalist, but he rose to be the second most powerful politician in the country, becoming a "popular idol" in Sydney (2) and being elected to the Legislative Council of the Colony without himself campaigning or soliciting a single vote. In all this he showed the independence of mind and singleness of purpose which characterised his actions and words throughout his political life.

It has been suggested that Lowe had little interest in education (3) but it should not be forgotten that he moved for, chaired and "was the life and soul of" a Select Committee of the Australian Legislative Council which inquired into the state of education in the colony. (4) A study of this Committee's report, which must have been written largely by Lowe himself, reveals him to be a convinced secularist in education, attacking the inefficiencies and unfairness of the denominational system:

"the number of schools in a given locality ought to depend on the number of children requiring instruction which that locality contains. To admit any other principle is to depart from those maxims of wholesome economy upon which public money should always be administered." (5)

(2) Ibid., p.361.

(3) M. Sturt, The Education of the People, London, 1967, p.240

(4) Martin, op.cit., p.224.

(5) Ibid., p.226.

Whilst Lowe would not deny that religious education had its proper place within the curriculum, this should be limited to "those great principles of religion which are inherent in every shade and denomination of Christianity" (6) and should not pervade the whole timetable:

"Now I am ready to confess that I am an advocate of irreligious teaching - that I would have people made shoemakers or tailors without the aid of religion at all - that all mechanical arts should in fact be taught irreligiously ... I repudiate the idea of teaching reading and writing according to any system of religion ... God forbid that I should wish children to be brought up irreligiously. I would have a child instructed in anything else, but what I want is that religion should not necessarily be mixed up with instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic." (7)

Lowe returned to England on account of his wife's health, and in April 1851, he joined the staff of the Times as a leader-writer. A year later he became the member of Parliament for Kidderminster, joining the new Whig government in December as joint secretary of the Board of Control for India, a post in which he helped to introduce competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service. After a period out of office, he became Vice-President of the Board of Trade in August 1855 after Earl Granville, who was Palmerston's Lord President at the time, had "moved heaven and earth to get Lowe in office." (8) A tour of the United States and Canada in the summer of 1856 had not encouraged

(6) Ibid., p.324.

(7) Ibid., p.321.

(8) Ibid., vol.II, p.109.

Lowe to admire the democratic system of government for he believed in "government of the best" (9) and universal suffrage did not, in his view, lead to such government. This attitude was confirmed in an unfortunate way during the General Election of the following year. Lowe was not popular with the people of Kidderminster, especially the brewers and publicans (10) and, when he was declared elected, he and his friends were attacked by a large crowd, Lowe himself being hit by a brickbat and sustaining a fractured skull. (11)

He ^e became Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education in 1859 and held that post until he resigned in 1864. During this time he is best remembered for his introduction of the Revised Code and his censoring of the reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors.

Later he opposed the 1867 Reform Bill, believing that "the franchise is a means to an end, and that though it ought not necessarily to be given to everyone fit for it, should never be given to anyone who is unfit." (12) Once the Bill was passed, however, he was quick to see the need for the extension of elementary education and gave a number of speeches on educational reform. In the following year he became Chancellor of the Exchequer in Gladstone's government, his most notable achievements here being an abortive attempt to introduce a Match Tax and the increase of the Succession and Legacy Duty, as well as a continuing careful eye on the limitation of public expenditure. In 1873 he was for five months Home Secretary where he has been described as a "zealous defender" of Forster's Education Act,

(9) Ibid., vol.II, p.109.

(10) This occurred because of his opposition to a Beer Bill in the House of Commons.

(11) Ibid., pp.154-8.

(12) Ibid., p.280.

which was so unpopular with the Nonconformists. (13)

He continued as an M.P. until 1880, steadfastly opposing the extension of the franchise. In that year he was elevated to the House of Lords as Viscount Sherbrooke and, when his wife died four years later, he re-married in 1885 and died in 1892.

RALPH LINGEN

The chief Civil Servant in the Education Department for most of the 1860s was Ralph Lingen, who had succeeded Kay-Shuttleworth in a rather shabby take-over in 1849, when Lingen was only thirty. Like Matthew Arnold and a number of others in the educational establishment, he was a Balliol graduate who, for many years, corresponded frequently with his friend and former tutor, Benjamin Jowett. Apparently Lingen had a morose temperament and was subject to depression. (14) This made him a difficult colleague and, if he had few friends in the Department, he had even fewer among the inspectors, managers and teachers who were on the receiving end of his harsh interpretations of the Revised Code. (15) Like Lowe, he was a secularist in education, a view which is confirmed in an internal memorandum of 1855:

"My conviction is the same now as it has been for years past; that there is only one solution to the question, viz. to separate secular and religious instruction, and

(13) Ibid., p.389.

(14) J.R.B. Johnson, op.cit., p.326.

(15) See the Secretary's Minute Book, PRO Ed.9/4, especially pp.70,169. Lingen's character and contribution to education are fully discussed in A.S. Bishop, The rise of a central authority for English education, Cambridge, 1971, pp.69-76 and, by the same author, "Ralph Lingen, Secretary to the Education Department, 1849-70", British Journal of Educational Studies, vol.XVI, No.2, June 1968, pp.138-63.

in effect to take the former out of the hands of the congregations, making it a purely civil matter." (16)

Lingen's original acquaintance with elementary education had been as one of three Commissioners appointed by the government to inquire into the state of education in Wales. The highly critical report displayed a lack of empathy with Welsh educationalists and their special problems, but did no damage to Lingen's reputation in London, for he was soon appointed as one of the first two examiners in the Education Department. In spite of his rapid promotion, Lingen appears to have had little love for his work in education, an attitude which contrasts sharply with the missionary zeal of his predecessor, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. In his evidence to the 1865 Select Committee, he described the work of the Office as "drudgery," though Sir John Pakington reminded him that "what you call drudgery in fact consists of superintending the education of England." (17) Such an attitude was clearly obvious to others, as Matthew Arnold wrote in 1862 that

"a more honourable and indefatigable public servant than Mr Lingen does not exist; but the most indefatigable man sees difficulties in a course for which he has no love." (18)

Lingen's great skill as an administrator and controller of spending was rewarded in December 1869 when he was appointed Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, a post he held for fifteen years, after which he retired with a peerage.

(16) PRO Ed.24/53. Confidential memorandum concerning the representation of the Committee of Council on Education in the House of Commons, 6th June 1855.

(17) Evidence to the 1865 Select Committee on Education, q.107-8.

(18) M. Arnold, "The Twice Revised Code," in R.H. Super, The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold, vol.II, Michigan, 1962.

LORD GRANVILLE

The Lord President of the Council at the time of the Revised Code was a totally different type of person from either Lowe or Lingen. A true Victorian aristocrat, who had married the daughter of the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Granville nevertheless showed great interest in the education of the poor. In 1853 he had proposed a government Bill prohibiting the employment of children in factories before six a.m. and after six p.m. and two years later he proposed an Education Bill which was designed to initiate municipal participation in school-building. But this was the wrong decade for proposing educational legislation and, after it had been attacked in the Times, the government abandoned the measure. Granville's interest in education extended beyond Parliament to the Potteries where, as Chairman of the Board of a large mining and iron and steel firm, he founded elementary schools at Cobridge, supported a Prize Scheme and took an active interest in the Wedgwood Institute. In 1856 he was made Chancellor of London University, an office which he held for thirty-five years, and for much of that time he pleaded the cause of admitting women to degrees. (19) He belonged to the school which supported the education of the poor for paternalistic reasons and did not wish to see children in elementary schools educated above their station in life. (20) As Lord President, Granville had immense powers of patronage, but he seems to have exercised these powers in a thoroughly responsible and fair manner. (21) Certainly the men he

(19) Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, The life of Lord Granville, 1815-91, 2 vols, London, 1905, vol.I, p.435.

(20) See, for example, his letter to Rev. B.M. Cowie, 30th December 1857, appointing Cowie to an inspectorship of Training Colleges; in Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 19/19. There was nothing unusual in such an attitude in the mid-nineteenth century.

(21) For a discussion of patronage in the Inspectorate, see above, pp.99-103.

appointed held him in great respect and, when rumours of his impending resignation were published, Canon Moseley wrote to express the regret of the whole Inspectorate if this should take place. (22)

HENRY AUSTIN BRUCE

Robert Lowe's successor as Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education had been M.P. for Merthyr Tydvil for twelve years when he was called to the Education Department. His only previous office in the government had been as Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office, a post which he accepted in 1856. (23) Bruce, who had been educated at Swansea Grammar School and who was later raised to the peerage as Lord Aberdare, was a barrister by profession, although he remained interested in education after his period as Vice-President. Indeed, he was involved in the Manchester movement which pressed for a system of free, compulsory, rate-aided education for which he, W.E. Forster and Algernon Egerton introduced bills in the House of Commons in 1867 and 1868. In January 1868 he and Forster had been elected joint Presidents of the National Conference on Education in Manchester and, whereas Forster later incurred the wrath of the radicals who were involved in this movement, Bruce continued to play his part in the radical education lobby.

HENRY THOMAS LOWRY CORRY

As Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, 1866-7, Corry continued Bruce's policy of strict adherence to the Revised Code,

(22) Granville Papers, PRO 30/29, 23/4.

(23) Dictionary of National Biography.

although his period of office is perhaps best known for the 1867 Minute which encouraged higher subjects (24) and which is sometimes referred to as the Corry Minute.

Just three years after graduating from Oxford in 1823, Corry had followed the family tradition by entering Parliament as Conservative M.P. for Tyrone. From 1833 to 1868 he held various government posts including the Presidency of the Board of Health in 1866. His first and only Cabinet post was as First Lord of the Admiralty, 1867-8. He appears to have had little interest in education and spoke rarely in the House except on departmental business. (25)

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU

Like Corry, whom he succeeded as Vice-President, Lord Robert Montagu was mainly interested in matters other than elementary education. As M.P. for Huntingdon from 1859-74 he spoke on foreign questions and shipbuilding, on which he also wrote a treatise. He was against the extension of the franchise and favoured plurality voting. As Vice-President from 1867-68, he did little in the educational field, his tenure of office being largely noted for a bill concerning vaccination and for the way in which he dealt with a cattle plague, both of which were subsidiary duties of the Education Minister. (26)

WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER

W.E. Forster's contribution to education was much more significant

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- (24) See above, pp.133-4.
 (25) Dictionary of National Biography.
 (26) Ibid.

than that of either of his two predecessors as Vice-President of the Committee of Council and so it is appropriate to look more closely at his background. Born a Quaker in 1818, he learnt business practice at a London counting house from 1839-41 when he started in the wool business in Bradford. His liberal connections were of the first order, for he was friendly with Robert Owen, F.D. Maurice and the Carlyles, and he married Dr. Arnold's eldest daughter, Jane. (27)

By 1850, Forster was Chairman of the Board of Guardians in Bradford and during the fifties he began contributing to the Westminster Review, especially on the subject of American slavery. In 1859 he stood with Baines for the Liberals in Leeds, but failed by twenty-two votes to win the second seat. Two years later he was elected M.P. for Bradford and, owing to his specialist knowledge on the American civil war, he rapidly gained the confidence of senior politicians such as Earl de Grey and Ripon. After Palmerston's death in 1865, Forster was offered the job of Under-Secretary for the Colonies by Lord John Russell. Forster's dedication to reform can be measured by the fact that he accepted the government post only after receiving Russell's guarantee that the issue of reform was not going to be side-stepped by the appointment of a Royal Commission.

Forster's interest in education began long before he was invited to become Vice-President. In 1849, for example, he had sat on a committee which had been formed in Leeds by Canon Hook to discuss proposals for a national education system. Although he had originally been a secularist in education, this committee influenced Forster towards favouring Bible-reading in schools. He took part in the founding of an elementary school

(27) T. Wemyss Reid, The life of W.E. Forster, 2 vols, London, 1888.

in Burnley in the fifties which he frequently visited and he often called in to schools in the poorest part of Leeds which had been established by a friend of his.

Forster's radical outlook made him an opponent of the 1862 Revised Code, since it was too mechanical for his liking. His active interest in education continued when he became a member of Sir John Pakington's 1865 Select Committee, the evidence to which must have hardened his attitude towards the existing system. In 1867 and 1868 he, Bruce and Egerton introduced two Bills into Parliament which embraced the hopes of the radical Manchester school of thought and in 1868 he and Bruce were elected joint Presidents of the National Conference on Education in Manchester.

After the 1868 election, when Gladstone was Prime Minister and Earl de Grey and Ripon Lord President of the Council, Forster became Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, joining a powerful Cabinet that included Robert Lowe as Chancellor of the Exchequer and John Bright as President of the Board of Trade. After piloting the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, it fell to Forster to undertake the great reform of education and, in spite of the outcry that the 1870 Education Act created among Forster's former radical colleagues, it remains a milestone of English education that owed much to the Vice-President of the time.

APPENDIX 3 (i)INSTRUCTIONS TO HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS UPONTHE ADMINISTRATION OF THE REVISED CODE

SIR,
Committee of Council on Education,
Council Office, September 1862.

1. You will gather from the last Report presented by their Lordships to Parliament what are their views of the Revised Code in its present form. The object of the following instructions is to arrange the immediate details of execution and to define your own part in them.

2. It is not the intention of their Lordships to begin by appointing any new class of officers. The inspection and examination prescribed by the Revised Code will, at least in the first instance, be conducted wholly by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.

3. Their Lordships have considered it advisable to abolish the office of assistant inspectors, and to subdivide the districts in which they are employed. The necessary communications to the inspectors and assistant inspectors concerned in this change will be made in a short time. The economy of time, money, and personal fatigue in travelling over a smaller area are obvious advantages. So far as the office of assistant inspector has served for probation, that object admits of being otherwise provided for. The office has never been introduced in any districts of inspection except those of schools connected with the Church of England. The area of the other districts has always been so large as to make subdivision the primary object so soon as the schools became numerous enough to justify it. This object will now be pursued without exception throughout every district as occasion occurs.

4. The assistant inspectors do not make general reports to
(1) Report, 1861-2, pp xvii - xviii.

the Committee of Council, and in order that the subdivision now resolved upon may not multiply unduly the number of inspectors annually withdrawn for 14 days from inspection, their Lordships will call for such reports (after the present year) in alternate years only. One half of the inspectors will report in each year, and the districts will be so grouped for this purpose as that each year's volume may present a specimen of the state of education in the various classes of the labouring population throughout the country.

5. Assuming these changes to be in course of completion, but without waiting for them to be fully completed, my Lords direct me to request your attention to the following instructions for the inspection and examination of any school that you may find named in a Form XIX. as admitted to aid under the Revised Code.

6. You will observe, in the first place, that it is an object of importance to pass from one system of making grants to another with as little administrative shock as possible. Various simplifications and changes may follow in the course of time, but the administration of grants from a single centre to such a number of independent schools could not proceed for a day unless the greater part of those concerned both in distributing and receiving grants were familiar with the forms of procedure. You will observe, therefore, that the new forms,

VIII. (Inspector's notice),

IX. (Manager's return),

X. (Inspector's report),

and the Examination Schedule, correspond to forms already in use, and are altered no more than is necessary.

You will do well to read these forms carefully and minutely

over. They are the summary of your instructions.

7. The grant to be made to each school depends, as it has ever done, upon the school's whole character and work. The grant is offered for attendance in a school with which the inspector is satisfied. If he is wholly dissatisfied (Article 50), and if the reasons of such dissatisfaction are confirmed (Article 51e) no grant is made. You will judge every school by the same standard that you have hitherto used, as regards its religious, moral, and intellectual merits. The examination under Article 48 does not supersede this judgment, but presupposes it. That article does not prescribe that, if thus much is done, a grant shall be paid, but, unless thus much is done, no grant shall be paid. It does not exclude the inspection of each school by a highly educated public officer, but it fortifies this general test by individual examination. If you keep these distinctions steadily in view you will see how little the scope of your duties is changed.

8. In pursuance of this principle, the staff of each school is ascertained and recorded (Article 52b) from year to year. Inspection occupies but a few hours out of twelve months, at a time known beforehand; the examination of individual children according to a standard must always be, to a considerable extent, mechanical; the managers of the schools visited are voluntary, irresponsible, and fluctuating; under such circumstances no person of reflection and experience will doubt that, before distributing thousands of payments throughout every corner of the kingdom, it is an additional security of a very solid character to know, in each instance, that the principal teacher (Article 72) has either been trained in a normal school, or has served an apprenticeship

as a pupil-teacher, or has obtained two favourable reports upon his present school, as well as passed an examination (Article 66), and that a certain proportionate number of the assistant teachers and pupil-teachers (Article 52b) have satisfied (Article 91), or are annually satisfying (Article 81), similar tests. It is not contended that there may not be equally good schools under other agency, but it may be reasonably averred that inspection and examination alone do not afford equally good means of knowing such to be the fact.

9. You will observe, in pursuance of what has just been said, that cases may arise (under Article 72b 2) in which two visits of inspection must precede the examination of the teacher. No grants will follow such visits; they are preliminary to grants, and are part of the means of acquiring that knowledge of a school, without which grants are not paid. Cases of this kind will be specially indicated to you; the earliest time at which the teacher can be examined will be in the December between your second and third visits. Irrespectively, therefore, of the month that may be permanently fixed (Article 16) for visiting the school, you will in all such cases be careful to make, if possible, your first visit before the month of December next following the receipt of notice of the case from the Council Office.

My Lords express themselves as follows to the managers of schools in which the teachers are not yet certificated:-

"The enclosed syllabus, which is sent for your information, shows the extent of the examination, but acting teachers may obtain certificates (Article 69) who can answer plain and simple questions confined to the following subjects. They will find special sections of such questions in the examination papers, with directions that

they need not attempt more.

1. Scripture, Catechism, and Liturgy (in schools connected with the Church of England).
2. English history (leading facts).
3. Geography (elements of, and British).
4. Arithmetic (as far as practice, inclusive; neat and without failure).
5. English composition, spelling, and parsing.
6. The management of a school.

All candidates must pass reasonably well in reading and hand-writing; and females in needlework."

In those small* rural schools which have hitherto experienced most difficulty in fulfilling the conditions of grants, the managers are not required to maintain pupil-teachers (Article 52b), and therefore principal teachers certificated in the lower grade (Articles 131-2) suffice for them.

10. Article 50 applies, as an imperative direction, only to schools which have not yet been inspected. In other instances you may use your own discretion in the order of combining inspection with the examination prescribed by Article 48. Inspection and examination are not to be sharply distinguished from each other, but inspection is the larger term, and includes a judgment founded upon an examination under Article 48, and upon other particulars also.

11. In those schools where the inspectors' duty extends to an inquiry into the religious knowledge of the children, this subject affords the best matter whereby to test what general effect their teaching has had upon their minds. Considering the age of the children in elementary schools, it may be taken as evidence of good general

* With less than 90 scholars in average attendance.

culture if they show an intelligent acquaintance with those parts of the Bible which are suitable to their years, and which an experienced and thoughtful examiner knows how to select and present to them. Complete failure in this part of the examination would cause the grant to be withheld altogether under Article 51e. But short of this complete forfeiture, in order that your judgment of the general character of a school may carry due weight, power is given to you under Article 52a to reduce the grant allowable for attendance and examination. My Lords do not wish this power to be exercised in any but serious cases. You are not permitted, therefore, to recommend a reduction of less than one tenth part of the whole. You have five such tenths at your disposal, and may apportion one or more of them upon such faults as defective furniture, books, and apparatus; confused and unskilful organization, consisting in insufficient, or badly kept, registers and accounts, ill-adjusted timetables, classes left wholly to monitors, or neglected in certain subjects; preventable dirt, disorder, and untidiness in the children; dull and unintelligent, or shallow and pretentious, teaching; evidence of packing the school for examination, instead of fair correspondence between its ordinary classes and the number presented under each standard. Gross instances of this last kind are to be referred to Article 51e.

You will observe that your form of report (X) conforms to this outline of your duties. It is framed to exhibit the staff, the organization, and the action of each school.

12. You will be good enough to read the following directions for the examination of children under Article 48, with the examination schedule before you.

My Lords await the result of experience before attempting to determine the exact mode in which this examination may best be held. You will not regard the following method as obligatory, nor as intended to prevent you from trying other methods, and it is evident that part only of the process may apply to particular schools.

13. It is assumed that you have before you the examination schedule filled up by the managers as far as column viii, inclusive, and that the school is placed before you in the order if its usual classes. It may be well to test this by asking for the class registers, and calling over by it the names of two of the classes taken at a venture. It is also assumed that you have a paper before you containing the dictation which you mean to give for writing and arithmetic under each standard.

14. All the children will remain in their places throughout the examination.

15. You will begin with writing and arithmetic, and you will direct the teachers to see that all who are to be examined under standard I. have before them a slate and pencil, under standards II. and III. a slate, a pencil, and a reading book; all under standards IV.-VI., a half sheet of folio paper, a pen, ink, and the appropriate reading book.

16. You will then call "Standard I., stand up throughout the school." The children answering to this description will stand up in their usual places without quitting them. The object of the movement is to ascertain those who are to act on your next order without destroying the daily arrangement of the school. When this has been correctly effected by the assistance of the teachers, you

will call "Standard I., sit down, and write on your slates as I dictate."

17. You will then dictate the letters and figures which they are to write down.

You will pursue the same course with standard II., directing them to write their names and standard on their slates, and announcing to them out of their book the line they are to copy, and their sums.

You will pursue the same course, mutatis mutandis, with standards III. (slates), and IV.-VI. (paper).

18. The whole school having thus had their dictation given to them, and being at work on their arithmetic (except oral arithmetic remaining to be given under standard I.), you will allow time enough to elapse for the completion of their exercises, say three quarters of an hour.

19. You will then call them by name from the examination schedule to read, which you will hear each do, and, immediately afterwards, mark each in column ix. of the schedule for writing and arithmetic also, as far as time will permit. If this fails before you can go through the whole of them, you will mark the reading only of all, and the slate work of those who do not write on paper, and you will bring the rest of the papers away and mark them at home. You must be careful to collect and keep them in the order of the names upon the schedule, otherwise you will not easily be able to put the right marks against the right names. When you pass a paper, you should write P against the writing and arithmetic in it respectively, besides marking column ix. in the schedule.

20. Whether you mark the papers in the school, or reserve them, you should bring the whole away with you, and forward them to this office with your report. My Lords will probably appoint, from time to time, committees of inspectors and examiners to look over specimens and determine the means of fixing the minimum of each standard.

As a tentative standard, my Lords are of opinion that an exercise which in the ordinary scale of excellent, good, fair, moderate, imperfect, failure, would be marked fair, may pass. The word fair means that reading is intelligible, though not quite good; dictation, legible, and rightly spelt in all common words, though the writing may need improvement, and less common words may be misspelt; arithmetic, right in method, and at least one sum free from error.

21. My Lords are informed by Mr. Cook* that from four to six hours will suffice for examining and marking 150 children. It may hereafter be needful, as the Royal Commissioners suggest, to employ additional agency (p.342), but experience must first be gained by a higher class of officers.

22. Under column vi. of the schedule children may be presented to you not belonging to the class (Article 4) for whose education the Parliamentary Grant is voted. Such children should be charged the full cost (about 30s. per annum) of their education at the least, and it is perfectly legitimate to charge them more for the benefit of the rest of the school, if the managers have the opportunity of doing so. The presence of a limited number of such children among the rest has some obvious advantages besides those which are financial. It has also its danger; that, namely of

* Quoted by the Vice-President in the House of Commons on

27th March, 1862. (Hansard, vol. 166, p.216.)

causing the poorer scholars to be neglected. Subject to the inspector's report, my Lords leave the managers of elementary schools to decide whether such children shall attend or not; they cannot bring grants to the school by their examination, and must not be included in the calculation of average attendance.

23. The children between six and seven will in all cases require a certain amount of oral examination, which may be performed for each of them at the same time as they read.

24. The remaining observations which my Lords desire to bring before you will be confined to particular articles in the Revised Code, and will be given in the order of them.

Article 38.

25. My Lords desire to see a third, or evening meeting, become as much a part of each school's routine, at least during certain periods of the year, as a morning or afternoon meeting. The entire staff of teachers should be made strong enough, if possible, to include this third meeting. If it has its own teachers only, it is apt to be less regularly conducted, and to be regarded as something extra, whereas, under the conditions of employment in this country, it is indispensable. It should differ in nothing from the morning or afternoon meetings, except in the scholars who attend. Its business is not secondary, but continued elementary instruction. A few scholars here and there may be fit for more advanced instruction, and may be glad to find at the evening meeting of the school a room in which they can study and obtain assistance. It is far from the wish of my Lords that such scholars should not be encouraged. The pupil-teachers, if partly taught in

the evening school, will be of that order. It is a great mistake to suppose that such scholars ought to be wholly occupied with oral instruction. What they want is a time and place set apart for them to work in, and that their master or mistress be uniformly present to see that the attendance is regular, to look over previous exercises, and to afford such explanations as may be needed for those in hand. The scholars who attend in the evenings must be examined, pursuant to Article 48, if grants are to be allowed upon them. As a rule they must be presented at the same time and place as the other scholars, but in a class by themselves. Occasionally you may be able to examine such scholars apart when you are passing more than a single day in the same place as the school; or you may assemble the evening scholars of several schools together. If the school does not meet in the evening at the time of your visit; the evening scholars may, nevertheless, be assembled. They ought not to have forgotten what they have learnt within the year. Your report on evening scholars must always form part of your report on the whole school.

As the object of attendance in the evening is to fix and perfect elementary knowledge, evening scholars who have passed under Standard VI. are not precluded from being examined again, and from bringing grants to the school by their examination. Article 46 is to be read as confined to scholars whose qualification to be examined (Article 42) is attendance in the morning or afternoon.

26. Teachers passed for evening schools under Article 159 of the Code of 1860 will continue, but only in the same schools, and in the same kind of employment, to satisfy the conditions of the Code of 1861.

Article 40b 2.

27. If infants are taught by the same certificated teacher as older children, it will be your duty to judge whether they are instructed suitably to their age, and in a manner not to interfere with the instruction of the older children. If these conditions are not fulfilled, you are not at liberty to recommend any of the infants under six years of age for the grant offered without examination, and in recommending a grant for such of them as, being older, pass an examination, you will bear in mind Articles 51e and 52a.

28. If infants are taught by a separate teacher, but as part of one school in the same premises under a certificated teacher, their own teacher is not required to be certificated unless their number exceed 40.

29. As the greater part of the children in infant schools may obtain grants without individual examination, and as the instruction of such schools requires, above all others, special methods and qualifications, it is reasonable to bring them, when they exceed the dimensions of a class, under the general rule whereby principal teachers are required to be certificated.

In granting certificates to teachers of infants, my Lords will give full effect to Article 122 as interpreted by paragraph 9 in the preceding part of these instructions.

Articles 44-5.

30. It will save a great deal of trouble to managers and teachers, if they mark off in their class registers each scholar qualified for examination as soon as the number of his attendances

rises above the prescribed minimum.

The contents of the first two columns of the examination schedules will thus collect themselves, and be ready to be written off in the same order, instead of having to be hunted out from the registers at the last. I may again point out to you, in explanation of what has gone before, that your examination schedule, being filled up in this manner, will indicate to you, on the day of your visit, certain members in each of the ordinary school classes, the whole of which classes will be before you.

Article 50a.

31. Cubical space has to be considered upon sanitary grounds, but does not supersede the consideration of area. If you find a schoolroom which allows the minimum number of cubical feet per child, but of which the floor is not sufficiently large, or not properly shaped for the organization of the school, you will report accordingly.

32. The "principal schoolroom" is named because the school must for many purposes meet as one body, and 80 cubical feet of space per child is a minimum everywhere.

Articles 51b, 54.

33. Managers of schools receiving grants under the Revised Code should regard them as part of those moneys in their hands which are applicable to meet all the expenses of their school indiscriminately, without the appropriation of particular receipts to particular outgoings.

34. If Article 51b forms an exception, it is only in certain special cases. As a rule, managers receiving such a grant should carry it at once to the common account, and should not pay it over to the teacher more than to any other creditor of the school. The Article does not interfere with the liberty of agreement between teachers and managers as to the amount of salary which the former shall receive, and the latter pay. It simply provides that if a teacher certificated before a certain date is not "duly paid" in a sense which it defines, the grant received by the managers, before becoming part of the common fund of the school, shall be answerable to him for one third part of his "due payment." The defence of managers to a teacher who would take advantage of the Article must be that he has been "duly paid" in the sense which it defines, and he is so in any of the following cases:-

1. If his agreement was to receive three times the grant payable upon his certificate, or more, and he has received three times that grant, he is "duly paid," although he may not have received the full sum for which he agreed.

2. If he agreed to receive less than three times the same grant, he is "duly paid" if he has received the sum he has agreed for.

3. He may agree to waive the benefit of the Article altogether, in which case he is "duly paid" whatever he receives.

Whenever a teacher is thus "duly paid," his charge upon the money received by his employers from the Committee of Council is gone, but it must be remembered that this has nothing to do with other rights and remedies arising out of the general terms of his agreement.

The following cases are given by way of example. Assume a teacher with a certificate upon which three times the grant allowable by the Code of 1860 is 75l. His "charge" never can exceed any one of the following limits, viz.:-

1. The amount of the grant received by his employers under Article 40 of the Revised Code.

2. The sum of 25l.

3. The sum needed to raise his receipts to 75l.

Thus, -

A. If he has agreed to receive 90l., has received only 50l., and the grant under the Revised Code is only 10l., he has a charge only upon 10l., and must proceed like any other creditor to recover the remaining 30l.

B. If he has agreed to receive 90l., has received only 30l., and the grant under the Revised Code is 60l., he has a charge only upon 25l., and must proceed as in A to recover the remaining 35l.

C. If he has agreed to receive 90l., has received only 60l., and the grant under the Revised Code is 30l., he has a charge only upon 15l., and must proceed as in A to recover the remaining 15l.

D. If he has agreed to receive 90l., and has received only 75l., he has no charge upon the grant, but may proceed as in A to recover the remaining 15l.

E. If he has agreed to receive 60l., and has received 60l., he has no charge upon the grant, and nothing to recover.

F. If he has agreed to waive the Article, and to receive 100l., but has received nothing, he has no charge upon the grant, of whatever amount it may be, but must proceed like any other creditor to recover the whole 100l.

35. It is hardly needful to add anything about the importance of making all agreements between managers and teachers in writing. If the employers of a teacher wish to enter into a new agreement with him, they can do so only by mutual consent; failing which, they must observe the old agreement until, after due notice, they terminate it.

36. With reference to the second charge upon the Grant given by Article 54, as long as the pupil-teachers in question, and the masters or mistresses by whom they are instructed, fulfil the conditions of the Code of 1860, the managers are assured that the sum receivable by them from the Committee of Council under the Revised Code shall not be less than the amount of the stipends and gratuities, after satisfying claims, if any, under Article 51b.

Articles 52b, 131-4.

37. Managers must use their own discretion as to the staff of teachers they will maintain beyond one certificated teacher. So far as the fulfilment of Article 52b depends upon the employment of pupil-teachers, 90 scholars, or ^{any} ~~any~~ number between 90 and 129, both inclusive, require one pupil-teacher. For 130 there must be two, and so on for every additional 40 scholars completed. For 89 scholars, or for any less number, no pupil-teacher is required. These numbers are to be understood of the largest number of scholars present at one time together. The evening scholars commonly attend in the evening only. If a school by day is attended, on an annual average, by 100 scholars, and in the evening by 30, Article 52b is satisfied by one pupil-teacher.

38. Much has been said about the injustice and impolicy of

the reductions imposed by Article 52b. Upon this subject it is sufficient to refer you to paragraph 8 of the present instructions.

Article 52c.

39. The condition annexed to the old capitation grant, whereby the scholars upon whom it was payable were required to have paid not less than 3g. nor more than 16g. in fees supplied by their parents or by persons standing to them in loco parentis, is no longer maintained. My Lords rely upon the good sense and interest of managers to demand fees as far as possible, but they limit their own interference to prescribing that those who manage and those who benefit by the school shall between them contribute at least as much money as they draw from the public funds. The reason of this rule is not financial only, but rests in a still greater degree upon the security for good management which is given by those who spend their own money upon an object close to them. It needs again and again to be repeated that the work of a school implies much more than is measured by examinations under Article 48, and that a certain amount of local contribution is in another, for the system and framework of lasting institutions.

Articles 55-63.

40. The diary or log book requires no special ruling. An outer margin for the date is all that needs to be observed. One such book should be kept by each principal teacher having charge of a school or separate department of a school. These books will not only furnish valuable records of school-keeping, but will (it is hoped) in the course of a few years save much of the registration which has to be

performed at this office for the identification of teachers.

41. It does not occur to my Lords that further explanations of a general character require to be given. It would be idle to endeavour to determine all possible cases beforehand. It is sufficient if the principles whereby most of them may be promptly and consistently determined have been indicated. Practice and care must supply the rest.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

R. R. W. LINGEN

APPENDIX A (1)H.M.I. FEARON'S CIRCULAR TO INSPECTED SCHOOLSIN WALES, 1868

SIR,

January 1868.

I beg to send you the following particulars respecting the inspection of the school for which you are the official correspondent. In so doing, I would remind you that the Articles of the Revised Code will be carefully observed at the inspection. The following hints are only intended to call attention to some important regulations of the Code, which are sometimes overlooked by managers and teachers, to explain points which have been occasionally misunderstood, or to determine matters which are left to the discretion of the inspector.

When you have read this circular, will you be so good as to hand it to the principal teacher of the school for which you are the correspondent. It is important that all teachers should carefully read it; and should also pay attention to the "supplementary rules," a copy of which you will receive with the official notice of inspection.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

H.M. Inspector.

I. - ACCOUNTS

H.M. Inspector is instructed always to report whether the school accounts are properly kept and audited. The books in which they are kept should therefore be shewn to him on the day of inspection, with the signatures of the auditors suffixed.

(1) Report, 1867-8, pp. 326-9.

II. - PORTFOLIO.

The portfolio should be shewn to the inspector on the day of inspection. In this all official letters should be numbered in the order of their receipt and kept in the order of their numbers. A copy of the Revised Code should be procured at the beginning of each year, that the managers and teachers may see what alterations, if any, have been made in it.

III. - REGISTERS.

The registers required are Class Registers, and an Admission Register.

(1.) The entries in the class registers must be made every morning and afternoon regularly, and soon enough after the opening of the school, to secure that each scholar entered as present be under instruction two hours at least in the morning, and the same time in the afternoon.

(2.) Not only should a dot, or some equivalent mark, be made opposite the name of each scholar present; but the letter "a," or some other mark accounting for absence, should also be invariably written in ink opposite the name of each scholar who is absent. Registers should not be marked in pencil.

(3.) The class registers should be made up quarterly; and the number of attendances in each quarter should be totalized at the end of the quarter, and entered at the commencement of the registration for the following quarter; so that the final total number of attendances of each scholar entered in the Examination Schedule may be the more easily certified by the managers and the inspector.

(4.) An admission register should always be kept, in which the date of admission and withdrawal of each child, the age of each child at admission, the occupation of his parent, and the school, if any, which he previously attended, should be entered.

(5.) If at any time there be two or more children of the same name on the registers of the school, these children should be distinguished from one another by some additional marks or titles, which marks should be affixed to their names in every register or school record in which those names appear. No registers or school records can be considered to be satisfactorily kept, in which the identity of each child is not clearly and distinctly marked out.

IV. - TIME TABLE.

A time table should always be kept and placed on the wall of the schoolroom. In schools where infants are taught in the same department with older children, the time table must shew distinctly what provision is made for their instruction. No grant can be made for any additional subject under the Minute of Feb. 20th, 1867, unless provision be made in the time table for instruction in that subject.

V. - BOOKS.

A sufficient supply of books and slates should always be provided, so that there may be one for each scholar presented on the day of inspection. There should be at least 60 pages of reading in the books of Standard II., containing some words of two syllables not separated by a hyphen.

VI. - ORDER AND METHOD OF CONDUCTING THE INSPECTION
AND EXAMINATION OF THE SCHOOL.

(1.) Inspection. - On the day fixed for the inspector's visit, the school should, when he arrives, be in its usual order of classes, not arranged according to the Examination Schedule; and the work should be proceeding, and should, after the inspector's arrival, continue to proceed according to the time table. The logbook, registers, portfolio, account-books, managers' returns, and examination schedule, should be lying on the table. No alteration should be made in the ordinary routine of the school until the inspector requests the teacher to make such a change. The order and discipline of the school will be chiefly judged by the inspector from his observation of the working of the school under its own teachers in its regular routine. If, therefore, the managers permit the presence of visitors at the inspection, it is most important that they should request them to be perfectly silent, and to place themselves in such a position as will least interfere with the school routine.

The inspector will endeavour to give the children an interval, and to save them from unnecessary fatigue and excitement. But children should always be cautioned to come to school on the day of inspection provided with food, as the inspector cannot undertake not to detain them beyond their usual dinner hour.

The teachers of needlework to the girls in mixed schools should always be required to attend on the day of inspection. Every girl, above six years old, whose name is on the examination schedule, should produce to the inspector a piece of plain sewing worked by herself. Specimens of mending and darning should also be produced. The

inspector may require the girls to sew in his presence.

(2.) The Schedule Examination. - When the general inspection is ended, the inspector will give directions to the principal teacher for moving the classes in such a way as to facilitate the schedule examination. Silence and obedience will, of course, be required of the children at this and all other times when they are in school; but some allowance will be made for slight disturbances of order.

Reading must be intelligible to the inspector, when looking at the book in the first, second, and third Standards; when not looking at a book in the fourth, fifth, and sixth Standards. Children presented in the first Standard may read from cards or from books. The inspector will report more favourably of them if they can read from books; but in this case they must be able to find and keep the place as if reading in a class. Except in the first Standard, children will not be allowed to come up singly to read to the inspector, but will be expected to read in their classes. The reading must be audible at a reasonable distance.

Writing. - All children above Standard I., and as many of Standard I. as possible, should be able to write their name legibly. In Dictation six lines will be given in a Welsh, and eight in an English, school. The lowest result for a pass in dictation will be regulated as follows:-

Standard III., IV., not more than four mistakes of any kind allowed.

Standard V., not more than three mistakes.

Standard VI., not more than two mistakes.

The exercises must also be written in a fair hand to ensure a pass. Girls must write a round and not an angular hand.

Arithmetic. - Sums printed in words, not in figures, in order to test Notation, may be given to Standards IV.-VI. The inspector does not bind himself always to give printed sums: he may sometimes dictate them to all the Standards. Children presented in Standards IV.-VI. must be prepared to undertake either method. The sums will always be dictated orally to Standards II., III.

The following will be the knowledge of Notation required in each Standard:-

Standard I., up to twenty.

Standard II., up to thousands.

Standard III., up to hundred thousands.

Standard IV.-VI., up to millions.

Three sums will be given to each scholar in Standards II.-VI., and two out of the three must be worked correctly in order to ensure a pass. In Standard II., the Multiplication Table will also be required. It must not be written, but said orally to the inspector. No slates or scribbling paper will be allowed to Standards IV.-VI.; but the children may, in working sums, scribble and make rough drafts and calculations on the half sheet of foolscap paper which they give up to the Inspector.

VII. - THE EXAMINATION UNDER THE MINUTE OF FEBRUARY 20, 1867.

A copy of this Minute, and of the circular to H.M. Inspectors of May 6, 1867, respecting the administration of it, should be procured and placed in the Portfolio. The selection of the "specific subject of secular instruction beyond article 48" is left entirely to managers. It may, however, be assumed that the subject will, in most cases, be either Modern Geography, English Grammar, English

History, Higher Arithmetic, or English Composition.

Those scholars who are presented in Standard VII. will be required to write on paper answers to printed, written, or dictated questions on the subject selected by the managers. The questions in this subject will have a numerical value attached to them; and for a pass in Standard VII., each scholar will be required to obtain at least 50 per cent. of the total value of the questions proposed to him. A reasonable amount of ground must be covered in this subject, such as shall represent a fair year's work. The following would, for example, be considered a reasonable amount for a year's work. In Geography - the definitions; a general knowledge of the Continents, more especially Europe; England and Wales in fuller detail. In English Grammar - the definitions, with examples and illustrations, the inflection of the noun and the verb, and the parsing of sentences. In English History - the Roman and Saxon periods, or from the Conquest to Henry IV. or from Henry IV. to James I.: the leading dates belonging to the period selected will also be required. If Higher Arithmetic be selected, six sums will be set in vulgar and decimal fractions, interest, and discount, four of which must be worked correctly by each scholar. If English composition be selected, each scholar will be required to write in a good hand, with correct spelling and grammar, a plain narrative or letter upon some simple subject of common life, or upon some subject taken from a reading book with which he is acquainted. This subject will be selected by the inspector.

In whatever subject they present Standard VII., managers should remember that the Time Table must shew that instruction in that subject

is given to not less than one fifth of the average number of scholars above six years of age, and that three-fourths of the total number thus instructed must answer satisfactorily questions proposed to them by the inspector. That portion of the scholars thus instructed which is not examined by paper in Standard VII. may be examined orally, whenever the nature of the subject selected by the managers is such as can be handled in an oral examination. The inspector may call upon the principal teachers or pupil-teachers of the third year and upwards, to conduct that examination in his presence.

VIII. - PUPIL-TEACHERS.

(1.) The Medical Certificate required of candidates for apprenticeship, and of pupil-teachers at the end of their third year, should always be written on a half sheet of foolscap paper.

(2.) Examinations of Pupil Teachers. - No slates will be allowed to the pupil-teachers in these examinations; and they are strongly recommended not to make rough drafts of anything at the examinations, except in drawing the outlines of maps.

Those pupil-teachers who are required by the Revised Code to learn Euclid, must be prepared to be examined in it both orally from the blackboard and on paper.

The specimens of needlework required of pupil-teachers in girls' schools should be of such a size that the inspector can conveniently carry them away with him. Each specimen should have a paper affixed to it, on which should be written the worker's name, age, and year of apprenticeship. The inspector may require the pupil-teachers to work in his presence.

(3.) Teaching. - Candidates, and pupil-teachers at the end

of their first and second years of apprenticeship will only be required to teach the elements of Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, and to manage their classes properly. In giving reading lessons they will be expected to be able to question the scholars on the matter and meaning of the text of such reading lessons. Pupil-teachers at the end of the third and subsequent years will be expected to give collective lessons on Geography, Grammar, or some other advanced subject, as well as on the more elementary subjects; and they should offer to the inspector, on his arrival at the school, notes of three such lessons, from which he may select one to be delivered in his presence.

No lesson should be designed to occupy more than 30 minutes in the delivery.

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3. Periodicals.
4. Public Record Office material.
5. Lives and works of inspectors.
6. General bibliography.

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Old Shildon British School	1863-70
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Boldon C.E. Boys	1863-70

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52485/1
Committee of Council on Education,
Council Office, Downing Street, London,

8th July 1861. S.W.

At the head of your reply } A. G.
write— }
Castle Eden Boys' Sch. of E. S.

- 1.—Every letter should be written clearly, and with a wide margin, on good paper of FOOLSCAP SIZE.—The margin should be on the left hand of the first and third pages, and on the right hand of the second and fourth pages, in each sheet.
- 2.—Applications for different objects, or relating to different Schools, are to be made in separate letters, and all official letters are to be addressed to "The Secretary."

Res. Sir,

Their Lordships have had under consideration the Report of H. M. Inspector on the above named School, of which the following is a summary:—

"The standard of knowledge and intelligence is not high, but it has certainly improved since I was here. The present Master is the best I have seen here."

I am directed to inform you that as the school is still under a Master

To
The Rev. G. B. Birch,
Castle Eden,
Ferry Hill,
Durham.

who

524
811

who is neither certificated
nor Registered, My Lords
are unable to allow any
Capitation Grant on account
of the Scholars attending it
during the past year (vide
Article 181). -

Please the honour to be,
Rev. Sir,
Your obedient servant
J. J. J.

16 June 1862.

5810

At the head
of your reply,
write—

Castle Eden Boys' Sch.

A. G. R.

- 1.—Every letter should be written clearly, and with a wide margin, on good paper of foolscap size.—The margin should be on the left hand of the first and third pages, and on the right hand of the second and fourth pages, in each sheet.
- 2.—Applications for different objects, or relating to different Schools, are to be made in separate letters, and all official letters are to be addressed to "The Secretary."

Rev Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that the Committee of Council has had under consideration the Report of Her Majesty's Inspector upon this School, and that Post Office Orders, to provide for the Payments allowed, will be transmitted to you in the course of a few days, with directions how to distribute them.

It is of the utmost importance that the Managers and Teachers of this School should thoroughly learn the terms upon which hereafter annual grants will be paid, and make their own arrangements accordingly.

When the Post Office Orders arrive, the following remarks should be communicated verbatim, to the several persons whom they concern. Their Lordships' decisions upon the Grants of next year, will proceed upon the assumption that this communication has been made. You are requested, unless there are special circumstances to explain, not to write any letter in reply to this present communication between the receipt of it and the arrival of the Post Office Orders. The Orders will be advised in the name of R. R. W. Lingey.

I have the honor to be,

Rev. Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

A. J. Cory

Rev. C. R. Bird,
Castle Eden,
Ferry Hill.

NOTE.—The subject (if any) specified after each Candidate's or Pupil Teacher's name denotes that the result of the examination therein has been *unsatisfactory*, and that improvement will be looked for on the next occasion. The marks "o" or "f" denote respectively—(o) that no exercise has been performed, and (f) that there has been a failure, in the subjects against which they severally stand. If either of these marks occurs in two successive years, the Apprentice may forfeit his stipend, or may be removed altogether from the Official Register. The word "numbers," or "failure," after the Name of a Candidate for admission, denotes, that the average attendance of Scholars at the School is not sufficient to justify an Apprenticeship at the public expense, or that the Candidate failed in the examination.

The following is a Summary of the Inspector's Report upon the School:—

"The condition of this little school is creditable both as to order and attainments; the attendance regular, and the teaching very fair. The Master must be careful not to allow the junior classes to mumble over their Reading Lesson, but must use all his energies to overcome their shyness, and make them speak out."

Al.

NOTE.—The subject (if any) specified after each Candidate's or Pupil Teacher's name denotes that the result of the examination therein has been *unsatisfactory*, and that improvement will be looked for on the next occasion. The marks "°" or "*" denote respectively—(°) that no exercise has been performed, and (*) that there has been a failure, in the subjects against which they severally stand. If either of these marks occurs in two successive years, the Apprentice may forfeit his stipend, or may be removed altogether from the Official Register. The word "numbers," or "failure," after the Name of a Candidate for admission, denotes, that the average attendance of Scholars at the School is not sufficient to justify an Apprenticeship at the public expense; or, that the Candidate failed in the examination.

22 July 1865.

At the head
of your reply,
write—

Castle Eden Boys' Sch
A. G. R. 5438

- 1.—Every letter should be written clearly, and with a wide margin on good paper of FOOLSCAP SIZE. --The margin should be on the left hand of the first and third pages, and on the right hand of the second and fourth pages, in each sheet.
- 2.—Applications for different objects, or relating to different Schools, are to be made in separate letters; and all official letters are to be addressed to "The Secretary."

Rev. Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Committee of Council has had under consideration the Report of Her Majesty's Inspector upon this School, and that payment of the grant allowed, according to the following Schedule (*over*), will be made to you by a Post Office Order in the course of a few days.

You are requested, unless there are special circumstances to explain, not to write any letter in reply to this present communication between the receipt of it and the arrival of the payment. The Post Office Order will be advised in the name of R. R. W. Lingen.

To the Rev. C. R. Bird,
Castle Eden,
Ferry Hill,
Durham.

I have the honour to be,

Rev. Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

R. R. W. Lingen

English Code, Articles—
61. The Inspector will not write any report on the good or bad state of the school in the log-book at the time of his visit, but will enter therein with his own hand the full name and standing (*certificated teacher of the — class, or pupil-teacher of the — year, or assistant-teacher*) of each member of the school establishment. The Inspector will not enter the names of pupil-teachers respecting whose admission the Committee of Council has not yet pronounced a decision.

62. The summary of the Inspector's report (and the remarks accompanying it), when communicated by the Committee of Council to the managers, must be copied into the log-book by the secretary of the latter, who must also enter the names and description of all teachers to be added to, or withdrawn from, those entered by the Inspector, according to the decision of the Committee of Council upon the Inspector's report. The secretary of the managers must sign this entry. This form should be preserved in the Portfolio, Article 55 J.

63. The Inspector, before making his entry of the school establishment in the following year, will refer to his own entry made in the preceding year, and also to the entry which is required to be made by the secretary of the school pursuant to Article 62, and he will require to see entries in the log-book accounting for any subsequent change of the school establishment.

SUMMARY* OF THE INSPECTOR'S REPORT ON THE SCHOOL, AND REMARKS (IF ANY) TO BE MADE.

"This School has been very carefully worked since I saw it last, and the results of the Examination are very creditable. The Boys are in very fair order, but I should like to see more activity in their movements and general tone."

R. R. W. Lingen

NOTE.—The subject (if any) specified after each Candidate's or Pupil Teacher's name denotes that the result of the examination therein has been *unsatisfactory*, and that improvement will be looked for on the next occasion. The marks ° or * denote respectively—(°) that no exercise has been performed, and (*) that there has been a failure, in the subjects against which they severally stand. The word "failure," after the Name of a Candidate for admission, denotes that the Candidate failed in the examination.

M.

Schedule of Grants.

Year ended 31st May 1865, (last day of month).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)				(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Department	Average attendance	For payment after deduction under Art. 4.	Presented for examination	Passes on Examination				For payment after deduction under Art. 4	On attendance only			
				R.	W.	A.	Total passes		Infants under 6	For payment after deduction under Art. 4	Half Time Art. 47 (b)	
Boys, or mixed under Master	36	34	28	27	27	27	81	81				
Girls, or mixed under Mistress												
Infants												
		At 4s.						At 2s. 8d.		At 6s. 6d.		At 8s.
Total Day School												
Evening School												
		At 2s. 6d.						At 1s. 8d.				
Total Evening School												
Gross Total												

NOTE.--In the columns numbered (5) and (6), a child passing in one subject is taken as the unit of calculation. Thus, a child passing in the three subjects gives the School the same grant as three children passing in one subject only, viz., three times 2s. 8d., or 8s., and accordingly counts for three in the Total column. To judge of the success of the School, the number in column (3) may be compared with the several numbers under Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic; or three times the number in column (3) may be compared with the sum of the numbers under Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic.

NAME	DATE OF APPT.	GRADE	ANGLICAN BRITISH OR CATHOLIC	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SCHOOL	UNIVERSITY	DEGREE	NO. OF YEARS BETWEEN DEGREE + APPT	JOB IMMEDIATELY BEFORE APPOINTMENT	AGE ON APPT.	PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE OF EDUCATION	NO. OF YEARS SERVICE	AGE ON RETIRING	JOB IMMEDIATELY AFTER RETIRING	SUBSEQUENT JOBS
J. ALLEN	1839	HMI	A	CLERGYMAN	WESTMINSTER	TRINITY COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 2nd	7	EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO DIOCESE OF CHICHESTER	29	SCHOOLTEACHER	8	37	ARCHDEACON OF SALOP.	MASTER OF ST. JOHN'S HOSPITAL LICHFIELD
H.S. TREMENEERE	1839	HMI	B	ARMIGER	WINCHESTER	NEW COLL, OXFORD	B.A.	12	BARRISTER	35	MEMBER, CENTRAL SOCIETY FOR EDUCATION	3	38	H.M. INSPECTOR OF MINES	
F.C. COOK	1844	HMI	A			ST. JOHN'S COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	16	INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS FOR LONDON DIOCESAN BOARD	34	DIOCESAN INSPECTOR	20	54	CANON OF EXETER	
H. MOSELEY	1844	HMI	A	SCHOOLMASTER	NEWCASTLE, ABBEVILLE, PORTSMOUTH	ST. JOHN'S COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	18	PROFESSOR AT KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON	43	HELPED AT BATTERSEA COLL.	10	53	VICAR OF OLVESTON	
F. WATKINS	1844	HMI	A	CLERGYMAN	SHREWSBURY WESTMINSTER	CHRIST'S AND EMMANUEL COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 2nd	14	FELLOW OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE	36	SCHOOLMASTER AT HAILEYBURY	29	65	RECTOR OF LONG MARSTON	ARCHDEACON OF YORK
H.W. BELLAIRS	1844	HMI	A	CLERGYMAN	SHREWSBURY	CHRIST CHURCH NEW INN HALL OXFORD	B.A.	9	PERPETUAL CURATE OF ST. THOMAS', STOCKPORT	32	KEPT A LARGE SCHOOL AT STOCKPORT	28	60	VICAR OF NUNEATON	CANON OF WORCESTER
J. FLETCHER	1844	HMI	B						BARRISTER + SECRETARY TO HANDLOOM WEAVERS COMMISSION	31	MEMBER, CENTRAL SOCIETY FOR EDUCATION	8	38	DIED	
E.C. TUFNELL	1844	Poor LAW INSP.		M.P.	ETON	BALLIOL COLL, OXFORD	B.A. 1st	16	ASSISTANT POOR LAW COMMISSIONER	38	FOUNDER OF BATTERSEA COLL.				
A. THURTELL	1847	HMI	A	SURVEYOR		TRINITY AND CAIUS COLL. CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	18	FELLOW AND TUTOR OF CAIUS' COLLEGE	42	CONNECTED WITH KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH'S SCHOOL AT NORWOOD	1	43	RECTOR OF OXBURGH	RECTOR OF CALDECOT
E.D. TINLING	1847	HMI	A	ARMIGER		CHRIST CHURCH CO., OXFORD	B.A.	10	RECTOR OF WEST WORLINGTON, DEVON	32		40	72	CANON OF GLOUCESTER	
M. MITCHELL	1847	HMI	A	ARMIGER		UNIV. COLL OXFORD	B.A.	15	CURATE OF BATTERSEA	37	CONNECTED WITH BATTERSEA COLL.	29	66	DIED	
J.J. BLANDFORD	1847	HMI	A	CLERGYMAN	RUGBY	CHRIST'S COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	8	CURATE OF CALNE, WILTS	31		46	77	RETIRED	
J.D. MORELL	1848	HMI	B	CONGREGATIONALIST MINISTER		GLASGOW AND BONN UNIVS.	M.A.	7	PRIVATE TUTOR AT UNIV. COLL, LONDON	32	FATHER KEPT A SMALL SCHOOL	28	60	AUTHOR	
W.H. BROOKFIELD	1848	HMI	A	SOLICITOR	LEEDS G.S. AND RUGBY	TRINITY COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	15	CURATE OF ST. LUKE'S SOMO	39		18	57	RECTOR OF SOMERBY	
W.J. KENNEDY	1848	HMI	A	CLERGYMAN	BIRMINGHAM	ST. JOHN'S COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	11	SECRETARY TO NATIONAL SOCIETY	34	SECRETARY TO NATIONAL SOCIETY	30	64	VICAR OF BARNWOOD	
H.L. JONES	1848	HMI	A		EALING	ST. JOHN'S AND MAGDALENE COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	20	EDITOR OF ARCHEOLOGICAL MAGAZINE	42	FOUNDED A SCHOOL IN MANCHESTER	15	57	REMAINED EDITOR OF ARCHEOLOGICAL MAGAZINE	
T.W. MARSHALL	1848	HMI	C	GOVT. AGENT FOR NEW SOUTH WALES		TRINITY COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	8		30		12	42		
J.P. NORRIS	1849	HMI	A	PHYSICIAN	RUGBY	TRINITY COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	3	CURATE OF TRUMPINGTON	26	DID SOME WORK IN TRUMPINGTON PARISH SCHOOL	15	41	CURATE IN SOLE CHARGE OF LEWKNOR, OXON.	DEAN OF CHICHESTER
J.F. RUDDOCK	1847	Poor LAW INSP.										15			
H.G. BOWYER	1847	Poor LAW INSP.		M.P.						34		33	67		
T.B. BROWNE	1847	Poor LAW INSP.		ARMIGER	HARROW	BRASENOSE COLL, OXFORD				41		27	68		
J. SYMONS	1848	Poor LAW INSP.		CLERGYMAN		TRINITY HALL + CORPUS CHRISTI, CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 2nd	16	BARRISTER AND INQUIRY COMMISSIONER	39	SERVED ON WELSH EDUCATION INQUIRY	12	51	DIED	
D.J. STEWART	1850	HMI	A			TRINITY COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 2nd	11		36		41	77	HON. CANON OF ELY CATHEDRAL	
G.R. MONCREIFF	1850	ASST.	A	JUDGE		BALLIOL COLL OXFORD	B.A. 1st	12	RECTOR OF TATTENHALL, CHES.	39		34	73	RETIRED	
W.P. WARBURTON	1850	ASST	A	ARMIGER	RUGBY	BALLIOL COLL OXFORD	B.A. 1st	1	FELLOW OF ALL SOULS	27		35	62	CANON OF WINCHESTER	
M. ARNOLD	1851	HMI	B	HEADMASTER	WINCHESTER AND RUGBY	BALLIOL COLL OXFORD	B.A. 2nd	7	SECRETARY TO LORD LANSDOWNE	28	MASTER AT RUGBY	32	61	RETIRED	
J. BOWSTEAD	1852	HMI	B	GENTLEMAN		PEMBROKE COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	19	BARRISTER	40	EXAMINER IN EDUCATION DEPT.	24	64	DIED	
W. BIRLEY	1852	ASST	A	ARMIGER		TRINITY COLL OXFORD	B.A.	17	INCUMBENT OF CHORLTON-CUM-HARDY	39		13	52	DIED	

NAME	DATE OF APPT	GRADE	ANGLICAN BRITISH OR CATHOLIC	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SCHOOL	UNIVERSITY	DEGREE	NO. OF YEARS BETWEEN DEGREE + APPT	JOB IMMEDIATELY BEFORE APPOINTMENT	AGE ON APPT	PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE OF EDUCATION	NO. OF YEARS' SERVICE	AGE ON RETIRING	JOB IMMEDIATELY AFTER RETIRING	SUBSEQUENT JOBS
J.G.C. FUSSELL	1852	ASST	A		SHREWSBURY	TRINITY COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 2nd	7		39		31	70	DIED	
J.W.D. HERNAMANN	1852	ASST	A	BOOKSELLER	KEPIER G.S. HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING	ST. JOHN'S COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	3	CURATE OF ST. MARY'S SCARBOROUGH	26	MASTER AT REPTON	42	68	RETIRED	
R.L. KOE	1852	ASST	A	BARRISTER	RUGBY	CHRIST CHURCH COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	9	PERPETUAL CURATE OF ST. MARGARET'S, YELDING	33		39	72	RETIRED	
R.F. MEREDITH	1852	ASST	A			SEE APPENDIX I	B.A.	12	VICAR OF HALSTOCK	36		16	52	RECTOR OF HALSTOCK	
S.N. STOKES	1853	HMI	C	SOLICITOR	ST. PAUL'S	TRINITY COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	9	SECRETARY TO CATHOLIC POOR SCHOOL COMMITTEE	32	SEC. TO CATHOLIC POOR SCH. COMM ^{EE}	38	70	DIED	
H.R.P. SANDFORD	1853	ASST	A		RUGBY	BALLIOL COLL OXFORD	B.A. 2nd	3	CURATE OF DUNCHURCH	26		30	56	DIED	
E.P. ARNOLD	1854	ASST	A	HEADMASTER	RUGBY	BALLIOL COLL OXFORD	B.A. 3rd	6	FELLOW OF ALL SOULS	27		23	50		
W. CAMPBELL	1854	ASST	A		UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW SCHOOL.	CHRIST'S COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	6		30		32	62	DIED	
J. LAURIE	1854	HMI	B	CLERGYMAN						22		9	31		
H.B. BARRY	1855	ASST	A	CLERGYMAN		QUEEN'S COLL OXFORD	B.A. 2nd	13	FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLL.	34		41	75	RETIRED	
W.W. HOWARD	1855	ASST	A		KING WILLIAM'S COLL, I.O.M.	SIDNEY SUSSEX CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	11	ASSISTANT MASTER AT REPTON	33	MASTER AT REPTON	36	69	RETIRED	
A.R. GRANT	1855	ASST	A			TRINITY COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st.	10	PERPETUAL CURATE OF ST. MICHAEL'S, CAMBRIDGE, & FELLOW OF TRINITY COLL.	35		6	41	RECTOR OF HITCHAM	
F. TEMPLE	1855	HMI	A	LT. GOVERNOR OF SIERRA LEONE	BLUNDELLS	BALLIOL COLL OXFORD	B.A. 1st.	13	PRINCIPAL OF KNELLER HALL.	34	WORKED IN EDUC. OFFICE AND AT KNELLER HALL	3	37	HEADMASTER OF RURBY	BISHOP OF EXETER, & LONDON; A/BP OF CANTERBURY
R.E. HUGHES	1856	ASST	A	CLERGYMAN	SHREWSBURY	MAGDALENE COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	11	FELLOW OF MAGDALENE COLL.	34		7	41	DIED	
T.W. SHARPE	1857	ASST	A	CLERGYMAN	ROSSALL	TRINITY COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	5	FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLL.	28		40	68	PRINCIPAL OF QUEEN'S COLL, LONDON	
C.H. ALDERSON	1857	HMI	B	BARON OF THE EXCHEQUER	ETON	TRINITY COLL OXFORD	B.A. 2nd	3	FELLOW OF ALL SOULS	25		28	53	2nd CHARITY COMMISSIONER	CHIEF CHARITY COMMISSIONER
J.R. MORELL	1857	HMI	C									7			
B.J. BINNS	1857	ASST	A			TRINITY COLL, DUBLIN	B.A. 1st	15	INCUMBENT OF ST. ANN'S, LLANDESAI		PRINCIPAL OF CARNARVON TRAINING COLL.	24		RETIRED	
W. SCOLTOCK	1857	HMI	B			CHRIST CHURCH COLL, OXFORD	B.A. 2nd	11		34					
S.J.G. FRASER	1857	ASST	A	ARMIGER		NEW INN HALL OXFORD	B.A. 1st	9		32		34	66	RETIRED	
H.M. CAPEL	1857	ASST	A	CLERGYMAN	(CHELTENHAM) MARLBOROUGH	ST. JOHN'S COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 2nd	3	CURATE OF WAREHAM	25		39	64	LICENCED PREACHER AT CANTERBURY CATH.	
J.D. GLENNIE	1857	ASST	A		KING'S COLL., CANTERBURY	CHRIST'S CHURCH COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	9	SECRETARY & INSPECTOR OF LONDON DIOCESAN BOARD OF EDUCATION	32	DIOCESAN INSPECTOR	3	35	CURATE OF BLORE RAY, STAFFS.	VICAR OF CROXTON
R. TEMPLE	1857	ASST	A	BARRISTER	RUGBY	TRINITY COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	5	CURATE OF SALTNEY-CUM-LACHE, CHES.	28	STARTED HALF-TIME EDUCATION SCHEME IN PARISH	35	63	RECTOR OF EWHURST	
B.M. COWIE	1858	HMI	A	MERCHANT & INSURANCE AGENT	PASSY, NR. PARIS	ST. JOHN'S COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	19	VICAR OF ST. LAWRENCE-JEWRY	42	SECRETARY TO TRAINING COLL MANAGEMENT COMM ^{EE}	14	56	DEAN OF MANCHESTER	DEAN OF EXETER
F. MEYRICK	1859	ASST	A	CLERGYMAN	ETON	TRINITY COLL OXFORD	B.A. 2nd	12	FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE	32		10	42	RECTOR OF ERPINGHAM	PRINCIPAL OF CODRINGTON COLL, BARBADOS
E.H. BRODIE	1859	HMI	B	GENTLEMAN		TRINITY COLL OXFORD	B.A. 3rd	4		27					
N. GREAM	1859	ASST	A	CLERGYMAN		MAGDALENE COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	16	CURATE OF TETBURY	41		19	60	DIED	
C.J. ROBINSON	1859	ASST	A	CLERGYMAN	RUGBY	QUEEN'S COLL OXFORD	B.A.	5	CURATE OF BISHOP'S HATFIELD		DIOCESAN INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS	22		RETIRED	

NAME	DATE OF APPT.	GRADE	ANGLICAN BRITISH OR CATHOLIC	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SCHOOL	UNIVERSITY	DEGREE	NO. OF YEARS BETWEEN DEGREE & APPT.	JOB IMMEDIATELY BEFORE APPOINTMENT	AGE ON APPT.	PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE OF EDUCATION	NO. OF YEARS' SERVICE	AGE OF RETIRING	JOB IMMEDIATELY AFTER RETIRING	SUBSEQUENT JOBS
J. WOOLLEY	1859	HMI	A	PRINCIPAL OF SYDNEY UNIV.	BROMPTON G.S. & ST. PAUL'S	ST. JOHN'S COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	19	ADMIRALTY INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS	42	ADMIRALTY INSPECTOR	5	47	DIRECTOR OF SCHOOL OF NAVAL ARCHITECTURE	SECRETARY TO CHARITY COMMISSION
D.R. FEARON	1860	ASST	A	CLERGYMAN		BALLIOL COLL OXFORD	B.A.	1		24		10	34	BARRISTER	
J.W. NUTT	1860	ASST	A	CLERGYMAN		CORPUS CHRISTI COLL, OXFORD	B.A. 1st	4	FELLOW OF ALL SOULS	25		7	32	CHAPLAIN OF ALL SOULS & UNDER-LIBRARIAN, BODLEIAN	RECTOR OF HARRIETSHAM
H.J. LYNCH	1861	HMI	C												
A.T. BONNER	1861	ASST	A	GENTLEMAN		LINCOLN COLL OXFORD	B.A. 3rd	10	CURATE OF ST. MARY'S STAFFORD	32					
J.R. BYRNE	1862	ASST	A	ARMIGER		UNIV. COLL. OXFORD	B.A. 2nd	12	CURATE OF ST. JAMES' WESTMINSTER	34		30	64	RETIRED	
J.G. FITCH	1863	HMI	B			LONDON (EXTERNAL)	B.A. 1st	13	PRINCIPAL OF BOROUGH ROAD COLLEGE	39	COLLEGE PRINCIPAL	31	70	RETIRED	
H. WADDINGTON	1863	HMI	B	ARMIGER	RUGBY	UNIV. COLL. OXFORD	B.A. 1st	6	EXAMINER IN EDUCATION DEPT.	28	EXAMINER				
C. SEWELL	1863	HMI	A	CLERGYMAN		BRASENORSE COLL, OXFORD	B.A. 3rd	7	CURATE OF ST. MICHAEL'S, PADDINGTON	29		33	62	DIED	
H.A. PICKARD	1864	HMI	A	ARMIGER	RUGBY	CHRIST'S COLL OXFORD	B.A. 2nd	9	COLLEGE TUTOR & CURATE	32		33	65	RETIRED	
P. le PAGE RENOUF	1864	HMI	C		QUEEN ELIZABETH COLL, GUERNSEY	PEMBROKE COLL, OXFORD	-	-	PROFESSOR AT CATHOLIC UNIV. IN IRELAND	42		21	63	KEEPER OF ANTIQUITIES AT BRITISH MUSEUM	PRESIDENT OF SOC. OF BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY
S.F. ROUTLEDGE	1864	HMI	A	HEADMASTER	ETON	KING'S COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	2	FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE & CURATE OF RICHMOND	26		37	63	RETIRED	
C.W. KING	1864	HMI	A	CLERGYMAN		TRINITY COLL OXFORD	B.A. 2nd	11	PRINCIPAL OF FEMALE TRAINING COLL, DURHAM	32	COLLEGE PRINCIPAL	8	40	DIED	
G. FRENCH	1864	HMI	A			QUEEN'S COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	9	MASTER AT ST. SAVIDOUR'S GS, SOUTHWARK & CURATE	32	SCHOOL MASTER	24	56		
N.F. TREGARTHEN	1864	HMI	A			KING'S COLL LONDON	THEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATESHIP 1st class	9	CURATE OF OSINGTON, DORSET			19		DIED	
H.E. OAKELEY	1864	HMI	B		RUGBY	JESUS COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	5	BARRISTER	31		35	66		
C.H. PAREZ	1864	HMI	A		CHRIST'S HOSPITAL	PEMBROKE COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	7	MASTER AT SHERBORNE	29	MASTER AT SHERBORNE	35	64	VICAR OF MENTMORE	
A.V. HADLEY	1865	HMI	A	MERCHANT		ST. JOHN'S COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	9	FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE	31		2	33	DIED	
D. THOMAS	1865	HMI	A						CLERGYMAN			2		DIED	
C.F. JOHNSTONE	1866	HMI	A	ARMIGER		BALLIOL COLL OXFORD	B.A. 3rd	4	CURATE OF FRESHWATER, I.O.W.	25		27	52	RETIRED	
T.R. BLAKISTON	1866	HMI	A	CLERGYMAN	KING EDWARD'S BIRMINGHAM	TRINITY COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 2nd	13	HEADMASTER OF GIGGLESWICK SCHOOL	37	TEACHER AND HEADMASTER	28	65	RETIRED	
H.J. ALINGTON	1866	HMI	A	CLERGYMAN		MAGDALEN COLL, OXFORD	B.A. 2nd	7		29		38	67	RECTOR OF CANDLESBY, Lincs	
C.D. du PORT	1866	HMI	A	ASST. TREASURER OF GUERNSEY	QUEEN ELIZABETH COLLEGE, GUERNSEY	CATUS COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 2nd	7	INCUMBENT OF HOLY TRINITY, SINGAPORE	30	SCHOOL MANAGER	35	65	RECTOR OF STAPLEGROVE, SOM.	
E.T. WATTS	1867	HMI	A			TRINITY COLL, DUBLIN	B.A.	13	PERPETUAL CURATE OF DYSETH, FLINTS.		SCHOOL MANAGER	38			
E.W. CRABTREE	1867	HMI	A	PLASTERER		ST. CATH'S COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 1st	9	FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ST. CATHERINE'S COLLEGE	32	MASTER AT SHREWSBURY	7	39	DIED	
G. STEELE	1867	HMI	A	CLERGYMAN		WORCESTER COLL, OXFORD	B.A.	10	CURATE OF WOODSTOCK	36		27	63	RETIRED	
S. PRYCE	1867	HMI	A			QUEEN'S COLL CAMBRIDGE	B.A. 2nd	9	RECTOR OF YSPYTTY, DENBIGHS.	34	GRAMMAR SCHOOL MASTER	27	61	VICAR OF LLANFIHANGEL ST. ASAPH	DEAN OF ST. ASAPH
F. WILKINSON	1867	HMI	A			CORPUS CHRISTI COLL, CAMBRIDGE	B.A.	8	CURATE IN DORSET	30		34	64	VICAR OF ST. HELEN'S, I.O.W.	RECTOR OF ALDHAM

