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A Thesis for Part II of the Degree
of Master of Education
at the University of Durham.
(presented October, 1959)

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"THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL BOARD"

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By C.B. Dolton, B.Sc.

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Supervisor of Studies:-

Professor E.J.R. Eaglesham, M.A., B.Ed., LL.B.

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REFERENCES

References to archives of the Ministry of Education are shown as M.E....followed by the particulars of the file.

References to Records which have been transferred to the Public Record Office are shown as P.R.O..., followed by the class and piece number of the document in question.

References to archives of the Manchester Education Authority are shown by the initial letters of the titles of the volumes concerned (see Appendix XVIII, infra);

thus, e.g.:-

MC/2	Miscellaneous Committees, Vol. 2
MBS/3	Managers of Board Schools, Vol. 3
SB/3	(Proceedings of) School Board, Vol. 3
GP/1	(" ") General Purposes Committee, Vol.1.
FI/4	Finance Committee, Vol. 4
SM/15	(Proceedings of) School Managers, Vol. 15

etc.

All other references are shown in full, and, in order to avoid breaking up the narrative as much as possible, these references have been kept to a minimum in the text, while a brief list of the main works consulted is given at the end of each chapter. In addition a full list of all of these major references, together with a considerable number of further accounts, many of which are contemporary with the period of the School Board, or are standard works of reference, are given under various headings in the Bibliography, commencing on page xlvi, after the Appendices.

THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL BOARD.

I. - A Survey of Conditions and Educational Movements
in the City to 1870.

School Boards were called into existence in England and Wales by the operation of the Elementary Education Act, 1870. No history of a School Board such as Manchester's can be adequately understood, however, without some reference to the more important educational movements which went on prior to the passing of the Act. Moreover the true state of affairs can only be appreciated with some knowledge of the exceptional economic and social conditions prevailing in Manchester as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Initially, therefore, it is necessary to outline some of the important educational movements which flourished in Manchester, in the century before the passing of the Elementary Education Act, and also to describe the evil social conditions in which these movements first saw the light of day.

The first schools administered by the School Boards were those handed over by the earlier pioneers in the field of public elementary education, in particular the Day Schools which arose out of the original Sunday School movement fostered by the British and Foreign Schools Society and the National Society of the Church of England. Sunday schools for general instruction were to be found as early as the 17th



century, in fact there is a record of one in the Netherlands by the year 1608. Sporadic attempts at the formation of Sunday classes for children were also made in England soon after this, for example by Richard Baxter in 1634. But the idea of the Sunday school for children as a direct adjunct of each congregation was first put into practice by Robert Raikes at Gloucester in 1780, when he found a sympathetic helper in Thomas Stock. The idea soon spread and the first Sunday school in London was opened by the Rev. Rowland Hill in 1784. A Sunday-school Society followed, for the spread of the system throughout Britain, so that it is said that by 1789 there were already 300,000 scholars attending them. This was the year in which the movement spread to Wales, where the first such school was opened by Thomas Charles at Bala. In Scotland there had been a few attempts at Sunday-school work somewhat earlier, but the movement was only recognised publicly in 1786, and was not generally adopted until 1795, with the name of Dr. Chalmers especially prominent in this case. In Ireland something was being done along similar lines by 1770, but the Raikes system was not taken up until 1785, and the Irish Sunday-school Society was not established until 1809, some six years after its English counterpart was founded.

In Manchester the movement found an early start. By 1782 a certain Mr. Fildes opened a Sunday-school in a cellar in the city. Fildes had a grocer's shop in Travis Street and next to his shop was a cellar inhabited by a poor shoemaker named John Lancaster. Fildes joined Lancaster in starting a Sunday-school in this cellar and others soon lent their support. As a result, a second school was shortly afterwards established by them in a garret, while a third was opened in the first room in Manchester built expressly for such a purpose. This was a room erected at Fildes's own expense behind his dwelling-house in the neighbourhood of London Road. The movement quickly spread so that three years later rules were drawn up for the government of the Sunday-schools in Manchester. Lancaster and most of his supporters were Methodists, but it was agreed that the schools were to be undenominational, or rather "comprehensive," in that any religious instruction was to be given by various ministers of religion, who could instruct different groups of children according to the persuasion of their parents. This arrangement does not seem to have worked very well though since, in 1800, the General Committee decided upon a separation scheme, under which a certain number of places were henceforth to be held as Church of England Schools, to be governed by their clergy and their friends, while

the Dissenters were to have the same rights reserved to them in other places.

Before these institutions had extended their spheres of activity so as to include Day School work a rival scheme stepped in. Some time in the first decade of the nineteenth century a certain Joseph Lancaster, son of a Chelsea pensioner, and no relation to John Lancaster, mentioned above, began to gather poor children together in London, to give them free rudimentary education. In a short time he had over a thousand children receiving instruction under the monitorial, or mutual system, whereby the older scholars were employed in teaching the younger ones. This work grew into the Royal Lancasterian Institution, which afterwards changed its name to the British and Foreign School Society. As early as 1809 this Society had established a school in Manchester, the Royal Lancasterian School, in Marshall Street, Oldham Road, which soon gathered some thousand pupils. In 1880 this school was transferred to the Manchester School Board. Meanwhile Joseph Lancaster's rival, Andrew Bell, had founded the National Society of the Church of England, which organised its schools on very similar lines, but with a different religious bias. This latter Society founded a school in Salford in 1812 and another the following year in Manchester, at

Granby Row, near the present London Road station. This school was also subsequently transferred to the School Board. It is these two Societies which have given us the familiar names "British" and "National" Schools, respectively.

The public administration of elementary education in this country can be said to date from the first state grants in aid of school building, made by the first reformed parliament in 1833. These grants were distributed through the British and the National Societies in the first instance, but six years later the grant, though still only £30,000, was made the subject of an Order in Council, seemingly ^{on} ~~against~~ the advice of the government of the day, though against the wishes of both Houses of Parliament. Under this Order the Crown appointed a Special Committee of the Privy Council in Education, thereby constituting the first central authority for education in this country. The first Secretary of this new Committee was a former Manchester doctor, Dr. James Philips Kay, better known by his later name of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth.

Dr. Kay had been a tireless worker for reform some years earlier in one of the poorest districts of Manchester. For nine years he had laboured in Ancoats amongst some of the very worst elements left destitute

by the terrible effects of the industrial revolution. His experiences led him to publish a tract entitled: "The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester" in 1832. His revelations concerning the appalling conditions of the workers in the city stand out as one of the milestones in the awakening of the public conscience against such sickening conditions, and it also served to focus attention on the special problem of Manchester and its environs, resulting from the cotton manufacture centred in those parts. He showed, in particular, how the depressed Irish immigrant, having already learnt the terrible lesson of existence at the barest of subsistence levels, when faced with famine in his native land, had unfortunately taught this fatal secret to his fellow workers in the cotton industry. As the mills steadily expanded the demand for cheap labour grew, and the lure was too strong for the depressed classes just across the sea. Dr. Kay's minute description of the horrors of Manchester's slums in the early part of the nineteenth century have a Dickensian character which is all the more arresting when it is realised that it is a precise account of the kind of life being lived by thousands of the cotton operatives in all parts of the city.

There was a particularly notorious district, known as "Little Ireland," which lay on a portion of low, swampy ground, liable to frequent inundation from the foul, black water of the river Medlock, at a point where its course was impeded by weirs. This unhealthy spot lay so low that the chimneys of its houses, some of them three stories high, were little above the level of the Oxford Road, which passed along a high bank at this point. About two hundred of these habitations were crowded together in an extremely narrow space and inhabited by the lowest Irish who had flocked into the city in response to the calls of the cotton mills. The drains were practically all destroyed, or out of repair, so that these narrow abodes were in consequence always damp, and on the slightest rise of the river, which was a frequent occurrence, were flooded to a depth of several inches. It is hardly surprising that, under these scandalous conditions, the district was the haunt of hordes of thieves and desperadoes who defied the law, and always inhabited by a class of person resembling savages in their appetites and habits. On all sides were some of the largest factories of the town, whose chimneys continued to vomit forth dense clouds of smoke, which hung heavily over this unhealthy area. A little further along, near the

centre of the city, was a mass of buildings inhabited by prostitutes and thieves, intersected by narrow and loathsome streets, whose close courts were defiled with every imaginable kind of refuse. In Parliament Street there was only one privy for its 380 inhabitants, and that was placed in a narrow passage where it must have been a permanent source of infection and disease to the neighbouring houses. Some forty years later there had been but little improvement in these terrible conditions, for the first Clerk to the Manchester School Board, Frank Orde Ruspini, in his reports^{in the series} which formed the basis of the statutory returns required by the Education Department on the educational deficiencies of each district, found it necessary to comment time and again on the most urgent need of drainage reform throughout the city.

Under the kind of life briefly sketched above it was natural to find that infantile mortality was extremely heavy, although some measure of reform was carried out over the years by the local authority, following the publication of Kay-Shuttleworth's pamphlet in 1832. Three years later he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the new Poor Law, and it was at this time that an estimate of the existing child mortality was published in the medical journal, "The Lancet."

This suggested that, for the population of London, almost three-quarters of all children died before their fifth birthday, in the first half of the 18th century. The proportion had fallen to rather under one-third by 1830, in the London area, but this marked improvement was much less evident in south Lancashire, as Kay-Shuttleworth's own figures suggest. In the tract already mentioned he asserted that more than one-half of all the children of the poorer classes died before reaching their fifth birthdays, within the area comprising the city of Manchester, and he went on to declare that more than a half of all its inhabitants were so destitute, or so degraded, that they required the assistance of public charity in bringing their offspring into the world, as deduced from the number of cases attended by the officers of the Lying-in Charity.

Unfortunately the damage and the misery did not end with the broken lives of the first five years of these tragically afflicted children. It was soon discovered that young children could do much of the work in the cotton mills at least as deftly as their parents, and certainly much more cheaply. The result is well-known by now: the appalling sweated labour conditions of women and children in mills and factories which left such a blot upon the history of the nineteenth century in this country.

Nowhere was this state of affairs more shockingly evident than in the area of Manchester and south Lancashire. The infants, who had come from the first under the public charity, were often neglected by their parents. At an early age many girls were admitted into the factories, thus preventing them from acquiring any proper knowledge of domestic economy, even supposing that they might have had such opportunities of acquisition of this vital information from their mothers. The latter were, of course, in very many cases already working long hours in the mills and had neither the time nor the energy to maintain proper homes of even the humblest character. Sometimes one small girl had charge all day long of several infants collected from neighbouring houses, where the parents were out at work for hours that can scarcely be credited at the present time. Under these conditions, where infants were early abandoned to the immature charge of a disinterested youngster, and were left ill-fed, dirty, ill-clothed, and exposed to cold and neglect we can well understand the truth of Kay-Shuttleworth's assertion that more than half of them died before the end of their fifth year.

In 1839 Kay-Shuttleworth left the Poor Law Commission and became the first secretary to the new Education Department. With his background of social work in the

Manchester slums and urgent reform measures under the Poor Law we can infer that he would show very liberal tendencies in his new post. One of his earliest efforts was the establishment of the first training college for teachers at Battersea, in 1839-40, and he advocated from the outset "a system of National Education so extensive and liberal as to supply the wants of the whole labouring population." Later it appeared that he was prepared to go to still further lengths by providing scientific instruction concerning working men's lives, through the Mechanics' Institutes, together with the dissemination of correct political information and courses on social and domestic relations, and even general information and knowledge to provide sound, rational amusement.

Once the principle of Parliamentary grant for public education had been established it became necessary to institute a system of public inspection and control. The immediate call was for accurate returns of the state of educational deficiency in the various districts into which the country had been divided for administrative efficiency. In 1834 the returns to Parliament on the Educational Supply in certain districts in Manchester caused a bitter local controversy, and many thoughtful citizens were convinced that the returns were seriously in error. Accordingly a Committee of the Manchester Statistical Society was

immediately formed "to examine into the state of the Day, Sunday, Charity and Infant schools in the Borough of Manchester, and to report on the number of children contained in them, and the nature and efficacy of the instruction there received." The results of this investigation were so important that it was soon resolved to extend the work to Salford, Bolton, and a number of other towns in the north-west. Similar associations were subsequently formed in other parts as a direct result of the investigations and discoveries of the Manchester Society. Indeed, the Central Society for Education acclaimed the new Manchester returns as being truly scientific and of very much greater use than those put forward by Lord Kerry's original returns to the House. It is of interest to note that one of the co-opted members on to the original committee of ten men, appointed in April, 1834, was Dr. Kay, as he was still called at that time. Details of this important investigation by the Manchester Statistical Society may be found in Appendix I, infra. It is sufficient for our purposes, at this stage, to note that the investigations proved a very much greater state of educational destitution in the south Lancashire districts than had been suggested in the official Parliamentary returns, and they were the direct incentive to

the establishment of further societies which were to be devoted exclusively to educational reform.

One of these was the Lancashire Public School Association, founded by a group of enthusiastic reformers in 1847, meeting in the Mechanics' Institute in Cooper Street, Manchester. Several prominent members of the Anti-Corn Law League, such as Richard Cobden and Jacob Bright, younger brother of the more famous John Bright, were associated with this movement. Kay-Shuttleworth also engaged in Reform and Anti-Corn Law activities earlier in his career, but it is noteworthy that he did not lend his support to the Lancashire Public Schools Association, mainly on the grounds that he felt that they were too "secularist," in their views. The aim of the L.P.S.A. was to provide a sound elementary education for every boy and girl, and since this was manifestly very far from being secured in a great number of cases, they suggested that large local areas should be given statutory powers to tax themselves to provide sufficient non-sectarian schools for the purpose. It was this difference of opinion over the question of sectarianism in the public elementary schools that was to split the country into two violently opposed camps in the educational debates of the next half century.

Another disagreement of the L.P.S.A. with the

government of the day concerned the granting of financial aid from the central source in proportion to the voluntary contributions that were raised by the churches, or other organisations supporting the schools. It was pointed out by the Association that this meant that the poorer districts were in fact getting the least aid, although they needed the most, but the government's view was that their policy encouraged private contributions and hence directly reduced the cost of public education to the exchequer. The L.P.S.A. also felt concern over the possibility of the State having to educate the people, since it believed that the final result might well be that the common mind might become enslaved by the power and propaganda of the central authority. It was the Association's earnest desire to uplift the people to a new freedom and it felt, therefore, that this could be best achieved, and most zealously guarded, by the establishment of a system of strictly non-sectarian schools by the local authorities, freed from direct control by the Government. Under the existing system it appeared to the Association that, since parliamentary grant was only being dispensed through the churches, in general, it tended to exclude from instruction all those who were not directly connected with a religious denomination. Moreover such a

system militated unfairly against the members of churches or other organisations which were unable or unwilling to provide reasonably adequate facilities for the education of their children.

A second notable absentee from the ranks of the supporters of the L.P.S.A. was William Edward Forster, who sent a letter of regret for his enforced absence from the first Annual General Meeting of the Association in January, 1849. Although Forster was not a Lancashire man he had several important connections with both Yorkshire and Lancashire, amongst these were his chairmanship of the Manchester Ship Canal Committee and his election to Parliament as a member for Bradford from 1861 till his death in 1886. As a staunch Liberal (he was nominated for the leadership of the party in succession to Gladstone, but retired in favour of the Marquis of Hartington) it is probable that he could have given his support to many of the aims of the L.P.S.A., and he was in fact associated with it to some extent in its earliest days. But Forster probably found the increasingly secularist policies advocated by the new Association somewhat embarrassing and his "enforced absence" from the first annual general meeting may well have been contrived, so as to avoid further entanglements, until their aims and ideas were more firmly crystallised.

It was certainly wise of Forster not to allow himself to be too strongly associated with one side or the other in the sectarian controversies which were so soon to follow, since, in 1868, as Vice-President of Council he had the task of preparing the Elementary Education Act, which two years later, in modified form, reached the Statute Book, and with which his name is always associated.

In September, 1850, it was resolved to enlarge the scope of the Association's work still further and to rename it "The National Public School Association." The National Conference of this new body met in Manchester the following month and an important debate took place over the question of deleting the proposed word "Secular" from the new Association's title and the substitution of the word "Public" for it. Richard Cobden spoke very strongly on this occasion against the word "secular" as connoting "non-religious," and the point became a serious bone of contention. Forster moved an amendment to substitute "non-sectarian" in the place of "secular," but this was defeated, and it appears as if this incident was responsible for Forster's withdrawal from the committee of the Association. It was by now evident that the opposition to the proposed scheme of the N.P.S.A. was much more powerful and more

deeply religious in character than the enthusiastic educational reformers who initiated the movement probably realised.

The use of the word "Secular" in the title of the N.P.S.A. was principally defended by the Rev. William McKerrow, a prominent Presbyterian in Manchester, who explained that it was intended to include in the scheme of the Association "the extension of religion by setting the afternoon of one day a week apart in order that those ministers who felt interested in the religious instruction of the children might have an opportunity of teaching them, though, of course, they would not make the attendance of children compulsory." This was a complete return to the original position advocated by the earliest workers in the Sunday-school movement in Manchester nearly seventy years before. However both Cobden and Forster, as members of the Established Church, took exception to this idea and, from then on, tended to move away more and more from the work of the N.P.S.A., while McKerrow went on to become the leader of the secularist group on the first Manchester School Board some twenty years later.

The views of Kay-Shuttleworth in declining to attend this first National Conference of the N.P.S.A. are worth studying in a little more detail, since

they epitomise the sincere objections of many churchmen to the proposed establishment of non-sectarian schools (1) out of public funds. He said:

"I regard the L.P.S.A. as the representative of a great political party, which seeks to promote the education of the people for wise and just political ends. In this respect I sympathise with the labours of the Association, and I think it will be useful in bringing into strong relief not only the political objects which are dependent on the ~~system~~^{establishment} of a system of National Education, but also those principles of civil liberty which provide that every man shall have the opportunity of so training his child that he shall be fitted by his exertions to raise himself to the exercise of the political franchise with advantage to the State. But though I sympathise with these political objects, and think that the L.P.S.A. will do good service by bringing them prominently before the public, I cannot conscientiously concur with them in seeking to establish a system of daily schools separate from the superintendence of the great religious bodies of this country, and in which the religious influence shall not pervade the whole discipline and instruction. Moreover, I hope that, as the Association proceeds, this object will become subordinate to the great social and political rights involved in the establishment of a system of national education."

Kay-Shuttleworth's appeal fell on deaf ears however and the N.P.S.A. continued to be firm advocates of an unsectarian system of public education, so that a number of their former Church supporters began to drift away from them. A rival scheme was soon afoot and shortly after the national conference of the N.P.S.A. in 1850 a new local association was formed by its opponents, under the title of "The Manchester and Salford Committee on Education." With the earnest support of Kay-Shuttleworth this new association got as far as promoting a

1. Manchester Guardian, 6/11/1850.

local education Bill by the summer of 1851. Study of the rival proposals suggests that there was, in fact, no very wide difference of opinion between the two parties, since both were committed to the principle of free public education, and furthermore, where new schools were necessary, admission to them should be unfettered by religious belief or principle. Both agreed that the voluntary system had failed to provide adequate education for the poorer classes, but it now began to emerge clearly that the N.P.S.A. represented the strong non-Conformist element, which could not agree to the perpetuation and extension of a national system, whereby the Established Church held a position of supreme authority in educational matters. The N.P.S.A. was firmly opposed to the idea that everyone should be taxed to pay for the religious teaching of everybody else, a point which was most strongly made by Cobden in particular. Moreover the Manchester and Salford Education Bill only dealt with elementary day schools in a small urban area, while the N.P.S.A. was by now committed to a national system.

The controversy between these two associations was warmly debated for some time and most of the arguments which were subsequently brought forward in the great debates in Parliament, prior to the passing of the

first Elementary Education Act, in 1870, may be found in the reports of the proceedings of these two rival factions in Manchester nearly twenty years earlier. Eventually some sort of a compromise was hammered out between them, but it is regrettable that opinion in the country as a whole lagged behind. The interminable disputes only resulted in delaying the passage of the Elementary Education Act by a number of years, and it also led to the abandonment of the Manchester Bill, after many delays.

The American Civil War of 1861-65 had disastrous consequences for Lancashire. With the cessation of supplies of raw cotton the plight of the unhappy operatives in the mills became desperate in the extreme. A central committee of the Lancashire Cotton Famine Fund was set up, under the Vice-Chairmanship of Kay-Shuttleworth, and many of the names which had been prominent in the affairs of the N.P.S.A. and the Education Bill Committee re-appeared in support of this great charitable work of relief. Several of its leading figures afterwards served on the Manchester School Board and their outlook must have been largely coloured by their experiences while serving on this relief committee. So urgent was the position that it appeared impossible to carry on with the previous activities for educational

reform and the Education Bill Committee lapsed, while the N.P.S.A. was eventually wound up in 1862. However, within two years yet another movement for educational progress was started in Manchester. The "Manchester Education Aid Society" had for its object "the general education of the poor upon such principles as may unite members of all denominations in a common effort." This new Society endeavoured to achieve its aim by a two-fold attack. Firstly they were prepared to pay the fees of poor children who could not otherwise attend school; secondly they set out to establish and maintain free schools of their own where no others were available, but the vexed question of how the religious instruction in these latter schools was to be managed - if, indeed, any such instruction was contemplated - was never put to the test. The Society was so busy in paying school fees at the voluntary schools that it never found sufficient funds for the founding of a new school before its activities came to an end with the establishment of the School Boards in 1870.

The original founder of the Education Aid Society, Edward Brotherton, was a kindly, philanthropic man who had for long been convinced that sheer, unrelieved poverty was the principal cause of the deplorable condition of many of Manchester's children, and he was

certain that this was tending to get worse rather than better over the years. Like the earlier efforts of the Manchester Statistical Society thirty years before, careful investigations were carried out and detailed statistics were compiled. The most important discovery of the Society was to establish that voluntary effort alone could not provide sufficient and adequate schools for all the indigent children of a large, depressed urban area. In fact, despite the best efforts of the Society, they were only able to bring about two-fifths of the neglected children of Manchester and Salford into school which, they rightly contended, proclaimed "the inefficiency of even the best constituted voluntary associations to secure the primary instruction of the people." It was this proof that voluntaryism alone could not hope to succeed in providing sufficient educational facilities, of the right character, for the poorest classes, that was the special contribution of the Manchester Education Aid Society to the great movement towards educational reform at that time.

In 1867 fresh attempts were made in Parliament to obtain the necessary legislation and these proved successful three years later with the passing of Forster's great Act. Many compromises had to be hammered out and the final result probably pleased only some and angered many. The Manchester Education Bill Committee had

promoted their own Bills in 1867 and again in 1868, without success, but their efforts had clearly had considerable influence on the eventual form and content of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. The Manchester Committee had, in turn, been swayed to some extent by the findings of the Education Aid Society, so that the latter could feel that their efforts were not entirely unavailing. Indeed, with the establishment of the first School Board, which immediately decided to pay the fees of necessitous children and instituted compulsory education in Manchester, the Education Aid Society was wound up early in 1871, since there was little left for them to do and greatly diminished funds with which to carry on.

Meanwhile the Education Bill Committee withdrew its own two Bills, on the introduction of Forster's Bill into the House, and pledged its support to the Government Bill, with three important reservations:-

1. School Boards ought to have been called into existence immediately, instead of allowing up to three years delay in some cases under the Bill;
2. Rate-provided schools ought not to have their religious character solely determined by the School Boards, since the Committee firmly adhered to the principle that "no religious catechism or formularies should be used in such schools, nor should anything in support of, or in opposition to, the peculiar tenets of any religious sect be taught therein;"
3. The permissive power given to the School Boards to make school attendance compulsory, after passing the necessary byelaws, ought to have been made mandatory throughout the country.

But the ground had been cleared and the way was now open for Manchester men to bend their energies to the provision of education for the poor under the new School Board. A number of those who had figured largely in the work for educational reform in the previous two decades, or who had served on the relief committee of the Cotton Famine Relief Fund, were elected to this first Manchester School Board, where they continued to exert a most important influence.

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II. - Personalities of the early School Boards.

The Manchester School Board was the first to be appointed, on the 24th November, 1870, in England and Wales. Immediately after Forster's Act became law, on the 9th August of that year, the City Council passed a resolution applying for a School Board, since it was realised that there was a deficiency of school accommodation, even though it was not as great as in Birmingham, Bradford, or Leeds. There had been a move to institute a full-scale inquiry into educational destitution in the country at large during the debates on the Elementary Education Bill in 1869, but such a move would have had the inevitable consequence of still further delaying the long overdue reform and Forster countered this by setting up a much more limited investigation, and it was ^{as} a part of this inquiry that H.M. Inspectors D.R. Fearon and J.G. Fitch made their reports on the cities of Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester. Although Fearon's report on the last named city showed a somewhat lesser degree of destitution than in the other three, the City Council did not wait for a formal demand for the appointment of a School Board from the Education Department. The City had been the centre of the agitation for a rate-aided system and for compulsory attendance at school, and it could

not very well wait for a Board to be thrust upon it in these circumstances.

The latest of the educational movements, the Education Aid Society, had once again conclusively shown, in their published statistics, that voluntary effort alone could not hope to deal adequately with the existing problem, and the funds of the Society were already running dangerously low by the time that the 1870 Act came into force. The City Council acted with commendable promptitude and the result was that, as a matter of strict seniority, the first School Board in the country was elected in Manchester (see Appendix II, *infra*).

The 1870 Act did not please many who had advocated the appointment of a local authority charged with the building of schools and the application of a law of compulsion, but the bitterest controversy had raged around the question of secular education. In particular, the hotly disputed section 25 of the Act, which gave school boards permissive powers to pay the school fees of necessitous children in voluntary schools, was seized

(1) 33 & 34 Vict., c. 75; s. 25: "The school board may, if they think fit, from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, pay the whole or any part of the school fees payable at any public elementary school by any child resident in their district whose parent is in their opinion unable from poverty to pay the same; but no such payment shall be made or refused on condition of the child attending any public elementary school other than such as may be selected by the parent."

upon by opponents of the Act. One of the centres of this resistance was in Birmingham, where the Education League, strongly championing secular education, had its headquarters. The results of this local division of opinion are clearly seen in the immediate reactions of the School Boards in Manchester and Birmingham. The former returned an essentially denominational Board, which at once authorised a liberal payment of poor children's fees, even when faced with some opposition from the Education Department. The latter elected a Board, under the chairmanship of Joseph Chamberlain, that for some years absolutely refused to assist denominational schools financially in any way whatever. Meanwhile Manchester and Salford together, both under the chairmanship of Herbert Birley, paid away in school fees for poor children attending denominational schools considerably more than all the rest of the school boards of England and Wales put together (see Appendix III, *infra*), since only a few boards took advantage of the 25th section of the Act, and the few who did generally paid out very sparingly. While all this was going on Chamberlain came to Manchester to denounce what he considered to be an outrage on the ratepayers. The upshot of this fierce controversy was that six years later the power to pay fees in voluntary schools was

transferred from the school boards to the Boards of Guardians, a change that was strongly condemned at the time by the Manchester School Board.

The reports of the Inspectors on the educational deficiency in the four large cities were strongly challenged in some quarters. In particular, Fearon's report on Manchester was rejected out of hand by the Rev. Joseph Nunn, who was at that time the Rector of St. Thomas's, Ardwick. Nunn figured largely in the subsequent history and development of the Manchester School Boards, and it is significant that, at this early stage, he was one of the few persons of any standing who disputed the whole conclusion of marked deficiency in the city. In fact he claimed that there were something like four thousand vacant places in the schools of the district, in contrast to the estimated deficiency in the official report.

Nunn was described by a contemporary as "a vigorous soldier of the Church Militant," and he was certainly a sharply outspoken critic of anything which seemed to strike at the power of the church. Educated at Manchester Grammar School at St. John's College, Cambridge, he took the curacy of St. Thomas's in 1865 and became its rector two years later, where he remained until 1910, when he retired. He served a total of 21 years,

from 1873 onwards, on the Manchester School Boards, and he became the undisputed champion of the more extreme ratepayers who denied the necessity for spending any public money on the education of the poor. His quiet but telling voice was continually heard in criticism of school board methods, which he disliked and mistrusted with an inveterate persistency, and in the championship of Church schools and denominational teaching. When the educational budget days came round his opportunities for criticism became more numerous. "It is easy to spend money," he would say, "but the day of reckoning comes round, and this is one of these days." His determined opposition to extravagance was doubtless well meant, but his excessively reactionary policies sometimes forced him into solitary opposition on the Board, and he was not entirely free from personal attacks on fellow members which brought him into considerable disfavour. However even his opponents respected him, though he might be guilty on occasions of special pleading. Thus he described a proposal to increase teachers' salaries as "another assault on the public purse, prompted by rivalry with some other board," and a recommendation that a new board school be established was invariably met by his assertion, with figures, that the existing church schools were not half filled,

even though this completely ignored the state of some of the old, dilapidated school buildings for which he was fighting. Once when Canon Nunn, as he then was, was criticising the proposed increase of salaries to teachers who had taken degrees another minister rebuked him, declaring that but for his own degree he would not be Canon Nunn, with a salary of £1,000 a year. Very quietly the Canon replied that the speaker was mistaken, that his salary was £200, not £1,000, and the chairman of the board at that time, the Dean of Manchester, wittily added: "His is a stall without provender." The other minister artfully rejoined that he wished Canon Nunn was worth it.

The commendable promptitude of the City Council was followed by an undignified scramble at the polls. Party machinery had not yet been organised, and the use of the cumulative voting system, later reduced to an exact science, was not at that time clearly understood. No less than 44 candidates contested the 15 seats, and at this first election polling was not secret and the voters had to sign their voting papers, although a committee of the House of Commons was strongly in favour of the secret ballot in 1869. In fact such a method was used at the election of the first London School Board, only five days later, and it was made

compulsory by the Ballot Act, 1872, also introduced by Forster, and voting has always been secret since then.

The result was the return of a generally denominational board, as the five Churchmen and the two Catholics were supported, in the main, by the two Wesleyans on matters of sectarian significance. From that time onward the successive triennial Boards in Manchester were always denominational in majority, the Unsectarian representation varying between four (on the Seventh Board) and six, usually being the latter figure. Herbert Birley was elected chairman, in opposition to the more popular Oliver Heywood, who would have been preferred by the Nonconformists. Birley continued to occupy this position, with one break from 1885 to 1888, until his death in 1890; he also held the chairmanship of the Salford Board without a break.

Birley has been described as "an educational monarch, who has wielded more administrative authority under the operation of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 than perhaps any other individual in the country." Educated at Winchester, he always looked back with much pleasure to his school days in the old cathedral city, and he also preserved a deep and abiding reverence for his father's memory. He often said that if he had been able to be of any use to his fellow creatures it was

through the influence and the counsels of his father. Indeed it is clear that Herbert Birley was completely immersed in the family traditions of social work, which included institutions for the promotion of education, the relief of the poor, provision for the sick, and many other generous benefactions both in personal labour and in pecuniary means. In the terrible crisis of the cotton famine in 1862 the Birley family were amongst the earliest and most munificent donors to the fund for meeting the exceptional demands of the unemployed, and they also played a large part in local Conservative politics; the elder brother, Hugh Birley, sitting in Parliament from 1868 to 1880. They were particularly generous in the provision of church accommodation in the poorer districts and in the establishment of several schools, mainly in the vicinity of their extensive factories in Hulme. Herbert Birley devoted much of his time and energies, as well of his means, to the management of these schools, so that he was already well acquainted with such details of educational administration by the time that the first Manchester School Board was elected, and became the obvious choice of the Church party for the chairmanship.

Oliver Heywood, though a member of the Established Church, was the nominee of the Nonconformist minority

for the post of chairman of the first Board and failed to secure election by virtually a single vote. He was a great and well-loved character throughout Manchester, where his statue stands to this day in Albert Square, and of which city he became its first Freeman. Like Birley, Heywood's family had long associations with the city and Oliver was the second son of Sir Benjamin Heywood. Educated at Eton, he is said to have been a deeply religious man, with a tall, spare frame. He was certainly a modest, gracious figure imbued with a desire to learn. He confessed late in life to a friend: "I do not think that I have any illusions about myself. I have endeavoured to learn what it is I am not qualified to do, and, possessed of this important knowledge, to turn to other work, useful I hope, if not ambitious." He gave his personal support to an impressive list of institutions and movements of one kind and another, and was particularly interested in hospitals and other charitable institutions. He was appointed Deputy Lieutenant for the County Palatine, and was High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1868, the year in which he was made Manchester's first Freeman. In the bitter contest which marked the election of the second Board, in 1873, he withdrew his candidature in an attempt to secure a larger measure of agreement before the poll was held.

Again in 1876 this unambitious, kindly man withdrew from the fight and it was largely through his efforts that there was eventually no contest for the election of the third Board that year. In the only year that Heywood was returned to the School Board, 1870, he and Dr. John Watts were the official representatives of the Manchester Education Bill Committee, which, as has already been mentioned, took up a less markedly secularist position than the N.P.S.A., but which was still pledged to establish free schools, with an unsectarian basis.

Watts had a very different background from either Birley or Heywood. He was one of a family of twelve born to a Coventry ribbon-weaver, and his education was far removed from Winchester and Eton. He went to the Coventry Charity School and to the Trinity Church Sunday School, where he became a most active Sunday School teacher. He then became a prominent advocate of Robert Owen's socialistic theories and when he moved to Manchester, in 1840, became one of the ablest lecturers in Owen's very able band. He was also a prominent worker in the foundation of the Manchester Free Library and became secretary of a Working Men's Committee and a leading light in the formation of the L.P.S.A. in 1847. He seems to have veered away somewhat from the more extreme socialism that he once advocated and his move

to the Education Bill Committee from the L.P.S.A. is probably a sign that, although all through his life an unflinching Radical Reformer and at one period strongly imbued with more extreme socialistic views, he tended to modify his opinions with the passing of the years. He was always a determined opponent of what was once known as "Physical Force Chartism," and there is little doubt that the good advice that he gave to the Lancashire mill operatives during periods of strong political excitement in Manchester and district was instrumental in preventing some projected riots. He declined to stand for Parliament, believing that he was of more service to his countrymen in the work that he already had in hand. For the same reason he steadfastly refused all municipal honours, and, in fact, any official position which he thought would interfere with the work that he had made his own, and which he considered he could most thoroughly accomplish single-handed. Like Birley and Heywood, however, and indeed in common with several other members of the School Board, Watts had rendered valuable service at the time of the Cotton Famine Relief Fund, and was an active member of various charitable institutions. Also with Heywood he took a keen interest in the foundation of the Manchester Technical School at the old Mechanics' Institute, and

was chairman of its council. Throughout his career, John Watts was a sound Trade Unionist and a firm believer in the principles of the Co-operative movement.

Another prominent Unsectarian member of the first School Board has already been mentioned as the leader of the secularist elements in the N.P.S.A. The Rev. Dr. William McKerrow hailed, as his name suggests, from north of the Border, and was educated at Kilmarnock High School, Glasgow College, and the Theological Hall of the Secession Church. In 1827, at the age of 24, he came to the Lloyd Street Chapel in Manchester, which at that time was situated in almost rural quietness. As the whole character of the neighbourhood steadily changed, and with nearly all his parishioners moving further outwards from the centre of the city, it was eventually decided to build the Brunswick Street Church in 1858, from which McKerrow resigned, on account of advancing years, some ten years later. He was a founder-member of the Manchester Voluntary Church Association, based upon the principle that the Church ought to be separated from the State. This party at least succeeded in securing the substitution in the city of a voluntary payment of a church rate for a legal and enforced taxation, and its efforts helped to stimulate the Government to remove certain other grievances from which the Dissenters

suffered. Perhaps the most interesting feature about McKerrow's ministry was the fact that, of the seven men who first met to form the Anti-Corn Law Association, and did eventually form it, six were members of his Lloyd Street congregation, and he certainly fully sympathised with their aims and views and was eventually persuaded to take a more active part by helping to call a ministerial anti-corn law conference, composed of some seven hundred ministers of religion. In the sphere of education McKerrow is chiefly notable for calling the meeting of himself and five others in the vestry of the Lloyd Street Chapel which afterwards gave rise to the foundation of the L.P.S.A. He continued to serve on the Manchester School Boards until his death in 1878.

An interesting feature of the constitution of school boards was that women were eligible for election, although, of course, still disenfranchised. The honour of being the first lady to serve on one in this country fell to Lydia Ernestine Becker, who was also an ardent worker for women's suffrage. She was one of a family of fifteen, born in Cowper Street, Hollinwood, and achieved some small successes in astronomy and botany, publishing a text-book and reading a paper before the British Association for the Advancement of Science on the latter subject. Originally she appears to have devoted her

energies to the establishment of a ladies' society for the study of literature and science, but it proved unsuccessful, and she became much more deeply interested in the suffrage movement after attending a Social Science Association meeting in Manchester in 1866, and became the secretary of the newly created Manchester Women's Suffrage Committee in the following January. Three years later she was appointed Editor of "The Women's Suffrage Journal," of which she soon became the chief contributor, and also indulged in much lobbying of members of the Commons. In appearance she seems to have typified the early suffragette, rather than the modest Victorian demoiselle, for she is described as "homely, rather than beautiful; her manner was dignified by none of the elegance and graciousness usually conspicuous in her sex." In her attitude to public education she was similarly unrelenting for, though like McKerrow she was a Presbyterian, she always stood by her own expressed principle "that all instruction given at the public expense should include only that in which all agree." She continued to serve on successive Manchester School Boards, despite the very heavy calls upon her time in other directions, for almost twenty years, until her death in August, 1890.

Besides the two Presbyterians just mentioned, there were three other representatives of the dissenting

chapels on the first Board. Richard Howarth and John Cooper were elected as Wesleyans (the only occasion upon which that body was officially represented on the Manchester Boards), while William Birch described himself as an Independent, though he was on the roll of Baptist ministers at the time. None of these three had a particularly distinguished career on the Board, but it is worth recording that Birch had been a great friend of Edward Brotherton, the founder and honorary secretary of the Education Aid Society, and it must have been a very sad blow to him when the latter caught a fever, while visiting houses of the poor in Manchester, and died within two years of founding the Society. Birch was a member of the committee of this Society and at a still earlier age, when only about 18, he became the local secretary of the Cotton Famine Relief Fund, and indeed always devoted much of his spare time to social and religious work. At one time he delivered a series of sermons in the Free Trade Hall and these were subsequently published, with all the proceeds devoted to his favourite charity, the care of orphans in a few cottages he had acquired for them in the vicinity of the Ship Canal Docks at Hulme. He is described as having an attractive personality, always smartly dressed, and possessed of a fine, free flow of

language, rather disposed to vivid and even forceful illustrations in his sermons. It is in connection with this ministry that an amusing and not unrevealing anecdote is told about him. It is said that, in the Free Trade Hall, "one Sunday evening, when speaking of the Day of Judgment and the sounding of the last trumpet, at the moment the word 'trumpet' was sounded a loud blast from a cornet came from the vicinity of the organ gallery. This form of experiment was never again repeated, the effect on the more nervous of the audience - especially the female portion - being such that several fainted." Neither Birch, Cooper, nor Haworth served more than one term of office on the School Board.

The Unsectarian opposition on the first Board of Miss Becker, Heywood, McKerrow, and Watts was completed by Robert Rumney, who had been a prominent member of the Birmingham Education League which was founded in 1869. The League was pledged to introduce a new system of national education, based upon its conception as a civic duty. In this respect it was at variance with the Education Bill Committee, since the latter based their efforts largely upon the extension and development of the existing system, thus retaining the voluntary schools as an integral part of any national system of public elementary education, while the League demanded

that all such schools should be free and unsectarian. Rumney held views on the question of secular education of an extreme kind and was an ardent Radical in politics. He might well have been the centre of some stormy scenes in the council chambers of the new School Board, but ill-health kept him away from meetings quite early on and he died after only two years in office.

The official Church party also numbered five on the first Board. Headed by Birley, the others were Thomas Dale, who served for fifteen years and for twelve of them was the vice-chairman, Robert Gladstone, who was a near relative of W.E. Gladstone, William Romaine Callender, and Joseph Lamb. In the main they were not a very distinguished lot, with the notable exception of Herbert Birley; indeed it was not until the second Board was elected that a more colourful member emerged in their ranks in the person of the Rev. Joseph Nunn. Even then it can hardly be claimed that the three others who were returned to represent the Church in 1873, George Anderton, J.A. Bremner, and Canon William Whitelegge were outstanding figures in school board politics, though this is a little unfair to the last named who had been a tireless worker for the Church in some of the worst parts of Hulme. In 1842, when Whitelegge took charge of St. George's, it

was the only church in the township of Hulme, with a population of some 26,000, yet he discharged his pastoral duties faithfully and without complaint there for the next 29 years.

Again such a sweeping generalisation as to the lack of "colour" in several of the Churchmen on the early school boards does Bremner scant justice if his previous career is examined, although he only served a single term of office on the Board, from 1873 to 1876. When the Education Aid Society was founded he became a member of its executive committee and, on the death of Brother-ton, was chosen as his successor as honorary secretary, a post that he filled for the next six years. He is also noteworthy for a paper he read before a Social Science Congress which met in Manchester in 1866, in which he much helped, with his facts and figures, the argument for a compulsory system of education, and he attracted the attention of Mr. Bruce (afterwards Lord Aberdare), a former Vice-President of Council. Again in 1867 Bremner addressed a meeting in Birmingham which led to the formation there of a society similar to the Education Aid Society in Manchester, and he lent his support to their formation in Liverpool and Nottingham. However he declined to join the Birmingham Education League, because he declared that he was not in favour

of the destruction of the denominational system. During his term of office on the School Board, in 1875, he published a pamphlet entitled "School and Work; or, how to subordinate labour to the paramount necessities of education." In this essay it was urged that the remedy for all the failings of the half-time system was to require all children to pass a certain standard in education before they were allowed to take employment.

The Roman Catholics were splendidly served on the School Board for 21 years by the much loved and greatly respected Canon Lawrence Toole. Toole had an unusual career and was certainly no empty mouthpiece for his fellow Catholics. He originally started in trade in Liverpool, where he married and had a family. On the death of his wife, however, he made up his mind to enter the priesthood and went to St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, where he was later appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy. He came to Manchester, to St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, in 1847, and thus began a long association with the city. He is described as calm and deliberate in manner and of high character. He took a prominent part in the discussions of the School Board, where he was a hard fighter, though never an unfair antagonist. On questions affecting the Catholic

cause he was always vigilant and zealous, and he was adept at taking advantage of the weakness in his opponents' arguments. But in his views on education in general he was very broad, so that many of those who came in contact with him might certainly have thought of him as an educationist first and a Catholic afterwards. However he was a thoroughly loyal supporter of voluntary schools and of denominational instruction. He could also show real, personal courage, which was vividly illustrated at the time of the anti-Catholic riots in 1869. On that occasion there is little doubt that his bravery and forethought prevented an attack being made on the church and schools by the angry mob surrounding them. Even when the danger was apparently most imminent Toole refused to leave his post and seek the shelter which was offered him. It is reported that he made every preparation to resist an attack and by his coolness controlled his own people and prevented on their part any act which could be construed as provocative. It is probable that his personal popularity assisted in preventing an outbreak of lawlessness, for his energetic and zealous services in collecting funds during the cotton famine were still fresh in the memories of people of every creed in the city at that time. Toole also took part in the Social Science Congress when it met in

Manchester, for he was a man of broad sympathies and skilled in matters far removed from theology. He had what may be called an encyclopaedic mind, and his memory was for years retentive and responsive to any question put to him for information upon the most widely separated subjects. In 1885 he was elected vicechairman of the School Board, but not long afterwards he had the misfortune to fracture his leg, and was from that time on often compelled to absent himself from their debates. It was said at the time that "few men ever made so many friends and so few enemies."

Although at the time of the first School Board election there were no official party affiliations, there was a last minute attempt to organise the Church party. At very short notice five "Protestant Episcopalians" were put together under one party ticket and placards were put out in their favour headed: "Vote for Bible education and save your rates," followed by the five names with a figure "3" against each name, thus indicating how the cumulative vote could be exercised to their advantage. These candidates also received the support of the National Education Union, together with the two Wesleyans, Haworth and Cooper. In this fashion the opponents of the Education League managed to secure seven seats on the first Board, while the two Catholics,

Toole and Richardson, could always be counted on to oppose the secular policies of the League, so that it might be fairly contended that the Education Union commanded a majority of three on the Board, since the Independent, Birch, usually voted with the Unsectarians.

In view of the general absence of party affiliations and the fact that the 29 unsuccessful candidates totalled 67,000 votes between them, or approximately 17% of the total votes cast, it is probably misleading to attempt a break-down of the polling figures. However, ignoring these 67,000 wasted votes, and using the party labels above it may be summarised in the following way:-

Votes cast for successful candidates in 1870 Election:

<u>Education Union</u>		<u>Education League</u>	
Churchmen	133,762	Unsectarians	51,441
Catholics	90,865	Independent	35,415
Wesleyans	21,157		<u>86,856</u>
	<u>245,787</u>		

If the above analysis is accepted as a basis for consideration it would appear that the denominationalists outvoted their opponents in this first School Board election by nearly three to one, but subsequent events suggested that the division was a good deal closer in Manchester than this. It is clear, however, that this first Board had a mandate to support the voluntary schools and this was done in a liberal fashion, with a

minimum of delay. At the same time it must be remembered that a number of the most influential members of the Board had had first hand experience of the terrible state of the depressed classes in their city and were sincerely pledged to remove some of the worst of these evils, in so far as this might be accomplished through the administration of the School Board. This combination of interests produced significant and noteworthy results, which form the basis of the following account.

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III. - Educational Politics and Pauperism, 1870-73.

The inaugural meeting of the first School Board was held on Thursday, 15th December, 1870, in the Town Hall, when the Mayor was invited to preside until the election of Herbert Birley to the chair took place, by what was virtually a single vote over Oliver Heywood. William Romaine Callender was then made deputy chairman, by a majority of five over the other nominee, Dr. John Watts. It was thereupon agreed to admit reporters to all meetings of the Board, unless otherwise specially directed. In this connection it is interesting to recall that at that time there was no statutory right for the press to attend meetings of local authorities, as this privilege was only made a legal right by the Local Authorities (Admission of the Press to Meetings) Act, 1908, and even then reporters could be excluded from meetings of local Councils if a simple majority decision so directed, in the public interest, on account of "the special nature of the business under discussion." Moreover the present rights do not extend to Committee meetings, with the single, and very important, exception of the Education Committee, where the Act provides for their presence when the decisions taken do not require subsequent approval of the Council. However the Board's action put them in accord with the general rule of the

day, and it left them with the usual convenient device of resolving themselves into committee when they wished to exclude the press from certain discussions. This opening meeting was concluded by appointing a sub-committee of five to obtain the necessary information in relation to existing schools within the city and also to report on the question of the required office accommodation.

This last domestic matter was soon resolved when the Board agreed at their next meeting, three weeks later, to go ahead with negotiations for the lease of 28, Cross Street, at a rental of £150 per annum, subsequently raised to £200, when the accommodation was increased. At this same meeting it was announced that enquiries had been received concerning the possibility of transfer of schools to the Board. The first approaches were made on behalf of two schools run by the Manchester Domestic Missions, one in Embden Street, Greenheys, and the other in Rochdale Road, while the managers of the Ashley Lane British school also wished to transfer it. These requests, together with others from the Poland Street Ragged school, the Buxton Street Infants' school, and the Hulme Operatives school in Hamer Street a few weeks later, were referred to a special sub-committee for consideration. This denominational

Board was in no hurry to take over the whole expense of running inferior schools that were becoming an intolerable burden to some other body. However it was quite prepared to aid them through remission of fees and as early as the following month suggested to the managers of the Ashley Lane, Buxton Street, and Hamer Street schools that they might carry on under their existing managers if the fees of the children were paid by the Board at the rates, and under the conditions, that had been publicly announced by them.

As early as December, 1870, the Board decided to enquire from the Education Department whether it was empowered to pay school fees of necessitous children already in attendance at voluntary schools, under section 25 of the Act, without the necessity of first passing a byelaw to this effect under section 74. The 25th clause has already been quoted (p. 26n.), and as the important 74th section deals with several significant matters, it is convenient to give the relevant portions, to which reference will be made later, at this point:-

S.74: "Every school board may from time to time, with the approval of the Education Department, make byelaws for all or any of the following purposes:-

"(1) Requiring the parents of children of such age, not less than five years nor more than thirteen years, as may be fixed by the byelaws, to cause such children (unless there is some reasonable excuse) to attend school;.....

"(3) Providing for the remission...of the whole or any part of the fees of any child where the parent satisfies the school board that he is unable from poverty to pay the same.....

"Provided that any byelaw under this section requiring a child between 10 and 13 years of age to attend school shall provide for the total or partial exemption of such child from the obligation to attend school if one of Her Majesty's Inspectors certifies that such child has reached a standard of education specified in such byelaw."

This section of the Act then concludes by defining "reasonable excuse" in terms of (i) "efficient instruction in some other manner," (ii) sickness, or (iii) absence of a school within three miles of the child's home.

It was clear that S. 25 provided a prima facie case for the remission of fees in certain cases; did S. 74(3) supply a context to control this prima facie meaning? It was the first query of its kind and the Education Department were justifiably cautious in pronouncing on it. In a reply, dated 11th January, they suggested that the question was "one of legal construction rather than administration," and asked to be informed how the Board proposed to proceed in the matter before taking any definite steps, but the Manchester Board were in a hurry and showed thus early that they were in no mood to brook delay by such Departmental tactics.

The funds of the Education Society, of which the

deputy chairman of the Board was secretary and Watts a Committee member, were running dangerously low, and the newly elected Board were determined to implement this fine work of the last six years by prompt action of their own. Accordingly, immediately on receipt of the Department's reply, they resolved to allow the payment of fees of poor children according to the following scale:-

Payment by the Board of the Fees of Poor Children:

<u>Size of Family</u>	<u>Weekly Income per head</u> (exclusive of rent)	<u>Amount allowed</u>
2 persons	Not exceeding 4s. per week	Whole fee
3 or 4 "	" " 3s.6d. "	" "
5 or 6 "	" " 3s. "	" "

All applications not included in the above rules were to be considered as special cases, and, in any case, the fee allowed was not to exceed 6d. per week per head. This last point was a curious one for the Board agreed, at the same meeting, to a scale of fees that they would pay in necessitous cases, depending upon the age and sex of the children, for pupils already in attendance at voluntary schools, which in no case came to the agreed maximum of 6d. It is hardly likely that they were already thinking of the possibility of their own board schools in one case and of the fees that, in the meantime, until the establishment of their own schools, they were prepared to pay in the existing voluntary schools.

The agreed scale in the latter case allowed for the payment of 4d. per week for boys, if they were in an exclusively boys' school and under a master, but only 3d. in other cases and for girls in any type of elementary school, while infants and all children under six years of age would only rank for 2d. per week per head. This arrangement was soon to be challenged by the Wesleyans, who had always preferred mixed schools to single-sexed ones where they had provided public elementary schools. Meanwhile, on the recommendation of the sub-committee set up to consider this and kindred matters relating to the byelaws, the Board decided that:

"After careful consideration, it appeared that the Board was fully empowered, without any formal sanction from the Education Department, to employ such assistance as may be necessary for the transaction of the business of the Board and for obtaining such returns of information as may be necessary...It also appeared to the Sub-Committee that the Board is authorised to determine, within certain limits, the question of the payment of school fees, and the Board is recommended to transmit to the Education Department, in compliance with its request, the scale of fees already submitted by the Sub-Committee, asking for its approval of the same."

Evidently the Board were prepared to go ahead with the employment of persons, if necessary, to prepare the statutory educational returns for the Department and to ignore the advice of the latter in this matter as much as in the question of the payment of fees.

In their reply of the 18th January, the Department

had clearly stated that they were "not empowered by section 69 (of the Act) to pay persons employed by the School Board to obtain information other than that already asked for by them." The relevant portions of this section stated:

"Where a school board is formed...the returns shall be made by such school board within their district, instead of by the council (in the case of a borough).... The local authority may, with the sanction of the Education Department, employ persons to assist in making such returns, and may pay those persons such remuneration as the Treasury may sanction. That remuneration, and all such other reasonable expenses incurred by the local authority in making such returns as the Treasury may sanction, shall be paid by the Education Department."

This point turned out later to be of considerable
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significance. Thus, in 1880, the Local Government auditor disallowed the London School Board's expenditure of £280 on an investigation of the Educational Endowments of that city, on the grounds that there was not "any authority in law to defray such expenditure out of the School Fund." The School Board pointed out that, in building schools, they ought to have a full picture of the entire situation in their area, otherwise unnecessary expense might fall on the rates. The main points at issue in this most significant appeal concerned matters outside our immediate consideration, since

(1) Eaglesham, E. "From School Board to Local Authority" pages 68 to 71.

they turned on the interpretation of the 1873 Act with regard to educational endowments and whether the School Board were legally tied to providing "elementary" education. On account of its importance it went to the highest levels in the Local Government Board and in their decision, upholding the auditor's surcharge, they showed reasons why the enquiry was unnecessary for the school board in the discharge of the latter's duties, in addition, of course, to their arguments on the main issue. At the earlier stage, in January, 1871, that concerned the Manchester School Board such a precedent had not been established, nor was the highly significant role of the Local Government auditor in elementary educational matters yet emerging, but the attitude of the Department was already clear. They required detailed information from the school boards, but they were not prepared to pay additional staff to carry out this work, and they pointed out that, in any case, it was the responsibility of the local authority to employ such persons, if necessary, not the school board.

Since nearly 30 school boards were elected within the first month of such proceedings, the Education
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Department issued a circular expressing pleasure at the earnest local desire in these instances to dispense

with the necessity of a public enquiry, under S. 9, but pointing out that it still needed detailed information under three main heads:-

1. The requirements of the Borough in respect of school accommodation;
2. The amount and character of the existing school provision;
3. The manner in which those locally interested in the question wished that any ascertained deficiency should be met.

The information that the Department already had was chiefly in the form of the reports issued by the Inspectors at the time of Forster's limited investigation into certain large cities. Fearon's report on Manchester was submitted in March, 1870, and in it he stated that he found 94 schools in the district not in receipt of any government grant, and his account of some of them made painful reading. In one school, for instance, the teacher had been partially crippled by a paralytic stroke. Another school of 52 pupils was conducted in two rooms in a private dwelling, the master being a man over 60 who officiated in his shirt sleeves. The disorder was so great, and the children packed so close together, that they appeared to the investigator, standing in the doorway, like one seething mass of children. This school was reported as unfit on every ground - moral, physical and intellectual. Yet another was "almost

like a closet, in a yard leading out of a low street, and with holes in the windows stuffed with a newspaper." In these uninspected schools were found some 1,750 pupils, while in the inspected schools, numbering 79, there was roll of 32,000 children, the actual attendance being around 21,000. This was at a time when the juvenile population of Manchester could not have been less than 60,000.

In order to obtain the more detailed information that the Department now required, the School Board decided to divide up the city into five districts, according to the following table:-

Division of Manchester into Districts for Educational Returns:-

<u>District</u>	<u>Estimated Population (1869)</u>
A. Ancoats Registration District	56,170
B. Deansgate, London-rd. & Market-st.	78,773
C. St. George's & Cheetham R.D's.	77,952
D. Ardwick & Chorlton-on-Medlock " "	78,020
E. Hulme Registration District	79,977
TOTAL	<u>370,892</u>

Committees, each of three members of the Board, were appointed to find out all families with children under 13 years of age, and their attendance at school in such cases; also to discover the amount and extent of the co-operation of local Day Schools, Sunday Schools, and Ragged Schools in those areas. They were also to ascertain particulars of suitable premises, where

necessary, for the establishment of board schools, and to commence negotiations for the transfer of existing schools to the Board, although, of course, the final agreements in such cases were to be reserved to the whole Board. Finally these district committees were empowered to recommend some measure of uniformity of classbooks and teaching methods. In this way the new Board hoped to overcome the difficulties of the Department's rejection of their request to employ additional labour to compile the necessary returns. Evidently the Board were prepared to have second thoughts about their decision that they already possessed such powers, without the sanction of the Department, but it meant that the work proceeded slowly, as few, if any, of the 15 members of the Board could devote their whole time to this business. However it soon received a fresh impetus with the appointment of the first Clerk to the Board, Frank Orde Ruspini, with effect from the 1st February, 1871, and it was through his efforts that some revealing reports on these districts were made during the next five or six months.

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In one of his first reports Ruspini commented on the Private Adventure, or "Dame" Schools, which were

(1) Manchester School Board Reports, &c., 1871-79,
Vol. II.

scattered about the city, briefly summarising their hopeless inefficiency in the following words: "In nine cases out of ten, and perhaps the proportion is even greater, the proprietor is evidently unfitted for the work. The teachers rarely observe any system, or attempt to classify their scholars or to register their attendance. They are mostly too old or too illiterate to make efficient instructors." This was a point that had been made earlier, and with much emphasis, by the Manchester Statistical Society in 1834, in its Report on the State of Education in the Borough (Appendix I, *infra*), and it was to prove a considerable stumbling-block to the proper enforcement of the School Board's later byelaw making attendance compulsory. In far too many cases it was subsequently found that, although children were registered at one of these schools, they were, in fact, making very irregular attendances, and receiving very little education worthy of the name.

Concerning specific districts of the city, Ruspini had some scathing comments to make in several cases. For example, he described the Deansgate area as inhabited by the very poor, for the greater part, and the particular portion between Deansgate and the river Irwell as of the worst possible type, equalling in notoriety the infamous Angel Meadow, or "Little Ireland," district of Charlton-

on-Medlock. He particularly mentioned the great amount of apathy amongst the parents in that district, as to the schooling of their children, and felt that the compulsory powers of the Board would be needed there more than anywhere. In the London Road district, which contained a large part of the township of Ancoats, he found that conditions were not much better than Kay-Shuttleworth had described them forty years before, and suggested that the prime necessity was one of general sanitation, and drainage reform even before educational reform. In the case of the St. Jude's school, Canal Street, it appeared that the drains were actually under the same roof as the schools and even opened directly into the principal rooms, while connected with the head of the drainage there were large sizing works behind the schools, which tipped their refuse straight into an open brook running the whole length of the school. To complete the picture of this unhappy place he mentioned that there was a deafening noise proceeding from the breaking up of old iron boilers in an adjoining yard, which "interferes greatly with the order and quietness of the establishment" (sic!). Another of the private adventure schools in this district was also picturesquely described by Ruspini as kept by "A middle-aged Irishman, afflicted with rheumatism,

and dressed in ragged corduroy, set off by high-laced navy's boots. Authority was preserved by the help of a long whip with which the teacher was armed; but beyond the fact of this apparently strict discipline, little appeared to be attempted of an educational nature." He later suggested that the principal sources from which the teachers in these schools were drawn were provided by "failure in other walks of life, or the loss of a husband, or the sudden precipitation of a small family into poverty."

At the same time that Ruspini started on his investigations in the different districts, the Education Aid Society was being wound up. It ceased to grant any assistance as from the March Quarter Day, 1871, and was virtually disbanded. Three of its prominent members, Romaine Callender, Watts, and Cooper, were now in a position, as members of the School Board, to see that the great work of the Society was continued and extended, as far as possible, under the Board. Originally it had been noteworthy for its proof of the fact that voluntaryism, not accompanied by compulsion, was totally inadequate to deal with the situation, for, at one time, more than half of its 30,000 orders for payment of fees were not taken up by the parents concerned. Latterly it had done little more than the School Board were by

now prepared to do, namely, continue to pay fees for poor children, and the latter had already expressed its intention of passing a byelaw to make attendance compulsory as soon as possible. The work of the Society was therefore at an end and it could leave future developments to the School Board.

As to the general principle of the payment of fees, under S. 25, the Education Department were not much longer in coming to a decision. The first Memorial on the subject addressed to them came from ratepayers in Liverpool, and as the points raised were precisely the same as in the original enquiry from the Manchester Board, the Department sent a copy of their Liverpool answer to the Manchester Board, dated the 24th April, 1871. It clearly stated that they could not refuse their sanction to the principle of payment of fees for any child who was too poor to pay for his schooling, provided that, firstly the Board had reason to believe that the poverty of the parent really did prevent his making the payment, and, secondly, that the choice of school was left to the parent. They decided that school boards were only exercising their rights under S. 25, and that they could do so irrespective of whether they passed compulsory byelaws under S. 74, although it was "impossible to deny that the application of the

principle of compulsion strengthens the argument for making use of this power." The Department then went on to urge that in aiding the parent the Board should confine such aid to the remission of fees in School Board schools, under S. 17. This section read:

"Every child attending a school provided by any school board shall pay such weekly fee as may be prescribed by the school board, with the consent of the Education Department, but the school board may from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, remit the whole or any part of such fee in the case of any child when they are of opinion that the parent of such child is unable from poverty to pay the same."

If this is read in conjunction with S. 25 (p. 26n, supra) it will be seen that the Department was urging that relief should be confined to poor children in schools under the control of the school boards and was not inclined to encourage such payments to voluntary schools. However, it continued by qualifying this position with the ^{statement,} ~~phrase:~~

"It is possible that the parent, from motives of convenience or conscientious convictions, may prefer a public Elementary School not provided by the Board, and it would not be just to deprive him of his right of choice because he is compelled to send his children to school, and is known to be unable by poverty to pay the School fee. At the same time Mr. Forster does not doubt that the Board is as anxious as he is to keep before the mind of the parent his duty first, and before either the State or the Borough, to pay, if he is able to do so, towards the education of his children."

Once the question of the legality of the Board's decision to pay fees in certain cases was settled, it

was of little use for the various ratepayers' associations to continue their campaigns of memorials and protests. The objections were now confined much more to specific points within the framework of the regulations laid down by the Board. Thus in the following month the Manchester and District Wesleyan Teachers' Association made a strong protest about the Board's discrimination between boys' and mixed schools. The rules laid down a maximum payment of 4d. per head for a boy only if he was under a master in a boys' school; otherwise a boy ranked for the flat rate of 3d. payable in all other cases, except infants at 2d. per head per week. The Wesleyan Teachers asserted that the Board had exceeded its rights under S. 25, in attempting to fix a rate of fees themselves for children paid for in the existing voluntary schools. Even assuming that the Board were, in fact, within their rights, the Association alleged that the lower fee offered to mixed schools as compared with boys' schools was particularly unfair to Wesleyan schools, since the Wesley Education Authorities strongly advocated the system of Mixed schools. They concluded by pointing out that the effect of the Board's regulation was that they would pay 4d. for a boy educated in a Church of England or Roman Catholic school, but only 3d. if he went to a Wesleyan school. However the Board were

definitely in favour of segrated schools and, after referring the letter to the General Purposes Committee, which met later in the month, they took no further action. Indeed the Board's policy in favour of such schools was afterwards publicly voiced by several of its members.

Another aspect of the School Board's work in connection with pauperism and neglected children concerned the provisions of the Industrial Schools Act, 1866. S. 14 of this Act laid down that:-

"Any person may bring before two Justices or a Magistrate any child apparently under the age of fourteen years that comes within any of the following descriptions:

"That is found begging or receiving alms., or being in any street or public place for the purpose of begging...

"That is found wandering and not having any home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence;

"That is found destitute, either being an orphan or having a surviving parent who is undergoing penal servitude or imprisonment;

"That frequents the company of reputed thieves."

From the first it was frequently expressed, in many different quarters, that a prime duty of the school boards was to clear the streets of the "street arabs" who certainly frequented them in large numbers in the more wretched towns and cities thrown up by the industrial revolution. Born and bred into the sickening conditions already outlined in the first chapter, it

is not surprising that the thousands of starved, ill-kempt and utterly neglected children had by this time become a major social problem. The Industrial Schools Act and the Reformatory Schools Act, both of 1866, were the Victorians' legislative answers to this problem, but it remained to find persons willing and able to bring these unfortunate children before the courts, to ensure their committal to these schools. The appointment of one or more Beadles to carry out the provisions of the Industrial Schools Act was considered by the Manchester Board as early as February, 1871, and the first man to be appointed was appropriately named Power! How energetic and efficient these Beadles were can be seen by reference to the many tragic cases mentioned in the Industrial Schools Committee minutes, of the School Board, during the next thirty years. Some 6,634 children were committed in that time.

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A new dispute arose over the industrial schools, this time with the Roman Catholics, who had anticipated even more energetic action on the part of the Board than actually occurred. The Catholic authorities, recognising the large proportion of members of their faith amongst the many depressed Irish immigrants, had provided two

(1) MC/2, pp. 33-35 and 42-53 (9/9/1872)

schools, one for 150 boys and the other for 50 girls. In the event, by July, 1872, only 33 boys and 3 girls had been committed to these St. Joseph's R.C. Industrial Schools, and the Rev. Joseph Quick addressed a long letter of protest to the Board at the end of that month, alleging lack of zeal on the part of the Board in clearing the streets. He pointed out that the Catholics had established these two schools at a heavy cost, believing that strenuous efforts would be made to tackle the problem with the passing of the 1870 Act, and with so little use being made of them it was becoming an intolerable burden. The real point at issue, however, was an argument over the alleged improper pressure that had been brought to bear to secure the committal of certain children to a Catholic reformatory, and Dr. Watts was the principal protagonist on the other side of this argument.

S. 20 of the Industrial Schools Act, 1866 said:

"If the Parent..or Guardian..of a Child sent ~~to~~ to a Certified Industrial School which is not conducted in accordance with the religious persuasion to which the child belongs, states to the Justices or Magistrate~~s~~ by whom the Order of Detention has been..made..that he objects to the child being sent to..the school specified ..., and names another Certified Industrial School... which is conducted in accordance with the religious persuasion to which the child belongs...then and in every such case the Justices or Magistrate shall... comply with the request of the applicant."

A similar provision was made under S. 14 of the Reformatory Schools Act, but it will soon be clear, on reflection, that it could become open to objection in its application, unless the religion of the parents could be unequivocally established. In the case of destitute, homeless children, or where the parent had already been committed to gaol, to mention only two such cases, it might perhaps be too easy for some other person to be put forward as the child's guardian for the time being, and an over-zealous member of any particular faith might be persuaded that it was genuinely in the child's interests that he should be committed to a particular industrial school. Whatever the merits of the dispute, which are impossible to determine at this distance, Watts alleged that such improper attempts had, in fact, been made. By early in the September following the charges and counter-charges were becoming serious and the Board adopted the expedient of resolving itself into a committee to discuss these delicate questions in private. Some eighteen disputed cases were then considered and eventually the Board allowed the appeal against the committal to particular industrial schools in nine of the cases, disallowed it in eight, and adjourned one other case for further consideration. Application could then be made to the Court for a

variation of the terms of the original orders in those cases where the Board was satisfied that the place of committal ought to be changed.

A somewhat similar case was brought to the Board's attention shortly afterwards by Miss Becker. A boy, Thomas Gleave, had been committed to the Ardwick Industrial School and while it was again a question whether the parents had been fully acquainted with the proceedings, on this occasion the conduct of the Beadle, James Power, was also queried. Once more a great deal of time and trouble was devoted to this case (no less than six pages of minutes⁽¹⁾ are occupied with the various arguments) before the Board decided that Power was justified in bringing the boy before the Court and had not exercised undue severity in apprehending the boy. At the same time Miss Becker's contention that the matter had not been fully presented before the Magistrate on behalf of the mother and the boy was not accepted. It is refreshing to realise that, even in those sterner Victorian days, when penalties were much more severe for wrong-doing, so much care and attention could be given by a busy School Board to alleged unfairness in an individual case. A typical penalty may be cited in the case of a ten-year old boy, Alfred Ray, who was taken into custody by the Market Constable for stealing

(1) MC/2: pp. 114-115 and 122-127.

fruit in the Smithfield Market. His case was referred, as usual, to the Beadle, and in the latter's report Power stated that this appeared to be the boy's first offence. The Magistrate thereupon committed the boy to prison for three days and ordered him to be flogged. No probation or conditional discharges in those days!

Undeterred by an ascertained deficit of some 4,600 school places, subsequently raised to over 8,000 by the Education Department (as shown in the Board's First General Report; Appendix IV, *infra*), the Board proceeded to make attendance compulsory under the byelaws, which were finally approved in November, 1871. Unfortunately, in practice, this regulation soon proved to be virtually unworkable. The chief obstacles were the difficulty of enforcing a proper standard in the case of the inefficient Private Adventure schools, which constituted a convenient "bolt-hole" for many who did not want to become involved with the somewhat better run voluntary schools in the matters of registration and attendance, and the legal requirement that teachers had to attend Court proceedings in order to prove their registers. A moment's reflection will show how impossible the latter made things for the Board, which thereupon decided to take counsel's opinion on the matter. Armed with this decision they sent a deputation to Forster in the summer of 1872. In his

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reply Forster said that he had received only one other such complaint about the difficulty of proving the registers, which suggest that few Boards were seriously worried about compulsory attendance. He said that he would nevertheless consider the matter whenever any general Bill, dealing with a compulsory national system, was brought before the House, but he felt bound to advise them that the Government were not in a position to bring in such a measure at that time, "nor did he think that if brought in such a Bill would pass the House." Accordingly he recommended to the Manchester Board that they should try to make arrangements for the hearing of such cases on Saturday mornings, or such other times as the teachers could attend. He also suggested that they should select only the worst offenders and deal strictly with them.

It was clear that Parliament was in no mood to tackle the thorny problem of compulsory education so soon after the heated debates on sectarianism, which had so long delayed the passage of the first Elementary Education Act. Neither were the Courts too ready to convict in places like Manchester, where compulsion had been introduced through the local byelaws. It soon became apparent that the Manchester Board would have to be content with a minimum of 50% of the possible attendances

before they could hope for a successful conviction. Moreover it was still extremely difficult to prove the registers in all but a few selected cases, otherwise the work of many schools would have come to a standstill in the absence of the teachers. As soon as it was generally known that the Board would not prosecute unless attendance fell below what they intended as a minimum requirement of 50%, the natural result was that this soon became a maximum with a large majority of parents of children attending the public elementary schools in the city. During the term of office of the second Board public attention was drawn to this very unsatisfactory state of affairs and, from that time on, strenuous efforts were made, from time to time, to remedy the position with, generally speaking, an increasing degree of success.

One of the last acts of importance of this first Manchester School Board took place at a special meeting, called on the 21st June, 1873, to consider the amended Education Bill that had just been introduced into the House by Forster. The principal point at issue was the proposed transfer of the power to pay fees of poor children from the school boards to the Boards of Guardians. The action of the few generous School Boards, notable that of Manchester and Salford, in

paying out considerable sums in this fashion to the voluntary schools (amounting, for example, to a total of £712:17s.:4d. for the single quarter to the 1st. December, 1871, in Manchester; but see also Appendix III, infra) had caused much dissension elsewhere, but it seemed that Parliament was loath to reverse its previous decision in its entirety. By one of those procedural twists that are perhaps peculiar to our own system of administration, and which are so difficult to explain to strangers, it was proposed that the power to pay for indigent children be transferred from school boards to boards of guardians, and in this way honour would be secured to both sides!

Naturally the proposed change was unpopular with the Manchester School Board. Steeped in a tradition of generous aid, they were not likely to view the proposed transfer of this side of their work with much enthusiasm. Accordingly they agreed to memorialise parliament to the effect that they felt the change would only "tend greatly to increase pauperism without at the same time increasing school attendance." They were also concerned at the unnecessary loss of time and inconvenience to parents, but they could hardly hope to raise much enthusiasm for this plea, since it was an essential point of the government case that every

effort ought to be made to dissuade parents from avoiding what was felt to be their natural responsibilities to pay for their children's schooling. Finally the Board thought that the already existing grave difficulties in carrying out their compulsory attendance orders would be greatly exaggerated by the proposed Bill. It seems that the Government were not unmoved by these protests, for the Elementary Education Act, 1873, reached the Statute Book with the power to pay school fees in necessitous cases still left with the school boards, although it was subsequently transferred to the guardians in 1876.

Local opposition to the Board's generous policies was also growing. A very bitter campaign took place for the election of the second Board and a number of new faces were found amongst its members, most notable being the inveterate opponent of school board policies, the Rev. Joseph Nunn. The stage was being set for some very bitter quarrels in future School Boards.

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IV. • The First School Boards and Questions of "Half-Timers", Free Schools, and Competition with Voluntary Schools.

Both the parliamentary and local returns relating to educational deficiency showed that, owing to the exertions of the various denominations and voluntary agencies, the state of affairs in Manchester was not quite as bad as in some of the other large cities affected by the industrial revolution, although perhaps nowhere was worse affected in the matter of the sheer destitution of its inhabitants. Since the first School Board had immediately carried on the work of the Education Aid Society in endeavouring to get all the children into the schools through the payment of fees on a wide scale, it was not for some time that it felt constrained to take any active measures for the supply of additional accommodation, and even then it cannot be said that the~~x~~ earliest efforts were particularly happy, for some of the sites were far too small, so that the schools were deficient in playground space. Again mismanagement, miscalculation and the misfortune of choosing a bad site cost the Board dearly in what should have been the first school it planned to open. At Every Street, Ancoats, this first school, to be built for a thousand pupils at an estimated cost of about £4,500, ultimately cost around £18,000 and was only opened after months of delay.

The honour of being the first Manchester Board school belongs to the Hulme Operatives School, in Hamer Street, which was leased to the Board by its Committee of Management as from the 1st May, 1872. A second school followed at the end of September in the same year, when the Managers of the Ashley Lane British School, in the vicinity of the notorious Angel Meadow district, transferred their school, while a third was opened in premises leased from the Working Men's Institute, in Hulme, on the 3rd February, 1873. It was, however, the Board's fourth venture that had the most curious, and brief, history, namely the Lombard Street Half-Timers' School, in the Deansgate area.

It may be as well to explain something of the half-time system at this point, since the conditions of labour in any area must have a very important bearing on the diffusion and standard of its education. In the south Lancashire area the two most distinguishing features were the employment of children on the half-time system and the preponderance of female labour in the factories and mills. So great had the demand for young persons' labour become by 1861 that the Assistant Commissioners' Report in that year on "The State of Popular Education in England" made a special remark about the problem.

The Report showed that, during a season of good trade, the demand was so high that no child, from eight or nine years of age upwards, who could pass the relatively low medical standard required by law, had the least difficulty in obtaining employment at wages varying from 1s.6d. to 2s.9d. a week. The mode on which the half-time plan was carried out was almost universally the same. Every child between the ages of eight and thirteen, working in a factory, spent half the day, from 6.0 a.m. to 12.0 noon, or from 1.0 p.m. to 6.0 p.m. in the mill. During the other half of the day, either from 1.30 p.m. to 4.30 p.m., or from 9.0 a.m. to 12 noon, the child went to school. From time to time, generally at the end of a month, or sometimes weekly, the morning and afternoon shifts changed over, so that there was a more equitable division of schooltime and factory work. On Fridays the schoolmaster made up for every mill, from which short-timers were sent to him, records of attendance for each child. Without this certificate of previous school attendance it was illegal to continue to employ a child of school age. Thus, if absence extended to a full week, the child could not be employed at all, until the absence had been made good. In the case of partial absence, say for one or two half days, it was the practice to compel the offender to make up the lost school time

by an additional attendance of an equal, or, as was the rule in some factories, a double time, by way of compensation. School being only open five days in the week, a half-timer was in school for something less than 15 hours a week on the average, from which could be deducted at least half an hour each day for prayers and assembly, also a brief interval for recreation, and probably various other interruptions. The time, therefore, during which a short-timer was actually receiving effective instruction was quite short, and in the case of the girls it was even less, since a considerable time was taken up by sewing. In the mixed schools this usually occupied about an hour and a half each day, in the girls' schools about a quarter of an hour longer. In many cases, moreover, the needlework time was only given in the afternoon, so that a mill girl, during her afternoon turn, lasting perhaps a month, might receive scarcely more than an hour each day for any for any other form of instruction or intellectual advancement. Indeed, in some of the private adventure schools, and even in some of the public schools, needlework occupied the whole afternoon, so that the girls in these cases were left for the entire month without so much as a single reading lesson!

In the Reports mentioned, the particular report on

the "Special Manufacturing districts of Rochdale and Bradford," by J.S. Winder, makes interesting reading for anyone concerned with conditions in a typical cotton and a woollen town only a century ago. One remark of Winder's probably carried considerable weight with the Victorian administrative mind, bent as it was to the strictly utilitarian and materially productive things of life. He stated:

"So far as I can judge, superior instruction has but little, if any, immediate marketable value in the ordinary occupations of life. In a contract with a workman, the degree of his instruction does not form an element in the master's calculation. But, nevertheless, it was the expressed opinion of almost all the employers whom I questioned, that for every kind of work above mechanical drudgery, educated workmen have the advantage in superior quickness of observation, readiness to learn, and desire to excel. Some think that they are not so 'settled' in their employment as less instructed men, but the general testimony was that education, in the main, had a tendency to make better workmen as well as better men."

It would be an interesting speculation as to how far Winder's remark epitomises the typically Victorian attitude towards the problem of providing public elementary education. The desire to provide better, and hence more productive, workmen must surely have ranked high in the list of attributes brought forward by the promoters of early education Bills. Equally, the belief that the instruction given in the "Three R's" was the cause of the increased superior mental

quickness in the artisan must have become firmly ingrained at an early stage in the development of our public education system. The failure to observe that the mentally bright child will assimilate such instruction much more readily and will, in turn, become the more alert workman must have been the prevalent reason for the widespread belief in the largely discredited fallacy of "transfer of training." The belief that, for example, an exhaustive course in Latin grammar and syntax must produce the observant, intelligent colonial administrator dies hard; the fact that ability in Latin may perhaps correlate significantly with subsequent ability in other walks of life, in the absence of true "cause and effect," is only slowly being grasped by a wider public, outside educational circles.

In February, 1873, the Manchester School Board approached the Education Department for permission to establish the Lombard Street Half-Time school, for children who were engaged in selling afternoon news-
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papers during the latter half of the day. It asked for recognition for the purposes of annual grant, under the special circumstances of the school, since otherwise the whole cost of the school would, it was suggested, fall on the rates. In their reply the Department firmly pointed out that the proposed arrangement would

(1.) P.R.O., E.D/16/172; 25/2/73-2/4/73.

not conform to the terms of Article 19 of the Education Department Code, which laid down that a school must meet not less than 400 times in the morning and afternoon. Neither would it come within the provision of the 1870 Act, since the proposal to employ an uncertificated teacher would not fulfil the requirements of S. 14(1) nor of S. 7(4) of the Act. It is a little difficult to see how the Department thought that these two sections had a direct bearing on the question of the employment of uncertificated labour, except in so far as it might have laid down, as a condition of receiving annual grant, that only a certificated teacher might be so employed. Such regulations had the force of law, as far as school board administration was concerned, after they had laid on the Table of the House for thirty days without challenge.

The sections mentioned are, however, worth notice, as they lay down several important points with regard to the administration of board schools. S. 14 dealt with the question of the "Management of Schools by the School Board." It read:

"Every school provided by a school board shall be conducted under the control and management of such board in accordance with the following requirements:-

"(1) The school shall be a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act;

"(2) No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school."

At first sight provision (1) appears a little empty, but it must be understood that the term "public elementary school" had a precise definition in the Act, even though it caused a good deal of controversy in its subsequent interpretation, especially at the time of the development of the Higher Grade schools and the wide extension of Evening School work. S. 3 dealt with the definition of terms, and this laid it down that:

"The term 'elementary school' means a school or department of a school at which elementary education is the principal part of the education there given, and does not include any school or department of a school at which the ordinary payments in respect of the instruction, from each scholar, exceed 9d. a week."

Thus to be "elementary" a school had to fulfil two seemingly diverse provisions: it had to give "principally" elementary instruction (whatever that might denote - and presumably the Education Department Code was expected to lay down the necessary regulation in this, as in other, respects), and it had to conform to an upper limit of 9d. per week in fees. In addition, to be "public" the school had to observe the "Conscience Clause," whereby parents could, if they wished, withdraw their children during the special time set apart for religious instruction and observance. Thus Roman Catholic schools might be "suitable" when it came to the consideration of the elementary schools in any

district, so long as they were "efficient" (i.e. within the regulations of the Code) and open to inspection by Her Majesty's inspectors, but they could not be considered as "public." In this sense the word "public" had a religious connotation. A Roman Catholic school was not a "public" one, though it might be "suitable" in calculating the educational needs of, say, the Manchester districts, as far as the numbers of children of that particular faith were concerned. It was not, however, considered as "suitable" for children of other denominations, and in this sense was not "public." It should be carefully borne in mind, in order to understand the subsequent development of the education system in this country, that the Church of England had a unique position in this respect, in that their schools were considered to be "suitable" for all children, irrespective of the religious beliefs of the parents, provided that they observed the provisions of the conscience clause. This led to some anomalous positions in, for example, the "single-school" districts where, perhaps, the National Society had already established a "public" school for a sufficient number of places to provide all the necessary requirements of the children of the district, without regard to the religious persuasion of the parents, since such schools were considered to be "suitable" for everyone. It also led to a familiar device for

preventing the election of a school board in smaller districts: any alleged deficiency of accommodation could be met by the establishment of a Church school, if it was "public," and the subsequent provision of a school board, with its powers to provide additional accommodation out of the rates, if need be, could be held to be no longer necessary.

S. 7 dealt with "Regulations for the Conduct of Public Elementary Schools," and it laid down:-

1. That religious observance, or non-observance, should not be a condition of entry to public elementary schools;
2. That religious instruction, if any, had to be given in these schools at certain stated times, so that children might be withdrawn if the parents wished;
3. That such schools must be open to inspection by Her Majesty's Inspectors; and
4. "The school shall be conducted in accordance with the conditions required to be fulfilled by an elementary school in order to obtain an annual Parliamentary grant."

In order to see where the force of the Department's argument lay, in their reply to the Manchester Board on the question of the employment of uncertificated teachers, it is necessary to turn to S. 97 of the Act at the same time. This clearly laid down that:

"The conditions required to be fulfilled by an elementary school in order to obtain an annual Parliamentary grant shall be those contained in the minutes of the Education Department in force for the time being."

If the Department said that the Board could not employ

an uncertificated teacher at Lombard Street, under one of their Minutes, then it had the force of law, as far as obtaining annual grant was concerned.

The Manchester Board were thus early inclined to overrule the advice of the Department and in this instance they were particularly impetuous. Although the request had only been addressed to the Department on the 25th February, 1873, by the 24th March they had completed the transfer of the school, gone ahead with the provision of necessary furniture, appointed the controversial uncertificated teacher to take charge, and had even found time to advertise the opening of the school "for the instruction of Children who are engaged in the Sale of Newspapers during the Afternoon and Evening," and that the hours of opening would be 9.0 a.m. till 12.0 noon every morning, including Saturdays. It should be added that the Department was not guilty of delay in answering the Board's request on this occasion, as its reply was dated the 1st March, while the first minutes of "The Managers of Manchester Lombard Street Board School" are dated the 11th March, when McKerrow was elected chairman, and the Clerk's action in taking the premises at a monthly rental of £2: 10s. was endorsed. At the same time the order was given for the furniture, the advertisement, and the appointment of the teacher.

It is hardly surprising that this action brought a strongly worded retort from the Department by the 2nd April, when permission for the school was again categorically refused. The Department recited its previous objections that, as the school neither conformed to the statutory minimum number of meetings nor employed a properly certificated teacher, it could not therefore be considered for annual government grant. Following this there appeared on the Department's file a protest by the Inspector for the district, W.J. Kennedy, on the 4th April, in which he stated that he had pointed out to the Manchester Board how their action conflicted with the relevant sections of the Act and that he had added that he was personally of the opinion that the Board would have to defray any expense incurred as individual members. He concluded that he thought the Department ought to warn the Board that the Auditor would almost certainly surcharge them for any expenditure on the school.

This last warning seems to have had the desired effect, for the Managers met for the fourth and last time on the 25th April, when the only resolutions were to close the school forthwith and give the teacher a month's notice.⁽¹⁾ Thus ended abruptly the Board's first, and only, attempt to open a specifically half-time

(1) MBS/3; p. 1.

school, though the problem of the low standards for half-time and full-time exemption remained, as did indeed another matter for serious concern carried over from the first to the second of the Manchester School Boards, that of irregular school attendance.

We have already seen, in the last chapter, how the Board's earliest attempts to enforce compulsory attendance were hamstrung by the legal requirement to prove the school register, by the teacher in person, every time a conviction was sought, and that Forster had stated that he would consider the matter when any general measure on compulsory attendance was under consideration. It appears that the urgent representations of the Manchester Board carried some weight with the Department after all, for one of the minor adjustments made in the new Elementary Education Act, in 1873, was contained in S. 24, which dealt with "Regulations as to legal proceedings," and included the proviso:

"(5) A certificate purporting to be under the hand of the principal teacher of a public elementary school, stating that a child is or is not attending such school, or stating the particulars of the attendance of a child...shall be evidence of the facts named in such certificate."

This removed one of the most serious difficulties that the Board had hitherto had to contend with and from that time on strenuous efforts were made to improve

the poor position under successive school boards, starting with the rota committee of the second Board, under the chairmanship of J.A. Bremner. Published figures in successive triennial reports show a fair measure of success in this direction, but apparently the improvement was not noticed or approved of in magnitude by the Managers of the Manchester Jews' School, who addressed a strong protest to the Board in November, 1875. They suggested that the continuing poor attendance of scholars was mainly due to the failure of the Board to enforce the byelaw properly, owing to the defective machinery used for the purpose. They cited the fact that out of 1,116 cases of irregular attendance at their school, duly reported to the Board, only seven were summoned before the Magistrates, and only 26 were brought before the rota committee. They further alleged that although many of the excuses of the parents were not accepted nevertheless the children continued to attend very irregularly, while in some cases excuses were accepted which, in the opinion of the Committee of the Jews' School, were quite inadequate, and, in fact, that an excuse might be deemed valid at one rota meeting which would be disallowed at the next, and vice versa. The Board promised to give serious consideration to these complaints, but some of the

main causes remained much in evidence. For example, in the Board's "Report on the Elementary Private Adventure Schools of the City of Manchester,"⁽¹⁾ which was published in the following month, the conclusion was reached that wherever a large number of houses were built (and about this time the outskirts of Manchester were rapidly extending), if no efficient schools were within easy access, thereat once sprung up these private adventure schools. As one mistress was aptly quoted as saying: "Children attend schools of this description solely to escape the Board's officers...Children go late - can go home early - stay away whenever they desire - and still, if prosecuted, the parent will say the child is attending school." Two suggestions were made in this report for dealing with the problem: (1) No school should be considered as efficient unless it was open to inspection by H.M. Inspectors, or the Board's officers; (2) that any certificate of efficiency should be endorsed yearly. It is an interesting, though perhaps sad, reflection that it was left to the Education Act, 1944, to provide, at last, for the registration of independent schools (under S. 70) and for the inspection of all such educational establishments (under S. 77).

(1) SB/3; pp. 312 - 319.

In some quarters poor attendance was regarded as the greater of the twin evils from which the elementary educational system was suffering at that time: poor teachers and schools being the lesser evil. Matthew Arnold tersely commented on the position when he wrote that the great weakness of the schools (in this case the schools in the Westminster district) was very irregular attendance, much more than the weakness in the instruction on the part of the teachers. He continued with a comment of some local interest when he said:

"The Bishop of Manchester, whose voice in these matters has great and deserved weight, was at the beginning inclined, I think, to view the Revised Code of 1862 with favour. He thought that the backwardness observed in the instruction of children in the lower part of an elementary school arose from the teacher's neglect of them, and that it would be cured and the schools benefitted by the Revised Code. He now thinks, as I understand him, that the Revised Code has acted injuriously on the instruction in elementary schools, and that before the Code came this instruction was better. Such has always been my opinion."

It should be explained that the Revised Code referred to was introduced by Sir Robert Lowe after the presentation of the report of the Duke of Newcastle's Commission, which sat from 1857 till 1861. This had been established to consider any needful measures for the extension of sound and cheap elementary education, and one can only conclude that the Commissioners found the existing system neither sound enough nor cheap

enough, for the only tangible results of their deliberations seem to have been the institution of the notorious system of "payment-by-results" in the standards, and the reduction of the government grant from £813,441 in 1861 to a total of £646,810 in 1865! Presumably the system of payment by results was intended to tighten up the allegedly low standards of instruction by many of the teachers, while the economy effected was in answer to the report of the minority which was in favour of the abolition of all grants, other than for the building of schools, on the grounds that sufficient interest had been aroused in the country for the voluntary agencies to make good any deficiencies. The majority of the Commission, however, proposed (i) changes in the conditions attaching to the award of the government grant to schools (which was put into effect in Lowe's Revised Code of 1861-62), and (ii) grants from a county rate to be paid for individual pupils, upon examination by persons to be appointed by County Boards of Education (which were never realised in the form envisaged by the Commission). However it is as well to realise that there was still a strong body of opinion in the country that felt that the position could be met by an extension of the voluntary school system, possibly augmented by the sprinkling around of a few "free" schools in specially poverty stricken and neglected areas.

The Manchester School Board's policy was by now clear. Their first consideration was to get as many of the children into the voluntary schools as possible by the generous interpretation of the provision for the payment of school fees of poor children, and, in this way, indirectly aiding the voluntary schools to pay their way. Secondly, the Board were prepared to make good any further deficiencies by providing schools themselves. Finally, the consideration of the additional provision of one or more free schools could not be much longer deferred.

It has already been mentioned that one of the first schools to be erected by the Board was at Every Street, Ancoats, but that there was a long delay in opening it, so that eventually it was officially opened on the same day as the third school to be built by the Board, that at Chester Street, Ardwick, in January, 1876. The honour of being the first school built and opened by the Board fell to Vine Street, ⁽¹⁾ Hulme, which opened its doors for the first time on the 9th August, 1875. ⁽²⁾ The ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of this first board school took place on the 4th June, 1874, and was fully reported in the local press (an extract from "The Manchester

(1) For a reproduction of a contemporary illustration, see accompanying portfolio
(2) The first board school to be built anywhere in the country is claimed to be Newhall School, Sheffield, opened in January, 1873.

Guardian" is included in Appendix VII), and something of a truce had to be patched up for the occasion between the contending parties on the Board, for it occurred in the midst of a series of very heated debates on mainly religious topics about that time, all of which were again fully reported in the local papers. Even so the Bishop of Manchester felt obliged to tender regrets for absence, as did at least one member of the Board, Alderman Lamb, who was known for his ardent support of Church of England schools. Having opened this additional accommodation for about 2,400 pupils in the three new schools the Manchester Board was content to leave this side of its work for a while, as it was nearly two years before the next school built by the Board was opened. A full list of all the schools built by successive Boards, together with the dates of opening, will be found in Appendix V, infra.

Eventually the Board turned to the problem of opening free schools in earnest. Three weeks after the opening of the Every Street and Chester Street schools ~~the~~ Board adopted a proposal to establish free schools by a majority of nine votes to four, the opposition being provided by the Rev. Joseph Nunn and the three Catholic members on the second Board. Some of the major contentions from both sides in this ~~is~~

interesting controversy may be very briefly summarised thus: opponents objected that the principle of free schools only served to foster the allegedly ingrained habit of begging and reliance upon public charity, while the supporters maintained that some of the voluntary schools were becoming unwilling to accept some of the more ragged type of children for whom the Board were paying fees.

The application to erect two free schools, under (1) S. 26 of the 1870 Act, was received at the Education Department on the 21st March, 1876. These schools were to be in the parishes of St. Michael, for the Angel Meadow and Redbank neighbourhoods, and St. Peter, for the Deansgate district. The Board's letter pointed out, inter alia, that the locality of the notorious Angel Meadow was a resort of a poor and degraded population, to use their own words, embracing hawkers, and other persons who obtained a precarious livelihood in connection with the adjacent market in Shudehill, together with many convicted thieves and other disreputable characters. It then went on to explain that

(1) S. 26: "If a school board satisfy the Education Department that, on the ground of the poverty of the inhabitants of any place in their district, it is expedient for the interests of education to provide a school at which no fees shall be required from the scholars, the board may, subject to such rules and conditions as the Education Department may prescribe, provide such School, and may admit scholars to such School without requiring any fee."

the Sharp Street Ragged Schools existed as free schools for many years but that these had passed into the Board's hands on the 1st October, 1875, since when fees had been required. The Board therefore requested permission to convert these schools back again into free schools, and also sought permission for the transfer to them of the Byron Street, St. Matthew's school. In support of their contention concerning the high rate of unrelieved poverty in these districts they submitted the following figures relating to indoor and outdoor relief:-

Statistics on Pauperism in Specified Districts in Manchester in 1875 (submitted to Department, 20/3/1876)

<u>I. St. Michael's Relief District:-</u>		<u>Other parts</u>
		<u>of township</u>
Estimated Population in 1876	19,000	
No. of Indoor Paupers relieved in 1875	2,397	6,565
Aver. No. of Outdoor " " " "	140	1,715
Percent. of Indoor Paupers to Population	12.61	4.53
" " Outdoor " " "	0.73	1.18
<u>II. St. Peter's Relief District:-</u>		<u>Other parts</u>
		<u>of township</u>
Estimated Population in 1876	18,000	
No. of Indoor Paupers relieved in 1875	1,763	7,199
Aver. No. of Outdoor " " " "	330	1,525
Percent. of Indoor Paupers to Population	9.80	4.94
" " Outdoor " " "	1.83	1.04
<u>III. Totals for the Whole of Manchester:-</u>		
Estimated Population in 1876	163,738	
No. of Indoor Paupers relieved in 1875	8,962	
Aver. No. of Outdoor " " " "	1,855	
Percent. of Indoor Paupers to Population	5.47	
" " Outdoor " " "	1.13	

Considerable criticism was aroused in certain quarters against the Board's proposals and the Roman

Catholic element, both on the Board and outside, was particularly strong in its condemnation. There was some decidedly acrimonious correspondence concerning Canon Toole's imputation of improper motives over the proposed transfer of the Byron Street school, where it was alleged that the proximity of the railway alterations in that area might well result in the school having to be abandoned or transferred to other premises, so that it was only a move to get rid of an embarrassment on to the public purse. Kennedy addressed a public meeting in April at which he virtually denounced the Board's proposals to open~~z~~ the two free schools. This called forth a very strong protest from William Hughes, one of the new unsectarian members of the second Board, and so the battle went on.

But it was the influence of the Rev W.J. Kennedy (1) which was particularly important, as the Inspector specially responsible to the Department for the area. He wrote a long Departmental minute on the subject on the 22nd April, 1876, only a few days after his address to the meeting in Manchester. In it he stated that he understood that these two free schools were only a part

(1) W.J. Kennedy and A.P. Graves were H.M.I's. for No. 15 District (which included Manchester) at this time. Kennedy was the Senior Inspector.

of a larger scheme for the establishment of such schools by the Manchester Board, and he revealed that even before the Board had first been elected, nearly six years earlier, he had suggested to Birley, with whom he was on friendly terms, that the new Board ought to dot about some of these free schools throughout the city, instead of continuing the Education Aid Society's policy of wholesale payment of poor children's fees. However, his advice not having been taken, Kennedy was by now of the opinion that the free schools were now of dubious necessity, in addition to the payment of fees. Possibly somewhat surprisingly for an ordained priest of the Established Church, particularly at this time when much unfortunate controversy existed between the Church of England and the Free Churches on the one hand and the Roman Catholics on the other, he went on:

"I have no favour or leaning to Roman Catholicism but I confess that my sense of fairness is hurt by what appears to me to be the constant assaults of the Manchester School Board on the Roman Catholics. As a matter of wisdom, too, I can not but see that the Roman Catholic nuns and other teachers are doing a very great work as citizens in softening and in imbuing with a moral sense the very large and very low Irish population in towns like Manchester."

He concluded by pointing out that the Sharp Street school was definitely close to St. William's R.C. school, while the St. Matthew's school almost touched the St. Mary's R.C. school.

It was pointed out to Kennedy that there might well be a residuum which could only be touched by the proposed free school and that strong arguments would be needed by the Department to withhold permission from the School Board. In addition, the great success of the Jackson's Row Free School for Boys, in the Deansgate district, was cited. Unmoved by these pleas, Kennedy wrote another Departmental minute on the matter a month later, in which he included the following revealing comments on the state of affairs in Manchester scarcely more than eighty years ago:-

"(The) argument against fostering the 'ingrained mendicancy' is cogent: but it is the poverty, if anything, which would warrant Free Schools in addition to the system of paying fees. The Mistress told me that the children who used to be fed in this Sharp Street School did seem to be half-starved when they first came - deficient in brain from want of food. This fed lot of scholars dropped away from the School directly the feeding ceased, as the Mistress told me. I suspect they were Irish and went back to the R.C. schools. You know perhaps that the Jackson's Row Free School was set up by the political party which used to be the 'Lancashire Public School Association.' The Secular party had long and often been taunted by the Denominational party with not having set up schools; and this school in Jackson's Row was the answer to the taunt. Nothing can be deduced from the case of so special a School: it is sui generis."

All of these arguments and counter-arguments were then referred to Patrick Cumin, who was at that time the principal assistant to Sir Francis Sandford, the Secretary of the Education Department, and Kennedy's

advice seems to have carried the day, for the Department eventually recommended the continuance of the existing system of remission of certain fees, and requested further information concerning the necessity for the provision of special free schools in addition. In any case the latest of the Elementary Education Bills was already under earnest consideration, and the Government were shortly to enact the transfer of the power to pay fees from the school boards to the Boards of Guardians. Having bowed to the demands of certain large and powerful boards, such as Manchester, in 1873, when the only major change enacted was to constitute school boards trustees for educational endowments or similar charities (under (1) S. 13 of the Act of 1873) retrospectively, the opposition to the more generous policies was growing, so that it was hardly likely that the Department could have viewed the proposal to augment payment of fees by the establishment of additional free schools very favourably at this time.

(1) 36 & 37 Vict., c.86; s.13: "A school board shall be able and be deemed always to have been able to be constituted trustees for any educational endowment or charity for purposes connected with education...Provided that (1) Nothing in this section shall enable a school board to be trustees for...any educational endowment.. the purposes of which are inconsistent with the principles on which the school board are required by s. 14 of the principal Act (of 1870) to conduct schools provided by them; (2)...nothing in this section shall authorise the school board to expend money out of the local rate for any purpose other than elementary education."

The result of the transfer of power to the Guardians,
(1)
under s. 10 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, was
to increase the existing difficulties in enforcing the
attendance of poor children, since the standards of
poverty laid down by the Boards of Guardians differed
from those of the School Board. In addition, the
former paid the school pence, in necessitous cases,
direct to the parents, and in many cases this never
reached the managers of the schools. Matters eventually
came to a head between the School Board and the chief
offenders, from their point of view, the Chorlton-on-
Medlock Guardians, early in 1879. At that time the
Board sent a letter to the Guardians pointing out that
the latter were making the position very difficult for
the Board in carrying out their duty to enforce attendance.
The only concession that the Guardians would make was to
agree, as from the following Quarter Day, to ~~pay~~ school
fees for pauper children direct to the school managers,

(1) 39 & 40 Vict., c.79; s.10: "The parent, not being a pauper, of any child who is unable by reason of poverty to pay~~ed~~ the ordinary fee for such a child at a public elementary school, or any part of such fee, may apply to the guardians having jurisdiction in the parish in which he resides; and it shall be the duty of such guardians, if satisfied of such inability to pay the said fee, not exceeding 3d. a week, or such part thereof as he is, in the opinion of the guardians, so unable to pay."

but they declined to make any change for non-pauper children. As this was much regretted by the School Board, and since they could get not satisfaction over the question of easier standards for the remission of fees, they referred the matter to the Education Department. However a Departmental minute of the 19th March only emphasised the growing gulf between them and the Manchester Board on this continuing question of the latter's alleged over-generosity. The minute tersely remarked:

"The Guardians are masters of the situation, unless any pressure can be brought upon them by the Local Government Board. At the same time it must be remembered that the Manchester Board are, in the opinion of many, somewhat over-liberal in their ideas as to what constitutes a claim for re-payment of fees on the score of parents' poverty."

At the same time that the Board were unsuccessfully seeking permission to establish free schools they were also bringing some pressure to bear upon managers of certain voluntary schools to transfer them to the Board. It may well be that the majority opinion on the Board, firmly denominational in character, honestly believed that the only hope for voluntaryism in the country was for the schools to be transferred to school boards in cases where sufficient sums could not be raised in the poorer districts for their efficient

(1) P.R.O., ED 16/172; for 19/3/1879.



upkeep. It was certainly becoming increasingly evident, as year succeeded year, under school board rule, that the Churches were having an unequal struggle in competition with rate-aided board schools and, indeed, this became the major bone of contention in educational politics in the last years of the century, and was probably responsible for the ultimate abolition of the school board system. At the time in question, in 1876, the controversy had only reached the point, in Manchester, whether it was expedient for the voluntary agencies to listen to the latest moves of the School Board to transfer their schools to the Board where they found it difficult to keep them up to the required standards in the poorer areas. Considerable point was made by the Churches that the fees were, in general, lower in the Board's schools than they could economically manage in the voluntary schools, and that this greatly added to the latter's difficulties, since it meant that there was an unfair competition with the Board's schools, and the numbers always tended to drop in the Church schools whenever the Board opened a school of its own anywhere in the vicinity of the former. In a word, the Board was accused of "under-selling" the Churches and other voluntary agencies in the matter of public elementary education. A typical example of

this type of argument occurred in connection with the proposed transfer of the St. Paul's C. of E. Schools, Mulberry Street, Hulme, where approaches had been made by the Board to the Managers. The Rector's reply was carefully argued and repays some study by anyone interested in the problems of competition between Church and School Boards. (It may be found in full in Appendix VIII)

In these first chapters we have seen something of the state of neglect into which education in this country had fallen, of the early efforts made by the voluntary societies to remedy the position, of the dissatisfaction with the rate and type of progress of these bodies which was expressed by the secular educational movements, and of the disgraceful destitution left as the social aftermath of the industrial revolution. We have seen also how the first two Manchester School Boards attempted to tackle these evils by the generous application of statutory powers as to the payment of poor children's fees, augmented by the gradual, but not the less steady, establishment of their own schools, or by the transfer of schools to their management; and how, in the latter case, this was sometimes accompanied by overtures from the Board that were construed as inimical to the best interests of the voluntary schools. In fairness to the Board

it should be pointed out that the alteration enacted in 1876 provided yet another good reason why such transfers were urged by the Board, since they were by now virtually in a position where they could waive fees in individual cases for children in schools under their own management, but frequently could not obtain the same remission for pupils in the voluntary schools, if the Guardians refused the application. This was made the subject of a memorial to the Department shortly after the third Board came into office, when they complained of the repeal of s. 25 of the 1870 Act ("Payment of School Fees in Voluntary Schools"), maintaining that:-

(1)

"Injury has been done to that great principle, the recognition of parental right, which characterized the Act of 1870; that it tends to constrain parents in their choice of Schools, by limiting the power of the School Board to the remission of fees in their own Schools, and, consequently, places at a disadvantage those Voluntary Schools which My Lords of the Committee of Council on Education have done so much for many years to establish."

The Board therefore recommended that their original byelaw, respecting the remission of fees, should be restored, and though, of course, nothing could be done in this direction, under the new Act, it left a position which could only provide another strong reason for the Board to urge the transfer of voluntary schools in poorer districts and, at the same time, put them in a

(1) SB/5; pp. 244-246.

position with regard to their own schools which strengthened the argument of the opposition of "under-selling" the voluntary schools.

From this time on the centre of interest shifted: the initial struggles were over, and though the rumblings of sectarian strife, in one form or another, were still to be heard in the School Board debates, and in the wider fields of press and public meeting, the main emphasis was now on further progress. New extensions of the Board's work began, and entirely new avenues of development opened up, which were surely never envisaged in Forster's original Elementary Education Act of 1870. This was not accomplished without some set-backs; the reactionaries had their triumphs too. But progress was inevitable when a powerful School Board was led by a man of the calibre of Herbert Birley. The next chapter will deal with the first of these new developments, and show how the Higher Grade Schools began to emerge, that later became such an important feature of the educational scene.

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V. - Commencement of Higher Grade Schools, 1875-80.

The fifth, and last, school to be transferred to the first School Board, either as a whole school, or as to the lease of the premises, was Osborne Street, Oldham Road. This was taken over by the Board just six months after the ill-fated Half-Timers school had been opened in Lombard Street, and an examination of the Trust Deed reveals something of importance for this chapter, for it shows how, as early as 1873, the Board could have been led dangerously easily into fallacious conclusions concerning the scope of their work.

The Osborne Street School Trust Deed contains a typical entry laying down the original intentions of the founders of the school, in September, 1850. It says:

"The school shall be conducted as a Sunday School for poor and other children and adults (requiring instruction) for gratuitous instruction in Christian Knowledge, and also, if deemed advisable, as...a day school for children, or adults, for instruction in general knowledge, and to charge for such instruction, or otherwise, as may be deemed proper, but so as that the same school or schools may at all times be under the direction and control of the said Church, or Society, or the major part of the Members thereof for the time being."

Taking these points in order we see how the Board, when constituted trustees under an instrument of transfer, not infrequently found themselves in the position of managing a school which, prima facie, was available for

the instruction of either children or adults, and, if run as a Day School, for the provision of "general knowledge," with the right to charge fees, provided only that the school remained under the majority of the members of the Church. Any lingering doubts as to the legality of the position of School Boards in being constituted trustees for such educational charities were removed retrospectively by the provisions of s. 13 of the Elementary Education Act, 1873, so that we need not concern ourselves further with this point, except in so far as that Act was expressly stated to be "an Act to amend the Elementary Education Act(1870)," and was to be read in conjunction with the principal Act. It is also wise to bear in mind the important proviso of s. 13(2), (vide p.99, footnote, supra), as to the illegality of the school board in expending "money out of the local rate for any purpose other than elementary education."

The question that expressly concerns us, in the consideration of how the Higher Grade Schools, and later the extension to similar work in the Evening Schools, ever came about, is whether there was any other context to control this prima facie case. Indubitably it was contained within the principal Act of 1870, where there was clear guidance that the

fees charged could not in any instance exceed 9d. per week for each pupil, but where there was much less clear instruction as to how the term "elementary" education was to be interpreted as to the age of the scholars, or the context of the syllabuses. Presumably this was to be laid down in the Education Code, for which provision was made in s. 97 of the Act (vide p. 64). From the School Board's point of view therefore, if any such guidance was in the Code, it was legally binding on them; if it was not, then individual cases could still be challenged by either the Department or the Local Government Auditor. If the Board could get away with it without successful challenge, then it might fairly conclude that its position was legal. But the matter was still further complicated by the existence of two Codes: there was the Education Department Code, in Whitehall, and there was the Science and Art Department Code, at South Kensington, though the School Boards ought to have been clear that the latter Code had no force of law under the provisions of s. 97 of the Act of 1870.

This latter Department was an offspring of the Board of Trade, and really owed its origins to the Great Exhibition of 1851. In 1853 it became a distinct Department, designed to continue the underlying principles of the Exhibition, that is, to endeavour to cultivate good taste and also to stimulate consumption of the

goods that were being turned out in ever increasing quantities by the successful Victorian manufacturers. Its importance in the matter of school board administration lies in the fact that it became a lucrative source of grants, exhibitions, and so on, through the medium of its examining activities in a wide variety of educational subjects. If the school boards could implement the expressed principle of instruction in "general knowledge," under Trust Deeds like the Osborne Street case, by collecting money under the South Kensington Code, then they could avoid the danger of illegal action under s. 13(2)⁽¹⁾ of the 1873 Act - or so they hoped! The substance of the next few chapters is largely devoted to showing how far the Manchester School Board went in their endeavours to make the best of both worlds, and how they eventually became something of a model for the rest of the country in this type of educational venture.

The beginning was quiet and undramatic enough. The General Report published by the second Board, at the end of its term of office in 1876, recorded some details of the steady progress that had been made, whereby a net accommodation for a further 4,600 pupils had been provided, towards the 8,280 deficit in the Department's revised figures for Manchester. It pointed

(1) p. 99 n., *supra*.

out that the position had improved from four schools managed by the first Board (three temporary ones, in Hamer Street, City Road, and Osborne Street, together with the transferred Ashley Lane school) for a total of 1,830 places, with three other board schools under construction (Vine Street, Every Street, and Chester Street) for a further 2,300 pupils, until, three years later, not only had these latter been opened, but there were four more being built (Lloyd Street, Armitage Street, Abbott Street, and Burgess Street) for a total of 3,140 children, together with seven more that had been transferred (Zion Chapel, St. Peter's and St. George's, both in Oldham Road, Sharp Street, Salem, St. Matthew's, in Byron Street, and Christ Church, Greenheys), for a total of 3,570 further places. It turned out to be the last of those listed, Christ Church, opened by the Board on the 2nd October, 1876, that was the specially significant one.

Reference to the map provided (in a separate folder) shows that up to that date all the schools transferred to the Board, or opened by them in leased premises, or built by them, had so far been in strictly lower class areas of the city. The transfer of Christ Church opened up a new prospect, for the district of Greenheys, although in Chorlton-on-Medlock, was at that

time bordering, at least, on an accepted middle-class district. There immediately arose the possibility of turning this into an "Upper School," at which the top fee could be charged, in return for which the Board might provide "assistant" teachers, in lieu of the pupil-teachers and monitors, which were still the accepted method of instruction in the ordinary elementary schools of that time. In fact, the fees ordinarily charged at schools managed by the Board were by now standardised at 2d. for infants, and 3d. for all others (a concession to the point raised by the Wesleyans concerning the alleged discrimination against them in their mixed schools). At this new Upper School in Greenheys the fees were fixed, in 1877, as Boys: 9d. and 6d. per week (depending on the Standards), and for the Girls: 8d., 6d., and 4d. weekly, in different Standards.

In the first instance, therefore, the only sense in which this school was "upper" was in a social context. The better class artisan and the lower middle class parent to be found in the district could not only afford to pay the little extra in fees, but it soon became apparent that the middle classes were often favourably disposed to a cheap, efficient board school, rather than a more expensive and inefficient, so-called "commercial" school. The north countryman's cautious

regard for any unnecessary expense was in evidence already, for this type of Upper School soon began to flourish in a number of larger towns and cities of the north of England. The first of them is usually credited to the Bradford School Board, in 1875, but in fact a move had been made by the Manchester Board as early as the 12th March, 1874, when it approached the Department with a suggestion that a higher fee should be charged for the higher Standards in the board schools, with a view to introducing a differential scale of fees, such as was subsequently adopted in the case of the Christ Church and Bury New Road Schools in Manchester. The Department refused this first application with the somewhat curt remark that "such a regulation would be a discouragement to proficiency and an encouragement of one of the greatest practical evils with which the School Boards have to deal, viz: the non-attendance of older children." Since the Manchester Board rather meekly replied that it was only an experiment that it would have liked to have tried out, but would withdraw without further comment, the matter lapsed, while the Bradford School Board quietly went ahead with their project for an "Upper School" the following year.

(1) GP/1, p. 34.

These early ventures were strictly "upper fee" schools, as described, while the Manchester experiment was already beginning to show something more than this in 1877. It might perhaps be fairly claimed that the first true "Higher Grade" school in the country was this Christ Church school, in Greenheys. In such an "upper" school it was soon found that work outside and beyond the "standards" could be profitably attempted. Various reasons can be advanced for this: thus, better teaching, somewhat smaller classes with easier discipline, time to observe and classify the children better, and, probably most important of all, the absence of half-timers from these higher fee classes, all helped to bring about this new venture into work of a higher standard.

The "standards" referred to were, of course, the legacy of the Revised Code of 1861-62. There were at first six of the Standards to be passed in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, starting from the age of six years, by which the capitation fee for each pupil could be earned, as they were individually passed. In addition, grant could be earned by pupils above Standard IV in one or more prescribed "specific" subjects, as from 1871, and four years later the Code allowed pupils to learn certain "class subjects," or if they had already passed all six Standards not more than three "specific" subjects. It

can be seen, therefore, that if this is added to certain more advanced subjects of instruction, which could earn grant under the Science and Art Department Code, the ground was already cleared for School Boards to venture into the fringe of a new realm of more advanced instruction than the very limited one of the Revised Code.

The tentative efforts in the Christ Church school in the session 1876-77 were sufficiently successful to induce the Board to open another, on similar lines, in September, 1877, in the premises of the Broughton Elementary School, in Bury New Road. This school was also on the fringe of the existing middle-class area, near the city boundaries, but not to such a marked extent as in the case of the Christ Church school. It was accordingly felt that the maximum fee would not be appropriate, so that the charge was, in general, 6d. per week. In a sense it was partial answer to the critics of the scheme who were already beginning to appear and who alleged that the Board was exceeding its statutory powers in seeking to provide rate-aided education for other than the lower classes. This was an interesting, and possibly valid point, for the intention of the 1870 Act was reasonably clear on this matter, even though it was far from precise in detail. In the first place the fixing of the upper limit of the fee at 9d. suggests

that "elementary" education was envisaged as being suitable for the poorer classes, and that those who were able to pay for a more expensive education for their children were expected to do so. Again the government spokesman in the debates on the 1870 Act expressly stated that it was intended for the working classes only; but intentions of government speakers do not have the force of law! The position can perhaps be summarised by saying that there was a strong body of opinion in the country which considered that state-aided education was for the poorer classes only, but that there was no clearly expressed statutory definition to this effect. Moreover it would hardly have entered anyone's head, prior to 1870, that any such rate-provided board schools were suitable for any but the labouring classes. Nevertheless the germ of the idea was by now firmly entrenched in the thoughts and actions of many of the middle-class parents in Manchester, and the Board had made the first moves by establishing two Upper Schools, one for the north and one for the south of the city, in Bury New Road and Greenheys respectively, by the end of 1877.

So popular did the idea become, in fact, that in both cases the premises were soon found to be inadequate. Towards the end of 1878 the Board decided to build an

entirely new school in Ducie Avenue, to provide permanent premises for all departments of the Christ Church school, and shortly afterwards a corresponding move was made to the Salem premises in the cases of the Broughton Elementary school, which was then re-named the Strangeways Upper Board School. However, these moves did not pass entirely unchallenged on the Board, despite the absence of the arch-enemy of school board expansion, the Rev. Joseph Nunn.

Nunn had temporarily disappeared from the hurly-burly of school board politics in an unexpected fashion. The first two elections had been heated and costly affairs. The charge for the first one was surcharged by the auditor but was remitted, on appeal, by the Local Government Board, and the doubts that may have been entertained as to the legal right of school boards to settle such accounts were removed by the special provision in the 1873 Act, s. 6(1) which read:

"The election of a school board shall be held...as the Education Department...prescribe; and the Education Department may ..make regulations as to the duties, remuneration and expenses of any officers requisite for the purpose of such election."

The expense of the second election was particularly heavy, costing over £1,500, which was a sizeable proportion of the total expenditure of the second Board on all their schools. It was therefore realised that it would be more sensible and certainly more economical if the

election of future boards could be secured without a contest. Accordingly a meeting of the interested parties was invariably held in the Mayor's Parlour prior to each of the subsequent school board elections and attempts were then made to settle the matter on the basis of the existing strength of parties in the city. The second election had provided a fair basis of comparison for an agreement on a proportional representation on the Board, and, in November, 1876, the attempt to avoid a contest was successful, though it always failed on future occasions. Oliver Heywood had withdrawn from the second election in a last minute attempt to secure a measure of agreement among the contestants, but he was unsuccessful; this time he was joined by Nunn, and as this left only fifteen/nominees, they were duly declared elected unopposed by the Mayor, acting as Returning Officer. In fact Nunn did not secure re-election for six years in all, but his pen remained active against the Board in the columns of the local press.

Nunn's place on the third Board, as the undisputed champion of the most reactionary ratepayers, was taken by another clergyman of the Established Church, the Rev. John Henn, who had a background which might explain why he was consistently an ardent advocate of Nunn's extreme views. After education at the Edward VI Grammar School

in Birmingham, Henn was chosen at only 16 years of age to fill a vacancy as an assistant master in a Church school on the same foundation as the Grammar School, and continued unaided in this role for nine months, with nearly 150 boys under his charge. He then became a master at Dudley Grammar School for three years, and then Master of the Commercial Department of the Birmingham and Edgbaston Proprietary School for four years, after which he moved to Manchester as Headmaster of the Church of England Middle School, in Stretford Road, more familiarly known as the Manchester Commercial School, founded by the Manchester Church Education Society in 1845. Two years later Henn graduated B.A. at London, when that University first allowed non-collegiate status to its students for degrees in Arts and Laws, and he was ordained the following year, when he became a curate at St. John's Church for the next two years. He is probably best known as the originator of the Hospital Sunday collections, in 1870, a movement which subsequently had world-wide ramifications, and his title to be the founder was publicly recognised in a testimonial four years later, about the time he became Rector of St. John's. Our immediate concern, however, is to note the considerable experience that Henn had had with middle-

(1) The Health Journal, Vol. V, No. 57, for Feb., 1888.

class Church schools, and in which he was a firm believer. It is also significant that he was something of a self-made man, having shown exceptional promise at an early age, and working his own way steadily up the scale. Like many another of like calibre, he was probably an ardent believer in personal effort and, moreover, in preserving the status quo of the stratum of society into which he had laboriously worked himself. At any rate he was radically opposed to any tendency of the School Board to encroach on what he considered was rightfully the province of middle-class education, and he ~~was~~ firmly resisted all attempts at expenditure which was not, in his opinion, strictly necessary, and "Upper Schools" were, he felt, an unnecessary luxury.

In a letter to the Board in November, 1878, when he was unavoidably prevented from attending a meeting in person, Henn expressed the opinion that: (1)

"The Elementary Education Act of 1870...was to provide for the education of that class of children who attend National Schools...The neighbourhood of Ducie Avenue is inhabited by quite a different class of children. People who pay £30 to £70 or £80 or even more for their houses are not the class of people for whom we should erect a Board School, nor do I think we should provide Schools for professional men such as Solicitors, and for others well able to afford to pay a guinea or two guineas a quarter for the education of their children...To erect a School in Ducie Avenue will be permanently to provide for the children of the middle class of that neighbourhood."

The School Board were quite undeterred by complaints

(1) 56/7; 25/11/1878.

of this character and went steadily ahead with their plans for providing more suitable and permanent accommodation for their new experiment in Duois Avenue. In any case the matter could be put to the test of the hustings in the following year and the Board were well content to let it become an issue at the next triennial election. There had already been an unexpectedly satisfactory response as far as numbers went in the new higher fee schools, and they were satisfied with the prospect of putting the scheme to the test at the next appeal to the ratepayers. The outcome might be said to be the triumph of shrewd, north-country common-sense. The election clearly demonstrated that the ratepayers appreciated the provision of good, cheap, frankly middle-class schools, in preference to the very inferior product which was offered to them in far too many cases, where the standard of education actually achieved was frequently of a very indifferent kind, to say the least. The result may be summed up in one sentence: Birley finished at the top of the poll, while both Nunn and Henn were defeated.

This firm endorsement of the Board's policies did not go unnoticed in the Department. A typical complaint having reached them from the proprietress, a Miss Porter, of a "school for young ladies" in Greenheys, alleging unfair competition on the part of the Board's school,

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the Education Department's minutes are largely concerned with the problem, and a number of interesting comments appeared at that time which shed some light on the rather confused and changing policies which the latter were prepared to initiate.

Concerning Miss Porter's complaint, a minute to Cumin rather surprisingly commented, in view of the fact that the 1870 Code laid down criteria for inspectors to determine whether the children in receipt of public education were, in fact, "children of working classes" or not, that "neither the Elementary Education Acts nor the Code under which the Parliamentary grants are administered fix in any way the class of children who may attend public elementary schools." Thus, within ten years of the passage of the 1870 Act, it appeared as if the Department were no longer intending to defend what had been the understood intention of that Act to provide solely for the education of the labouring classes. But once again it is the opinion of the Inspector who was principally responsible for a district which was bound to have considerable weight, and which, therefore, repays a little more study.

By this time the Rev. Kennedy had been succeeded by a Mr. Oakley as the senior H.M.I. for the Manchester area, and it was Oakley who wrote a long minute for

(1) P.R.O., ED 16/172.

Cumin and Sir Francis Sandford on the question of the Christ Church school and Miss Porter's objections. He reported that at the recent election the cry raised against the previous Board was chiefly on account of that school, but that the result had been that the rate-payers had entirely endorsed the Board's policy. He then continued with an indictment of the voluntary schools, and more particularly the middle-class schools, saying:

"When I consider that the Manchester School Board provides a sound education in excellent rooms with one teacher to every twenty scholars, with free books, slates, &c., &c., (in most districts of the town) for 2d. or 3d. a week, it is a wonder to me that the poor voluntary schools hold up their heads - it is however pretty certain that many of them will not exist for long. And turning to middle class schools, we knew ever since 1871 that in most cases the humbler ones would be gradually extinguished. I visited some scores of these "academies" in 1871 and 1872, and there is no doubt that the extinction of ninety per cent was highly desirable. These middle class schools, even the better ones, are at present in a pitiable condition, ~~ew~~ perhaps from the growing competition of the Board Schools and from the fact that there is no test whether they are good or bad.- The only hope for them seems a general annual inspection, undertaken by the Government...This Christ Church school is a higher graded Board School; the fees are 6d. and 9d. a week, and the results excellent."

Oakley then concluded by answering several specific points raised by Miss Porter, but sufficient has been quoted to show the changes that seemed to be occurring in the Department's attitude to the question of the new Higher Grade Schools. In 1873 H.M. Inspector for the

Bradford area had been impressed by the much improved rate of progress in schools where there were no half-timers and had recommended the establishment of "higher elementary" schools by school boards; in 1874 the Department had curtly refused Manchester's application for such "upper" schools; in 1875 Bradford had opened such a school; in 1876 Manchester opened another which quickly turned to some more advanced subjects of instruction, and, in 1877, had extended the system to a second school, which became known as an "Upper Grade" school. By 1878, new and larger premises were being sought for these upper grade schools and the cry was being raised that the School Board was providing middle class schools, which competed unfairly with the existing commercial schools. In 1879 the Board's policy was warmly endorsed by the ratepayers, so that, early in 1880, the Department showed clearly that it was not prepared to defend the commercial schools against the Board's competition - a position that had already been taken up a few months earlier in a long letter to the Bradford Board, at a time when the latter was seeking permission to establish its fourth "higher elementary" school. Indeed, the Department's attitude was at this time clearly laid down, in the Bradford decision, that, as conditions had considerably changed since the passing of the 1870 Act, and as

neither then nor in subsequent Acts had any attempt been made to define the class of children (other than by the upper fee limit) who might take advantage of the national educational system, therefore the question did not arise. Furthermore definite steps had already been taken in the Code to enlarge the scope of elementary education, and, as a result, in some cases teachers had already been employed with better qualifications and hence who could command a better salary. To meet this the managers of schools had naturally to charge a higher fee, and if this remained within the legal limit of 9d. there could be no objection to it, although it meant that, to some extent, the parents were obtaining more advanced education at a reduced cost and with assistance from the rates.

It would seem that no objections would be forthcoming if money was expended on these schools out of the school fund so long as "elementary education is the principal part of the education there given." Alternatively, if the Boards might subsequently want to establish schools which included only the upper standards, or "ex-standard" pupils, as happened in later developments, they would have to avoid making such schools chargeable to the rates, which was already a possibility with grants that were obtainable from the Science and Art Department. The Education Department did, however, appear to have had

some qualms about the position at this early stage and in the same important decision re the Bradford Board suggested that Boards might try grading the different schools under their control to the quality of education offered, and to enable more industrious and more capable children who might not otherwise be able to attend the higher grade schools to enter them by way of scholarships and exhibitions. These aims and objections of the Department were restated more fully the following year in another important decision relating to the Nottingham Board proposal for a "higher graded school," but our consideration here is to follow the development of the Manchester schools within the framework of the larger national system, and a further discussion of the Nottingham case would not, at this stage, assist us.

The interesting speculation does arise, however, as to the reasons why certain school boards appear, throughout the period of school board administration, to have followed ~~certain~~ courses of action with little or no challenge, while others ran into trouble more frequently when following seemingly very similar policies. One aspect of this problem concerns local government audit where, in the case of the Manchester School Board, relations with the auditor were remarkably peaceful. Apart from the first election expenses case already

mentioned, the Manchester Board were only surcharged on a few occasions throughout their thirty years history, for example, the cost of waterproof clothing for the Beadle, which amount was remitted on appeal to the Local Government Board. Some Boards, on the other hand, appear to have found the Local Government auditor somewhat tyrannical, and his position is an important one in the development of school board administration up to the close of the century. Another instance is in the case of the establishment and development of the higher grade schools, where Manchester's efforts not only proceeded unhampered (after the single setback in 1874), but were publicly extolled by important Departmental officials in subsequent years. It may be that the opinions of individual inspectors, who came to know the Departmental chiefs as well as leading members of local Boards very well, carried considerable weight in advising the Department on local matters. As a result, the Department were perhaps not always wide awake to the possibility of failing to follow a single, definite policy, for, despite their care in observing precedents, it would appear that some school boards were able to develop schemes for higher education less troubled by the Department than others. In Manchester's case it is significant that the first senior Inspector, Kennedy, was an acknowledged friend of the chairman, Herbert Birley, some time before the

Board was first returned to power. Or again, Oakley's minute on the Christ Church School, in which he admitted "strong opposition from the Voluntary party," may have just carried the day when he declared he had gone into the case thoroughly and "was convinced that, though the neighbourhood is decidedly a respectable one, there is a need of a large public elementary school." It may well be that the personality of leading figures, like Birley, did much to smooth the path where discussions of local matters were concerned, but it would be difficult to attempt a more positive assessment at this distance.

It would also be a matter of some importance in Whitehall if an individual Board appeared to be following the general outlines of the Department's policies or not. In the matter of the development of higher grade schools at the time of the Bradford decision, in 1879, it must have looked as if the Manchester Board were following closely the suggested pattern laid down from Whitehall, for, as early as the 16th September, 1875, the Manchester School Board approved "a Scheme for the Administration of a Fund for the Establishment of Exhibitions at Higher Schools," showing that they were fully prepared to allow these projected schools to be open to capable pupils who could not otherwise afford the fees. This indeed was always their policy and the scholarship scheme grew

into a very considerable affair throughout the ensuing years. It was generously supported by some members of the Board; for example, McKerrow gave £840 to found a permanent Exhibition about a year before his death in June, 1878. Again, at the time of Miss Porter's complaint, in January, 1880, it was one of her contentions that further scholarships were being offered to Christ Church pupils to go on to the High School for Girls. In fact, as Oakley pointed out, a number of benefactors had originally combined together, under the Bishop of Manchester, to found exhibitions for both boys and girls, and that these had subsequently been handed over to the School Board, who held annual examinations to award scholarships and exhibitions for places of further education, from their own schools, as well as from all the voluntary schools in Manchester and Salford. Oakley was himself concerned in these annual examinations in a professional capacity.

By 1880 there was already a fairly comprehensive scheme of scholarships in force, enabling children to proceed to the higher grade schools on the one hand (although this was not normally necessary, since the Board had already agreed to waive the fee in proved cases of necessity), and to go on from there to other educational establishments, such as the Manchester

Grammar School and the High School for Girls. Perhaps this accounts in part, at least, for the comparative freedom from restraint that the Board enjoyed where the Education Department was concerned; but, whatever the reason, it is an indisputable fact that Manchester continued to enjoy, from this time on, a large measure of steady and largely unrestrained development in the new realm of more advanced public education, within the framework of the existing Elementary Education Acts and the Educational Codes in force for the time being.

It remains, however, a somewhat curious fact, on reflection, that the Manchester School Boards, which never returned more than six undenominational members out of a total of fifteen, were in the vanguard throughout of the development of more advanced work. How was it that an essentially denominational body, pledged to support voluntary schools, became the leaders in the development of Higher Grade and Advanced Evening Schools? In part it may be accounted for because several of the most influential leaders were educationists and social workers first, and only Church school supporters afterwards. It may also be partly attributed to shrewd common-sense: the middle class Church, or "Commercial", schools were already known to be in a very bad state and it may have been that a majority of the Board, even

amongst its Church members, regarded the establishment of a more "secondary" type of instruction, partly aided and supported our of rates and taxes, as eminently satisfactory, while doing their best to retain the "Primary" stage as much as possible within the province of the Churches. Whatever the cause, progress was not entirely unimpeded, and there was one period of marked reaction, in 1885-88, when Nunn's party was returned to power, but the triumph of the reactionaries was short lived, and further development then proceeded, right up to the time that the School Board handed over to the new Education Committee, in June, 1902.

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VI. - Early Developments in Evening Schools, 1873-80.

It is difficult for a modern generation, educated in a world of tidily delineated primary and secondary schools, followed by technical and other colleges and the Universities, all following on at predetermined stages, to understand readily the totally different kind of structure which existed less than a century ago. It must therefore once more be stressed that there was, broadly speaking, "elementary" education for the lower classes of all ages, the rather better type of private adventure schools, followed by the "commercial" schools, for the middle classes, and the much older tradition of the "public" boarding schools for the upper classes, leading on to Oxford or Cambridge University. The place of the old established grammar school has not been mentioned because, in many cases, such schools had fallen into near desuetude by the beginning of the nineteenth century, and, at the time that board schools were being established, it was still something of a transitional period for the grammar schools. The intention is simply to give a very broad summary of the educational picture in Manchester about a century ago.

To understand the rise and subsequent development of the evening schools it is also necessary to realise that they would be seen as the logical extension of the ordinary work of the elementary school, teaching primarily,

if not actually exclusively, the "Three R's" to children and adults, and marked out from them only by the time at which they met. Since illiterate adults, and the semi-illiterate half-timers turned out by many of the public elementary schools, could only meet in the evening sessions of the schools to overcome their serious handicaps, there would be no surprise at a high proportion of much older students in the elementary evening schools. Neither would any attempt necessarily be made to differentiate between children and adults in these schools, though the Manchester School Board did, at quite an early stage, recommend that, where possible, a separate room should be provided for those over 18 years of age who desired instruction in reading and other elementary subjects of instruction. Otherwise, however, these schools were first looked upon merely as alternatives to the ordinary day schools, that happened to meet in the evenings.

True there were some Departmental differences: for example, the government grant for evening schools, begun in 1851, and increased in 1855, was not allowed for pupils under twelve years as from 1862, nor for those over eighteen in the 1871 Code. Moreover the amount of grant was smaller, being only 2s. 6d. for each pass in Reading, Writing, or Arithmetic, and passes in class or specific subjects were not included for evening

(1) SB/4. pp 267-68; "Evening School Scheme."

students. The corresponding figures for day pupils were 3s. for passes in the elementary subjects and 4s. each in the class or specific subjects. Broadly speaking, therefore, we may say that the Education Department's attitude was that the evening schools were the "poor relations" of the public day schools.

From the very first, however, there was a new kind of night school being established. The only source of supply for teachers in the board schools was generally through the pupil-teachers, who were employed as monitors and then as assistant teachers in the schools, and these were necessarily drawn from the brighter element, mentioned in the last chapter, which could be expected to work through the standards more quickly than the average run of pupils, and who would also be expected to undergo further, and more advanced, instruction which could only be carried on after the normal school hours. There arose, therefore, the pupil-teacher instruction centres as a matter of more economical working, where more advanced evening instruction was being given, and where the grants would largely have to be earned through the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, and not through Whitehall. The history of the development in Manchester is typical of that in other parts of the country, but

the scope of the advanced evening school work was eventually nowhere greater than in that city.

The establishment of elementary evening schools by the Manchester Board was perhaps rather slower than in some of the other large cities, chiefly because the School Board did not find it necessary to make a very early start in opening further day schools, and hence premises were not immediately available for the night schools. In consequence, Manchester was the first school board in the country to carry out successful arrangements for conducting evening departments in the Voluntary schools, beginning in 1876, and the arrangement was generally adopted in the city in 1893. The Board seems to have been quite impartial as to the denominations of the schools used, the availability and suitability of the premises being the only criterion in making the choice. Even as late as the session 1900-1901, 56% of these schools were being held in Voluntary school premises in Manchester. (1)

In the same way that the voluntary agencies had, on the whole, provided a fair amount of day school accommodation, the provision of night schools in Manchester was correspondingly better than in areas

(1) General Report of Tenth Manchester School Board.

of greater educational destitution. The first day schools were not opened by the Manchester Board until 1872-73, and it was not until the latter year that evening schools were first started by the Board, but once the elementary evening classes were started they showed a steady rise. From two such schools in the session 1873-74 the numbers rose to sixteen only three years later, and it was at the end of the session 1875-76 that the Board mentioned significantly in their official Report on the Board Schools that: ⁽¹⁾ "It is pleasing to see the large number of men who, for the purpose of self-improvement, attend each evening of the week." The Report also added that the expenditure on the rates was £32. 8s. for the evening schools. This expenditure was not illegal, of course, so long as the schools came within the provision of the Elementary Education Act, namely that "the principal part" of the instruction should be "elementary," and the fees charged did not exceed 9d. per week. Since the government grant ceased at 18 years of age, there was a tacit assumption that the term "children" in the Act did not embrace those of more mature years, though their attendance in the same schools had been accepted as a matter of course from the very first. It is, however, somewhat surprising that no query was ever raised by the Local Government auditor

(1) Manchester School Board, Reports, &c., Vol. II ("Report of Board Schools" for 1875-76.

as to the legality of the arrangements whereby, in some cases, there were classes being held exclusively for those over 18 years of age. As early as 1876 the Manchester Board agreed to open elementary evening schools for men only in St. Philip's School, Wilmott Street, and St. George's School, Oldham Road. The latter school had just been transferred to the Board by its Managers, but the former remained a voluntary school, and it provides an example of the Board's policy of making use of Church schools, under arrangements with the managers, for their night schools. The fees were fixed at 4d. per week in both these schools.

It was at this same time, in July, 1876, that the second Board decided on a complete change with regard to the scheme for pupil-teachers who wished to attend classes at other institutions not under the Board's control. Formerly the Board had paid the fees for their pupil-teachers attending Science and Art classes but, as the numbers were by now rapidly increasing, it was decided to open classes under the Board's own control working under the South Kensington Code. In order to make the running costs of these classes as economical as possible it was further agreed to open them to all teachers and assistant teachers, both in the Board's schools and in the Voluntary schools, and also to

(1) SB/4; 20/7/1876.

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"artisans at rates which bring the classes quite within the reach of all for whom they are intended" (sic!).

The subjects to be taught in these new classes were: Chemistry; Mathematics; Animal Physiology; Acoustics; Light & Heat; Magnetism & Electricity; Botany; Physical Geography; Practical, Plane & Solid Geometry; and Machine Construction & Drawing. In truth the School Board had already, in less than six years, come a long way from the narrow interpretations of the 1870 Act! A few months earlier the Bishop of Manchester had presided at the presentation of the first certificates to successful candidates under the School Board Exhibition Fund, and now the Board was preparing to launch a series of advanced classes of its own. Indeed, the pattern was by now beginning to emerge clearly. The Manchester School Board were going to open "upper schools" in better class areas, elementary evening classes for all, and Science and Art evening classes mainly for their own pupil-teachers and teachers, but which were also open to all who would pay the fees. In addition the Board was prepared to assist numbers of those who could not otherwise take advantage of this higher education through their already expanding Exhibition Fund; and the auditor never once surcharged any of this expenditure, although in 1877 it was challenged from outside.

(1) Manchester School Board Reports, Vol. I (2nd School Board Report)

In general the number of surcharges made by the auditor was few in the case of the Manchester School Boards, and in nearly every case they were remitted on appeal to the Local Government Board. To be more precise, the records of the Finance Committee over the years show the following cases:

(1) August, 1876, surcharged for refreshments supplied to Officers while engaged on extra work; also for waterproof clothing to Outdoor Officers, and for "certain legal charges in excess of the scale of charges allowed;"

(2) February, 1877, surcharged for candidates travelling expenses in attending an interview for an appointment;

(3) August, 1877, surcharged for the cost (£9) of an unsuccessful appeal against the Poor Rate Assessments of the Board's Schools; also the payment of School Fees (£164) of poor children remitted after the 31st December, 1876 (the date on which the transfer of the power to remit fees in voluntary schools was the Board of Guardians was made effective).

Each of the above was remitted on appeal to the Local Government Board, but there was a further highly significant appeal reported to the Finance Committee on the same date, 2nd August, mentioned in (3) above. The Clerk reported that a certain Mr. John Plant, of Salford, had appeared before the Auditor in order to lay before him certain reasons why the Science and Art Classes should be disallowed as illegal. It is unfortunate that no details of the arguments are available; it is merely stated that, after hearing Mr. Plant, the Auditor

decided that the Classes were perfectly legal.

In support of the position put forward towards the end of the last chapter it should be noticed that it was a member of the public who came forward to contest the legality of the Science and Art Classes, and that it was not challenged by the auditor in the first place. In view of the decision of the London auditor (Cockerton) in 1899, when the School Board were surcharged with the expense of certain Science and Art Classes, it is clear that the fundamental attitude of Local Government auditors, and their personal relationships with School Board officials, must have had an important bearing on the outcome of appeals and surcharges. It is therefore significant to note that, although the above cases are not quite complete (unfortunately the fifth volume of the Finance Committee's minutes, covering the period from February, 1879, to June, 1883, is missing from the archives of the present Manchester Local Education Authority), there are very few cases of surcharge from 1883 onwards. In 1888 the expenses of a School Board deputation to the Education Department, amounting to £3:18:6, was disallowed, and several cases of small amounts of disallowed interest on overdrawn accounts at the Bank, notably in 1892 and 1893, occurred, as indeed they had done earlier in the Board's history. These latter amounts were not remitted

on appeal and the Board initiated an ingenious scheme for covering these occasional small charges through an "Interest Fund," which subsequently had a curious history. Details of this latter matter may however be found in the description of the troubles which arose during the period of the fifth School Board, in 1882-85. After this time there are virtually no entries of surcharges and relations with the Local Government Auditor are frequently referred to in the School Board's minutes as "very cordial." Possibly this was due in no small measure to the very capable and influential Clerk, Charles Henry Wyatt, who served the Manchester School Board for many years and became a veritable giant amongst school board clerks.

The elementary evening schools were limited in the amount of grant they could receive by the provision that the total of the government grant, for passes in the elementary subjects, could not exceed the total received in fees from the scholars. There were, however, no grants from the Education Department for the more advanced work now being carried out in the Science and Art Evening Schools, but these were supported by the fairly generous grants and awards which could be earned under the South Kensington Code. In this way the Board were able to report that the government grants earned in the elementary evening schools rose from under £22

in the session 1873-74, to nearly £700 only five years later; while the Board were able to comment in glowing terms on the more advanced classes being run under the alternative Code. Possibly, however, there were still some lingering doubts concerning the legality of the whole system, for the Board used some significant phrases in their official Report, issued towards the end of the term of office of the third School Board, in 1879, which are worth quoting. The Report says:

"The Board have continued, and every year have found it needful to largely extend, their system of classes for instruction in Science and Art. These classes, originally designed for the special needs of the pupil-teachers under the Board, who require facilities for obtaining the certificates offered by the Science and Art Department, have been opened to the public in order that the work may be conducted in an economical and efficient manner, and also with a view to extending its advantages as widely as possible amongst the working classes. For this purpose the Board have increased the number of centres at which the classes are held, and have secured the services of some of the best teachers in the various subjects. The pupil-teachers employed by the Board are admitted free to these classes, the amounts representing their fees being debited to the accounts of the various day schools to which they belong. Other students are charged 3s. for the session with permission to attend the classes in any three subjects."

By the 1878-79 session the list of subjects being taught in these Science and Art classes had increased to embrace Agriculture, Botany, Building Construction, Inorganic and Organic Chemistry, Applied and Theoretical Mechanics, Physiography, Physiology, and Steam. But in

addition to all this the scheme had been still further enlarged by the establishment of what were termed "Special Classes," where such subjects as French, Greek, Latin, Phonetic Shorthand, and Singing were taught. The language classes were so well attended that it was soon found possible to run both Elementary and Advanced classes in French, and subsequently a "Matriculation" class was added. The Greek class was only open to teachers of certain grades in the Board and Voluntary Schools, and was free; otherwise the fees were fixed, according to the official report, so as to make the classes self-supporting. Since ~~very~~ substantial grants could be earned through South Kensington this meant that, in fact, the fees could be kept very low indeed, and rarely exceeded 3s. to 4s. a session.

The extent to which these advanced classes expanded is more readily appreciated by reference to the Board's own published Table:-

Annual Increase in Science & Art and Special Classes:-

<u>Sessions:-</u>	<u>1876/7</u>	<u>1877/8</u>	<u>1878/9</u>	<u>1879/80</u>
Centres	3	8	11	14
Classes	8	34	54	116
Students	460	730	1,250	1,450 (already enrolled to end of October, 1879)

This then was the general picture of evening school work in Manchester during the first decade of School

Board rule. Originally the Board merely took over the existing work of the voluntary schools and extended it where necessary to cover actual deficiencies. The scheme was designed to eradicate illiteracy in the lower classes, and to this end adults as well as children would present themselves for the purpose of gratuitous of low-fee instruction in the Three R's , in buildings which had already been given for the express purpose of such instruction, and, in some cases, for the rather more ambitious purpose of instruction in "general knowledge," and the like. The Board inherited some of these school buildings, as well as the system of monitors and pupil-teachers who, in turn, would require a more advanced type of instruction in due course. There arose, therefore, two distinct types of night school: the elementary school, which was a simple extension of the scheme of public elementary education to embrace older pupils at later hours than the normal; and the Science and Art school, originally for the training of the pupil-teachers. These Science and Art schools had to be almost entirely supported out of grants and awards from the South Kensington Department and since they embraced a wide range of activities it became obvious that these classes could be more

economically and indeed more profitably run it they were considerably extended, both as to the class for which they catered and in the matter of subjects of instruction. If all this could be achieved with an increasing measure of public approbation and no demonstrable legal snags, then the Manchester School Board could be justifiably proud of a civic duty honourably and effectively discharged.

According to contemporary accounts one man played a large part, along with Herbert Birley, in the establishment of both the Pupil-Teachers' Centre Classes and the Higher Grade Schools. Edward John Broadfield was first elected a member of the School Board in July, 1878, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. McKerrow, the prominent Unsectarian member of the early Boards. Broadfield had declined to allow his name to go forward for election to the second Board in 1873, but had agreed three years later, on the understanding that he was the first to withdraw his candidature should there be a possibility of avoiding a contest thereby. As this eventuality did in fact materialise, Broadfield withdrew, along with Heywood and Nunn, so that his entry into membership was deferred until after McKerrow's death in June, 1878. After this time, however, Broadfield was always returned in the Unsectarian interest,

and indeed he eventually had the longest, and certainly one of the most distinguished, careers on the School Board, being an active member of the School Management Committee for 19 years, chairman of the Finance Committee for 16 years, and Vice-Chairman of the Board for the last seven years of the Board's existence. It may therefore be informative to give a few details of the background of this interesting member of the Board to conclude this part of the account of the first decade of School Board administration in Manchester.

Broadfield's father had been one of the Police Commissioners, the body of men responsible for the civic government of the city in the days before the existence of the corporation, and had been actively interested in public education in the city, having been a manager for nearly fifty years of the old Peter Street School (afterwards transferred to the Board and then merged in the Central Higher Grade School). He was also a generous benefactor to the scholarship fund of the Board in its early days. Broadfield himself was educated privately at Accrington and then at the Friends' School in Mount Street, Manchester. After winning many prizes, he graduated first class B.A. at London University and then became actively interested in the management of first Owens College and later the Victoria University of

Manchester, being a foundation member of the University on its grant of a new Charter in 1880, and then a member of the Court and of the Council. Prior to this, however, he had, in common with a number of the more prominent members of the School Board, been actively engaged in the great educational movements in Manchester which led up to the local Education Bills, prior to the Act of 1870. He had also been much interested in the formation and operation of the Education Aid Society, and it was with regret that he declined an invitation to succeed Edward Brotherton as honorary secretary to the Society on the latter's tragic death, in 1866. However Breadfield's interest in the question of education led him to become a member of the Education League some years before 1870, but he accepted the compromise of the government Act of that year, unlike the more radical members of the League. Indeed he had, in his own words "always striven to raise the great question of National Education above the sphere of party and sectarian differences," and he promised on one occasion that, if elected, he would "support the policy of giving the best possible education in the Board Schools, under the best possible conditions." Looking a little further ahead it might be remarked that he was one of the first members to advocate the Evening Commercial schools and the Evening Institutes for Women

and Girls, which will be mentioned again later in this account. Finally he was a leading member of the School Board's Free Meals Fund, of which he was the Treasurer for many years. If it is added that he was an active Justice of the Peace, held many other public offices, and still managed to travel extensively on the Continent and in America, it will be seen that he was a noteworthy addition to the sphere of school board politics.

Broadfield was often found in association in School Board activities with his brother-in-law, William Hughes, member of the Board from 1873 until his death in 1885, with John Watts, until the latter's death in 1887, and with Herbert Birley, who died in 1890. These four men formed a most influential quartet in the important developments which were taking place in the early stages of the development of Higher Grade and Evening Continuation Schools which have been the subject of these last two chapters. It is to men such as these that Manchester can be said to owe a deep debt of gratitude for the remarkable way in which successive School Boards set about the task of building up the extensive scheme of public education in the city in the closing years of the last century from some decidedly unpromising beginnings.

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REFERENCES: "Manchester Faces & Places", Sept. 1898.
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Ministry of Education Library & Archives (Various files)

VII - Further Developments and Dissensions, 1880-85.

After the initial difficulties of establishment were over, the first decade was characterised by steady expansion and progress, and the following lustrum was a period of consolidation, marked towards the end by dissensions and personal antipathies, which threatened to curtail the work of the School Board on an appeal to the electorate in 1885. Happily the period of reaction was ~~short~~, and the Board then went ahead to lead the way in wise and far-reaching school board administration.

The plans for the new Ducie Avenue Central School
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were duly approved by the Education Department in January, 1880, and a few of the details may make an interesting comparison with modern standards of school building. The school was designed for 726 boys and girls and 251 infants, for which was provided 2,408 sq. ft. for each of the boys' and girls' departments, and 2,040 sq. ft. for the infants, or almost exactly 7 sq. ft. per pupil, on the average. This compares with a subsequent Departmental standard, approved by the Cross Commission some eight years later, of 10 sq. ft. for each child in
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average attendance, and with modern requirements which lay down almost 42 sq. ft. of teaching accommodation for each child, apart from extensive provision for

(1) M.E., School File, No. 92/70; 10/1/1880;

(2) M.E. Circular No. 243 (25/1/1952; also S.I. 1954,

(No. 473, dt 12/4/1954.)

playing fields and so on. The estimates for the proposed erection included: Site - £1,843; Buildings - £6,700; Furniture and Fittings - £478; Architect's Commission, &c. - £600; Other Expenses - £379; making an estimated total of £10,000, subsequently increased by about a couple of hundred pounds. This expenditure of just under ten guineas per place compares with the present day limits prescribed by the Ministry of Education of around £165 per place which, even allowing for the very substantial devaluation of the pound, suggests a decidedly parsimonious attitude towards expenditure on public education eighty years ago! To make the comparison more precise it may be of value to point out that, whereas the value of the pound was reasonably steady prior to the first World War, although there are no official cost-of-living figures for that period, the ⁽¹⁾ official figures published by the Treasury show a decline of exactly one-quarter in the purchasing power of the pound between 1914 and 1955, so that it might be reasonable to multiply the original ten guineas by about $4\frac{1}{2}$, say, to arrive at a fair comparison of around £47 to £48 per place, in terms of the modern pound. This still suggests that, in terms of expenditure allowed and in available teaching space, the planners of 1880 were content with roughly one-quarter of the present allowances.

(1) H.M. Treasury Leaflet No. T780/58 (12/9/1958);
~~also S.I. 1954, No. 473 (12/4/1954)~~

The new school was opened on the 8th February, 1881, when all the children from the Christ Church Board School, Greenheys, were transferred to it, but by the 9th June, 1882, an application had to be made to the Education Department for permission to re-open the latter premises to accommodate Standards V to VII, inclusive, on account of the grave over-crowding already existing, so popular had the new school become, with its higher fees but better facilities, in little more than a year.

When this new application was received at the Department Oakley commented in a minute to Cumin that he did not think any special objection could be made to the proposal, though he now thought that the Manchester Board were beginning to push their ideas about grading their schools too rapidly. However, in this instance, he pointed out that the Christ Church School was just on the borders of the suburb of Moss Side, which had enormously increased in population between the years 1871 and 1881, and was not well provided with schools. He did not think, therefore, that any Voluntary school would be injured by the further extension of the new Board school, as there were already plenty of scholars in Moss Side who were attending the more or less inefficient private Adventure schools.

Although not strictly within the period under discussion at this stage it may be of interest to note that the shortage of playground space at the Ducie Avenue school was first remedied in 1890 when, in June of that year, permission was sought to lay out playgrounds and erect a caretaker's house on an adjoining site which had been acquired under the will of Sir Joseph Whitworth, the full improvements to cost a further £3,000. This, in turn, was only part of a much larger scheme which had originally been initiated by the Whitworth Legatees in 1888, when it was proposed to create the Whitworth Institute of Arts and Industry, with the object of taking over the Manchester Technical School and the Municipal School of Art, and the laying out of the nearby Whitworth Park, on a part of which should be built a museum of art and industry. A further application to spend £12,000 on extensions and improvements to the school was made in September, 1901, and these alterations had not been completed by the time that the School Board handed over its functions to the newly created Education Committee in June, 1903.

One other school which subsequently became one of Manchester's Central Schools is also worth mentioning at this point, as it admirably illustrates the dangers and difficulties inherent in the piecemeal acquisition

of school premises which was going on throughout the period of school board administration. This school, the Devonshire Street Higher Grade School, as it became in 1892, was originally called "The Ardwick, St. Matthew's Middle Classes School," and the original trust deed for its establishment, ⁽¹⁾ dated the 17th November, 1871, laid it down that it was to be "a school for the education of children and adults, or children only, and of either or both of the sexes, of the Middle Classes." The management was vested in a committee of nine, under the Archdeacon of Manchester, with the Bishop as Visitor, and this committee was given the power to sell, or transfer, the school, with the Bishop's consent. The school was in fact transferred to the School Board in March, 1883, although the Department's approval to the proposed transfer was originally sought in the previous August. It was pointed out to Cumin at that time that the school was for the middle classes, but as it was an annual grant school, it was suggested that no question should be raised about its being an elementary school, within the meaning and purpose of s. 23 of the 1870 Act, which expressly gave permission to managers of voluntary schools to transfer them to school boards.

The point at issue was, of course, whether the word "school" in s. 23 was in any sense limited by the

(1) M.E., School File, No. 92/14; Deed No. 82/13926.

further provisions of the Act, expressed or unexpressed, that the education was to be provided for the children of the lower classes. Once again the Department were driven back to s. 3, dealing with the definition of terms in the Act, which expressly stated that "the term 'Elementary school' means a school...at which elementary education is the principal part of the education there given, and does not include any school... at which the ordinary payments in respect of instruction, from each scholar, exceed ninepence a week." Since the fees were not outside the prescribed limit and the education was "elementary," at any rate at the time of the transfer, the Department suffered no serious qualms over the proposed transfer of a school which was specifically for the middle classes; indeed, Cumin roused himself no further than to initial the minute as "agreed."

Having once acquired a middle class school the next step was obvious. With higher fees than the average for the Board Schools, and with an absence of half-timers in the school and the provision of assistant teachers in lieu of the pupil-teachers, work of a higher standard could be attempted, in fact the narrow confines of the original Standards and instruction in little more than the Three R's became inappropriate.

In the same fashion as the Christ Church School, the metamorphosis was effected, and St. Matthew's Middle Classes School became the Devonshire Higher Grade School in 1892.

Although the Education Department appeared to accept the transfer of middle class schools to school boards without demur, it looked as if it was beginning to have some doubts about the virtual absence of an upper age limit to pupils in public elementary schools. True, there was an inferred limit of 18 years of age, which was laid down in the Code of 1871, as the limit beyond which a pupil's attendance would no longer be "recognised," but the absence of the six shillings payment for attendance did not mean that a scholar could no longer attend the school. Indeed the position was beginning to border on the farcical when Inspectors were going into the classes for students over 18 years of age and, in some cases, even publicly extolling the virtues of the arrangements made by school boards for these older and more advanced pupils, and yet refraining from reporting upon them officially, because such work was definitely outside the limits of the Code.

In 1880 the Department seems to have had one of its periodic moments of reaction. The new Code for that year proposed to limit the age at which pupils

could remain in public elementary schools to 15 years. Naturally the Manchester School Board were quickly in the field to oppose a regulation which would have seriously restricted their expanding organisation of Higher Grade schools. (1) Two Memorials were prepared to the Department in the first of which the Board suggested that it was undesirable to make the proposed restriction in the age to which children might remain as scholars in elementary schools, since, they pointed out, in general very few children were being kept on after that age, and they felt that it would be unwise to discourage the attendance of children over that age whose parents desired them to remain beyond the usual time.

However the Department were certainly not wholly reactionary, for they were prepared to give with one hand while withdrawing with the other. In order to obviate the difficulty inherent in the interpretation of the term "elementary" instruction to mean instruction within the Standards in the elementary subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic, the Department also proposed that any definite subjects of instruction might be taken, provided that such subjects were taught "through reading lessons." The ruse was obvious. If geography, of history, or for that matter Greek was to be taught, it had better be taught as a simple extension of the

(1) SB/9; pp. 279 - 281.

"Reading" lessons which were the basis of the elementary instruction in the standards, from the time of the Revised Code of 1862 onwards. In the event of awkward challenges being raised as to the elementary nature of some of the subjects being taught in schools, it would then be so delightfully simple to be able to retort that it was all part of the elementary reading lesson!

The reaction of the Manchester Board to this was characteristic. While they fully approved of the relaxation permitting any definite subjects of instruction, they thought that the restriction that these should be taught through reading lessons was decidedly undesirable. As they were at pains to point out, since at that time no special reading books were required for the teaching of geography, history, etc., as specific or class subjects, they failed to see why they should be considered necessary for the extended range of subjects now being proposed, especially as many of the latter were of a scientific nature and hence thoroughly unsuitable for such treatment. Since specific subjects had already been allowed within the elementary schools, why, they asked, should there not be a simple extension of this principle, without the necessity for this shallow pretence that it was all a part of the elementary reading lesson? Evidently the Board's relation with the Local Government

auditor were sufficiently cordial that they felt certain that they could carry on with a large extension of the existing work in more advanced subjects without incurring surcharges. The Science and Art Classes had been challenged before the auditor in 1877 and the answer had been clearly and unequivocally in the Board's favour; they were not, therefore, expecting further trouble of like nature only three years later.

In the second of these Memorials to the Education Department, on the 31st May, 1880, the Board expressed the view that there was a great danger, if education grants were disallowed for children legally employed under the Factory and Workshops Act, but who had not passed the standard fixed by the byelaws of a school district for total or partial exemption from the obligation to attend school, that such children would either be refused admission to annual grant schools, and therefore kept out of employment, or that they would be neglected if they were admitted, because the teachers could not hope to earn any grant by passing them at the next inspection. It was frequently a matter of real concern to the Manchester School Boards that something should be done to raise the deplorably low standards regulating the employment of juvenile labour, and especially the evil of street hawking which was all too often indulged

in by quite young children until late hours of the night. Thus, two years earlier, when the government's bill dealing with the consolidation of the law relating to Factories and Workshops had first been under consideration, the third Board had memorialised the Commons with a view to prohibiting young children from working too long hours. Again, little more than a year after the second memorial of 1880 already mentioned, the fourth Board were again approaching the Department, seeking the latter's support for the proposal to include a provision in the Manchester Corporation Bill, making it illegal to employ any child under the age of ten years, and from ten to thirteen years only if in possession of a certificate of exemption from the fifth standard. In point of fact, under the Manchester Corporation Act, 1882, the sale of articles on the street after certain hours by children under fourteen years of age was prohibited, unless they had first passed the fourth standard. To gain some idea of the size of this problem it is only necessary to read through some of the dozen volumes of the minutes of the Industrial School Committee, where hundreds of cases can be found relating to begging and hawking by children far into the night, in addition to the many shocking cases of neglect and cruelty that were of all too frequent occurrence.

As soon as the Manchester Corporation Act became law, in August, 1882, the Board set about enforcing the provisions relating to street trading by children, and within the next three years 1,320 cases were noted of children selling during the prohibited hours. The Board reported that some very glaring cases of parental cruelty were met with, and the carrying out of the work was rendered difficult by the extremely late hours at which the children were found, many of them long after midnight, and also because of the long distances the children had often wandered from their homes. The considerable majority were dealt with by warnings to the parents, but the Board prosecuted in 277 of the cases.

The powers possessed by the Board under this local Act were considerably extended by the Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children Act, 1889, whereby the powers which had hitherto been exercised by the Board's officers in the evenings were extended to the day time, and penalties were increased in severity for cases of parental cruelty and neglect. In three years, 1888-91, over fifteen hundred cases were dealt with, and the number of prosecutions rose somewhat, though the Board were pleased to be able to report that the degree of destitution and wretchedness of many of the children concerned was not so marked as in previous

years, and that cases of extreme parental neglect were becoming exceptional.

This last observation is only one of many in contemporary records which bear out the general picture of steadily improving conditions in Manchester throughout the latter half of the century, and the School Board could justifiably feel proud and confident that their efforts were making a valuable contribution to the general raising of the wretched standards of life amongst the poorer classes in the earlier years of the century. Even nine years previously, when the Recorder of Manchester was opening the Quarter Sessions, in October, 1882, he could observe that there had been a considerable diminution in crime in the city of late years, and he ascribed the improvement to the operations of the School Board, as he was of the opinion that its work had affected a considerable amelioration in the condition of the more neglected portions of the community. He therefore hoped that the operations of the School Board, in the matter of giving a better education to the lower classes of the city, would be continued and extended from year to year.

Nor was this side of the work of the School Board largely, much less exclusively, occupied with the reclamation of neglected children from the street. Another illustration of their genuine concern for the general

welfare of the children occurred in January, 1881, when the Board asked the City Council to discontinue the practice of thawing the snow in the streets by the use of salt since, they said, ⁽¹⁾ "many thousands of young children, a large proportion of whom are poorly shod and some are actually bare foot, are compelled to traverse the streets four times a day to and from school ...The practice of placing salt...converts the snow into an intensely freezing mixture." It may be salutary to realise that there are some still living who can recall the sight of children regularly going barefoot to school, even perhaps in winter.

A further illustration of a like nature ought to be mentioned, the Free Meals Scheme for Destitute Children attending Board Schools, although this was, of course, entirely voluntary, and was not carried on under any of the statutory powers conferred on the Board. Not long after the opening of the first board schools in Manchester, in 1873, a scheme was initiated by Birley, and received much generous support and active encouragement from others, notably Broadfield, to provide free breakfasts for deserving cases in the board schools. For many years this work proceeded to believe near starvation in the case of hundreds of children each winter, entirely

(1) SB/10; p. 263.

supported by voluntary contributions, and nobly carried into effect by the teachers working in their spare time. It is hardly necessary to give statistics relating to the steady expansion of this fine work, which tended, in any case, to rise and fall, depending upon the severity of each successive winter. It may however be properly mentioned that, in the winter of 1886, the scheme was further extended to provide free dinners at five of the schools, while the practice of discontinuing the free meals during the school holidays was also abandoned at three schools, where the work was carried on over Christmas, with the help of teachers and certain of the Board's officers. In this fashion the scheme continued to expand, so that by March, 1888, the Board could report that some 63,000 breakfasts and 40,000 dinners had been served in the four months just ended, "at a cost of something under one penny each." The report also hastened to add that free meals had only been given to really necessitous children, and that the circumstances of the family had been investigated and reported upon by the officers of the Board, so that relief had only been given to the children of parents whose incomes were below the poverty scale laid down by the Board, or who were actually in receipt of parochial relief. It is clear that, in those stern Victorian days, no relief would be given without a stiff means test!

The standard of the catering left much to be desired by more modern standards also. The meals must have been most monotonous and uninspiring: the breakfasts were described as consisting of warm coffee and milk, with bread; while the dinners alternated between warm soup and bread; or potato-hash. This soup was made from boiled bones, peas, potatoes, carrots, and dried herbs, and was said to have been highly appreciated by the children. The potato-hash was made of ox-cheeks, potatoes, and onions, and "was also very much enjoyed, but entailed more trouble in the preparation than the soup." A total of just over fifteen hundred children were thus served at fifteen schools, during the winter of 1886-87, and while the actual volume of relief disbursed in this fashion rose and fell somewhat with the severity of the winters, a rough average of around 80,000 meals were subsequently served in each of the last ten winters of the School Board's existence, for which more than half of the contributions were raised by the teachers in the schools, and the whole ~~part~~ of the work involved was voluntarily given by teachers and other officers of the Board.

This digression into some of the bye-lanes of the work of the School Boards is not only interesting in its own right, but it serves to illustrate to some extent

the preoccupation of successive Boards with the problem of assisting the children without the necessity for the parents to become pauperised by recourse to relief from the Board of Guardians. This question several times received earnest consideration by the School Board and the occasion of ⁽¹⁾ yet another long memorial to the Department in May, 1881, on various questions raised by the Elementary Education Act of the previous year, was made the opportunity to urge upon the Department once more that the school boards (or the school attendance committees, where boards had not been called into existence) ought to be authorized to pay the school pence of these necessitous, but not necessarily pauper, children, instead of the local Guardians of the Poor, in cases where the parents wished to exercise their right to send the children to voluntary schools.

This point seems to have exercised the attention of quite a number of school boards in the north-west, for a joint deputation was arranged with the Liverpool, Oldham, Bootle, and Macclesfield School Boards, together with representatives of the Atherton, Warrington, Stockport, Sale, and Birkenhead School Attendance Committees, and also from the Manchester and Chorlton Boards of Guardians, which saw Earl Spencer and Mr. Mundella, the respective President and Vice-President of Council,

(1) SB/11, pp. 124-127, & p. 216; the point was urged again subsequently by the Board, e.g. vide SB/22, p.251.

on the 11th July following. As representative of the most influential school board present, the Manchester delagate, George Milner, was invited to speak first, followed by those of the other boards and committees. However Mundella remained unmoved by the requests and contented himself with remarking, in his reply, that, while he was im sympathy with the desire to avoid bringing parents who were not paupers into direct contact with the machinery of pauperism, so that he would be glad if Boards of Guardians could do something to prevent it, nevertheless he was not prepared to accept the general principle of the transfer of the power to pay the fees in these cases back to the school boards and attendance committees. In particular, he was concerned that there should be absolute equality and fairness, so that he felt strongly that the parent in a rural district should be treated no differently from one under the school board authority of a large town. This last point was clearly intended as a firm rejoinder to the critics who were becoming increasingly vociferous in their suggestions that the large and relatively wealthy urban school boards (with particular emphasis on those of Manchester and Salford) had set up a most liberal system of payment of school fees in their own board schools, together with a lavish expenditure on schools of a wide range, so that the poorer rural

areas were hopelessly outclassed and could not hope to compete with their rich neighbours in the towns. Although this argument was substantially correct, it also had quite another aspect, which became increasingly evident as the discrepancy grew wider. Increasing numbers of children were to be found entering school board schools from outside the district in which these schools had been founded, so that it resulted in overcrowding in the board schools, and the children of the "outsiders" became a serious financial burden on the city's rates. In the first instance the rural neighbours of the big cities tended to complain of the unfair competition of the richer city authorities; in the event, it was the city boards who were loudest in their complaints that they were having to provide a large measure of school accommodation for children whose parents did not contribute to their city rates.

This influx of outsiders became a special problem in the case of a new school which was in the course of erection at the time of the election of the fifth Board, in 1882. At that time 13 schools had been built by the Board, providing for over 11,000 pupils, at a considerable cost to the rates. There were two further schools under construction, one of which was at the corner of Gregson Street, in Deansgate, and it was this school for which

the Board had ambitious plans. It was to accommodate 1,200 scholars, and was to be provided "with all the modern improvements necessary for the proper instruction of the more advanced pupils." It was to have a large chemical laboratory, another large room for drawing classes, and a gymnasium. When it was complete it was planned to transfer all the pupils from the Peter Street school. This had already begun to be treated as a Central Higher Grade School, where the Department had approved a scheme whereby all the scholarships awarded to higher grade pupils could be held in the one school, leaving the other Higher Grade schools largely free to concentrate on the middle class, fee-paying scholars which they had specially catered for all along.

When the transfer was completed, and the new Central Higher Grade School, Deansgate, was admirably organised under its most capable headmaster, James Scotson, it was found to attract a large and increasing population of clever pupils, many of whom came from outside the city's boundaries. However its eventual development into an Organised Science School, drawing its revenue from the Science and Art Department, properly belongs to a somewhat later part of this narrative. At this point it is of interest as it showed the Board's reaction to the new Education Department Code of 1882,

which provided for a school to be made up of two divisions, with the lower division containing the pupils presented in the standards below the fourth, and the upper division all the higher standards, including a new Seventh Standard introduced by the Code. Further concessions in the 1882 Code included the abolition of the upper age limit, and class subjects could be taught throughout the school, with specific subjects in the Fifth to the Seventh Standards. However, no pupils could rank for Whitehall grant after passing the seventh standard, though, of course, the way was wide open for them to earn awards from South Kensington. It is interesting to note that subsequent Codes expressly stated the principle that there was no objection to pupils remaining at school after passing the seventh standard, even though they could not earn grant under the Department's Code.

As in battle, however, the advance is not always steady all along the front line, nor is the rate of progress consistent at all times in a single campaign. The opposition of the more extreme elements of the rate-payers was again becoming loud and better organised. Although he had been out of office for six years, Nunn had not been idle in campaigning, mainly in the columns of the local press, and sometimes in public meetings, to whip up opposition to the Board's growing expenditure.

In the election of November, 1882, for the fifth Board, both Nunn and his ardent supporter, Henn, were returned, after their previous defeat^{in 1879.} Nunn almost at once began a series of personal attacks against other members of the Board, particularly those Churchmen who he thought were guilty of letting down the voluntary schools in their by now almost hopeless fight against the rising tide of school board competition. These attacks were to colour the proceedings of the following years, and resulted in a brief rout of Birley and his followers, during the tenure of office of the sixth Board.

In March, 1883, Nunn objected at the Board's meeting to the conduct of affairs of the special Stores Committee, but he was himself reprimanded subsequently for making irregular reports and statements, ⁽¹⁾ some of them of a rather coloured nature and of possibly dubious veracity, to the press and elsewhere. Undeterred by these reproofs, Nunn again objected at the next meeting to the whole system of the Stores Committee, protesting that the scheme was quite irregular and the saving to the Board claimed by it as completely illusory. This Committee had originally been founded to run a Stores Department for the Board on the lines of a similar enterprise run by the London School Board, and the principal members had been Herbert Birley and Thomas Dale (the vice-chairman

(1) SB/14; p. 95 and pp. 198-199.

of the Board), since its inception in December, 1879. The funds for establishing and putting into operation this scheme were furnished, in the first instance, by an advance from the Bankers to the Board, on the personal security of the members of the Stores Committee. By buying books, stationery, and other requisites at bulk prices and keeping them in store, the Committee were able to supply these articles to individual schools at the current prices reigning for the relatively small orders required by these schools from time to time, and the profits from these sales were then applied to the repayment of the advance from the bankers, and then to the establishment of a principal sum for the proper carrying on of the Stores Department of the Board. It was the intention of the Stores Committee to apply any further profits, after the scheme had been thoroughly established as a going concern, to the establishment of a Prize Fund, to supply certain prizes, and the like, that had earlier been declared not chargeable to the School Fund. Since Birley and others had clearly set their hearts on this scheme for prizes in the schools, as an incentive to better work, they had adopted this ingenious method of getting around the illegality of the original scheme.

This whole set-up provided Nunn with just the

opportunity that he needed. On a motion to thank Birley and Dale for their valuable services as members of the Stores Sub-Committee, Nunn criticized the Stores department at length and moved a series of amendments to express grave dissatisfaction with the scheme. He objected particularly to the existence of a capital account which, he alleged, did not come under the regular cognisance of the auditor, as well as earning profits that were based upon an illusion. It is probable that Nunn's efforts were genuinely aimed, in the first place, at combating the "unfair competition" of the Board schools. He sincerely believed that it was grossly unjust that board schools should be provided with prizes and other allurements in this way, while the poor, struggling voluntary schools could hardly pay their way. But this controversy undeniably offered him the opportunity of opening a personal attack upon Birley and Dale, whom he regarded as the arch-enemies of the Church schools, since they had not sought to do all in their power to suppress the development of the board schools and at the same time assist the voluntary schools by every available means, while professing to be representatives of the Church party. Nunn could forgive the Unsectarian members of the Board, especially as they were in a minority, but he could never forgive Churchmen who let down the cause of the Voluntary schools, as he felt. For the next

three years he pursued these gentlemen with an implacable hatred. It ought, in justice to Nunn, to be pointed out that Birley and Dale were certainly seeking to promote a scheme which had originally been declared illegal, though they believed that the new Stores Department was capable of providing the necessary funds in a perfectly legal way.

(1)
As far back as December, 1873, the newly elected second School Board were engaged in correspondence with the Local Government Board, Whitehall, concerning the legality of their projected "Prize Scheme" in Board Schools. The Local Government Board disagreed that it might be allowed under s. 18 of the 1870 Act, which dealt with the "Maintenance by School Boards of Schools and sufficient School Accommodation." It must be at once admitted that the School Board's case was extremely thin, since the section in question merely refers to the (2) power of school boards to "maintain and keep efficient" the schools that they provided, and then goes on to make it obligatory to provide such additional accommodation as, from time to time, shall be necessary. To claim that the provision of prizes in the schools was a necessary part of keeping them efficient was more than the Local Government Board could swallow.

(1) GP/1; pp. 21-23 & 30. (2) 33 & 34 Vict., c.75, s.18: "The school board shall maintain and keep efficient every school provided by such board, and shall from time to time provide such additional school accommodation as is, in their opinion, necessary in order to supply a sufficient amount of public school accommodation for their district."

After this direct approach to the Local Government Board had failed, the Manchester School Board let the matter lie for a while and then tried a new idea. Certain of their own publications were beginning to find a market in a wider circle of schools, outside their own area, and these were producing a small return which the Board thought might be properly applied to matters like the Prize Scheme, which had been declared outside the scope of the School Fund. It was therefore proposed to put the proceeds of these sales into a special fund for this purpose, but certain objections were raised as to the legality of this procedure also, and by 1879 the project had been abandoned, and the money which had been raised was repaid to an Interest Fund, which had been used in the first place to float the original scheme. This Interest Fund had been started through the private endeavours of several prominent members of the second Board after the auditor had surcharged the interest on the occasionally overdrawn accounts of the Board at the bank. These amounts, generally quite small, were not remitted on appeal, since the Local Government Board were of the opinion that an overdrawn account was due to a measure of mismanagement by the Board, who could have served precepts for any required and authorised amount on the City Council, and could be reasonably expected to budget

accordingly, to ensure that the account was not overdrawn at any time. This Interest Fund was separate and, in a sense, private venture, not part of the ordinary accounts of the Board, for the occasional surcharges on overdrawn accounts and any other similar items that might arise in the future. Indeed the members of the Board doubtless looked upon it as a kind of insurance scheme against unexpected charges.

This first venture into the establishment of a Sales Department was declared to be irregular mainly on the grounds that School Board publications were the property of the Board and had been legally provided for out of the school fund, so that profits could not be properly earned and then turned over to the provision of prizes, which were declared to be outside the scope of the rate-provided scheme of education. It was fully discussed, as was the origin and purpose of the Interest Fund, in correspondence with the Education Department in December, 1879, and certain members of the Board then immediately set about establishing the new Stores Department, with a private advance of capital from the bank, which had by now become the subject of Nunn's strictures in open Board meetings.

At the meeting in May, 1883, Nunn shifted his attack to a new quarter. He alleged that Dale had disqualified

himself from membership by his activities in being a party to the letting of rooms to the School Board in May, 1881. The original rooms had been rented for £200 per annum at 28, Cross Street, after the first few meetings had been held in the Town Hall, but these premises had been found to be inadequate for the steadily expanding volume of work during the next ten years, so that Dale had eventually let some of his own rooms in St. James's Square to the Board, as from the June Quarter Day, 1882, for fourteen years, at a rental of £650 for the first seven years, and then £700 for the next seven years. It was Nunn's contention that this action had disqualified Dale from membership of the Board, under s. 34 of the 1870 Act, which, he pointed out at considerable length, stated that:-

"No member of ~~the~~ School Board...shall hold or accept any place of profit the appointment to which is vested in the school board..., nor shall in any way share or be concerned in the profits of any bargain or contract with, or any work done under, the authority of such school board...Provided that this section shall not apply to:-

(1) Any sale of land or loan of money to a school board; or

(2) Any bargain or contract made with or work done by a company in which such member holds shares; or

(3) The insertion of an advertisement relating to the affairs of any such school board in any newspaper in which such member has a share or interest, if he does not vote with respect to such sale, &c."

Nunn had already been severely criticized by other

members of the Board on previous occasions for bringing matters up for public discussion in Board meetings without having first mentioned them in private in the appropriate Committee meeting. On this occasion he endeavoured to forestall such criticism by suggesting that he had not first mentioned the matter to the General Purposes Committee, because he felt sure that the member concerned would be so well acquainted with the details of the transaction that he could give a very full account of it there himself. As however no such account had been forthcoming at the Committee meeting he felt justified in bringing it into the open at that time, and moreover he would have a resolution to move respecting it later in the meeting. This brought much acrid comment from Watts and others suggesting that Nunn was out of order in any case in adopting the ruse of rising to a point of order in order to air his views in public. It also brought forth the statement from Dale that he had not entered into the contract for the letting of the rooms without first taking legal advice and that he was personally quite prepared to stand by that advice. If Nunn felt aggrieved it was suggested that he had a remedy at law, meanwhile Dale insisted that he would continue to vote, unless ruled out of order by the chairman. Eventually it was agreed that Nunn ought to

bring his motion forward immediately and he thereupon moved "that counsel's opinion be taken by this Board upon the question whether Mr. Thomas Dale has disqualified himself from being a member of the Board by the agreement entered into by him with the Board for the letting of the offices in St. James's Square."

The debate which followed was particularly acrimonious, and the position was perhaps fairly summarised by Watts, when he remarked that "it was a great pity that a member of the Board should put himself to the trouble to throw away the time of the Board whenever they met." It was by now becoming obvious what Nunn's tactics really were. He clearly intended to initiate a campaign of personal innuendoes against leading Churchmen on the Board in an attempt to influence the electorate at the next contest to return others who were more in line with his own all-out efforts to aid the voluntary schools and suppress the Board schools on every possible occasion. He had failed to secure election himself three years earlier on the basis of curbing expenditure of ratepayers' money; he now believed that there was a greater chance of success if he pursued a running battle against the Church representatives in an attempt to secure their removal. With an assured denominational majority he could then seek to reverse the present expansive mood of the Board, and

this policy was, in fact, successful at the next election in 1885. Some of his remarks at the Board meeting, which he was aware were being fully reported upon, illustrate this. At one point he "thought it would be perfectly plain to the inhabitants of the city what serious difficulties an independent member of the Board had to contend with;" or, later in the debate, he remarked: "I think the public of Manchester will require that this question should be settled, not by opinions thus privately obtained, but in some more satisfactory manner...I shall not withdraw, but I shall protest to the Education Department, the Local Government Board, and to the auditor upon this subject, and use every means - I don't say I shall use the means suggested to me, and prosecute in a court of law - but use every legitimate means to get this question settled and in a proper manner." When the vote was taken only the Rev. John Burke, one of the three Roman Catholics on the fifth Board, supported Nunn's motion; all the others voted against, except Dale who wisely did not vote.

It might be expected that Nunn would cease from his persecutions, at least for a while, after this setback. Quite unabashed, however, he then immediately proceeded to launch a fresh attack upon the Interest Fund scheme. He next moved "that as the Education Act,

1870, prescribes that 'all moneys in any manner whatever received by the School Board shall be carried to the school fund,'...the interest fund, the profits of the school store, and the commission on the school insurance ought to be paid to the school fund." Despite lengthy comments about the wastage of public money that he alleged was going on in the Board's affairs, he was still only able to command one other supporter at the end of the debate, when Joseph Gillow, another Roman Catholic, joined him and Burke in opposition to the rest of the Board.

It would be wearisome to follow in greater detail the fulminations of this remarkable Churchman in the School Board debates in the period leading up to the election of the sixth Board in November, 1885. Excuses were found in plenty for launching fresh attacks upon every possible occasion against the Board schools and for pointing out the steadily declining state of the Voluntary schools. Every time that it was proposed to open a new board school, or to accept the transfer of a voluntary school, Nunn would be on his feet protesting that the figures supplied relating to the educational deficiency in that district were entirely fallacious, or that the voluntary schools were no more than half full, and could continue to function most satisfactorily if the unfair competition of the board schools was withdrawn. Nor were his efforts restricted to the publicly reported School Board debates. He would

often attack the work of the Board through the columns of the local or national press, and he was not above going over the heads of his colleagues and approaching the Education Department direct.

An example of these tactics occurred at the time when the proposal to purchase the Lancasterian School for £5,500 was under discussion in March, 1884. The Board wanted to carry on this school as another "Upper Grade School, similar to those already held by the Board." Canon Toole, the leader of the Roman Catholic party on the Board, moved to negative the proposal on the grounds that, as it had already been transferred to the Board for the purpose for which it was originally subscribed and built, namely public elementary education, it was not right to raise money for its purchase from the rates, and, moreover, the Board would be acting illegally if it attempted to do so, since they were already in the legal possession of the premises under the existing lease from the Managers. Needless to say, both Nunn and Burke were once again heard strongly in support of Toole's motion, and, at the same time, objecting to a further proposal to acquire a site in Bangor Street, Hulme, on the usual grounds that there was a large excess of school accommodation in that district, despite the published figures, showing a continued deficiency every since the Education Department's revised figures of more than a dozen years previously.

For the moment the proposal to purchase the Lancasterian School was referred back to obtain further advice. In fact the Board obtained counsel's opinion on the matter, as indeed they had done on several occasions in the past, from the time of the first Ashley Lane British School transfer onwards, and armed with this advice the matter was again brought up for discussion by the Board three months later, when the proposal to buy the school was approved, and the Department's sanction was subsequently received. In the meantime, however, Nunn and the two Catholics, Burke and Gillow, had addressed a memorial direct to the Department, praying them to obtain further information regarding the original Trust Deed of the school, which they alleged was denied to them personally. Naturally the Department wrote to the Board on this matter to request information as to what the row was about, and the Board replied that such information as was possessed by them was accessible, of necessity, to all the members of the Board equally, but that they had declined to go to the trouble of getting further details about the Trust Deed, and in particular the names of the Trustees, that had been moved for by the three members who had addressed the Department direct. Despite the subsequent approval of the scheme, it can hardly be doubted that Nunn's efforts were once more instrumental

in stirring up a good deal of ill feeling, both on and off the Board.

Some of the heat engendered was soon dissipated on the occasion of the official opening of the new Central Higher Grade School, in Deansgate, on Monday, the 7th July, 1884. This was a great occasion for the supporters of the Board's expansionist policies, for the Vice-President of Council, Mundella, came to perform the ceremony in person, and he took the opportunity to praise the achievements of the Manchester School Board very highly and to express the hope that they would continue with their fine efforts. Birley and his party must have felt quite secure, despite the persistent attacks being made upon them from another quarter, when such highly placed and influential support was forthcoming for their ambitious schemes for more advanced public education.

But Nunn's energies were by no means expended. Shortly after this he addressed yet another letter, this time to "The Manchester Courier," again alleging that the activities of the Stores Committee of the School Board were "illegal and improper." At the same time he once more approached the Education Department direct, on the same topic, so that the latter felt impelled to request the Board for the fullest information on these issues, some of which Nunn had been raising on and off for over a year by this time.

The Board countered these latest moves at their meeting in October, 1884, by passing a vote of confidence in Birley and Dale for their activities as members of the Stores Committee, and in considering a long and detailed (1) reply to the Department, seeking to establish the complete legality of the matters which had again been raised. The full text of this reply may be found in Appendix IX, *infra*, in which the history of the Interest Fund, the Stores Department, and the Lease of the Central Offices was carefully gone into. The Department was satisfied on all counts, but there were repercussions on the Board, where much ill feeling had been aroused over this latest attempt to besmirch certain members. Nunn, Henn, and Milner sent letters of resignation some months later and, although each was subsequently asked to re-consider, only Nunn withdrew his resignation, while the vacancies caused by the other two giving up their offices were filled, as usual, by invitation from the Board, at their meeting in April, 1885. Meanwhile the damage had been done; with the next election only months ahead Nunn had been able to keep the question of Dale's alleged irregularities firmly before the ratepayers, and the latter was subsequently defeated in the following November, and he never stood for election to the School Board again. Birley's great personal popularity saved him from a like

(1) SB/17; pp. 54-56.

fate, but his vote dropped significantly and all those who fought the election on his side were defeated, while the more extreme Church party, led by Nunn, were triumphant. The smøab campaign had been a success.

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REFERENCES:

(The bulk of the information in this, as in the majority of the chapters, is obtained from the ~~various~~ manuscripts/ minutes of the various Board and Sub-Committee proceedings, now in the possession of the Manchester Education Committee. In particular may be mentioned:-)

Proceedings of the School Board, Vols. 9 - 18 (inclusive)
" " " General Purposes Committee, Vols. 4-9.

(In addition to these, considerable use has been made of the files of various local newspapers, especially:-)

The Manchester Courier;
" " Evening News;
" " Examiner;
" " Guardian (particularly for 1/5/1883; and
for 29/5/1883);
" " Weekly Times.

(Much additional, valuable information has been acquired from:-)

Ministry of Education, School Files and Major Files.

VIII. - Election Tactics, and the Work of the Sixth School Board, 1885-88.

A brief analysis of the first School Board election (1) has already been given, but it was an unrepresentative one from the point of view of relative party strengths. It was the second contest, in November, 1873, which provided the first real test of strength, with the party machinery properly organised into broadly three divisions, the Church, the Unsectarians, and the Roman Catholics. If the two Wesleyans and the two Catholics are added to the five Churchmen, it will be found that there were nine Denominationalists on the first School Board to their opponents six. There was a slight swing to become ten and five, respectively, on the second Board, but subsequent contests usually returned nine denominational members, and each of the eleven School Board elections, between 1870 and 1900, returned a definite denominational majority, though in 1888 the unsectarian representation fell to its lowest point of only four members.

The true strength of the main parties is best seen, however, in the form of the total votes cast, including those for the unsuccessful candidates, which could not be done for the first election, in view of the absence of party affiliations in all but a few cases. A consolidated Table of the total votes cast, up to this

(1) pp. 30-31 & 45-46 supra.

time. is given below:-

Total Votes cast for all Candidates in School Board Elections:

	<u>1873</u>	<u>1879</u>	<u>1882</u>	<u>1885</u>
Church	159,423	140,514	165,537	178,417
Roman Catholic	87,814	78,849	66,818	90,117
Wesleyans	23,907			
	<u>271,144</u>	<u>219,363</u>	<u>232,355</u>	<u>268,534</u>
Unsectarians	114,473	111,148	155,988	143,022

One important feature of the school board elections was the use of the cumulative vote. Each ratepayer entitled to take part in the election was credited with the number of votes corresponding to the number of members of the Board.

With the single, exceptional case of the London School Board, which totalled 49 members, the largest of the city boards, like Manchester's, were allotted 15 members, and all others received an odd number, depending upon the size of the electorate, ranging from, for example, 13 in Nottingham, and 9 in Rochdale, down to ^{5 or} some small country board, which generally consisted of the vicar and a few of his parishioners. These 15 votes, in the case of the Manchester elector, could be used by the voter in any way he pleased. Thus he could "plump" all 15 votes for a single candidate, in an attempt to ensure the election of a particular member, or he could divide them up in any proportion, as, for example, the Church party invited ratepayers to do as early as the first election, giving three votes each

to their five official candidates. Alternatively, of course, the voter could cast each of the 15 votes for different candidates, though this was probably most unusual, at least after the occasion of the first, uncharacteristic election, when 44 persons contested the 15 seats. In subsequent elections, especially in the last three or four, the party agents reduced the business of elections to a fine art, parceling out the city into districts, each with various candidates allotted to them; but even at the earlier contests the use, or abuse, of the cumulative vote must have played a big part. Thus it was known that the Roman Catholics were instructed to divide their votes equally among the candidates of their own faith in school board elections up and down the country. In 1870, in Manchester, they had only put up two candidates and the result of this "plumping" had been their return with handsome majorities at the top of the poll. A similar result occurred with the so-called "Teachers' Representative" in the last two elections, in 1897 and 1900, when William Wardale topped the poll with something like thirty thousand "wasted" votes on each occasion, due to the misapplied use of the "plumper."

It will be seen, therefore, that school board elections could easily develop into a distinctly chancy

business, with the biggest danger being a too large spread of the effort by any one party. In 1873 it was the Wesleyans who wasted almost twenty-four thousand votes on two candidates without securing the election of one. In 1876, as has already been mentioned, a contest was avoided, when the parties accepted the division of seats which had been secured in the second election. By 1879, however, the agreement broke down and a bitter struggle ensued, which demonstrated to the Church party how foolish it was to go to the polls with divided loyalties.

The controversy aroused by the growth and development of the Higher Grade schools was the main bone of contention, and due to the division of opinion on this issue, there were eventually nine candidates claiming the allegiance of loyal Churchmen in various parts of the city, if the self-styled "Independent Churchman," Dr. John Garrett, is included in their ranks. As has already been pointed out, the result was a clear endorsement of the Board's policy in establishing these schools, but the Church representation fell from seven to four, excluding Garrett, the lowest they ever suffered in Manchester.

(1) p. 117, supra.

(2) p. 120, supra.

Altogether there were 22 candidates for this election and the Roman Catholics successfully contested four seats for the first time, which they might have expected to do, in view of the division that had occurred in the Church ranks and the consequent waste of votes on unsuccessful candidates. In the event neither Unsectarians nor Catholics wasted any votes in this way, but four unsuccessful Church candidates accounted for nearly 47,000 votes, two Independents aggregated another 7,700 votes, and a second "Independent Churchman" finished at the bottom of the poll with a mere couple of thousand votes. In 1873 it had been four unofficial Unsectarians who had wasted some 38,000 votes, and the two Wesleyans a further 24,000 (in round figures); in 1879 it had been the Church party which made the same mistake. More detailed figures may be found in the full details of each poll, given in Appendix X, *infra*.

By the time that the fifth School Board was elected, in November, 1882, the Church party had learned its lesson, and it secured an even representation with the Unsectarians at six seats each, with the Catholics losing one seat and also showing a curious decline in their total voting strength, which proved to be only temporary.

On the surface there was not any very marked change in the representation on the sixth board; the Church lost

one seat, which the Catholics gained. But beneath this bare statement there lies the tragedy of the almost total defeat of Birley's party. The events which led up to this sad episode have been described in the last chapter, and it remains only to show something of the rather sordid pre-election tactics that preceded the actual voting.

So successful had the campaign on the School Board been against Birley and Dale that opinion in influential Church circles had considerably hardened against them, and the leaders of the extreme voluntary school group had by now formed a united front against Birley and the other Churchmen on the Board who supported him. Accordingly, in the middle of October, just prior to the election, a meeting of Churchmen was called by the Dean and Archdeacon of Manchester, when a list of six names was chosen to represent them at the forthcoming election. They were Nunn and Henn and four others who had not been members of the previous Board. However, although ^{neither} Birley's name, nor any of his acknowledged followers, was included, this meeting agreed to ask him to allow his name to go forward, together with five of the chosen list of six names. It was doubtless felt that Birley's immense popularity might in any case prove an embarrassment if he were left out, and in this way

the extreme voluntary school element could hope to secure a working majority on the new Board, in alliance with the three Roman Catholics who might be expected to be returned.

Birley's reply was to address the ratepayers in an open alliance with Dale and three other Church members of the fifth Board: Clegg Livesey, F.B. Ross, and Leigh Slater. These last three had all joined the Board by invitation only a few months earlier, in April, 1885. Clegg Livesey had been a member of the Bradford School Board, which ceased to exist on the amalgamation of the townships of Bradford and Harpurhey and the Rusholme District with the city, with effect from the 30th September, 1885, under the provisions of the Manchester City Extension Act of that year. He had been chosen to fill the vacancy on the Manchester Board caused by the resignation, due to ill health, of James Croston; the other two mentioned above were invited to join on the resignations of Henn and Milner mentioned in the last chapter. Birley and his associates offered themselves to the electorate as "candidates to represent the views and the interests of Churchmen and other friends of religious education in this city upon the Manchester School Board." In this way Birley had at last openly come out as representing a sort of middle-of-the-road

party, hoping to receive support from many Churchmen who were genuinely concerned in providing a good, cheap, yet sound education out of the rates, while also appealing to some of the moderate elements on the Unsectarian side. To this end their election address went on to declare that, if elected, it would be their constant purpose and endeavour "loyally to carry out the beneficent provisions of the several Elementary Education Acts, and to maintain religious education and religious freedom in all the schools under the control and management of the School Board," and furthermore, in making needful provision for school accommodation in the city, it would be their constant effort "to avoid interference with the interests and operation of existing voluntary schools and any undue or extravagant expenditure." However these pious hopes appear to have made only a slight impression with the ratepayers on this occasion, and Birley's party was all but eclipsed, while the rebuff to the official Church candidates caused by Birley's independent stand was deeply felt in some quarters and undoubtedly did much to contribute to the downfall of his best hopes in the election.

The struggle within the Manchester Board was having its repercussions on the neighbouring Salford Board, of which Birley had also been chairman since its inception,

However in this case the campaign against Birley and his followers was a little less successful, as he was at least enabled to retain his chairmanship after the election, although he was refused this honour on the Manchester Board during the lifetime of the sixth Board, 1885-86. A similar meeting of Salford Churchmen was held, under the chairmanship of the Rural Dean, Canon Stowell, who had been a prominent figure in the earlier Education Bill controversies of 1867 and 1868, and who was still regarded by many as a rallying-point for the more extreme views on Church school education at that time. It was reported that there had been considerable discussion at this meeting and that only a small majority agreed that the existing seven Church members should be asked to put themselves forward again at the next election. However another ruridecanal meeting was subsequently called "for the purpose of selecting seven Church candidates." Evidently Birley's opponents were not above setting aside a previous resolution and appointing new representatives more in keeping with their views, if they could achieve it by holding a second meeting!

Meanwhile the Unsectarians had not been idle. Observing the division in the ranks of the Church party, a meeting of the "Non-Sectarian Candidates Committee of 1882" in the Memorial Hall, Albert Square, unanimously

nominated seven persons, instead of the usual five, to represent them at the forthcoming contest. In view of all this confusion the Catholics, who had originally nominated only three candidates, now decided to raise this to four, since the lesson of previous contests was clear: if one or other of the two main parties fell out amongst themselves, the Catholics stood a very good chance of securing four seats.

In the midst of all this bitter controversy the much respected Bishop of Manchester, Bishop Fraser, died on the 22nd October, and it was perhaps this event that prompted Henn to write an open letter to the press, two days later, appealing for a closing of the ranks of the Church party, and pointing out that there were now no less than eleven candidates who professed allegiance to the Church, five on each side of the dispute, and the remarkable Dr. Garrett, who seemed to represent no particular interests except his own, styling himself an "Independent Churchman." Henn offered to withdraw if agreement could still be reached, but without avail.

At the same time that Henn's letter appeared the "Manchester Guardian" published a long article on the whole sorry business of the bitter dispute then raging, and also urging a closing of the ranks. It pointed out that both the Unsectarians and the Catholics were

perfectly ready to accept a compromise, on the basis of existing party representation on the Board, but that it was the rift in the Church ranks which was causing all the confusion to the electors, with as many as 21 or 22 candidates now in the field for the 15 seats. It continued by pointing out that a similar difficulty arose at the previous election, when Nunn headed a party in opposition to Birley, but that a truce was then patched up, enabling a single list of seven Churchmen to go to the poll. On that occasion the six Unsectarians finished ahead of all the Churchmen, excepting Birley, and the result of the election could be held to have established the relative voting strength of the different parties clearly enough.

It was openly suggested that, far from being insuperable, the difficulty in closing the ranks amongst the Churchmen arose largely from incidental and personal causes, rather than from serious matters of principle. While it was obvious that some Church schools were not flourishing as their managers thought they ought to, and there were others where similar fears had been excited though not as yet realised, nevertheless it was still a fact that the Church schools were in a very large majority amongst the voluntary schools of the city, and that they still possessed a statutory monopoly, since no other voluntary school and no Board school could be established

in their neighbourhood, in that they could not be recognised by the Education Department for grant, so long as the existing accommodation was proved to be sufficient. Unfortunately some of the Church schools were not content with this unique position amongst the voluntary schools, although it was the opinion of some, at least, that it was both unjust and excessive, but they wanted to shut out all competition whatever. Thus, if a Board school, duly sanctioned by the Department, was established anywhere near them, to supply a demonstrable need, then they immediately cried out. If the Board schools fees were lower - though, on the average, they were only a fraction of a penny less per week - or if the education provided was better, or the accommodation more spacious, these Church schools cried out against "unfair competition." And if an existing voluntary school, of any denomination, was transferred to the Board and made more attractive, so that its attendance began to improve again, the same discreditable clamour arose. It would be unfair to suggest that this was the policy of the managers of all the Church schools; in many cases they were far removed from such pettiness and jealousy. But it was certainly the mainspring of the violent, personal attacks that had been made by Nunn and his supporters against Birley and his party on the Board.

The "Manchester Guardian" went so far as to describe Nunn's campaign against Birley as "relentless animosity," and accused him openly of wasting his time in "gathering materials for endless dissertations and trivial attacks, wasting the time of the Board and perplexing and wearying the public." Despite these public and press appeals to make further efforts towards reaching a compromise solution of the difficulties, and to abandon the campaign of personal villification, the meeting held by the Mayor at the Town Hall nine days before the poll failed to patch up a truce, with the result that has already been mentioned. Nunn, followed by Henn, headed the poll; Birley fell to seventh place; and Dale, Livezey,^{Marshall} and Ross, all fighting on Birley's ticket, failed to secure re-election.

The final episode in this sorry affair was played out at the first meeting of the new Board, on the 30th November, 1885, when Birley was narrowly defeated on a vote for the chairmanship. Nunn voted for himself and was supported by the four Catholics who had managed to secure election in this bitter and involved campaign, together with Henn and the other two Churchmen who had fought on Nunn's ticket. Birley showed more grace and did not vote for himself but naturally received all six Unsectarian votes. Nunn's triumph was comparatively short-lived, however, as Birley was returned to the

chair of the Manchester Board three years later, when he once more headed the poll, while he retained the chairmanship of the Salford Board throughout. The leading Catholic, Canon Toole, was appointed to succeed Dale as Vice-Chairman without a division.

With the power so precariously balanced and feelings running so high, it is not surprising that this sixth Board was less noteworthy in the work it carried out than any of the others, up to 1903. The unavoidable absence of a single member of Nunn's party would lead to a tie in the voting on important issues, and on quite a number of occasions motions were carried by the unedifying spectacle of "double-voting" by Nunn: having voted once in the original division, he would then declare the resolution adopted by using his casting vote from the chair - a device which has not gained in prestige with the passage of the years, but which has re-appeared in local Council proceedings very recently, and still arouses very naturally loud wries of protest.

Some of the earliest resolutions pushed through in this fashion occurred as early as February, 1886, when, for example, it was agreed by a casting vote (1) to charge an additional fee for all non-ratepayers' children in Board schools; (ii) to rule that the rates were only

(1) SB/19; pp. 174-175.

properly chargeable for the education of children within the city; (iii) to place children applying from outside on a suspense list for a week, in cases where the average attendance at any school equalled the accommodation, in order to give time for ratepayers' children to be admitted first, and refusing admission to outsiders so long as there were any more ratepayers' applications. The suggestion that legal advice should be sought on this last point was rejected by a similar majority; but the Department did not sanction any of these proposals, except (1), and then only after nearly a year's delay in considering the question. (1)

Two months later another, similar series of motions were adopted by the same ruse. (2) On this occasion the principal division rejected the idea of seeking the Education Department's advice on the question of the admission of outsiders to the schools, but this was to grow steadily in importance and caused successive Boards after this time a good deal of trouble. The significant ruling in this problem was that contained in Article 89 of the Code, which said: "No child may be refused admission as a Scholar on other than reasonable grounds." Unfortunately there was no clear guidance as to what constituted these "reasonable grounds," and the matter subsequently

(1) p.212, infra.

(2) SB/19, pp. 406-407.

became one of dispute between the Department and the Board.

By the middle of 1886 it was no longer necessary for Nunn to pursue these dubious tactics, as several notable absentees occurred in the ranks of the Unsectarians, giving him a clear majority on the Board. Both Dr. Watts, a founder member of the Board, and Joseph Phythian, who had first been returned in 1873, were away at this time due to ill health, and both these prominent Unsectarians failed to recover and died in the early part of 1887. Both vacancies were filled, in due course, in the usual manner. Having received the approval of the Department, the Board would invite the nominee of the party to which the deceased or retiring member belonged to fill the vacancy. Bye-elections were never held to elect occasional new members.

Perhaps the most interesting decision of the sixth Board was taken at the end of 1886, when it was agreed to establish a Day Industrial School for 300 children. The building was to be planned so as to allow of separate school rooms for Protestant and Roman Catholic children, while the Workshops, Dining Room, playgrounds, etc., were to be common to all. The special feature of this departure from previous custom was that it had always been considered necessary, up to that time, to commit

(1) SB/21; p. 73.

neglected and unfortunate children to the various residential Industrial Schools and similar institutions, many of which were at long distances from the children's homes. Indeed, the prospect for such poor children seeing their parents again for a number of years, once they had been committed by the magistrates, was distinctly bleak in those stern Victorian days. With the establishment of a Day Industrial School in the heart of the city, Manchester was setting an interesting precedent for the treatment of certain classes of young delinquents, particularly the first offenders, without cutting them off altogether from their home environment, and it was possible to try out the experiment of release on licence into paid employment more readily.

Up to this date the Board had found that there was an ample supply of efficiently managed industrial schools under voluntary management designed to meet the needs of the different denominations, and did not think it was necessary to set up residential schools of its own. Contracts had been entered into with certified schools in Manchester and other parts of the country for the reception of children committed by the magistrates, and the arrangement had worked very well. The Board was now anxious to try the experiment of a Day Industrial School for certain types of offenders who might otherwise have

been sent for long periods to the residential schools, but who were nevertheless thought to benefit by a shorter period at a day school, followed in many cases by licensing out to be of good behaviour during the remainder of the period of school age. Cases such as ^astruggling widow, with only one wayward boy in an otherwise satisfactory family, were successfully treated in this way, and the school built in Mill Street, Ancoats, by the sixth Board eventually achieved a high reputation for an institution of its type. It was claimed by Wyatt in a paper read before the Manchester Statistical Society in December, 1903, at a time when he had been appointed Director of Elementary Education in the city, that the Mill Street Day Industrial School possessed "as high a reputation as any school of the kind in the country," and that its influence had been remarkable in the prevention of the spread of crime amongst youthful offenders in the city.

Charles Henry Wyatt was originally appointed to the Town Clerk's office after leaving school, and served seven year's apprenticeship in this way in the employ of the city authority. In 1871 he was appointed Assistant Clerk to the School Board, and was promoted to be its Accountant early in 1882. When Ruspini resigned, in November, 1886, Wyatt received the appointment of Clerk to the Board, so that this last appointment dated from

the time of the decision to build the Mill Street Day Industrial School.

Another good servant of the Board also retired about this time. John Sutton had been appointed as the first Inspector of Schools and Organising Master in 1875, and no little credit is due to him for the manner in which the Board schools were established and managed, and the schemes for the early development of the Higher Grade and Evening Schools owe quite a lot to him too. His name was frequently in evidence in the many laudatory remarks made from time to time in H.M. Inspectors' reports. On his retirement early in 1887, his place was taken by Thomas W. Brownell. It only remains to remark that Sutton's experience as a headmaster in Sheffield before he joined the Manchester Board's employment obviously stood him in good stead in his work of organisation in the early formative years of the School Board's existence.

It was probably no mere coincidence that Wyatt's appointment as Clerk to the School Board marked the beginning of a new era in the scope and administration of the Evening Schools. On the other hand the change also came about primarily through the narrow insistence of the Education Department on the Three R's, which nearly caused the complete extinction of the elementary night

schools. Wyatt himself summarised the steady decline in their fortunes that had been going on all over the country when he said:

(1)

"The old-fashioned Night School, which confined its instruction to reading, writing, and arithmetic, and which in its work was more or less efficient repetition of the Public Elementary Day School, is a thing of the past.... The spread of Elementary Education, after the passing of Mr. Forster's measure in 1870, gradually undermined the supplementary Night Schools. Whilst the Night School attendance stood at the highest in 1870-71, when 83,457 scholars were in average attendance, the lowest point was reached in 1884-85, when the number was only 24,233. Then comes a change, and in the return for 1890-91, the figures are 51,974. The decline of the attendance at the Night Schools was arrested by changes in their organisation and management."

These figures refer, of course, to the country as a whole and the position in Manchester was specifically mentioned in the triennial report issued at the end of the term of office of the sixth Board in 1888. After remarking on "a great decline in numbers up to the year 1887," so that the District Inspector had been moved to state in his last report that "Evening Schools had become nearly extinct," it stated that the average attendance rose from its lowest point of 650 in the session 1886-87 to 1,098 in the following session, although this was achieved with a considerably smaller number of centres.

- (1) Wyatt: "Manual of Continuation Schools & Technical Instruction", 1892; ("Evening Continuation Schools")
- (2) Manchester School Board Reports, Vol. III; Sixth General Report ("Elementary Evening Schools").
- (3) W. Scott Coward: H.M.I. of Schools for the N.W. Division of England; Report for 1887 (part of Report of the Commission of Council on Education, Eng. & Wales)

Although H.M. Inspectors were in some cases deploring the steady decline in Evening Schools, so that the District Inspector's report just quoted described it as "a very great loss," nevertheless the Education Department must shoulder a good deal of the blame for it. The narrow insistence on "elementary" instruction within the Code, its parsimonious reduction of the grant for a pass in the standards, and its refusal to give an attendance grant add its inability to observe the need for a generally broader attitude to these schools with the changing conditions over the years were the principal factors in their decline. Thus, in 1886, when the Birmingham School Board asked for changes to be approved in the night school curriculum, the Department insisted once more on the rigid application of the principle of elementary instruction within the Code, and would not sanction the establishment of a school which taught only class and specific subjects, without the Three R's appearing as the "principal part of the curriculum," though it must be admitted that it is difficult to see how the Department could have given their sanction in this case within the framework of the existing legislation.

Armed with this decision, the Manchester Board, in the following year decided to experiment with three Night Schools which would be conducted "independently

of the Code requirements, with ~~the~~ view of introducing new and special features into the School programme. The School Management Committee decided to open these new centres at the Lancasterian, Mulberry Street, and Birley Street Board Schools, with classes for boys and young men every Wednesday and Friday night, at a fee of 2d. per week. The Principal Teacher's remuneration was fixed at 7s. a night, and the subjects of instruction were to be: Commercial & Mental Arithmetic; Elements of Mensuration; Bookkeeping; Reading ~~a~~ Standard Author; Incidents of Travel, Voyage, and History. No attempt was to be made to keep within the Code, or to earn grant by the usual passes in elementary subjects. The schools were to be kept self-supporting out of the fees received, since they could not become a charge on the rates.

It may seem strange that the reactionary sixth Board were by now prepared to initiate a progressive experiment of this character. In fact, it was opposed by Nunn, who made further attempts to rescind the original motion, and the October meeting of the Board, in 1887, was treated to the distasteful spectacle, even to his own party, of Nunn, as Chairman of the Board, voting in complete isolation to attempt to rescind a previous decision of the Board! This was not the only occasion

(1) GP/7, p. 35; 24/10/1887.

upon which Nunn was prepared to push matters to the absurdity of a division in which he could not find a single supporter, and it is prbbable that his antics about this time distressed even his more ardent supporters on the Board.

In addition to these three experimental Night Schools, the Board now concentrated on a scheme of reconstruction in their remaining evening centres, where several Principal Teachers "of known excellence, who would be likely to carry on the work successfully," were appointed to a reduced number of night schools. The result was very satisfactory, as it was found that, although the schools were fewer in number, yet the average attendance during the whole session had risen, and the examination results were in every way more satisfactory. It was reported that, though considerably more had been spent upon these schools, partly because the giving of prizes was revived, and partly on account of the additional subjects being taught, yet the net cost to the rates had decreased. It was not, nowever, reported what the Auditor thought of the idea of awarding prizes out of the general fund, which had been delcared illegal a dozen years earlier in the case of the Board's Day schools, nor was this apparently ever challenged!

Profiting by the experience gained in 1887, the Board made more elaborate arrangements the following year for the extension of this work. It was decided to extend the additional subjects to be taught in the Night Schools, and, in addition to taking the ordinary Code subjects of Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, to give special attention to Drawing, which a previous Board had unsuccessfully tried to get accepted as a specific subject, along with Music. It was also decided to introduce Shorthand for boys and young men, along with the earlier list of extra subjects already mentioned, and Cookery for girls and young women, with further classes in Dressmaking and the cutting out of garments. It is worthy of note that all these subjects were thought of as natural extensions of the Elementary Evening Classes that had been in existence for some years, and the extensions and improvements were thought of as necessary to arrest the decline in this side of the work. They were in no sense an extension of the original Pupil-Teachers' Classes, which continued to work for the Science and Art Department awards in the evenings, as well as in the daytime. To this end, in 1888, the Board deliberately encouraged the attendance of adults and senior pupils by the provision of separate rooms and teachers for them wherever possible, and

expressed great pleasure when these measure were successful in bringing about a very large increase in the attendance of these older students.

Meanwhile the Science and Art Classes also showed an increase in membership, and additional facilities were put into operation for them too. It was claimed that, although the fees charged were purely nominal, the whole cost of tuition was covered by government grants received from the Science and Art Department.

Evening Classes under the South Kensington Code were opened at five centres, in the session beginning in 1888, and there was a re-organisation of the Art instruction under teachers who were paid a fixed salary, without an interest in the grant. The Board rightly felt that this would lead ultimately to better teaching, and that the more backward students, who might otherwise be felt to be unlikely to earn grant, and hence receive less than their due share of attention, would in future receive more adequate instruction. If the experiment worked well, the Board was prepared to consider its extension to the Science Classes.

As evidence of the high standard of instruction which was, in fact, being given at this time in the Manchester Science and Art Classes, it might be cited that no less than five of the nineteen National Scholar-

ships winners in the session 1887-88, awarded by the South Kensington Department, came from the Board's classes.

The whole question of the working of the Elementary Education Acts was at this time receiving very earnest consideration. The Cross Commission was sitting for most of the life of the sixth School Board and the five volumes of its various Reports and Summaries of Evidence provide a veritable mine of information on all manner of educational problems, as seen after less than twenty year's experience of the administration of Public Elementary Education in this country, under the School Boards. A number of persons prominent in local educational affairs were invited to give evidence before this Commission, including James Newbold, a member of the Board and headmaster of a Manchester Wesleyan school, James Scotson, headmaster of the Central Higher Grade School, and Joseph Nunn and Herbert Birley. Some of the main points raised by these people, representing local interests, may be summarised as follows.

Newbold's position was a somewhat peculiar one. He had originally been chosen as one of the newcomers to school board politics to represent the Church and support Nunn's extreme views on denominational schools. He was a headmaster of a Wesleyan school in the city,

however, and in the subsequent election, in 1888, he withdrew from the Church party and stood unsuccessfully as a representative of the Wesleyans. As a firm adherent to the principle of denominational schools, he was particularly concerned, in his examination before the Cross Commission, with the proposal in some quarters to abolish fees in rate-provided schools. Although this was not enacted until the Assisted Education Act of 1891, the proposal was much in evidence at this time, but Newbold opposed the suggestion most strongly as being one more step in the direction of making the competition with the board schools insupportable for the voluntary schools.

This was a point that Nunn made in his evidence. He was, of course, very much concerned at the alleged unfair competition of the board schools, but he would have gone much further, and he clearly came out in favour of the voluntary schools receiving aid from the rates on the same scale as the board schools, while still leaving the denominational character of these schools intact, and he included the Roman Catholic schools in this category. Neither did he think that this would lead to the destruction of the voluntary contributions to these schools. He felt that the

(1) Cross Commission, 2nd Report, Questions 36,346-53.

universal establishment of school boards would be "a great misfortune," as it would undoubtedly lead to the secularisation of public education. (1) Nunn also made great play of the alleged abuse of the school board system in Manchester, especially in so far as children of non-ratepayers were coming into the city's schools in large numbers, many of them by train from considerable distances. He believed wholeheartedly that schools in the surrounding areas had been undersold by the City's board schools, and that it was placing an intolerable burden on the ratepayers in the town. (2) In answer to the specific enquiry whether the Manchester Board had tried to do anything to curb this inflow he pointed out that an approach had been made to the Education Department (3) for sanction to charge an additional fee and also to reserve a certain number of places in their schools for ratepayers' children, but that their reply had been delayed for ten months, so that he had only just heard that they had declined to allow any restriction on the admissions, although they appeared disposed to allow the additional fee.

(1) Ibid., Qs. 36,357-59.

(2) Ibid., Qs. 36,265-67, & 36,281-82

(3) P. 199, supra.

Birley was examined as the Chairman of the Salford School Board and as a member of the Manchester Board, so that quite a number of his replies referred more specifically to the schools in Salford. However the most interesting part of his evidence was quite general in character and particularly concerned his attitude to the competition between board and voluntary schools, which, unlike Nunn and others, he thought should be welcomed. He believed that the board schools probably showed to advantage in respect of buildings and playgrounds, but in apparatus and general equipment he did not think there was any significant difference. He felt sure that the personality of the teacher was much more important, and that this was sometimes the pertinent feature where parents preferred to pay a slightly higher fee to send children to a voluntary school when there was a board school in the vicinity, or that this might work the other way round. Surprisingly enough he was not in favour of the abolition of "payment by results," as he believed it to be the only effective guarantee of efficiency which the State possessed. As to the question of over-pressure of children, he felt that the evils of the system could be eradicated by paying fixed salaries

(1) Cross Commission, 2nd Report, Qs. 40,300 - 40,303.

(2) The Manchester Board had already expressed its official opinion that over-pressure existed in an answer put to them by the Commission (SB/21)

to teachers, so that they would no longer be dependent to some extent in forcing children to earn grants by passes where they were not capable of doing so readily. He suggested that the addition of class and specific subjects had been the cause of most of the alleged (1) troubles.

Birley agreed with Nunn on at least two counts. Both objected to the universal establishment of board schools, though for very different reasons: Nunn objected simply because he disliked such schools and the whole system in toto, Birley because he welcomed competition between them and voluntary schools and could see the extinction of the latter if the board schools got unbridled support out of the rates. Both also disliked the principle of free education: again Nunn could see the great danger to the denominational schools if a wholesale system of free board schools was set up, while Birley defended the social distinctions in different schools, (2) and seemed to favour a differential scale of fees to this end. In justice to Birley it should be pointed out that his attitude was based on a long experience of children of the very poorest classes, and he openly expressed the opinion that he could not

(1) Cross Commission, 2nd Report, Qs. 40,506-40,509.

(2) Ibid., Qs. 40,512-13.

see how any tradesmen parents, for example, could possibly feel like allowing their children to mix freely with some of the very lowest and dirtiest types from the most depressed classes for whom he had done a great deal of benevolent work. He particularly referred to the Day Industrial School, and pointed out that that type of child was a very undesirable influence in some of the better public elementary schools. In this connection, it had been suggested that the children in the Day Industrial School were better off than many of the poorest ones in the ordinary public elementary schools, since they were being fed and housed in better conditions than those outside still at home!

Of all the evidence given by those connected with the Manchester Board Schools perhaps the most interesting was that supplied by James Scotson, the headmaster of the Central Higher Grade School, Deansgate. Since he was responsible for organising what became one of the most successful and highly praised schools of its type anywhere in the country, his opinions on topics of administrative efficiency and teaching topics were particularly worth study. It would be tedious to go into his long examination in detail, but some of his remarks on topics that have already been raised in this account will be apposite.

On the vexed question of the award of a "Merit Grant" by H.M. Inspectors at the annual inspection of schools, which the Manchester Board had severely criticized, Scotson expressed strong approval, believing that (1) it was just what was wanted to enable an inspector to give a report which did not merely depend upon mere mechanical averages, and that in this way he could show his appreciation of more subtle qualities, such as tone, discipline, and character of a school. It is difficult not to believe that Scotson's attitude might have been very different if he had laboured year after year in some of the poorest schools in every respect. Yet he knew, or professed to know, quite a lot about this type of institution, as he had a sister and a daughter teaching in schools of the poorest character. Indeed, it was his (2) contention that over-pressure existed in these schools much more markedly than in schools like his own, for he was strongly of the opinion that the physical condition of the children often made it impossible to make the required standards without considerable over-pressure. He described the two schools in question, both very poor board schools, in which his family worked, in words which are worth quoting as a salutary reminder of conditions in

(1) Ibid., Qs. 22,768.

(2) Ibid., Q. 22,795.

the city some seventy years ago:-

"They (the girls) came without shoes or ~~stockings~~, and often without breakfast. Through the kindness and liberality of Mr. Birley, however, they received a piece of bread and a cup of coffee every morning, and were supplied with clogs. The boys of my school bring me parcels of clothes that they have done with, and we send them to these poor schools. I have sent as many as 20 parcels in one week to that and other schools."

In the next answer he declared categorically:

"It is utterly impossible to meet the requirements of the code without over-pressure. The standards are far too exacting for such children."

When it came to the question of grading of schools in large towns naturally Scotson expressed strong views on the subject. He thought that it was "most desirable" that higher grade schools should be established, as they ought to "form a connecting link between the ordinary elementary school and the really secondary school." He went on to describe the Central Higher Grade School in Manchester in some detail, showing how it consisted of Standard V, with 144 boys, Standard VI, with 208 boys and 129 girls, Standard VII, with 215 boys and 103 girls, and Ex-VII, with 300 boys and 50 girls, making totals of 867

(1) Ibid., Q. 22,803.

boys and 282 girls. The pupils who had passed the seventh standard were formed into an organised science school, in connection with the Science and Art Department, and went through courses prescribed by that Department. A grant of 10s. was made for every scholar who attended a minimum of 250 times and who passed in one science subject, while pupils could also earn grants by passing in one or other of various subjects in the May examinations, so that, although there was no grant from Whitehall, yet the boys in Ex-VII earned more grant per head than the children in the standards. The actual figures he gave showed that the grant for the elementary and special subjects in the standards from Whitehall averaged £1. 2s. 6d. per head, while the grant per head earned by the Ex.-VII scholars from South Kensington amounted to £3. 14s. per head on the average attendance. In addition to the courses given under the Science Directory all these pupils were taught French and also kept up with commercial arithmetic and composition.

Scotson was also very much in favour of Drawing being taught in all higher grade schools, saying: ⁽¹⁾

"I consider drawing most essential as a class subject. I do not see how much technical education can be introduced into our elementary schools, but I do think that drawing, which lies at the foundation of nearly all

(1) Ibid.; Q. 22,792 gives the whole of Scotson's reply re Class subjects, & Q. 22,793 on Specific subjects.

technical work, should receive much more attention than it does." As for elementary science, which was one of the permitted class subjects, he felt that the subject ought to be taught, in Standards II to IV through a series of "object lessons," while in the upper standards a regular series of lessons in the laws of nature and physics should be taken, and the examination in this case placed under the Science and Art Department, instead of the Education Department. In any case, Scotson was definitely in favour of "perfect freedom in selecting the class subjects" for managers and teachers, and he followed this up with some uncomplimentary remarks about the existing English syllabus, in which he asserted that it would be much better to add a few more lines of poetry to be committed to memory in place of the grammar in Standards I and II. "The time devoted to picking out nouns, etc., would be much better spent in reading" is a remark of his that had a familiar ring in curriculum and teaching controversies of a later day!

While all this was going on the Government were not idle in educational matters. A Bill was introduced into Parliament in which it was intended to limit the power of School Boards to give technical instruction to children in Standard VII. This was one of the tangible results of the Royal Commission on Technical

Instruction (the Samuelson Commission), which sat from 1881 to 1884, after which Sir Bernard Samuelson, after only a relatively short break, became a member of the Cross Commission from 1886 to 1888, which was set up to consider the whole position under the various Elementary Education Acts.

The Manchester School Board did not consider that this Bill was a satisfactory measure and memorialised the Vice-President on the subject. ⁽¹⁾ The Board's views may be briefly summarised as follows:-

1. The Science and Art Department rules ought to be altered so as to allow Drawing to be taught without the requirement that the teacher should hold a special certificate for drawing, as a measure of immediate and temporary relief;

2. The inclusion of manual instruction in the Education Code list of subjects made eligible for grants, similar to those for teaching Sookery to girls;

3. Drawing, Elementary Science, or any other subject sanctioned by the Education Department, ought to be eligible for grant in Continuation, or Elementary Evening Schools without the requirement of instruction or examination in any elementary or class subjects of the Day School Code;

4. Authority ought to be given to School Boards to support out of the rates, if necessary, classes for science and art under the rules of the Science and Art Department Directory; and further that the Boards ought to be able to conduct schools or classes for teaching modern languages, shorthand, bookkeeping, etc.

Although the Manchester Board were pleased to note the subsequent withdrawal of the original government Bill, they could hardly expect official approval for so

(1) Manchester School Board Reports, Vol.III; 6th General Report.

sweeping a change as that outlined in point 4 above. If sanction was given for rate-aided instruction in subjects of the Directory, in the same fashion as for the elementary and class subjects of the Whitehall Code, the way would be wide open for the School Boards to enter the whole field of frankly "secondary" education. This could have been done, of course, in an entirely new Education Act, which might have allowed the Boards much wider scope and powers than they already possessed, and, at the same time, delimited the precise boundaries of the work to be undertaken by the school boards and the other technical and secondary authorities more carefully. In the event no such measure was ever attempted and, in fact, the very existence of the school boards was extinguished in a much more indirect and subtle fashion. Meanwhile, all unsuspecting of the trouble ahead, the Manchester Board went on with their ambitious schemes for extension and improvement, though it must have been a hard moment for Nunn to have to sign the Memorial to the Vice-President, advocating such wide powers for the school boards. By this time, however, the Chairman of the Board had begun to fall sadly out of favour even with certain of his own party, so that more and more he found himself in an undignified isolation in certain of the measures under discussion.

His star was in the wane and although he continued as a member of the Board for another three years, the popularity of Birley was re-established so that the ^{latter} was swept back in the election of 1888 at the top of the poll, with a handsome majority of over eleven thousand over his old enemy.

Nunn was able to fire one final shot before Birley was unanimously re-elected Chairman of the seventh Board. (1)
In the final report of the sixth Board, shortly before the election, Nunn was able to finish with the announcement that the new offices for the Board were to be erected on a site purchased from the City Council in Deansgate, "since the base of the existing Offices in St. James's Square will terminate on 24th June, 1889. The total estimated cost will be £20,000 (including site), the interest on which at $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ being equivalent to the rent at present being paid." And so the old controversy was finally buried!

---000--- (1) Ibid.

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IX. - Further Reorganisation of the Evening Schools,
under the Seventh Board, 1888 - 1891.

The election of November, 1888, was chiefly notable for the return of Birley at the head of the poll, with a handsome majority of over eleven thousand over his nearest rival and old enemy Nunn, who still came second.

(1)
A glance at the voting figures will show that it was the Unsectarian party on this occasion who paid the price of putting too many candidates into the field. All six Churchmen were returned, five of them at the top of the list, while the Unsectarians could only occupy four of the last five places, and two more, together with a more extreme Secularist, were unsuccessful. It could be fairly claimed by the Church party, therefore, that they had scored a triumph, but it had been the internal dissensions within this group that had been the important feature of the last contest, and in this matter it was Birley who could claim a victory over Nunn.

Henn, an ardent supporter of Nunn in the past, had by now accepted a living outside Manchester and did not stand for re-election. Schou, a practising solicitor and local councillor, though still only a young man of 33, had left for British Columbia for his health's sake; while a somewhat less ardent supporter of Nunn's group, Newbold, had withdrawn from

the official Church party in this contest and claimed the adherence of his Wesleyan colleagues, but without securing re-election. The newcomers to the Church group on the Board were not so closely identified with Nunn and the more extreme Church group, so that the 1888 election could be said to mark a return to the more moderate denominational elements.

For the first time in fifteen years the Unsectarians failed to get two of their candidates elected, for two former members of the Board, in addition to Newbold, were defeated: Charles Hughes, chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the death of his namesake William Hughes three years before, and Alderman Joseph Thompson were both narrowly defeated, mainly due, it would appear, to the closing of the ranks of the official Church party. At the first meeting of the new Board, on the 26th November, Birley was unanimously returned to the chair, while Canon Toole was re-elected vice-chairman.

One of the first matters to exercise the Board's consideration was the relatively heavy cost of the election itself. Once again, and for the third time in six contests, the bill amounted to over a thousand pounds, and questions were asked about it by members. It was pointed out (1) that this had been the first time that the polling-stations had been opened from 8.0 a.m.

(1) SB/25; pp. 184-185.

till 8.0 p.m.; previously they had not opened till one o'clock. In view of this, the various poll clerks had received higher remuneration, and a larger number of stations had also been arranged because of the increased voters' roll, consequent upon the provisions of the Manchester City Extension Act, 1885. The figures supplied to members, together with the corresponding expenditure of certain other large boards, were as follows:-

Manchester School Board Election Expenses:

	<u>Totals</u>		
	£.	s.	d.
1870	661	3	3
1873	1,564	2	6
1876 (No contest)	30	16	9
1879	1,410	9	4
1882	899	13	1
1885	853	18	5
1888	1,061	17	8

Election Expenses for certain other Cities for 1888:

Birmingham	943	12	9
Leeds	787	2	10
Liverpool	1,523	4	11
Salford	564	19	8
Sheffield	638	7	10

The matter was referred to a special sub-committee who reported that the charge was much in excess of the requirements of the case and they submitted that upon future occasions the charge for an election in Manchester ought not to exceed £700 of £800. Unfortunately this hope was not realised in any of the four remaining elections up to 1900.

In March, 1889, the Board resolved, without a division, that steps ought to be taken to open effectually the Higher Grade schools to the working classes of the city. It was still a sore point in some quarters that, with the exception of the Central Higher Grade School, in Deansgate, where all the Board's scholarships could be held, the remaining schools of this type had been decidedly middle class ventures from their inception. In October, 1886, the previous Board had instructed the School Management Committee to consider "how far the special advantage afforded by the Higher Grade Board Schools might be made more accessible to the children of the working classes," but nothing tangible emerged from these deliberations. Again on this occasion little more than pious hopes seem to have been the result, and it was not until the 1st October, 1891, that free admission was offered to all children of ratepayers who had passed Standard VI, after two years regular, consecutive attendance at ordinary public elementary schools. By that time the new Elementary Education Act, 1891 (the so-called "Assisted Education" Act, or more commonly, though less accurately, the "Free Education" Act), had abolished fees where they did not exceed 10s. a year, and the question of extending free admission into the higher grade schools was thereby forced upon

the Board's attention once more. It must be admitted, however, that the Manchester Board tended to defend these outposts of middle class distinction as long as possible, and it must be remembered that Birley had openly declared himself in favour of such distinctions before the Cross Commission. ⁽¹⁾ About this time, in fact, there seems to have been something of a reaction against the earlier Boards' more generous policies. The first Boards had been criticized for being too generous in the remission of fees for poorer children. By 1888 the usual triennial report of the Board revealed that the fees of 4,639 children were still being paid, amounting to about £268 per month, while early in 1889, on the excuse that trade had considerably improved, much greater care was exercised in granting such orders. Many hundreds of parents were required to attend personally at evening meetings of the Rota Committees in order to justify their applications for remission of fees, and each application was carefully enquired into. A large decrease took place in the number of orders, and by the time that the new regulations came into force, under the new Act, on the 1st September, 1891, the number had declined to 2,278, and the monthly amount of remitted fees had sunk to £120, despite a considerable increase in the number of children in the board schools.

(1) p. 214, supra.

In August, 1889, Broadfield reported back to the Board concerning a visit he had paid to the Department to discuss the provisions of the new Code for that year. He found that the Department had two main proposals:-

1. To withdraw all the examination schedules, except in the standards which concerned the half-time and full-time exemptions. This had been fixed in the byelaws, in 1879, as the third and fifth standards respectively.

2. To encourage a new class of pupil teachers coming from better class schools like the Grammar School of the High School for Girls. They would have to obtain a certificate from one of H.M. Inspectors that they had passed an examination in standard VI or VII, and also a further certificate from the managers of the school that they had received instruction in at least two class subjects for two years immediately preceding the date of the engagement.

The question of the standard for exemption had exercised the attention of successive boards and it had been found, of course, that a very large number of scholars were reaching the fifth Standard at 11 or 12 years of age, and had then left school without entering any regular work, being too young for many employments which their quicker wits might have entitled them to. In many cases these children had subsequently been picked up on the street, and too often these older children had ^{also} ~~then~~ persuaded younger ones to stay away from school, so that they had led others into trouble as well. To attempt to remedy this evil the Board decided to amend their byelaws and, as from midsummer,

1891, the full-time exemption was raised from the fifth to the sixth standard, though the very low third standard was still accepted for half-time exemption, but with the Board's discretion to refuse it in the latter case if it was not satisfied that the child was necessarily and beneficially employed. For full-time exemption the Board could exercise no such discretion.

Turning to the second of the Education Department's proposals: the whole question of maintaining an adequate supply of suitably trained teachers in the public elementary schools was constantly under review about this time. In January, 1890, the Board decided to establish a separate Centre for Instruction of Pupil Teachers at the Roby Schools, in Aytun Street, which the Board rented from the Trustees of the School for this purpose. This raised an important issue. Hitherto such pupil-teachers had either received their instruction in the elementary schools where they were employed, and hence in a school where there could not possibly be any question that the principal part of the instruction given in the building was elementary, within the meaning of the Act; or, a little later, the instruction had been given in the separate evening classes for this purpose, attached to various schools, to which the public had also been admitted on payment of a small fee. This latter

arrangement was rather more dubious, but we have already seen how it gave rise in Manchester to the system of Evening Continuation Classes, which were only once challenged before the auditor, when the whole of the Science and Art Classes, both day and evening, were (1) disputed, without success, in 1877.

It was now proposed to hold entirely distinct classes for the express purpose of instructing pupil-teachers, so that the sole work in such a centre could not very well be held to comply with the provisions of the 1870 Act. This point had, in fact, been challenged ~~by~~^{before} the London School Board auditor some years before the Manchester Centre was opened. Late in 1885 a deputation had protested against the Pupil Teacher Centres being charged to the rates, but without success in the first (2) instance. The attitude of the London Local Government Board appears to have been that such delicate questions were really a matter for the Education Department, and that they preferred to follow any lead given from that direction. About a year later, however, the auditor disallowed a similar charge, but this was reversed on appeal to the Local Government Board in March, 1887.

(1) p. 138, supra.

(2) Eaglesham: "From School Board to Local Authority; pp. 73 - 74.

It cannot be doubted that the Manchester School Board relied heavily on this decision in the London case in considering the legality of its own position in 1890, and it can hardly have had serious qualms about it in view of the very harmonious relations then existing between the Board and the Local Government auditor.

In the event they were not disappointed and the matter was never challenged in Manchester, although the Local Government Board's decision in London was again reversed in the Court of Appeal, in 1902, in the case of Dyer and others v. the School Board for London. (1)

(2)
The new Scheme of Instruction included: Time for instruction from 8.0 to 8.45 a.m., supplemented by such additional time as would make up the five hours instruction required by the Code, with supplementary instruction at the Centre occupying one day per week of school time, together with Saturday morning and one evening per week, when instruction was given in Arithmetic and Mathematics, Geography, History, School Management, French, Needlework, Singing, Science and Drawing, arranged to meet the requirements of the Code. The teaching staff consisted of one Instructor, two Certificated Assistants, and five

(1) Chancery Reports, 1902, Vol.II; p.768.

(2) Manchester School Board Reports, Vol. IV;
Seventh General Report.

Visiting Teachers. By September, 1891, there were 368 students attending the Centre, and the cost for that year, ending the 29th September, 1891, excluding grants from the Department, but allowing for £358 which it was estimated would be received from the Science and Art Department, amounted to £942. From June, 1891, onwards the Centre was thrown open to the voluntary schools and managers could send their pupil-teachers to the Centre on payment of a small fee.

Under the provision of the new Code for 1890 a Day Training College for Men was established at the Owens College, and the School Board granted to the Council of the College the use of a number of departments as practising schools. The Board also urged upon the authorities the desirability of establishing a similar institution for women, pointing out that the need for such instruction in the case of women was even more apparent than in the case of men, and they further drew attention to the difficulty that pupil-teachers experienced at the end of their period of apprenticeship, in entering a Residential Training College. The Board were therefore very much in favour of the extension of the system of Day Training Colleges in large centres of population, where there would be a demand for them.

Under Birley's chairmanship the old expansionist

policies again began to be manifested, and the Board were soon engaged in the task of a complete re-organisation of the Elementary Evening Schools and with the establishment of a new type of Commercial Evening School. At this point it would hardly be profitable to consider further the legality of these schemes; let it suffice to remark that the whole question of the Evening Schools was challenged ten years later, at the time of the Cockerton (1) case, and that it can hardly be denied that the Board had no foundation in law for much of the work of these Evening Commercial Schools. It remains a fact, however, that no such challenge was forthcoming, either by a member of the public before the Manchester District auditor, or by disallowance or surcharge by the auditor himself. From this time on the work of the Commercial and other Continuation Evening Schools proceeded apace, and the development was probably nowhere so extensive as in Manchester.

(2)

A detailed scheme was presented to the full Board meeting of the 15th July, 1889, and considerable prominence was given to the views of Sir Philip Magnus, a member of the former Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (the Samuelson Commission), that "the

(1) Chapter XIII, *infra*.

(2) SB/26; pp. 137-38, & 213-223; also pp. 387-393.

organisation in all large towns of evening classes, with a well arranged programme of studies, is a necessary part of any system of commercial education." Since the Government had passed the Technical Instruction Act in the same year as the direct result of the work of this Commission, the Board doubtless felt quite sure that it was proceeding along the right lines, when its policy received support from so influential a quarter. In the following year, the new Code for 1890 provided an even more striking example of this new attitude to the Evening Schools, for, by Article 106b (v) of that Code the requirement that night school scholars must study the elementary subjects, in addition to special subjects, was abolished, so long as they could produce a certificate to show they had passed the fifth standard in a public elementary school. Admittedly this provision was afterwards realised to border on the repeal of the all-important section of the principal Act, requiring that the principal part of the education was to be elementary, so that the Education Code (1890) Act, 1890, had to be hastily rushed through Parliament in an attempt to regularise the position; but the way was now wide open for the large scale development of night school work, and the Manchester Board accepted the opportunity with both hands.

Under the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, the

Manchester City Council levied a halfpenny rate in 1890 for technical instruction, and, of the £4,000 raised, £1,000 was allocated to the School Board to promote Science and Art and Manual and Technical Instruction in their Evening Schools. The rest was distributed amongst the Technical School, the School of Art, the Grammar School, the Lower Moseley Street School, and the Commercial School. In the following year, under the provisions of the Local Taxation (Customs & Excise) Act, 1890, Parliament handed over to the Local Authorities an amount estimated, in the aggregate, to be £709,000 in England, and £34,000 in Wales, derived from newly imposed duties on beer and spirits. ⁽¹⁾ The annual share of this grant which came to Manchester was about £11,500, and it was resolved by the City Council to devote the whole of this money to technical instruction. In 1891 the Council voted to the School Board the sum of £3,500 out of this annual share towards its scheme for Technical and Manual Instruction, during the current session of the night schools.

There is no doubt that the removal of the restriction as to elementary subjects in the case of pupils who had passed the fifth standard greatly assisted in the development of the night schools. All too often in the past it had been found that pupils in the evening schools tended to drift away because of the boredom of repeating

the work already covered in the day schools. The figures speak for themselves. By September, 1890, the Board felt they could open 88 departments of Evening Continuation Schools, and they were justified in their optimism by the enrolment of nearly 9,000 pupils. The subjects of instruction were immediately increased to include, in addition to the elementary subjects: Grammar, Geography, English History, Freehand and Model Drawing, Musical and Wand Drill and Dumb-bell and Indian Club Exercises, Elementary Science, Wood-carving, Cookery, Needlework, Dressmaking, Laundry Work, and Lectures on Nursing the Sick. The fees charged were 2d per week for pupils under 16 years of age, and 3d. per week over that age. The Board felt that the attendance of 8,784 in these Evening Continuation Schools was very satisfactory, especially in view of the fact that a number of Higher Grade Evening Schools were also opened, which must have withdrawn many of the senior pupils from the former schools.

Seven of these Science and Art Day and Evening Schools were started by the Board. Five of them were held at the centres already being used for Commercial Evening Schools, and two more were opened at Bangor Street and Birley Street Schools. There were almost 6,000 on the evening roll at these centres in the 1890-91 session, and rather more than this number on the day roll. The

(1) p.138, infra.

subjects of instruction included: Plane, Practical & Solid Geometry; Machine Construction; Mathematics, including Applied Mathematics; Sound, Light, & Heat; Magnetism & Electricity; Theoretical, Inorganic & Practical Chemistry; Steam; Art; Animal Physiology; Theoretical & Applied Mechanics; Geology; Botany; Biology; Physiography; Zoology; and Hygiene, all under the Science and Art Directory. The Board felt that the concentration of this side of the work in seven centres, instead of isolated classes dotted about in their schools, had had a marked effect on the efficiency of the whole system, and had much helped to raise the numbers.

This change of organisation was brought about at the beginning of the session of 1890-91, when all the evening science instruction was concentrated at these centres, where the teachers were all paid fixed salaries and had no pecuniary interest therefore in the grants which were earned under the Directory, while each centre was under the control of a separate headmaster, who was a teacher of proved worth. Accordingly the number of students in these subjects rose from 3,165 in 1889, to 5,935 in the session of 1890-91. This remarkable expansion was noted by the Science and Art Department in January, 1891, when Mr. Buckmaster, the organising master and a pioneering genius in the South Kensington

Department, visited the schools. Buckmaster must have been suitably impressed with what he saw for, in his subsequent annual report to the Department he wrote: (1)

"Throughout England and Scotland science instruction has of late years undergone, or is still undergoing, a most vital change of condition. The isolated science class, or collection of classes, under teachers - each of whom was interested individually and directly in the pecuniary success of his own class - is gradually being superseded by powerful and active centres, worked on definite educational lines, with teachers whose direct interest in the grants has wholly or in part been replaced by fixed salaries. Among the places where this change has occurred Manchester deserves special mention, but many of the more important towns are working on similar lines."

Buckmaster then continued by describing the Manchester organisation in some detail, after which he also referred, at some length, to the Manchester Commercial Evening Classes, using them as models for the type of organisation that he advocated.

These Commercial Evening Schools were organised at five centres: The Central School, Deansgate; Ducie Avenue School; Roby School, Aytoun Street; St. Matthew's School, Ardwick; and Waterloo Road School, Cheetham. Here the subjects of instruction had the bias one would expect, and eleven hundred pupils sat in one session for examinations conducted by the Society of Arts or the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, in such subjects as Commercial Arithmetic and Bookkeeping, Commercial Geography, English, Shorthand and Typewriting, (1) 28th Report of the Science & Art Dept.; pp. 34-35.

Political Economy, English History, French, German, and Spanish, and many certificates and prizes were won. In addition to these, classes were also arranged in Portuguese, Latin, and a Matriculation class, while for women and girls there was also a choice of Middle-class Cookery, and Dressmaking. In the session of 1890-91, it was reported that nearly 7,800 attended the commercial and language classes, together with a further 9,000 in Shorthand, Cookery, and Dressmaking (though the reason for excluding Shorthand from the calculations in the commercial courses is not very clear!). Some of the fees for juniors were paid by their employers, and there was a steadily growing body of encouragement from the business houses of the city in support of the School Board's arrangement in this field.

Some of the classes were run under the Whitehall Code and Inspectors examined such classes "so far as pupils under 21 years of age were concerned." In other cases H.M.I's. reported that they had seen the other classes, outside the scope of the Code, in action, but they refrained from offering any report on them.. It thus appears that the Education Department could not possibly have been in ignorance as to the scope of the work being carried on in these Evening Continuation Classes, and must have been fully aware of the frankly

secondary education that was going on in many of them; but there was no effective objection raised to the Manchester Evening School work from that quarter.

In the case of the neighbouring Macclesfield School Board there was some trouble with the auditor, who disallowed the payment of examination fees of pupils at the evening centres who were sitting for the Union of Lancashire & Cheshire Institutes certificates (1) in 1890. However, when the Local Government Board were appealed to, they consulted the Education Department, and the latter sent a remarkably ambiguous reply which suggested that they felt the charge was illegal, but might be allowed! Fortunately for the Manchester School Board, it did not get tied up in a controversy of this sort, which was one more example of the point already made that relations were remarkably harmonious for years on end between the Local Government and the School Boards in the Manchester district. Perhaps much of the credit for this eminently satisfactory state of affairs, from the School Board's point of view, must be attributed to the astute and influential Clerk to the Board, Wyatt, who began to build up a great reputation for himself in educational administration in the closing years of the century and became an acknowledged expert on school board administration and finance. Or perhaps the situation

(1) Eaglesham; loc. cit., p. 98.

can be best summed up in Buckmaster's own words, in his report on the Science and Art Classes in the Manchester district, when he remarked that "arrangements as complete and successful as these carried out on lines which I have advocated here and elsewhere for years past, will naturally require time to produce their full effect. The experiment will no doubt be watched with interest by the Department." Although Buckmaster was referring to the South Kensington Department, no doubt the parallel organisation in Whitehall would also watch the Commercial and Other Evening Continuation Classes with interest too.

Neither could the remarkable and ~~un~~ unhindered success of all these developments in the next decade be attributed to the influence and importance of Herbert Birley, for the Board lost this faithful and greatly loved member, after only a brief illness, in November, 1890. He had lived long enough, however, to appreciate one more personal tribute when public appreciation of his life of service was expressed at the opening of the new offices of the Board on the 23rd September, 1889. The ceremony was attended by a number of prominent citizens and others who had distinguished themselves in the cause of public education, and an illuminated address was presented to Birley, with many complimentary references to his eminent services in the cause of education for many years past.

Herbert Birley had earned himself the affectionate title of "an educational monarch," and the contemporary records testify to the fact that he was personally responsible for a large number of the lesser known, social schemes, in addition to the major projects of the Higher Grade and Evening School developments. He had largely initiated such schemes as the Exhibition Fund, the Penny Banks in Schools, the Free Meals Scheme, and had devoted much time to such enterprises as the Day Industrial School, and he maintained throughout a warm, personal interest in many other schemes of an educational and social nature which were not a part of his official duties as the Chairman of the School Board, but which were run in connection with the workpeople of the large family business in the city.

Only a few months earlier another founder member of the Board had died. Lydia Becker succumbed to diphtheria while on holiday in Switzerland in the summer of 1890, and perhaps enough has already been said about this quite remarkable lady in an earlier chapter. Her place on the Board was filled, at the invitation of the members, by Rachel Susan Scott (Mrs. Charles Prestwich Scott), who had the distinction of topping the poll at the next election, in 1891, but who was otherwise somewhat unremarkable in school board politics. The line of women workers on the

(1) pp. 37-38, supra.

School Board was preserved, however, by rather more interesting figures towards the end when, on Mrs. Scott's resignation early in 1896 her place was filled by a prominent social worker in Miss Mary Dendy, and then, in 1900, the United Education Party returned another celebrated suffragette, right in the line of Lydia Becker and her co-workers, in the very remarkable Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst.

Referring back to the work of the Board, it must not be imagined that the Manchester Board were in any sense impulsive or headstrong at this time. Many of their most important and far-reaching decisions were only arrived at after months of careful thought and much argument, generally in committee. On more difficult points counsel's opinion would sometimes be sought, and there is no doubt that Wyatt kept a very careful watch on various legal decisions that affected other school boards, for his various publications, such as his "Manual of Continuation Schools," show considerable acquaintance with such matters. A case in point occurred in connection with the much debated question of Manual Instruction, which was a term that the Manchester Board felt could cover even such forms of instruction as Cookery, Advanced Needlework, Dressmaking, and include instruction

in the use of the Sewing Machine and Laundry Work for girls and young women. Towards the end of 1889 the Liverpool School Board took counsel's opinion on the matter and the Manchester Board immediately evinced the closest interest in the outcome. Eventually the School Management Committee, after much deliberation, and considering the counsel's advice very carefully, brought (1) a long report before the Board. It was noted with much pleasure that Sir Horace Davey, who had been approached by the Liverpool Board, had given it as his considered opinion that school boards were quite entitled to give Manual Instruction in their schools and to defray the cost out of the rates. Whereupon the Committee immediately recommended a pilot scheme for trying out its ideas for Manual Instruction for Girls, along the lines indicated above, at the Birley Street Board School, and it opened up the chance of such instruction to a wider circle when it announced that this would also be open to girls who had passed the fifth standard and who could attend the school as half-timers.

At the same time this Committee also went into the whole question of the cost of the proposed instruction in Science and Art and in Commercial Subjects, so far as it related to the vexed question of evening instruction.

(1) SB/27; p. 16; 25/11/1889.

The Committee estimated that the cost could be met without recourse to the School Fund, concerning the legality of which action there was considerable doubt, by grants from South Kensington and fees of pupils, supplemented by a further grant from the City Council of around £600 per annum, under the terms of the Technical Instruction Act, 1889. Again the Manchester Board were well informed as to the latest developments in this sphere for a conference had been recently held at the Technical School in Manchester on the subject of the provisions of the 1889 Act, at which a former member of the Board, and a very influential citizen, Oliver Heywood, had been chairman. The School Management Committee estimated the cost of these classes, after deducting grant and fees, thus:-

Estimated Cost of Science & Art and Commercial Classes,
1889-90:

For Science & Art Evening Schools	£379 - 5 - 11
" Commercial " "	£211 - 16 - 0
TOTAL	<u>£591 - 1 - 11</u>

Since this amount represented the net cost, after allowing for all other sources of government grant, through the Science and Art Department, and also the fees of pupils, the Committee therefore recommended to the Board that they should apply to the City Council for a grant of approximately £600 to cover the balance. Though the

provisions of the Elementary Education Acts expressly debarred the use of the School Fund for more advanced work of this nature, if the principal part of the education in the evening institutions was no longer admitted to be "elementary," nevertheless the Board believed that it had found a legal loophole by obtaining the money from the rates ~~that would be needed~~, by getting it voted by the City Council, through the provisions of the Technical Instruction Act. Of course it might be argued that the Council were only using the "Whisky Money" proceeds of the Local Taxation (Customs & Excise) Act for the perfectly legitimate purpose of technical instruction; but it is difficult to see how the School Board could claim that such an arrangement could be a permanent one. If they were seriously contemplating branching out into the whole field of technical and commercial instruction, the money in successive years could only be obtained out of the rates, after all other sources, such as grant and fees were exhausted. It was a device that worked well enough until declared illegal at the time of the Gockerton decision in the High Court ten years later.

After the death of Birley, Canon James Davenport Kelly was unanimously elected to the Chair. He had only joined the Board two years earlier, but this academically gifted Churchman did not offer himself for re-election to

the Board at the next triennial contest, in November, 1891, and the chair thereupon passed to Edward Craig Maclure, who had been appointed Dean of Manchester about the time of Birley's death. In this way the appointment of an official Church representative to the senior post on the Board was preserved intact throughout the life of the Manchester School Board. As we have already seen Birley was chairman from 1870 till 1885, and again from 1888 till 1890; Nunn occupied the post from 1885 till 1888; Canon Davenport Kelly for a year from 1890 to 1891; and Dean Maclure from 1891 to 1903. Canon Kelly was appointed Rural Dean of the Cathedral, and withdrew from school board affairs from that time on.

The passing of Birley and Miss Becker in a sense marked the passing of a phase in the affairs of the Manchester School Board. Twenty years of pioneer work, bitter dissensions, and then rapid expansion now gave way to a period of consolidation and steady growth, until the end was reached where, in 1903, the Board could hand over the large and flourishing system of a most extensive kind to the newly created Education Committee. It will be our purpose to follow this final phase of still further growth in greater detail in the following chapters.

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REFERENCES: Annual Reports of the Science & Art Department,
especially the 28th Report.
Public General Acts, for 1889 & 1890.

NOTE - on the relevant PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS:-

For an appreciation of the legal technicalities involved at certain parts of this narrative it is useful to have the relevant parts of the Acts to hand. For convenience in reading, and to avoid breaking up the account unnecessarily, the important sections of the Acts cited in the last chapter and in the next are given below:-

Elementary Education Act, 1870:-

S.9: "The Education Department shall publish a notice of their decision as to the public school accommodation for any school district, setting forth with respect to such district the description thereof, the number, size, and description of the schools (if any) available for such district, which the Education Department have taken into consideration as above mentioned, and the amount and description of the public school accommodation, if any, which appears to them to be required for the district, and any other particulars which the Education Department think expedient.

If any persons being either:-

- (1) Ratepayers of the district, not less than ten, or if less than ten being rated to the poor rate upon a rateable value of not less than one-third of the whole rateable value of the district, or,
- (2) The managers of any elementary school in the district, feel aggrieved by such decision, such persons may, within one month after the publication of the notice, apply in writing to the Education Department for and the Education Department shall direct the holding of a public inquiry in manner provided by this Act.

At any time after the expiration of such month, if no public inquiry is directed, or after the receipt of the report made after such inquiry, as the case may be, the Education Department may, if they think that the amount of public school accommodation for the district is insufficient, publish a final notice stating the same particulars as were considered in the former notice, with such modifications, ^(if any) ~~as they think fit to make~~ as they think fit to make, and directing that the public school accommodation therein mentioned as required be supplied."

S.10: "If after the expiration of a time, not exceeding six months, to be limited by the final notice, the Education Department are satisfied that all the public

school accommodation required by the final notice to be supplied has not been so supplied, nor is in course of being supplied with due despatch, the Education Department shall cause a school board to be formed for the district as provided in this Act, and shall send a requisition to the school board so formed requiring them to take proceedings forthwith for supplying the public school accommodation mentioned in the requisition, and the school board shall supply the same accordingly."

S.17: "Fees of Children: Every child attending a school provided by any school board shall pay such weekly fee as may be prescribed by the school board, with the consent of the Education Department, but the school board may from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, remit the whole or any part of such fee in the case of any child when they are of opinion that the parent of such child is unable from poverty to pay the same, but such remission shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent."

S.18: "Maintenance by School Board of Schools and sufficient School Accommodation: The school shall maintain ~~and keep sufficient~~ every school provided by such board, and shall from time to time provide such additional school accommodation as is, in their opinion, necessary in order to supply a sufficient amount of public school accommodation for their district."

Technical Instruction Act, 1889:-

S.1(1): "A local authority may from time to time out of the local rate supply or aid the supply of technical or manual instruction, to such an extent and on such terms as the authority think expedient, subject to the following restrictions:-

(a) The local authority shall not out of the local rate supply or aid the supply of technical or manual instruction to scholars receiving instruction at an elementary school in the obligatory or standard subjects, prescribed by the minutes of the Education Department for the time being in force;

(d) A local authority may, on the requirement of the school board for its district...make, out of any local rate raised in pursuance of this Act, to such extent as may be reasonably sufficient, having regard to the requirements of the district, but subject to the conditions

and restrictions contained in this section, provision in aid of technical or manual instruction for the time being supplied in schools or institutions within its district, and shall distribute the provision so made in proportion to the nature and amount of efficient technical or manual instruction supplied by these schools or institutions....

(g) The amount of the rate to be raised in any one year by a local authority for the purposes of this Act shall not exceed the sum of one penny in the pound....

1(3) Nothing in this Act shall be construed as to interfere with any existing powers of school boards with respect to the provision of technical and manual instruction."

S.3: "The conditions on which parliamentary grants may be made in aid of technical or manual instruction shall be those contained in the minutes of the Department of Science and Art in force for the time being."

S.8: "In this Act - the expression "Technical Instruction" shall mean instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to ~~industries~~, and in the application of special branches of science and art to specific industries or employment. It shall not include teaching the practice of any trade or industry or employment, but, save as aforesaid, shall include instruction in the branches of science and art respectively to which grants are for the time being made by the Department of Science and Art, any other form of instruction (including modern languages and commercial and agricultural subjects), which may for the time being be sanctioned by that Department by a minute laid before Parliament and made on the representation of a local authority that such ⁽⁸⁾ forms of instruction is required by the circumstances of the district. The expression "Manual Instruction" shall mean instruction in the use of tools, processes of agriculture, and modelling clay, wood, or other material.

Local Taxation (Customs & Excise) Act, 1890:-

(S.1(1) recites that, after £300,000 of the English share in certain duties on spirits shall be allocated to Police Superannuation, the "residue" of the English share is to be divided amongst the counties or county boroughs.)

S.1(2) "The council of any such county or county borough may contribute any sum received by such council in respect of the residue under this section, or any part of that sum, for the purposes of technical education within the meaning of the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, and may make that contribution over and above any sum that may be raised by rate under that Act."

Education Code (1890) Act, 1890: (This Act contains only three sections, including the short title in s.3.):-

S.1: "It shall not be required as a condition of a parliamentary grant to an evening school that elementary education shall be the principal part of the education there given, and so much of the definition of the term "elementary school," in section three of the Elementary Education, 1870, as requires that elementary education shall be the principal part of education given in an elementary school shall not apply to evening schools."

Elementary Education Act, 1891: (N.B. - It was laid down in s.13 that this Act "shall be construed as one with the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 - 1890.")

s.1(1): "...There shall be paid, out of moneys provided by Parliament, and at such times and in such manner as may be determined by regulations of the Education Department, a grant (in this Act called a fee grant) in aid of the cost of elementary education in England and Wales at the rate of ten shillings a year for each child of the number of children over three and under fifteen years of age in average attendance at any public elementary school in England and Wales (not being an evening school) the managers of which are willing to receive the same, and in which the Education Department are satisfied that the regulations as to fees are in accordance with the conditions of this Act."

S.2(1): "In any school receiving the fee grant -
(a) Where the average rate of fees (up to 1/1/1891) was not in excess of ten shillings a year...no fee shall, except as by this Act provided, be charged for children over three and under fifteen years of age.....

S.2(2): "In any school receiving the fee grant where the said average rate was so in excess, the fees to be charged for children...shall not, ..be such as to make the average rate of fees for all such children exceed for any school year the amount of the said excess.

S.3: "In any school receiving the fee grant, where the averaged rate charged and received in respect of fees and books, and for other such purposes, during the school year... (before 1/1/1891), was not in excess of ten shillings a year for each child... no charge of any kind shall be made for any child..."

(S.4 provided for a fee not in excess of 6d. where there was already sufficient public elementary schools in a district, but, ~~due to~~ population changes in the district, or if it was agreed that it "will be for the educational benefit of the district.")

S.8: "Nothing in section 17 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, shall prevent a school board from admitting scholars to any school provided by the board without requiring any fee."

S.10: "In this Act the expression "school year" shall mean a year or other period for which an annual parliamentary grant is for the time being paid or payable under the minutes of the Education Department; and the expression "average attendance" shall, for the purposes of the fee grant, mean average attendance calculated in accordance with the minutes in force at the commencement of this Act."

Other Sections of various Acts have already been cited
Education and may be found as under:-
Elementary Act, 1870:

S.3 on pp. 82 & 153; S.7 on p. 84; S.14 on p. 81;
S. 17 on p. 63; S.18 on p. 172n; S.25 on p. 26n;
S.26 on p. 94n; S.34 on p. 175; S.69 on p. 54;
S.74 on pp. 50-51; and S.97 on p. 84.

Elementary Education Act, 1873: S.6 on p. 116;
S.13 on p. 99; and S.24 on p. 87.

Elementary Education Act, 1876: S.10 on p. 100.

Industrial Schools Act, 1866: S.14 on p. 65; and
S.20 on p. 67.

X. - The Problem of the Exclusion of Children from Board Schools in the decade to 1893.

The Elementary Education Act, 1870, had attempted the difficult marriage of the existing voluntary school accommodation to the newly formed and publicly elected school boards, with powers to establish and maintain schools of their own. The intention of the Act was clear in at least this aspect: school boards or school attendance committees were to be called into existence in any areas where a demonstrable educational deficiency existed. The ensuing major troubles were, in general, threefold: attempts were frequently made to block the election of a board; where a board had been called into existence it became the virtual judge and executioner (under the Education Department) of all plans, including those in the future, concerning such alleged deficiencies; the provisions of the Act were, in some instances, not sufficiently carefully worded and gave rise to serious differences of opinion, not so much over the ambiguities as over omissions and lack of clarity in the definitions of some of the terms. We have already seen something of the rise and growth of the astonishing system of higher grade and evening continuation schools under this Act,

(1) Note particularly the wording of s.18 of the Act (p. 249, supra).

which was alleged to be originally for the children of the working classes: how large numbers of adults and many middle class children were benefitting by the provision of board schools, if not actually directly supported out of the rates, at least established by these same school boards. We have also seen how the alleged unfair competition between these rate-aided board schools and the voluntary, mainly denominational schools led to continual and sometimes very bitter rivalry. It is now our purpose to consider one other facet of the controversies left behind^{by} this curious but highly important Act of 1870.

By no means all the different school districts were as prompt in the establishment of school boards as Manchester and other large towns and cities. ⁽¹⁾ Indeed it was the exception rather than the rule for a board or attendance committee to be set up within six months of the passing of the Act. If the local authority did not pass the requisite resolution requesting the Education Department to order the election of a school board, then ⁽²⁾ an order could be served on the authority requiring them to hold an election, but there was a statutory six months

(1) Vide Appendix II, p. iv, infra.

(2) Under s.10 of the 1870 Act (vide pp. 248-9, supra)

delay before action could be carried into effect in this case, to allow the existing voluntary societies time in which to make good any proved deficiency. Indeed, by various tactics the time could, it appeared, be very considerably lengthened in actual practice.

In the smaller districts a favourite device was to establish one Church school which, since it was "public" as well as "elementary," within the meaning of the terms in the Act,⁽¹⁾ could be claimed to meet all the requirements of the area. There could then be a further long delay while the extent of an alleged deficiency was hammered out between the Department and the local authority, and meanwhile the population of the district might have changed or a second school opened. The latter might be an "elementary school" though not a "public" one. For example, in Manchester, with its considerable Roman Catholic population, the provision of another Catholic school would have to be taken into consideration by the Department in assessing the requirements of a district in the city in so far as Catholic children were concerned, though it was not considered "suitable" for others not of that faith, since the Catholics would not accept the provisions of the Conscience Clause with regard to religious teaching and observances. While such a dispute was being

(1) Vide pp. 81 - 84, supra.

settled, another denominational school might be opened, or closed, or a public elementary school established in a neighbouring district; and so the controversy could go on!

In fact, apart from the continual series of disagreements on matters of this sort between Canon Nunn and his supporters on the one hand and the more moderate elements of the Church, under Birley, together with the Unsectarians, the Manchester city area did not suffer from this kind of thing. Rather it was the effect of its practice in some of the neighbouring townships and surrounding rural areas that caused the Manchester School Board an increasing degree of serious concern.

Consider, for example, the case of the township of Bradford (not to be confused, of course, with the city of that name in the West Riding). Repeated attempts were made to invoke the provisions of the 1870 Act, as to the provision of a school board, in the years 1871 and 1872 without success. The large number of children from Bradford who were sent to the neighbouring schools within the city area caused many protests to be made, since the Manchester Board repeatedly stated the principle that they did not think that school accommodation ought to have to be provided for the children of non-ratepayers. Approaches to the Department were unavailing as that body was, of course, primarily concerned to see that every

child that needed it should be able to avail himself of elementary education, even though attendance was not made compulsory under the 1870 Act, and hence the exclusion of children from public elementary schools was consistently opposed by the Department.

On the 16th October, 1873, the Rev. John Edwards, Rector of Bradford-cum-Beswick, acting on behalf of the Church of England schools in that township, required the Education Department to affiliate them with the Manchester School Board as a contributory district of the Board. The requisite meetings of ratepayers were held and agreed to the proposition shortly afterwards, but the Department replied that they were unable to do anything about the matter at that time as a new Manchester Board had just been elected and would need time to settle down. Moreover it appeared to the Department that if Bradford became a contributory township there ought to be at least one representative (possibly more, depending upon the relative sizes of the city and the town) on the Manchester Board, to watch over their local interests. Since the number of members of the Manchester Board was limited to fifteen, it might prove embarrassing to arrange for the necessary resignations in order to provide room for the new Bradford member, or members.

So little was in fact done that three years later

H.M. Inspector Kennedy, who had originally suggested some measures that might be made to give Bradford a board, or quasi-board, in December, 1873, was in a position to say in a Departmental minute that ⁽¹⁾ "(the) Church of England (are) not at all likely to supply the deficiency with due despatch... (I have) no information about what other religious bodies might do; but I feel morally quite certain that none are about to supply this enormous deficiency with due despatch... A fresh election for (the) School Board of Manchester will be held next month... It is highly expedient that Bradford township should be annexed to Manchester as a contributory township." Yet the plea of another School Board election seems again to have proved strong enough to prevent action, for some years after 1876. Eventually a school board was elected, but after only a few years of separate existence it was merged into the Manchester School Board, under the local Extension Act of 1885. In the meantime the large influx of Bradford children into the Manchester elementary schools caused successive Manchester Boards much concern and embarrassment for ten years or more.

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Under s.9 of the 1870 Act a preliminary notice had

(1) P.R.O., ED 16/173.

(2) Vide p. 248, supra.

to be served by the Department, after a request had been made by local ratepayers, Church authorities, and so on, on the local authority of a district, requiring them to provide for the alleged educational deficiencies. In the case of the school district of Gorton this public meeting was duly held and a preliminary notice was served, dated the 25th April, 1874, after considerable delaying tactics had been indulged in by various interested parties. Protests were immediately made, mainly from Gorton Rectory, alleging that the Notice had not been properly exhibited, and hence that there had not been sufficient time for its adequate perusal. Much correspondence passed to and fro, and there were vehement denials from the Chorlton Union Offices (comprising Ardwick, Burnage, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Didsbury, Gorton, Hulme, Levenshulme, Moss Side, Openshaw, Rusholme, and Withington) that the notice had not been properly published. It was categorically stated that the notice was affixed "during at least twelve hours in the day on Sunday, the 25th May, 1873, on all places in the enclosed list." Still clinging to their trivalities, the opponents of the projected school board retorted that a number of the specified places were Chapels and Preaching Rooms "with no stated Ministers," and so on. One local clergyman

even went to the absurd lengths of complaining about the very limited circulation of a certain newspaper used for one of the public advertisements of the preliminary notice, and branching off at the same time into various irrelevancies concerning the estimated increase of the population of the town in the meantime! Despite this series of trivial protests and further attempts at delay, the Department eventually served a Final Notice on the Gorton District, dated the 9th August, 1875. Yet it took the Gorton Local Board until the 22nd February, 1877, to pass a motion authorising the establishment of a School Attendance Committee for the District. Moreover it was not until the 24th July, 1900, that a meeting of ratepayers in Gorton Town Hall passed a resolution calling for the setting up of a School Board. A poll of all the ratepayers was subsequently demanded and when this was duly held the result was 564 in favour of its establishment and 1,307 against. But why should the ratepayers vote a school board on themselves, with its tiresome powers to establish and maintain schools supported out of the rates when a large and relatively wealthy neighbour, just over the border, was kindly providing such schools, free of cost to them, within a reasonable ^{distance}? The inhabitants of Gorton had had second thoughts!

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In Levenshulme it was January, 1895, before the usual spate of memorials and counter-memorials had reached such a level that action could no longer be avoided. But when a meeting of ratepayers was eventually held on the 12th April, 1898, to consider the formation of a school board, once again the motion was declared to have been carried, only to be reversed on an appeal to an official poll. After further protests to the Department a Preliminary Notice was eventually served in May, 1901, and a school board was finally ordered to be elected within one month, on the 11th November, 1901. Eighteen months later all school boards were extinguished, under the provisions of the Education Act, 1902.

One more local example of this kind of undercover action that commonly went on in order to delay or prevent the election of a school board may be cited. In Moss Side three years of the usual activity, or perhaps one should say "lack of activity," eventually produced a confidential letter from the principal incumbent of the parish to Kennedy, suggesting that another notice might stir the Church people into sufficient action to make good the deficiency, without the necessity for the

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(1) P.R.O., ED 16/174.

(2) P.R.O., ED 16/175.

formation of a school board. Probably acting on this advice the Department issued a preliminary notice, and then a final notice on the 15th April, 1874. But the good priest does not appear to have known his flock sufficiently well, for the best part of twenty years later, on the 15th December, 1891, there was yet another official complaint to the Department from the Manchester Board protesting that their schools were still being used by parents in Moss Side who could not obtain any schooling for their children in their own area.

The situation might have been serious enough for Manchester with the original scope of board schools under the 1870 Act, but it certainly became very much worse with the establishment of the new Higher Grade and Organised Science Schools. In this case educational facilities were being offered that the smaller authorities could not hope to emulate, and the influx of non-ratepayers' children continued on an ever increasing scale.

Eventually, in February, 1886, the Manchester Board narrowly passed three important motions, which led the Education Department to go into the case fully, though not until after a long delay (mentioned by Nunn in his
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evidence before the Cross Commission). These were:-

(1) Vide p. 212, supra.

1. To exclude certain children of non-ratepayers, unless the latter resided within the city;
2. To charge an additional fee for all non-residential children already in their schools - i.e. for those who resided outside the city's limits;
3. Not to admit any more children to the Peter Street School after the end of the current school years, and to transfer the remainder to the new Central Higher Grade School.

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A long Departmental minute followed this action by the Manchester Board, when it was referred to the Education Department for their sanction and approval. The Department claimed jurisdiction over these three resolutions under the following heads:-

1. Infringed s.9 of the Code, dealing with the admission of children to grant-earning schools;

(2)

2. Required the Department's sanction, under s.17 of the 1870 Act, and the decision was further limited to a maximum fee of 9d. that might be charged, under s.3.

(3)

3. Came under s.18 of the same Act, in so far as it concerned the closing of schools and the transfer of pupils to maintain a sufficiency of efficient schools.

(1) P.R.O., ED 16/176.

(2) p. 249, supra.

(3) p. 82, supra.

(4) p. 249, supra.

The Education Department thereupon declined to support the School Board, except possibly under point 2. The original demand of the Board had been to exclude all outsiders from their schools in any case where "the number of children in average attendance for the current year in any school department under the Board shall amount to 85% of the accommodation for which it is recognised by the Education Department," until the number again fell below 85% of the recognized accommodation. By this means the reactionary Board, under Nunn's chairmanship, hoped to achieve a complete monopoly of the last 15% of all places in their schools for the children of their own ratepayers. In fact, with the passing of the years, the effect would have been much more marked; for occasions when the ban on outsiders might have been applied would presumably have been generally amongst the younger children, seeking admission to schools for the first time, while the places becoming gradually available for these children would be made vacant by the steady passing out of the somewhat "mixed" population at the upper end of the school, consisting of both ratepayers' and non-ratepayers' children. It would, therefore, have had a progressively selective effect upon school populations in affected districts.

The Department were adamant in their attitude to this proposal: it would "land them in endless difficulties throughout the country as to increase of accommodation" and, it "would have the effect moreover of keeping useless 15% of educational accommodation." While not entering into the dispute as to whether it was justifiable for ratepayers of one district to be charged with the provision of schools for their neighbours, it might be pointed out that the Department were putting up a poor sort of a case if their own "endless difficulties" were to be the reason for maintaining the status quo, regardless of the legality or otherwise of the situation; while the plea that it would keep 15% of the accommodation idle is even more absurd. It was never proposed by the Board that this amount should be kept empty, but merely that they wished to exercise a right to choose the pupils to fill this final amount. The truth of the matter was, of course, that the Department dared not allow school boards to refuse to accept outsiders in any circumstances, because the larger towns and cities would have to be relied upon to provide for the deficiencies in these poorer districts on their fringes. The financial burden of building a board school would fall relatively more heavily on a small district than on a larger one, and delaying tactics designed to oppose the establishment of a board were much more effective in the former case.

This dispute about the right to exclude outsiders when only 15% of the accommodation remained, eventually reached the level of questions in the House of Commons. Two months after the Board's original motion was passed, on the 2nd April, 1886, Sir Henry Roscoe, afterwards a member of the Bryce Commission, in a letter to Sir Lyon Mayfair, a Member of Parliament, raised the question of the exclusion which he alleged was already being practised by the Manchester Board, even without the consent of the Education Department. This letter stated that: "My informant has obtained evidence of two such cases of refusal, and he and others believe that the Board are acting in an illegal manner." The Education Department's attention was immediately drawn to the matter, and they promptly got in touch with the Manchester Board. The latter's reply, dated the 21st April, stated: "The Manchester School Board are anxious that the schools of the Board should be freely accessible to all children in their neighbourhood, whether resident in the City or not. It appears to them however to be obvious that some reasonable limits must be placed to this liberty." This would appear to be a very generous appraisal of the actual position taken up by Nunn and his associates on the Board, who had forced this issue so soon after

(1) P.R.O., ED 18/144; 2/4/1886.

wresting the power from Birley. Perhaps it may be written down as an attempt at a reasonably tactful reply.

In view of the importance of this question in a very large number of cases, quite apart from the local issue in Manchester, it may be of interest to mention some further points from this important letter to the Education Department. The Board continued by alleging that they were only charged with the duty of providing for their own district, under s.18 of the 1870 Act, and ⁽¹⁾ if children from beyond the limits of the city were received without restriction it might readily happen that the places provided for the children of the district would be occupied by the children of non-ratepayers, to the exclusion of inconvenience of the children of the city. Eventually it might become necessary to provide additional accommodation which was not otherwise chargeable to their own ratepayers. They therefore adhered to the principle that they were justified in refusing admission to non-ratepayers' children when 85% of the accommodation had been filled.

The Department's reply was equally unyielding, but it contained one important provision worth mentioning. The minute ⁽²⁾ of the Department's files dealing with the

(1) p. 249, supra.

(2) ~~Minute~~ No. 86/3707 of P.R.O., ED 18/144.

matter read:-

"My Lords consider that, although it is only reasonable in a School which has been built to supply the wants of a certain population that the admission should in the first place be confined to the children from that population, yet when such a school is fairly established admission cannot be refused to any children claiming it, whether belonging to that population or not, so long as there is not a suitable alternative. My Lords will therefore be compelled to refuse Annual Grant to any school under your Board in which it would appear that the Resolution in question continued after this Notice is put into operation."

The snag was obvious: what constituted the time limit within which a school became "fairly established?" When was the precise date on which it became illegal to exclude certain children from a school, thereby risking the cessation of the annual grant, when the previous week such a practice had been considered quite legal?

Eventually this dispute reached the point of a minute from Cumin, Secretary to the Department (in succession to Sir Francis Sandford, some two years previously), to the Vice-President of Council. On the 5th May, Cumin wrote:

"This is important. The new Manchester School Board wish to exclude certain children when the so-called average attendance reaches 85%. I do not think this Resolution can be sustained... The minority of the Manchester Board have remonstrated and I think this decision may be challenged by the Denominationalists."

The upshot was another long letter from the Manchester Board, in which they were rather less tactful than before and acidly enquired if the Department

realised that Manchester was surrounded by townships and not green fields! (This was a comment on the Department's remarks about equality with the "rural districts.") The main point they raised, however, was that, if the Board allowed overcrowding they they were liable to forfeit annual grant for a school, so they wondered what to do about yet further applications for admission from ratepayers' children in these circumstances ^{in view of the Department's threat to withhold grant for refusal to admit!} Besides this Procrustean Bed the Board also raised the query as to what constituted the correct length of time during which outsiders' children could be legally excluded from a newly established school, since they were about to open a school and were particularly interested on this score.

Mr. (later Sir George) Kekewich, who was to succeed Cumin as Secretary in 1890, also wrote a strong minute ⁽¹⁾ urging that outsiders must not be excluded from the Manchester schools, and also that the proposed increased charge ought not to be allowed. Cumin agreed entirely with Kekewich and said that he was prepared to lend his full weight to this decision and finally addressed the Vice-President with the words: ⁽¹⁾ "This is a very important case and after much consideration I strongly support

(1) P.R.O., ED 16/176; 25/2/1887 & 21/3/1887.

Mr. Kekewich's minute. The decision (of the Manchester School Board) is unjust." It was obvious by this time that the Department were prepared to take a strong line in the case.

Under proposal No. 2 above, the Department suggested that where no public elementary school was available in a neighbouring district, then it would be better if it were made contributory to the Manchester School Board, rather than charging the parents of outsiders a higher fee, under the principle that the provision of public elementary education was properly the charge on all ratepayers in a district, and that it should not fall more heavily on individual parents because of the collective failure of the ratepayers to provide for it in that area. However it appeared likely that an outside member would thereupon have to be elected to the Manchester Board, to represent the interests of the contributory district, and this might entail the displacement of one of the existing fifteen members. In the circumstances, therefore, an additional fee might perhaps be allowed in such cases where a public elementary school was, in fact, available in the outlying district, but where the parent still preferred to send the child into the Manchester school. This virtually limited the additional charge to the higher grade, or "Central"

schools, where the Department naturally had not quite the same qualms about a higher fee anyway.

As to the third proposal above, the Department said that they could not issue an order to close the Peter Street school and transfer all its pupils to the Central Higher Grade School, but it was within the jurisdiction of the Board to pass the necessary resolution, as a matter of purely domestic policy. Furthermore, in connection with the Central School the Department pointed out that, since the fee charged in the Manchester Higher Grade Schools was, in general, already 9d. per week, the imposition of any additional fee would contravene the provisions of s.3 of the Act, limiting such fee to 9d. in an elementary school under the Act. Moreover they wished to draw attention to the fact that, whereas the Manchester Central School was largely attended by these outsiders, the fact that the published accounts showed that it was more than self-supporting would make the proposed exclusion unjustifiable. As they rightly

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remarked: "The principle on which that doctrine is maintained is based on the fact that in ordinary circumstances the outsiders are a cause of expense to the Board providing the school which they attend. Here such is not the case; the outsiders are a source of profit

(1) P.R.O., ED 16/176; 4/1/1887.

to the Board." This time the Department's case seemed unanswerable. The Board could not claim to provide more advanced instruction in these schools under the Elementary Education Acts on the score that the classes were self-supporting and hence that no charge was made on the School Fund, and then turn round and claim that outsiders in these classes were a financial burden on their ratepayers. The Board's Procrustean plea was met by the Department's use of Morton's Fork!

The Department came to the conclusion, therefore, that the only way out of this difficulty was for them to persist in their refusal to sanction the exclusion of outsiders, while allowing the Manchester Board to give "priority of attendance" to their own ratepayers' children in the case of new schools. They do not appear to have been very clear in their own minds though as to the manner in which this priority was to be worked. In view of the complexity of the problem the Department delayed committing themselves to a definite decision as long as possible, and it was not until January, 1887, that their rulings were communicated to the Manchester Board.

The School Board were not long in returning to the attack. Their reply, dated the 21st March, still requested sanction for the universal application of

the increased fee, saying, inter alia:-

"1. The word 'available' is exceedingly ambiguous" (in connection with existing accommodation in the neighbouring district);

"2. The duty of each school district is to provide accommodation for its own district and it is the province of the Education Department to see that this duty is fulfilled... Your department appears to assume that in some districts the duty of the local School authorities has not been done and it is further assumed that the Manchester School Board are in a position to say which districts are adequately supplied with Schools and which are not... The attempt to pronounce on the adequacy of the school accommodation of other districts would appear to involve a usurpation of the functions of your department by this Board."

The appearance of the small 'd' for the Department, coupled with the insistence on the capital 'B' for the Board, may be entirely fortuitous, but it certainly expresses the feeling of the School Board's latest letter! The Manchester Board were prepared to take as tough a line as they could, and relations were becoming more strained with the Department at this time than perhaps at any other in the history of the Manchester Board. It is noteworthy that it happened in the brief interval when Birley was no longer at the helm, and harmony was again restored when ^{he} ~~Birley~~ was returned to the Chair for two brief years, followed by Maclure, the Dean of Manchester, who became a member of the Bryce Commission during his period as chairman of the School Board.

The Board went on to point out that parents from

"adequate" districts would be at a disadvantage compared with those where they had not shouldered the financial burden and who, in the latter case, would pay less. Finally came the Board's trump card, with the words: "The Board are entitled to ask Their Lordships for a rule of action which would be intelligible and susceptible of general application." But the Department were not to be so easily stung into action, and sent a somewhat evasive reply a month later. The Board again tried to rouse the Department in June, 1887, with a further long letter, but nothing further of importance could be extracted from the harassed Department.

Three and a half years later, at their meeting in December, 1891, when the eighth School Board had just come into office, they were still in the position to adopt a resolution calling for an enquiry into the number of non-ratepayers' children still in attendance in the board schools, and they decided to memorialise the Department with respect to the state of school accommodation in the neighbouring township of Moss Side. On this occasion it took until the following June to obtain any sort of progress, and by that time the Board were again protesting to the Department that they were

(1) SB/32; pp. 371-2.

(2) P.R.O., ED 18/144, June, 1892; also SB/34, pp. 113-4.

"desirous of protecting their Schools from being filled up with children of parents who are not ratepayers of the City, as the Board are in consequence compelled to build or open schools not actually required for the children of the citizens of Manchester." This time the new Board were more moderate in their demands and merely enquired; "if at any time the number of children in attendance during the week at any particular school is equal to the accommodation, the Board may refuse admission to the children of Non-ratepayers?"

This raised a somewhat different principle and the Department's minutes show another spate of alterations and counter-suggestions from the responsible officials, in an attempt to find a solution which was in accord with other precedents. Eventually the following points were agreed to in a reply to the Board:-

1. The Board must not overcrowd schools, on health grounds;
2. It might be possible for a particular school to be overcrowded on a certain date, although the annual average attendance was not in excess under such circumstances;
3. A child might be refused admission to ^{an} already overcrowded school, and, in filling subsequent vacancies, the Board could then show a preference for the children of their own ratepayers;

At least the Department were relieved that the new Manchester demands were 15% better than before. There was no longer any talk of exclusion until the school

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was full on this occasion and Kekewich, who had by now succeeded Cumin, enquired from his junior whether there had been any previous cases allowing refusal to admit a child on the grounds that the school was full at the time, though the yearly average attendance was still below the permitted maximum. It seems surprising, to say the least, that Kekewich did not know the answer to this question, after 22 years of school board administration.

The Department's qualified sort of acceptance of the proposal in July, 1892, was countered by the Manchester Board seeking "clear confirmation" of their proposals within the week. This caused some consternation amongst some of the junior officials of the Department and a series of rather petulant memoranda passed to and fro. At one point it was suggested that the Department might reply "that My Lords' letter of 6th inst. must be considered to mean no more than exactly what it says," and it appears that the usual sort of evasive tactics worked better with the eighth Board, for eventually the chairman, Maclure, went to London and had a talk with Kekewich, at which he managed to obtain approval for certain restrictions, but one old problem still remained.

In February, 1893, the Department were approached by the Manchester Board for permission to refuse admission to

outsiders at the newly opened Webster Street Board school, according to the decision of 1886. This school was opened on the 3rd December previously, and the Department were now, it seems, prepared to lay down a more definite rule. In their reply of the 17th May, they said: "As the school in question has now been open more than three months, My Lords think it would be unreasonable for your Board to persevere in their refusal to admit scholars from Moss Side." And so, after five years, at least one answer was forthcoming: refusal to admit outsiders for a period of three months to a new school might be allowable!

It is pleasant to end by recording that relations between the Chairman of the Board and the Secretary to the Department were apparently on a very friendly footing, for Mr. George Kekewich (as he then was) agreed to distribute the prizes, in connection with the much discussed Central Higher Grade School, on Friday, the 9th December, 1898, when he made one of his less discreet speeches. The next year the Vice-President himself, Sir William Hart-Dyke, officiated at the corresponding ceremony, and it was these public occasions of wholehearted support for the Board's ambitious efforts that made the subsequent volte-face all the more incomprehensible to the School Board at the time of the Cockerton judgment.

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REFERENCES:

Various files of the Education Dept., at the Public Record Office, as listed in footnotes to the text; also various volumes of the School Board records, etc.

XI. - Developments in Technical Education, 1890-95.

Immediately following the great advances, consequent upon the passing of the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, and the appropriation of the Whisky Money by many local authorities in the following year for further developments along the same lines, it became apparent that considerable care was needed to prevent overlapping of effort and waste. In Manchester the first moves were made in September, 1890, when a letter was sent from the Manchester Technical School and Mechanics' Institution to the Technical Instruction Committee of the City Council requesting the latter "to consider some scheme for preventing unnecessary overlapping in the curricula; also to arrange for the geographical distribution of the schools, and a system of grading all the schools which deal with Technical Instruction under the Act."

As the Technical School and the School of Art figure largely in what follows, it may not be out of place to add a few brief notes on the origins of these two institutions, to enhance the understanding of the subsequent events.

The Technical School was the outcome of the older Mechanics' Institutes movement. In 1825 the first building in England expressly erected for use as a

Mechanics' Institute was opened in Cooper Street, Manchester. However these Institutes failed largely in their purpose and as a direct outcome the Manchester Working Men's College was founded instead, and, still later, the Technical School. It was in 1882 that a general meeting of the Mechanics' Institute was held that decided upon the establishment of the Technical School, and it retained the title of "Technical School and Mechanics' Institution." The school was opened in the following September by Oliver Heywood, and was organised to include a commercial and manual training school for boys, from 13 to 15 years of age, and more advanced instruction for older students in electrical and mechanical engineering, sanitary engineering, textile and industrial chemistry, industrial drawing and design, the building trades, and various branches of commercial work and courses of instruction for women. By the time that the application to the Technical Instruction Committee was made in 1890 there was a staff of about seventy principal and assistant teachers, and some thirty others were employed on the administrative side. Students, whether day or evening, were prepared for the examinations of the Society of Arts, and of the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes. In 1890 the Victoria University showed an interest in the School and instituted a scheme

of commercial and literary certificates in an effort to link the School more closely with the University.

The Municipal School of Art owed its origin to the activities of a certain Benjamin Robert Haydon, who, in 1837, visited Manchester to advocate the establishment of a School of Design, and the first school to be so established in the provinces, in imitation of the one in London, was opened in Manchester in 1838. In 1881 the School moved to buildings in Cavendish Street, which were specially erected to house the expanding School of Design. As has been very briefly mentioned previously, (1) in 1888 the Trustees of the Sir Joseph Whitworth estate came forward with a scheme for the creation of the Whitworth Institute of Arts and Industry, with the object of taking over the Technical School and the School of Art, and the laying out of the Whitworth Park and the erection of a museum illustrating the history of art and industry. In a fashion not altogether unlike the origins of the Science and Art Department, a sum of ~~the sum of~~ £43,000 was handed over to this Institute, the profits of the Jubilee Exhibition of 1887, on condition that £20,000 was devoted to the Museum, £10,000 to the School of Art, and the balance, with interest, to the erection of the new Technical School, both of which were amalgamated

(1) p. 151, supra.

with the Whitworth Institute. The trustees of the estate contributed £1,000 per annum towards the maintenance of the new Technical School for five years, ending in 1891, at the time that arrangements were made between the Corporation and the Institute, under the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, whereby the former took over the control of the Technical School and the School of Art. In conclusion it might be added that the School of Art also gained a very high reputation and that in any year around the time under consideration it would be commonly found that the Manchester School won about as many medals and prizes in the national competitions and awards as South Kensington, Glasgow, Nottingham, and Birmingham put together.

Five days after the letter from the Technical School, on the 18th September, 1890, a similar communication was sent from the School of Art to James Hoy, who was the chairman of the Technical Instruction Committee. As a result of these moves the Committee addressed the School Board in the following January, (1) asking them to consider the advisability of holding a joint conference on the whole subject. However, such desirable cooperation was by no means immediately forthcoming and it is probable that the School Board

(1) SB/30; p. 144.

were largely to blame for the subsequent delay as they were already committed to a large scheme of technical and commercial instruction in their evening classes and the results of such a Conference could not easily be anticipated. Unless great care was exercised the Board might have found themselves largely bereft of these advanced activities, and they were in no mood to give them up without a hard fight.

In the event, over three years passed before further moves resuscitated the proposed Conference, which was eventually held under Hoy's chairmanship in 1894-95, and the Memoranda of Arrangements ⁽¹⁾ between the contracting parties was finally adopted on the two sides in January, 1896, after some hard bargaining. Although this agreement was subsequently hailed as a model arrangement and might, indeed, have been made the basis of a larger agreement, on a national scale, whereby School Boards and Technical Instruction Authorities could have worked harmoniously together, had there been no Cockerton judgment, no little damage was done in the interim, before the contract was finally settled. It is a matter of considerable regret that these years were wasted when much overlapping of effort occurred and a great deal of ill feeling was aroused against the School Board, who were openly accused

(1) Vide Appendix XI, p. xxvi, infra.

of retaining the brighter scholars in their own schools, when they should have gone on to the Municipal Technical School or other places of more advanced learning, because they were considerable sources of income to the Board.

About 1894, at the time when fresh efforts were being made to hold a Conference between the interested parties, a contemporary account appeared which made a scathing attack on the whole system as it then stood. Looked at through the author's eyes it appeared at that time that:

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"In regard to higher educational organisation, Manchester is open to the reproach of waste that is characteristic of the whole of the English system. There is no relation between the various grades - between the elementary schools and the grammar and commercial schools, and between these and the university. The result is want of system, haphazard effort, overlapping and, far more serious than all, want of touch between school and university. The Board Schools compete with the general educational work of the Technical School, the Technical School itself competes with the general educational work of the ordinary or Grammar School...and between the college [Owens College] and the ordinary schools there is absolutely no organic connection. This is the outcome of the peculiarly English way of doing things - cautious, tentative, voluntary, 'One thing at a time, if you please.' How delightfully simple it would be if elementary education should be held to cease at a certain standard or age, say ten, and then from ten to fourteen a higher grade be perforce attempted - technical for the workman, commercial for the clerk, grammar school for the intending university man. As compared with such a system - or, indeed, with any system - the present state of things is absolutely chaotic and likely to remain so."

One cannot help reflecting what a pity it was that

(1) Shaw, W.M., "Manchester Old & New," Chap. V.

the author did not achieve a position of authority at the Education Department instead of wasting his talents in the local press! If only the Department had realised the urgent necessity to fix clear and precise limits to the age range of "elementary" education, and to the various spheres of activity which could be properly indulged in by the different authorities operating in the same fields, much of the subsequent troubles and disputes could have been avoided. It is also interesting to see how closely, in general terms, the proposed scheme of elementary and secondary technical, commercial, or grammar, and the university education was, in fact, adopted in modern times, under the Education Act, 1944.

By September, 1894, the School Board's evening continuation classes, started four years earlier, were being attended by about nine thousand pupils. In addition at the seven commercial evening schools there were nearly as many students as in the continuation classes, while the Evening Science and Art schools, re-organised at the commencement of the session of 1890-91, held between five and six thousand pupils; all this was in addition to the day school work also being carried on under the Directory. On the opposite pole was the Secondary Technical scheme of instruction of the Technical Instruction Committee, under Hoy, running extensive

courses, both by day and in the evening, in the Municipal Technical School and the School of Art, which had both become corporate property with the passing of the new Act in 1889. No wonder that the picture of an "elementary" School Board, operating under two Codes, one at Whitehall and the other at South Kensington, and, ~~and~~ a "secondary" Technical Instruction Committee of the City Council, duly operating under South Kensington, busily competing one against the other in some of their fields of activity, caused a considerable degree of contemporary concern.

Early in 1892 it seems to have occurred to the Education Department that efforts ought to be made to avoid further confusion. The embarrassing episode of the Education Code (1890) Act was still fresh in the Departmental mind and it was doubtless felt that more care ought to be exercised in the future to avoid such a contretemps. The effect of the 1890 Act had been virtually to open a wide field of secondary education to the evening work of the school boards and it now became imperative to attempt some sort of delineation of the spheres in which the Technical Instruction authorities and the School Boards could work without too much overlapping. One of these efforts was the
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publication in January, 1892, of "certain important

(1) Education Dept., Circular No. 349/B, of 12/11/1891.

changes in the administration of Grants in aid of Science Teaching," which was immediately made the subject of a memorial to Hart-Dyke by the Manchester Board at their next monthly meeting.

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In their memorial the Board appreciated the proposed increase in the grants payable in Honours and Advanced Stages in Science, but they raised the strongest objections to the proposal to withdraw the grant for second class successes in the Elementary Stages. They pointed out that a great difficulty was being experienced by Local Authorities giving Technical Instruction in finding pupils of sufficient capacity to benefit by this higher instruction. They felt that there could be no reasonable doubt that this was entirely due to the want of elementary knowledge in the subject on the part of the pupils, of the type that could be most readily acquired in the very schools and classes which had so far largely depended upon the liberal grants of the Science and Art Department for elementary work.

It was also an important part of the Manchester Board's argument that, whereas in many large urban areas such as Manchester the fullest use of the Whisky Money was being made by the Local Authorities for Technical Instruction, there was no legal obligation to devote it to such purposes, and several districts, notably London,

had so far made no such provision of any kind. They therefore felt that the proposed withdrawal of government grants for science, as suggested in the Circular, should at least coincide with further legislation making the use of the Whisky Money on technical instruction mandatory, in lieu of the grants to be withdrawn, so as to contribute to such schools and classes as would otherwise suffer.

Another proposal that the School Board felt strongly about was that to diminish the grant payable to schools and classes in the cases of candidates who failed to obtain more than 25% of the possible marks ^{at the} ~~xxxxxx~~ annual examination. They were convinced that it would deter many teachers from taking pains to instruct dull and backward pupils, and would result in a system of selection for the examination of only those ⁿ candidates who were likely to pass. This, they urged, was contrary to the spirit and intention of the Codes up to date, which had always appeared to be aimed at the encouragement of instruction in science, and not merely the reward for individual merit. It was, they said, "contrary to the whole spirit of the Education Code, which provides with peculiar care for the proper instruction of dull and backward pupils."

The Board quickly followed up this memorial to the Vice-President by arranging a joint deputation to see him,

with other school boards and managers of some of the leading Science Schools some two months later; but this effort seems to have been somewhat abortive. The Department were not to be easily drawn at this time in the matter of knotty problems of technical instruction and its administration. Already the whole question of the new "secondary" education was beginning to assume much greater proportions, and it was becoming increasingly apparent that a major effort was required if chaos was not to ensue. Eventually the Royal Commission on Secondary Schools (the "Bryce Commission") was appointed and sat in 1894-95, accumulating a great amount of detailed evidence and producing most comprehensive reports and carefully considered conclusions. To some extent it suffered the same fate of so many Royal Commissions. Appointed to enquire into the circumstances of some alleged administrative or other operational deficiency or difficulty, the Commission impartially collects and sifts a vast amount of evidence, and all this data then provides the ammunition for the contending parties in the subsequent parliamentary debates. In this instance, faced with the possibility of some ad hoc county administrative body to coordinate the work of the various educational authorities and thus prevent unnecessary waste and overlapping of effort, the opponents of the

school boards (and there were many of them in the ranks of the denominational schools) organised a more subtle opposition to the Bryce Commission proposals and succeeded in sabotaging the school boards through the more dubious medium of the Cockerton case.

Manchester School Board had a special interest in the proceedings of the Bryce Commission for their chairman, the Dean of Manchester, was chosen to act as one of the Commissioners. In addition several other members ^{of the Commission} visited the city in July, 1894, and saw for themselves the character of the work at the Central and other Higher Grade schools. Much interest in the extensive Manchester scheme was shown, and a special chart ⁽¹⁾ was prepared to illustrate the system of Continuation Schools established by the Board, which was used by Wyatt in his lengthy examination before the Commission. Another distinguished visitor about this time was Kekewich, who also spent a considerable time in investigating the various classes for advanced instruction and special classes for adults which were organised by the School Board, while managers of many other evening schools had sent deputations to Manchester to look into their model administration, and other school boards had sent members to enquire into the Manchester system.

(1) A reproduction of this Chart may be found in a separate folder.

Lest it be thought that the issues involved in technical instruction at this time were easily resolvable into the proper spheres of the Municipal Schools, under the Technical Instruction Committees, and the Science and Art Classes, under the Schools Board, it should be pointed out that such classes, both day and evening, might arise in a confusing number of ways and through the activities of many societies and individuals, quite apart from the Churches, the School Board, or the Technical Instruction Committee. Hoy's evidence to the Bryce Commission gave some idea of this when he referred to the disposal of the Whisky Money in Manchester, amounting to about ten thousand pounds, with a further four thousand raised on the rates under the 1889 Act, just prior to the whisky money windfall. Pressed for more precise details he said: (1)

"In the year 1891-92, we (the Technical Instruction Committee) applied £10,375 mainly in sums given to the various authorities. In that period the whole of the money expended was expended in granting assistance to other authorities: Manchester School Board, £3,600; the Owens College, £1,000; Manchester Technical School and Mechanics' Institute, £4,000; Manchester School of Art, £750; Manchester Grammar School, £250; Lower Mosley Street Evening Classes, £300; Dob Lane School, Newton Heath, £100; School of Domestic Economy & Cookery, £100;

(1) Bryce Commission, Vol. I; Q. 3337.

Manchester Commercial School, £50; Christian Arts & Crafts School, £50; Manchester & Salford Practical & Recreative Evening Classes, £125; the University Extension Association, £100; making a total of £10,425."

Sir Henry Roscoe: "What condition did your committee apply to those grants?"

Hoy: "Scarcely any other than that of representation. We have a representation in proportion to these sums upon the boards of the different institutions, excepting only on the school board, which is exempt by the Act."

Roscoe: "Have you anything now to tell us with regard to the probable effect of the undue multiplication of technical and secondary schools?"

Hoy: "In a general way our fear is that the small schools which are being established in the neighbourhood of Manchester may be inefficient both in equipment and in teaching. That is merely an opinion."

The cross-examination of Hoy continued and the information was forthcoming that, while the Technical Instruction Committee had considered the idea of these smaller schools on the periphery of the city as feeders for their own Technical School, it had not tended to work out quite like that in practice so far. Lancashire County Council had proved uncooperative in this respect, although Stretford had entered into an agreement. Likewise, Cheshire County Council had agreed to pay 15s. per student for each session at the Manchester School. In fact the situation was not at all unlike that already ~~mentioned~~ experienced by the School Board in their

continued struggle to obtain some sort of satisfaction concerning outsiders in their schools, except that they had been somewhat longer in the field, and they had therefore had a lengthier experience of these difficulties. Indeed Hoy's own words on this might well have come from a School Board representative: ⁽¹⁾ "You see the position we are in, in regard to the number of persons attending our schools makes it imperative upon us that we should attempt to get at some such arrangement as that indicated, because half of our students come from outside of Manchester." When pressed for more precise details he gave figures showing that of 3,751 students attending the Technical School, the Manchester students numbered 1,970, or rather more than half of the total.

The Secretary of the Technical School and Mechanics' Institution was J.H. Reynolds, who afterwards became the Director of Secondary Education under the new Education Committee in 1903, at the time when Wyatt received the corresponding appointment of Director of Elementary Education. It was Reynold's evidence that revealed most clearly the growing friction between the Committee and the Board. The Dean of Manchester was well aware of this problem, of course, and it was he who questioned Reynolds most closely on this prickly matter. In answer to a series of questions by Maclure over the vexed

(1) Ibid., Qs. 3381-83.

question of the falling off of applicants for scholarships to the Technical School, Reynolds replied:-

"I think it is mainly this, that there is a great deal of inertia to overcome in reference to these higher grade schools and the grammar schools. In short, in some measure there is a certain conflict of work as between these various institutions. Each is doing a certain amount of science work under the Science and Art Department. Each is doing, in short, the same work, and no doubt there is a feeling that the boy gets as good instruction in science, say, in the higher grade school or in the grammar school, as he would get in the technical school. Then I think the fact that there are valuable scholarships offered by the Science and Art Department attracts the boys from the scholarships offered locally to the scholarships offered outside."

This did not satisfy the Dean, who wanted to bring the underlying cause of the conflict between the two major authorities in Manchester out into the open.

Accordingly he continued:

"You think that many of your disappointments are simply traceable to the fact that probably not only, as Mr. Alderman Hoy puts it, children are not induced by other schoolmasters to resort to your schools, but they are positively detained at other schools?"

Reynolds: "That would be a very strong thing to say. I should not like to say that."

Macluse: "It is so important for the Commissioners to obtain your judgment in this matter, that I must ask whether you think that in Manchester there is considerable detention at schools, especially at the higher grade schools, to put it briefly, instead of going on to your school?"

Reynolds: "Yes, I think the fact that there are something like 1,500 pupils in higher grade schools in Manchester ought to warrant the conclusion that there should be every year a large number of capable boys and girls for these scholarships. As a matter of fact, there are very few who come from the higher grade schools. The chairman [Hoy] has already said that we have had only 33 scholarships and exhibitions from the higher grade schools in three years."

Maclure: "Do you not think that possibly it may have been because the higher grade board schools had been largely developed and were occupying the ground before you took action; were there not a great many students in all these subjects under the school board in Manchester before you began to operate?"

Reynolds: "I think that is very likely, but, on the other hand, I think this fact ought to be borne in mind, namely, that a boy at a higher grade school is worth a great deal to the school board in the way of grant; that, in short, he can earn a large sum for the increase of the revenues of the school board. That fact must account for something in respect of the unwillingness of the teachers and all concerned to let the boy leave the school for the higher institutions, whatever it may be."

The remedy for this serious difficulty was suggested by Hoy that there ought to be a single authority for the district, responsible for all primary and secondary education, that was subsidised out of public funds.

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Reynolds was prepared to go even further and suggested that University education ought to be included under such central authority, but this was contrary to the ideas of Wyatt, who advocated a local "Board of Education" for each area, with the Universities left outside it, but responsible for the proper coordination of the efforts of the different authorities at present offering secondary and technical education, as well as the oversight of primary education, under the school boards.

Wyatt attended as the official representative of the Association of School Boards in England and Wales, of which he was the honorary secretary, but much of his

(1) Ibid., Qs. 3556-64, and 3579 - 3624.

evidence related to specific points about Manchester, and as Clerk to one of the largest and most influential boards in the country his examination was of considerable importance. Naturally he defended the higher grade schools most energetically, looking upon them as "an absolute necessity in any efficient system of Secondary Education." (1) Properly organised, he said, they would become "the ~~column~~ of the elementary system, and the connecting link by which the primary schools may be joined with secondary schools of the second grade." (2) He also felt that they could be "the direct feeders of the technical schools and of the secondary schools of the second and third grades." But he would like to see a re-organisation of the curricula in such schools so as to obviate such difficulties as that of a boy coming from one and going on to, say, the Manchester Grammar School, but knowing no Latin or Greek, and consequently finding himself seriously handicapped in his new environment. In defence of this view he clearly expressed the opinion "that a great deal of Secondary Education is done within the standards," and he was most strongly of the opinion that considerable freedom ought to be given to a district to organise these

(1) Ibid., Q. 9912 (A long answer of Wyatt's that was clearly in the nature of a prepared statement as to his whole position with regard to higher grade schools.)

(2) The Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868, divided secondary schools into three grades, by the age up to which pupils habitually stayed at school (to 10, 17, or 15)

schools in the best way to suit local conditions. Moreover he thought it desirable that they should no longer be restricted to children who had gone through the standards, or even to the two highest standards. He wanted a "preparatory department attached to the higher grade school," as he claimed that such an arrangement gave "a backbone to the school, which is otherwise wanting where the whole of the children are transferred from elementary schools." This has been a point of criticism in the much more modern system of primary and secondary schools, devised under the provisions of the Education Act, 1944, and it is interesting to note that it had already been in evidence at the time of the establishment of the higher grade schools.

In the proposed preparatory department of these schools Wyatt suggested that languages and literature might be taught at suitable ages, in order to facilitate the passage of pupils into the various types of secondary schools. In order to demonstrate how his proposed system would work out in all its many facets, Wyatt made considerable reference to the special diagram prepared for the Commission, already mentioned above. ⁽¹⁾ He was enthusiastic about the possible advantages of the large scale expansion of the existing Manchester Board School system along the lines he had suggested.

(1) p. 289, *supra*; (diagram in separate portfolio).

It was natural that the Commission should question Wyatt closely on the vexed question of retention of children in the Board's schools, to the detriment of the Technical School, but he firmly refuted the charge. (1) "On the contrary," he maintained, "the greatest trouble is taken by the School Board, and by the teachers of all our schools, to make known as widely as possible the facilities that are offered for pupils entering for these scholarships." Whatever the truth of the matter it was obvious that Reynolds was convinced that many able pupils were being deliberately held back in the Board schools, so as to earn more grant from the Science and Art Department for the School Board, while Wyatt was equally certain that no such thing was occurring, and that every effort was made to bring the Technical School scholarships to the notice of the children. The conflict of evidence on this, as on some other points before the Bryce Commission, was complete.

Finally, in his evidence about the evening continuation schools, Wyatt expressed the opinion that these schools ought also to be deemed proper agencies for secondary education, since they were the only means by which the great mass of the people could, at that time, hope to obtain such instruction. He thought, moreover, that such schools ought to be graded, and he no doubt envisaged a

(1) Bryce Commission, Vol. I; Qs. 9926 & 10,027.

great extension of the kind of work previously taken up by the Workers' Educational Association and similar bodies. Whatever his other faults, Wyatt certainly was not lacking in ambition and imagination.

However the whole efforts of the Manchester School Board were not at this time entirely devoted to the narrower aspects of technical instruction under the Act of 1889. In 1893 provision was made in the Code for the teaching of deaf and blind pupils, and the Board immediately sought to take advantage of these extended provisions and appointed a sub-committee to consider the matter in April. Shortly afterwards the government passed the Elementary Education (Blind & Deaf Children) Act, 1893, and the same committee were empowered to make suitable provisions locally under the new Act. The report of this committee showed that there were already four institutions to which children from the Manchester area might be sent: Henshaw's Blind Asylum, Old Trafford; The Deaf & Dumb Schools, Old Trafford; the Catholic Institute for the Blind, Liverpool; and the Catholic Deaf & Dumb Institution, Boston Spa, York, each of which was seeking to be certified by the Department as efficient under the new Statute, and each was willing to

(1) SB/36; p. 366.

(2) SB/38; pp. 200 and 391-392.

receive children from the Manchester School Board, so that the committee did not think that any further provision was called for at that time. It is of interest to note that it was this Act that made it mandatory upon the school boards for the first time to make suitable provision for various classes of handicapped children. In addition, the existing permissive power of Boards of Guardians to contribute towards the cost of sending children to such schools and institutions was withdrawn as from the 30th June, 1894, except for imbeciles and work-house inmates. Powers were given to the school boards to establish and maintain schools of their own, and the school leaving age of such categories of children was raised, in general, to 16 years, and to 17 years in some cases for deaf children.

Another aspect of the way in which the Manchester Board was prepared to view the provision of many different kinds of more advanced or specialised education came in February, 1894, when they agreed to support the Royal Manchester College of Music in its application to the Privy Council for Incorporation by Royal Charter, a move that the College believed was being opposed by powerful interests, particularly by various London Colleges. The College's letter to the Board was followed, within three days, by a resolution to petition the Queen on their

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(1) SB/39; pp. 125-126; 26/2/1894.

behalf. Only three weeks later a letter was received from Reynolds, acting on behalf of the Technical School, asking for nomination of six school board representatives to attend a proposed conference ⁽¹⁾ "on the co-ordination of Technical Instruction within the City." This time the effort bore fruit. The Conference was duly held and a working committee eventually hammered out an agreement ⁽²⁾ on this thorny problem which was to serve as a model for other local authorities in the interim period up to the formation of the Local Education Authorities in 1903. In addition to the principal parties, representatives were appointed to the new committee acting on behalf of such bodies as the Owens College, Manchester Grammar School, the Girls' High School, the Catholic Collegiate Institutes, and the Lower Moseley Street Evening Classes.

The findings of this working committee were embodied in a Memorandum of Arrangements, which may be summarised thus:-

1. The Board to carry on an Organised Science School in the new Central School, shortly to be erected in Whitworth Street, and the work of the preparatory, or manual, department of the Technical School to be discontinued;
2. The curricula of the Organised Science School to be arranged to fit in with subsequent courses at the Technical School, with similar arrangements to be made, where possible, to assist other transfers to the Grammar or High Schools, &c.
3. Central School pupils to be encouraged to sit for the scholarships to each of these secondary institutions;

(1) SM/15; p. 434; 7/5/1894.

(2) Appendix XI; p. xxvi, infra.

4. Bursaries to be founded by the Technical Instruction Committee, tenable for first two years at the Central School, followed by a year at the Technical School.
5. Instruction at the Central School beyond that in the South Kensington Code for Organised Science Schools to Day students to cease; all Science and Art instruction for evening students likewise to be given up there;
6. The Technical Instruction Committee to provide for all such instruction given up at the Central School;
7. Honours Classes in Science and Advanced Art, including certain Teachers' Certificates, to be given up at the Central School, and transferred to the Technical School and the School of Art, respectively;
8. The Technical Instruction Committee to make necessary arrangements of teachers' or pupil-teachers' classes in various craft subjects at the School of Art;
9. Commercial instruction at the Technical School to be given up and transferred to the Central School;
10. The Central Evening School to continue Commercial work in subjects ~~of~~ the University Graduate Courses, but the science instruction to be transferred to the Technical School for these courses;
11. The privilege of competitive free admission previously enjoyed by elementary school pupils on passing the sixth standard to the evening classes now being given up by the Board to be taken over by the Technical Instruction Committee;
12. The Technical Instruction Committee to avail themselves, as far as possible, of the services of science teachers in the Central School for their evening classes, and to this end the proposed new Central School to be built on a site adjoining the Technical School, in Whitworth Street.

It was reported on a number of occasions subsequently that the new Concordat was working very satisfactorily for all concerned, and it can hardly be doubted that had the same spirit activated the national authorities as did the local ones in Manchester at this time, it might have been

possible to arrive at a good working agreement between all the interested parties in the realm of secondary education without recourse to the tactics employed in the case of the dispute between the London School Board and certain other vested interests some years later, which was to lead to the end of the school board era. The agreement was formally adopted by the principal parties in resolutions passed in January, 1896, and it marked the beginning of a new phase in the steady expansion of technical instruction in the city of Manchester.

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REFERENCES:

Report, Summaries of Evidence, &c., of the Royal Commission on Secondary Schools, 1894-95, (The Bryce Commission Report).

Shaw, W.M.: "Manchester Old and New," 1895.

(As previously mentioned, the various reports of the Proceedings of the Manchester School Board, including sub-committees, etc., form the basis of much of the foregoing, but special mention may, perhaps, be made in this chapter of:-)

Proceedings of the School Board, Vols. 27-44;

" " " School Managers, Vols. 13-16.

XII - School Board Rule at its Zenith, 1895-1900.

The contest of November, 1891, had been marked by the appearance of three Labour candidates for the first time in Manchester School Board elections. However the effort proved over ambitious and they could only finish bottom of the poll, though their combined vote of forty-four and a half thousand was more than enough to have secured one seat, though insufficient for two. Labour made the same mistake in the next contest, for their candidates again occupied the last three places, though their best candidate, the well-known women's suffrage worker, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, must certainly have been returned if the party had concentrated on one seat. In the event it was the Church party which lost a seat to the Roman Catholics in 1894. The latter had again paid the price of over-ambitious efforts three years earlier when two of their four candidates had been unsuccessful, but when the effort was concentrated on only three members, all were safely returned, but at the expense of one Churchman, Thomas H. Core, professor of Physics at the Victoria University, who failed to secure re-election in 1894. Mrs. Pankhurst did not stand again in the next contest, but was returned as one of the "United Education" party members in the last election,

of 1900, when the Progressives combined with the "United

(1) Vide Appendix X. p. xxiv. infra.

Trades and Labour" party candidates under the new banner of United Education. A second of the four United Education seats was secured by Fred Brocklehurst in 1900, who had been returned as the first official Labour candidate to sit on the Board three years earlier, when the Labour effort had wisely been concentrated on only two candidates, the second, however, being unsuccessful once more.

Following the election of the eighth Board in November, 1894, the first matter of significance to be debated occurred in the following February, when the five Progressives present were defeated in their attempt to abolish all remaining fees in the Board Schools, with the exception of those departments of the Higher Grade Schools where the fee was 6d. per week. In general, public elementary education was made free under the Act of 1891, so long as the fees did not exceed 10s. per year, but they could remain above this figure so long as there was no virtual increase before the deduction of the 10s. fee grant payable out of government funds, and also only if they remained below the statutory maximum of 9d. per week to qualify under the 1870 Act as "elementary." In addition, under s.8 of the 1891 Act, school boards could, if they so wished, abolish fees altogether in their remaining schools, but, no doubt still smarting under

(1) pp. 251-252, supra.

the injustice of the unfair competition which had so often been alleged against the board schools in the past, the Churchmen and Catholics voted solidly together to ensure the rejection of this measure.

The same point was again debated, with the same result, shortly after the next School Board was returned in November, 1897, and it seems a little ironic that these successors to the generous Boards of earlier years, which had done so much for the remission of poor children's fees, should now consistently block all attempts to implement the 1891 "Assisted Education" Act to the fullest extent. With the gradual disappearance of all the original members of the first Boards, opinion had hardened against such generous policies on the later Boards. However it is not to be supposed that the latter were deliberately restricting the benefits of the higher grade schools to the more middle class type of pupil, who could pay for it. In May, 1889, the seventh Board had adopted a code of rules governing free admission to these schools, which clearly
(1)
stated that:-

"The Board are prepared to remit the whole or a portion of the school fee at the Higher Grade Schools in any case where the parent of a child is unable to pay the normal school fee. The child must, at the time of application, be in attendance at a Public Elementary School in the City and have passed Standard V. Each case will be considered on its merits, consideration being given to: (a) the circumstances of the family; and (b) the probable benefit to the child by reason of such admission to a Higher Grade Board School."

(1) MME.; Part II, Major File; M/Cr. L.E.A., May, 1889.

This concession was greatly extended by a further resolution adopted on the 30th November, 1891, which granted free admission to all children of ratepayers of the city who had passed the sixth Standard, if they had been in regular attendance at a public elementary school in the city for at least two consecutive years. Even this concession was still further extended to include children of ratepayers in attendance at schools in the city, but who resided outside its boundaries, at a later date. This covered the case of a father who lived outside the city but who owned office or other property within the city on which he paid city rates. However, when this last extension was granted it was also agreed to limit the aggregate number of free scholars at the Manchester Central School to 25% of the total. At the same time books and stationery were still chargeable.

It was in connection with this last arrangement that considerable confusion was originally caused by the provisions of the 1891 Act, and on the 20th September, 1893, the Board addressed an enquiry to the Department, (1) concerning the interpretation of the regulations. The Manchester Diocesan Board of Education also wrote at the same time, drawing the Department's attention to an apparent conflict between s.6 of the Act, forbidding

(1) P.R.O., ED 16/176.

managers to make a charge for books, and Form 167, issued by the Department, which, they alleged, allowed such a charge to be made. This query caused the Department considerable trouble and the minutes show that Acland, the Vice-President under Gorst, seems to have been distinctly worried on the point. It was Kekewich who pointed out that, according to the auditors' decisions, supported by the Committee on Public Accounts, the Department had been acting illegally all along in allowing compulsory periodical payments for books, and similar articles, to be charged over and above any fees. The contention was that such payments were, and always had been, legally fees, and the Department had accepted this contention.

Accordingly the Department advised the parties concerned that:

"Both schools which have no right to charge fees and schools which have a right to charge fees - whether the latter actually charge fees or not - are subject to the provision in Art. 85(a) of the Code, and cannot make a compulsory charge for books. If a school, having a right to charge fees, makes a charge for the use of books, such a charge is a fee (Art. 3 of the Code), and is subject, as such, to the limitations of fee under 2(2) of the Act of 1891. My Lords consider that the above applies equally to books for use in school and books for Home Lessons."

On receipt of this reply the Diocesan Board returned to the attack, pointing out that Form 167 expressly allowed the managers of schools which had accepted the

fee grant to make a charge for books in the following terms:

"The acceptance of the fee grant will not restrict the liberty of Managers to charge a reasonable sum for books or other school requisites for the future, provided ~~that~~ the parent has the option of himself providing such books or requisites."

Obviously the Department had slipped up badly and had made regulations for what amounted to an illegal act, so that by this time the matter had reached the point of questions in the House of Commons.

Originally the Department proposed replying to this second letter that the passage quoted from the modified Form 167 must not be taken as allowing managers to make a charge for books a condition of admission to the school, and that a refusal to provide books for a child whose parent refused to pay for them was looked upon by the Department as an infringement of Articles 8 and 85(a) of the Code, while a refusal to ~~admit~~ without books would be an infringement of Article 78. This proposed reply to the Diocesan Board was not officially sanctioned, however, and a further attempt was made at arriving at a more satisfactory way of answering this awkward query, so that it was eventually suggested saying: "My Lords think no good purpose would be answered by discussing further the interesting questions raised in your letter

until a case arises which it is necessary for Their Lordships, in the regular course of administration, to decide thereon." Kekewich wisely counselled against this injudicious evasion, however, so that it was eventually agreed to lay down that the powers of managers to sell books to the children was not altered from what it was before 1891, but that, both before 1891 and since, the Department had held that it was unreasonable to exclude a child because the parent refused to purchase the necessary books, and that it could not be made a condition for legitimate refusal to purchase the books that the parent was too poor. A further paragraph was originally included, but struck out by Kekewich before the reply was sent off, pointing out that there was no change in the Department's attitude in dealing with such cases, except that the provisions of the Code were now being more strictly enforced than before. Kekewich's decision seems a wise one, for it would hardly have been judicious to suggest that the Department may have been a bit lax in the past but that they intended to mend their ways in the future!

The controversy over the abolition of all remaining fees in the Manchester Board schools seems to have lingered on for some time and as late as 1898 the Board were still receiving strongly worded protests on the

subject, this time from the Manchester and Salford District Education Association, protesting that the Board's refusal was ⁽¹⁾ "contrary alike to the spirit and purpose of recent legislation, to the example set by Boards in other large centres and towns, and to the development of a truly national system of Education." Pressure was also applied from a number of other directions, such as the local Liberal and Labour Associations, the Baptist and Congregational Churches, and so on, but with no effect. The School Board had been adamant in 1892 that they would not finally abolish all remaining fees; they had reiterated their position three years later; and they were not going to be moved by external opinions in 1898.

About the same time as ^{debate on the abolition of fees, mentioned} the ~~original decision~~ above, in 1895, an even ~~more~~ ^{discussion} lengthier ~~debate~~ took place on the School Board, on a motion to petition both Houses of Parliament to the effect:

(2)

"That in the interests of education and economy, but more especially in the interests of ~~justice and religious freedom~~ justice and religious freedom, the School Board rate, which is collected from all citizens without distinction, should be enjoyed equally in all schools whether Board or Voluntary Schools; suitable arrangements being made for the inspection of the Voluntary Schools as to the secular part of the education given by the representatives of the ratepayers, and that the present law be amended in this direction."

(1) SB/53; pp. 99-100; 23/5/1898.

(2) SB/41; Feb., 1895.

It is hardly necessary to add that this motion was only one of a long line of similar motions which were debated on secular v. denominational grounds by each of the School Boards, since the first one. The first recorded instance took place on the 15th March, 1871, when Watts and McKerrow moved an amendment to a proposal to petition Parliament to amend certain clauses in the new Code. On that occasion the Unsectarian motion read:

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"That it is not the business of a School Board to seek to secure peculiar facilities for sectarian teaching, its function being strictly confined to the provision of payment for secular instruction and the maintenance of the right of Parents to the withdrawal of their children from sectarian teaching."

The wording was different but many of the arguments were the same on each occasion that this sectarian controversy was debated. The Manchester School Boards remained predominantly denominational in majority throughout their thirty-two and a half years' existence, and the voting on each of these occasions always went against the Unsectarians, for the combined Roman Catholic and Church of England vote was always sufficient to secure the rejection of the secularists' motions.

In the case of the last of these religious debates, cited above, there was a significant difference, in that

opinion was veering, at the time of the Bryce Commission, towards the extension of the principle of rate-aided education to the Voluntary schools and the Manchester debate covered much of the ground which had been suggested by various persons when examined by the Commissioners. It will be remembered moreover that Nunn had expressed himself quite forcefully in support of this idea when giving evidence before the Cross Commission eight or nine years earlier, and that he had by no means been alone in advocating such a change at that time.

It was at this time also that a change of opinion was taking place in Parliament. Gladstone retired in 1894 and Lord Roseberry's brief administration which followed was replaced by a Conservative government, under Lord Salisbury, the following year (the last time that a government of this country was led from the Upper House).

For a while it appeared as if there would be a serious threat to the continued existence of the school boards, and especially to their higher grade schools, for the new Vice-President, Sir John Gorst, commenced one of his characteristic moves that played such an important part in the educational picture of the last years of the century. He has been strikingly described as "an interesting figure; fresh and stimulating in his speeches,

(1) p. 211, supra.

(2) Eaglesham: op.cit., p. 105.

and never ready to spoil a striking story by a too close regard for facts - one cannot avoid being fascinated by his apparently irresponsible waspishness... Gorst had a mixture of malice and tenacity of purpose which boded ill for his enemies; and among these the school boards took first place." This remarkable man introduced an Education Bill in 1896 which was designed to alleviate the desperate plight of many of the voluntary schools, and, at the same time, to introduce a measure of much needed coordination by the establishment of ad hoc education Committees, under the county councils.

Although these new authorities were to supplement and not supplant the existing school boards, there was a subtle implied threat to the latter in Gorst's Bill, for, in addition to their powers to disburse the special grants to the voluntary schools, and to coordinate the distribution of grants from both Whitehall and South Kensington, they were to be empowered to take over certain schools which were considered to be other than elementary in the character of their instruction. Thus the new committees could virtually hamstring the efforts of the school boards as far as their more advanced work was concerned.

Under the proposed Bill a limited amount of

of assistance to the voluntary schools was to be accompanied by a demand that these schools should be brought up to the level of the board schools, and one specific remedy laid down that the 1890 Code, which had already limited the teacher to pupil ratio in elementary schools, should be further extended, so as to limit the number of children that might be taught in the schools, in terms of the available number of certificated teachers.

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A special meeting of the Manchester School Board was at once called in May, 1896, to discuss the proposed Bill, at which the Board reiterated their demands for proportionate assistance out of the rates for the voluntary schools, now that it was suggested that these schools should come under the control of the new Local Education Authorities. In addition to expressing their displeasure that the voluntary schools were not to be put on a level with the board schools in this matter of financial assistance, the Board also passed a resolution deploring the proposed once-for-all Special Aid Grant to necessitous schools of 4s. per head, instead of making this an annual grant under the Code, particularly in view of the increased demands being made over the staffing ratio.

Some school boards went further than Manchester in

(1) Education Dept. Code, 1896; Art. 72, effective 31/8/96.

(2) SB/46; pp. 151, et seq.

their demands for support for the voluntary schools and Liverpool demanded that a sum amounting to three-quarters of the total per scholar, which was drawn from the rates for the annual maintenance of board school pupils, should be granted to the managers of voluntary schools in each area. At the June meeting of the Manchester Board Nunn (1) moved to support the Liverpool resolution, but the motion was withdrawn after some discussion.

Opposition to the Government's proposals continued to grow, and there were many who felt that, though the improvements in the standards demanded under the Code were admirable, not enough was being done to save the voluntary schools, many of which were threatened with extinction, and indeed, after protracted debates in the House, the Government's Bill was eventually withdrawn, though a further measure, specifically designed to aid the voluntary schools followed and the Voluntary Schools Act reached the Statute Book in 1897.

The reaction of the Manchester Board to this movement was embodied in a resolution of the 28th December, 1896, which read:

"That as the increased strain upon the resources of all Elementary Schools is caused by the increased requirements of the Government and as the special strain upon Voluntary Schools in School Board areas is caused

(1) SB/46; pp. 339-340.

(2) SB/48; p. 137.

by the competition of the Board Schools which are subsidized out of a common rate paid by the parents of all the children in the District, whether they attend Board or Voluntary Schools, the natural and only just remedy for the present difficulties of poor schools is to be found:-

"1. In an increased Government Grant to meet the increased Government requirements both recent and impending, and:-

"2. In the principle of Rate sharing by all Voluntary Schools upon equitable terms.

"That no mere dole or distribution of Government Grant on the ground of poverty will meet the justice of the case or effectually and permanently relieve the schools."

Although the 1896 Bill was withdrawn after this, the new Government proposals, which led up to the Elementary Education Act, 1897, as well as the Voluntary Schools Act of the same year, still did not meet with the approval of the nine denominational members of the Manchester Board, and a further resolution, along the same lines, was adopted, urging the Government to increase the Special Aid Grant that could be given to poor school board districts, under s. 97 of the Act of 1870, and to extend the principle of Special Aid Grants to small schools, and to schools in districts of small population, but not to give special aid solely on the grounds of the poverty of individual schools.

While all this controversy was going on other matters continued to demand the attention of the ninth Board. New rules for the conduct of Organised Science

Schools were issued by the South Kensington Department at the beginning of 1895, and they came in for a considerable amount of detailed criticism by the Manchester Board, particularly on the question of the allocation of grant on the assessment of the schools by the Inspectors, under the heading of "Excellent," "Good," or "Fair."

The main points in the new regulations were these:-

1. Organised Science Schools for Day students must have at least 20 pupils, with a fair proportion of the total receiving advanced instruction under the Directory. Instruction in literary or commercial subjects at certain levels was made compulsory, so that not less than 13 hours per week had to be devoted to Science and Art instruction, and not less than 10 hours, including 2 for manual instruction, to these other subjects.

2. The instruction was to be divided into an elementary course, which might extend over two years, and an advanced course, where the instruction was to be specialised.

3. The existing system of grants was abolished and the original proposal was for:-

(i) An Attendance Grant of 30s. for 400 attendances;

(ii) A Variable Grant of £2 for Excellent, 30s. for Good, and £1 for Fair grading by the Inspectors on each student, but the award was to be made on the school as a whole on the Inspector's report;

(iii) A variable Grant of 30s., 20s., or 10s. per subject on each student in the Elementary course, or of 50s., 40s., or 30s. per subject on each student in the advanced course, for practical work in physics, chemistry, and biological subjects, depending again upon the grading of the school as a whole.

In effect, therefore, the proposal was to abolish the May Examinations as the only test of an Organised

The Association organised a deputation to the Vice-president and managed to secure an agreement to make certain modifications in the proposals before they came into force. The Department refused to abandon the grading into Excellent, Good, or Fair, but would reduce the difference in the awards under these headings; but the Executive Committee of the Association felt that this was still undesirable as they believed that the schools would inevitably be classified in the public mind as having received the "higher," "middle," or "lower" grants, and would value the schools accordingly. In addition, the Association stated that they were seriously concerned about the difficulty of conducting night schools on the same plan as day schools, for the reason that night scholars would only attend, in general, in those subjects which they found to be of practical use to them in their employment, hence the regulation insisting on a measure of instruction in literary or commercial subjects would tend to remove a very considerable number of potential night school students.

The Manchester School Board were also concerned at the South Kensington proposals, and agreed with the Association that the modifications suggested were insufficient to meet the underlying principles which were at stake. But they were not, perhaps, unduly worried

by the prospects embodied in the new rules, since, at the worst, their Organised Science Schools would be no worse off, if they were classified as merely "fair," while they were fully aware that the grading would, in fact, most likely remain at the upper levels, and hence bring in a most welcome increase in the revenue.

Shortly after this, in June, 1895, the Board agreed to urge the Home Secretary to raise the age for half-time exemption to twelve years, in his new Factory Bill then (1) before Parliament. This seems a very moderate request at this distance, but it is a salutary reminder of the relatively low standards still permitted scarcely more than sixty years ago. The question of exemption was again raised in February, 1899, when the School Board supported the government proposal to raise the age limit for half-time exemption to twelve years, and in the (2) following month they amended their own byelaws to raise the whole-time exemption from the sixth to the seventh standard, and for half-timers from the third to the fourth standard, as from the following first day of May.

Besides showing concern at the relatively low standards for exemption from compulsory school attendance, the ninth Board also took some steps to provide for

(1) SB/43; p. 188

(2) SB/56; p. 127; 20/3/1899.

feeble-minded children. In July, 1897, a sub-committee was appointed to visit the London School Board's schools for feeble-minded children and to report on the question of provision of such institutions in the Manchester area. Miss Mary Dendy, first appointed to the Board on the resignation of Mrs. Scott early in 1896, was the prime mover in this activity, and it was she who was responsible for most of the work of the committee, and for the separate report under ^{her} name, which formed an appendix to the committee's (1) report to the Board in September, 1897. As a result of this investigation the Board established two centres, as a preliminary measure, each for sixty afflicted children, one at Embden Street, and the other in Holland Street. Both of these new departments were in the playgrounds of existing schools.

The work associated with the opening of these two centres extended on into 1898, and Mary Dendy was defeated in the election for the tenth Board in the previous November. However she continued to render the committee valuable services in this matter, after losing her seat, and the new Board paid tribute to her fine efforts after this time. It is pleasant to be able to record that Miss Dendy received her just reward by being re-elected in the next, and final, contest in 1900, when, with Mrs. Pankhurst, the Manchester School Board had two women members for the

(1) Vide Appendix XII, p. xxx, infra.

first time, though of very different personalities.

This account of the varied activities of the Board in the concluding years of the last century seems to suggest that it was a rather unspectacular time, yet, in fact, expansion was proceeding apace. There were no longer the major decisions to make, but during no previous period was there anything approaching the amount of building undertaken by the Board as during the term of office of this tenth Board. The growth of the city in the suburbs was the main cause, so that the Board was constantly under the necessity of increasing the school accommodation of many of the townships included in the municipal area since the last extension of the city boundaries. Furthermore much of the house property in the central wards of the city had been demolished to make room for railway extensions, the erection of warehouses, workshops, and the like. As a natural consequence the people had to travel further afield to seek housing accommodation and it was this that was principally responsible for the great increase in school building in, for example, the townships of Clayton, Moston, Harpurhey, and Kirkmanshulme at this time. Finally the Board of Education, as the old Education Department and the Science and Art Department had become by the provisions of the Board of Education

Act, 1899, had condemned some of the older schools which had been transferred to the School Board some years previously. The result of all this was to produce the need for a building programme of unprecedented dimensions for the Manchester Board, and, indeed, some of this building was incomplete at the time that the School Board handed over to the Education Committee in 1903. It would be tedious to enumerate all this programme, but a full list of all the schools actually erected by successive Boards may be found in Appendix V, *infra*.

In view of the Cockerton judgment, which was shortly to break upon them, re the illegality of educating adults in evening schools out of the rates, the Board made an interesting decision in August, 1899⁽¹⁾ shortly before the final election was held. It was agreed to open Special Classes exclusively for the education of Policemen, on four nights a week, from 8.0 till 8.0 p.m., at the Newton Street, Bank Meadow, Willart Street, Rochdale Road, and Embden Street Board Schools. These classes were opened at the request of the City Council and were the direct outcome of the close and growing cooperation that existed between the various bodies in Manchester responsible for the administration of public education. Since the responsible municipal authorities had agreed over three

(1) SB/57; p. 325; 28/8/1899.

years before on the precise division of the work, it doubtless never occurred to the Board that they might be committing an illegal act. The decision of the High Court in the case of Cockerton v. the London School Board (1) however left no doubt that this was the case; but we can conveniently leave the Manchester School Board to enjoy their brief period of blissful ignorance!

(1) R. v. Cockerton, L.R.; 1901, 1 Queen's Bench, p.322.

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Public Record Office, Education Department Files
(especially Hæce No. 16/176)

Report of the Executive Sub-Committee of the Association
of School Boards of England and Wales, March, 1895.

(The specific portions of the usual Manchester School
Board Proceedings that relate to the foregoing chapter
are:-)

Proceedings of the School Board, Vols. 41 - 58;

" " " School Managers, Vols. 16 - 18.

XIII. - The "Cockerton" Judgment and the Passing of the School Boards, 1900 - 1903.

The full story of the remarkable chain of events which led up to the famous Cockerton Case before the Court of the Queen's Bench in December, 1900, has been very adequately described elsewhere. ⁽¹⁾ It will be sufficient for our purpose to recite the main facts very briefly and then consider their repercussions on the local events in Manchester.

In April and May, 1899, various schools, together with certain representatives of ratepayers, objected before Cockerton, the District Auditor for the London Local Government Board, against the London School Board's expenditure on Science and Art schools and classes. In June of that year Cockerton decided in favour of the complainants and thereupon surcharged the members of the school board with the expenditure that they had sanctioned on these classes. In addition there was a private challenge by the solicitor for all the plaintiffs, William Hales, who was also a member of the Board of Governors of the Camden School of Art, the principal plaintiffs, against the whole of the school board's expenditure on evening schools. In this case Cockerton decided in favour of the school board and Hales appealed against this decision to

(1) e.g., Eaglesham; op. cit.

the Local Government Board, but this issue was never pushed to a conclusion.

After considerable pressure, however, the Local Government Board were obliged to take up the main case and instructed counsel for their defence, when the school board decided to challenge the auditor's decision re the Science and Art classes in the High Court. Judgment in this latter case was delivered on the 20th December, (1) 1900, upholding the auditor's decision, and making it clear that school boards might not, out of money from the rates, either teach adults or science and art classes under the old South Kensington Code, although it considered that this latter work might be properly carried on, in certain circumstances, provided that the money could be raised in other ways, such as by subscriptions or donations. Finally the Court of Appeal's judgment, on the 1st April, 1901, confirmed the decision of the Queen's Bench Court, further emphasising that payments out of the school fund could be made only for the elementary education of children.

Broadly speaking it might be said that the lower Court's definition of "elementary", though not specific and exact, was that the criterion to be applied was its admissibility in the Education Code, Whitehall, though this point was subsequently said to be inconclusive in

(1) R. v. Cockerton, L.R.; 1901, I Queen's Bench, p.322.

the Appeal Court's findings. As to the term "children," upon which the whole structure of the decisions hinged, and upon which the very interpretation of the Elementary Education Acts was held to turn, there was again no very exact definition forthcoming, though the judgment cautiously suggested that the upper limit was somewhere between 16 and 17, though the Master of the Rolls in the Appeal Court, subsequently thought this was rather high. In practice, therefore, although the judgments were directed equally to day and evening schools alike, the importance lay chiefly in the very great curtailment of the evening school classes, consequent upon the insistence of an upper age limit.

As far as the content of the elementary courses was concerned it might have been claimed that a simple extension of the Whitehall Code could have made much of the work already being carried on perfectly legal, and that a more precise delimitation of the exact spheres of activity of the school boards and the local technical instruction committees, along the lines already successfully adopted in Manchester, could have met the situation. In point of fact, the two Departments of Whitehall and South Kensington had already been combined into one, under the newly constituted Board of Education, by the provisions of the Board of Education Act, 1899, one of the pieces of

tangible evidence resulting from the work of the Bryce Commission a few years earlier. To legalise the extensive range of evening work being carried on in places like Manchester would, however, have required further legislation, which might have been quite simply forthcoming, together with the more precise statement of the respective limits of the various authorities in the fields of primary and secondary education, without the necessity for the extinction of the existing school boards.

Opposition to the school boards had been hardening in official quarters, however, and since it was becoming evident from the original Cockerton decision, in the summer of 1899, that this might not prove a sufficiently powerful weapon with which to crush at last the more ambitious efforts of the school boards, the Education Department, under the Vice-President, Gorst, aided and abetted by the odd figure of Morant, decided upon a separate policy of squeezing the school boards, even before the Cockerton Case had come before the Queen's Bench, in 1900.

The new Code, published early in 1900, introduced a Block Grant of 21s. or 22s. per head for all day scholars, depending upon the Inspector's grading of a school as "Moderate" or "Excellent." Thus, by pleading

that the best informed education authorities, including the big school boards, had always been firmly opposed to large differences in payment, depending upon the Inspectors placing schools in three separate categories, the Department managed to cut down the total grant paid to a large school board, like Manchester, by between one and two thousand pounds a year. Moreover the cuts would be most severely felt in the case of the older pupils, and hence it hit the Higher Grade schools hardest of all.

The Manchester School Board held a special meeting on the 20th March, 1900, to consider the new situation in detail, and the result of their deliberations can be seen in the correspondence exchanged between the Board and the Department, ⁽¹⁾ as it still was at that date. Sir George Kekewich's reply, of the 2nd April, was promptly referred to the School Management Committee for further ⁽²⁾ detailed consideration, but there is no record of this Committee ever reporting back to the full Board on the matter, probably because it was very soon overshadowed by a much more sinister move of the new Board of Education, which had by now taken over the functions of the Whitehall and South Kensington Departments.

On the 6th April, 1900, the Board of Education published a notorious Higher Elementary Schools Minute,

(1) Vide Appendix XIV, p. xxxiv, infra.

(2) SM/18; p. 294.

under which the scope of the Higher Grade Schools was much more seriously threatened. In particular, the grants were steeply graded so that only the older pupils attracted a high grant, while at the same time attendances of pupils over 15 years of age would not be recognized. Moreover the grants would be on a higher or lower scale, depending upon the Inspectors' reports, and rules were incorporated to prevent higher elementary schools from receiving grants from other sources, or their teachers from being employed teaching Science and Art classes during school hours. Even admission to these new Higher Elementary Schools, as well as the annual promotion of children to a higher class, was made contingent upon an Inspector certifying that the pupil would profit by such a course.

At their April meeting the Manchester Board were seriously concerned about the provisions of the Higher Elementary Schools Minute, which was clearly designed to curtail the work of the School Boards in the higher grade schools very drastically indeed. The Manchester Board's views on the matter were duly laid before the Board of Education, and negotiations were thereupon entered into with a view to the conversion of four of their higher grade schools into the new category of Higher Elementary Schools, but nothing definite was settled within the

lifetime of the tenth School Board, which came to an end in the following November. The School Board were particularly perturbed about the position of their well-known Central School under the new arrangements, and they pointed out that "the limitation of age would seriously interfere with the advanced pupils of the School of Science," even suggesting that the Minute, as drawn up, was impossible of application as existing arrangements stood. Despite their serious misgivings at that time, the School Board must have been much heartened a few months later when no less an official than the President of the new Board of Education, the Duke of Devonshire, personally opened the new buildings of the new Central Higher Grade Board School, as the School Board still resolutely called it, on the 15th October, 1900, shortly before the election of the eleventh and last Board.

In view of the behind-the-scenes machinations of Gorst and Morant, in their attempts to undermine the whole structure of school board authority, it is interesting to read the President's remarks on this public occasion:-

"We want to enlist the assistance not only of educational experts, but men of business, the leaders of industry and commerce, in bringing about the opinion that a thoroughly organised system of national education is indispensable. The example which has been set by Manchester shows that if it is undertaken by the right men and in the right spirit the thing can be done. The methods that are being adopted by Manchester may not without alteration be applicable to every district in

the country, but the principles upon which you have founded yourselves, the spirit by which you have been actuated, the common sense by which you have been guided, these are things which are applicable in every district."

Doubtless fortified by these reassuring remarks, the School Board went to the polls for the eleventh, and, as it proved, the last time, a month later. The most significant feature of this final election was the amalgamation of the Progressives, or former Unsectarian party, with the Independent Labour party and the Manchester and Salford Trades Council to put up seven candidates under the banner of the "United Education Party." Five of these were successful, and those returned included a former Labour member, Fred Brocklehurst, and Mrs. Pankhurst, who had unsuccessfully stood in the Labour cause six years previously. Mary Dendy was another notable return to school board politics, after her defeat in the previous contest. William Wardale, the Teachers' Candidate, again topped the poll by a very large majority, and the official Church list lost two seats in all - one to the combined forces of the new United Education party, and one to the "Independent" Churchman, the Rev. J.W. Taylor, who stood with Nunn's support, now that the latter had at last retired from active politics, on the score of advancing years. Counting the three Roman Catholics, the total strength of the rival

parties was little changed however, with nine denominationalists and six undenominational members.

The Queen's Bench decision in the Cockerton Case followed a month after the election, so that the first major debates of the new Board were almost exclusively concerned with the implications of the Court's ruling. The Dean of Manchester and Edward Broadfield were once again re-elected chairman and vice-chairman respectively, without opposition, and the Board then re-constituted the usual sub-committees at its first business meeting, but early in the new year, at a meeting which opened with dutiful expressions of sorrow and regret at the passing of Queen Victoria, the new situation created by the Cockerton judgment had to be faced.

The School Board's first reaction was to resolve
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upon a long Petition to the House of Commons, which can be summarised as follows:-

The School Board believed that the effect of the judgment would be to seriously interfere, and possibly completely prevent, their work in establishing and maintaining higher grade and evening continuation schools, but they realised that the Higher Elementary Schools Minute was perhaps an even more potent source of danger to the continued existence of the former schools, particularly

(1) SB/63; pp. 148-151; 28/1/1901.

on the score of the absolute restriction to pupils of 15 years of age and under. The Board went on to point out that the higher grade schools were, in their opinion, the natural development of the elementary schools system, and that their establishment had been actually encouraged and fostered by Government Departments having control of public education, and these schools had been established in buildings which had been sanctioned by the former Education Department, and, further, that former Lord Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Council had publicly approved of them in their official capacities. The Board then passed on to review the whole situation with regard to the evening continuation schools, both on a national level and in their own very extensive, local network, and having given facts and figures relating to the latter, proceeded to remind the Commons that these evening schools had been set up with the full support of the local ratepayers, as attested by the election results in successive triennial contests, and that persons of eminence in the educational world had expressed the opinion that such evening continuation schools were an absolutely necessary part of the whole national educational system. These schools formed the natural continuation of the day school work, and much of the most useful work done in them concerned the instruction

of adults who had come to recognise the insufficiency of their own education.

In view of all this the School Board therefore urged, as a matter of the utmost urgency and expediency, that legislation should be speedily passed enabling school boards to continue to establish and maintain higher grade and evening continuation schools, and so to alter and extend the Minute of the 6th April that the advantages of "higher primary" education, as enjoyed in Scotland under the Scotch Code, might be introduced into England and Wales. Finally the Board wanted the law amended so that school rates could be used for the establishment and maintenance of evening continuation schools.

In the next few months the Manchester School Board spent a considerable amount of time and energy in the accumulation of further facts and figures relating to the disputed higher grade and evening continuation schools. The results of their labours were summarised (1) in a long report of the School Managers Committee to the School Board, in May, 1901, which went into the matter very thoroughly. Some of the main points made in this report were:-

(1) SM/19; pp. 33-44; 6/5/1901.

1. The Higher Grade Schools were established with the approval of the Education Department; e.g. the Central School was opened on the 7th July, 1884, by Mundella when he was Vice-President, who paid a warm tribute to the work of establishing such schools in Sheffield, Bradford, and other cities, and went so far as to say:

"This £30,000 spent on these premises is the best investment, I venture to say, that the City of Manchester has made for a long time. I believe money has never been better laid out than in this Central School, and as the representative of the Education Department, I thank you."

2. The Higher Grade Schools were built with public money, and the necessary loans were sanctioned by the Department. The actual amounts expended were given as:-

Cost of Five Higher Grade Schools in Manchester.

<u>School</u>	<u>Amount of Loan</u>
Central	£33,900 - 0 - 0
Ardwick	£21,383 - 0 - 0
Birley Street	£26,607 - 0 - 0 (including pro-
Cheetham	£18,715 - 0 - 0 vision for Jun-
Ducie Avenue	£13,207 - 9 - 9 iors & Infants)
TOTAL	£113,812 - 9 - 9

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3. The Numbers of scholars in the above schools were given as:-

Numbers of Scholars in Manchester Higher Grade Schools

<u>School</u>	<u>Elementary</u> (to Std. VI)	<u>School of Science</u> (Std. VII and above)
Central	391	421
Ardwick	490	167
Birley Street	723	105
Cheetham	403	195
Ducie Avenue	398	145
TOTALS	2,605	1,033

p. xxxix,

(1) c.f. statistics for 1903, shown in Appendix XV₁ infra.

4. The Class of children attending the higher grade schools was shown to be chiefly the lower middle class, where the parents were willing to make some sacrifice to keep their children at school for two or three years beyond the compulsory school age; at Birley Street, however, the children were nearly all drawn from the better class of artisan, since that school was in a working class area. In support of the contention that such schools were not being fed by the admission of pupils who would have normally gone on to other secondary schools, like the Manchester Grammar School, the figures for the admissions to the Central School, for the year ended July, 1900, were given as:-

Type of Admissions to the Central School (1899-1900)

(a)	From Public Elementary Schools	620
(b)	" Private Schools	40
(c)	" Endowed Secondary Schools	0
	<u>Total Admitted</u>	<u>660</u>

5. The Occupations of the parents of children at the Central Board School, for the same ^{year} was given as:-

Occupations of Parents of Children at the Central School.

Independent (retired from business)	8
Professional	33
Teachers	19
Manufacturers	62
Manufacturers' Managers	87
Farmers	6
Retail Tradesmen	182
Commercial Travellers	60
Salesmen	65
Clerks	122
Subordinate Public Officials	49
Foremen	51
Skilled Artisans	135
Unskilled Artisans	24
Others (unclassified)	109
	<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>1,012</u>

6. The careers of children who left the Central Board School were also gone into, and the relevant figures were given as:-

After-Careers of Children leaving Central School (1899-1900)

Went to a Technical School	26
Went to a University	1
Became Pupil Teachers	43
Became Draughtsmen	5
Entered Occupations requiring knowledge of Chemistry or other Science	14
Entered Commercial Life (Clerks, &c.)	187
Became Handicraftsmen	92
Engaged at Home (Small shops, &c.)	135
Occupations unknown	98
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>601</u>

Finally, the Report of the School Managers' Committee on the Higher Grade Schools stressed that they held a recognised place in the educational supply of the city to the new Central Board School and the new Municipal Technical School, both now in Whitworth Street, and formed a valuable connecting link in the general coordinated system of public instruction, given, with rate aid, by these two authorities. It was pointed out that the successful Concordat, which had been carefully drawn up some years earlier, was specifically aimed at the prevention of overlapping of effort, and also at the promotion of the supply of students for the Technical School and other places of higher education. Under this Concordat, the Central Board School took the place of the Preparatory, or Manual, Department of the Municipal Technical School, and the curriculum of the former school was so arranged as to fit in with the

subsequent courses at the latter institution. A very successful system of scholarships had been instituted, so that pupils could pass from the ordinary public elementary schools of the city to the Central School for two years and then on to the Technical School for the third year, and it was very strongly felt that the Higher Grade Schools had a most important contribution to make in the supply of such scholars. Moreover it was pointed out that the efficiency and smooth working of the scholarship system and the Concordat had been publicly acclaimed by informed persons representing both the School Board and the Technical Instruction Committee, and the Report cited the words of the Chairman of the latter committee, Alderman Hoy, as recently as the Central School Concert, in the Free Trade Hall, in December, 1899, when he said:

"There is, I think, a special fitness in your knowing, and in the public knowing, with how much success the work of the Technical Instruction Committee has met through the efforts of the Higher Grade Schools of Manchester... It is scarcely too much to say that the Scholarship Scheme of the Manchester Technical Instruction Committee would have largely failed but for the establishment of the Higher Grade Schools by the Manchester School Board."

A striking feature of the energy and effort put into the controversy surrounding the Cockerton judgment by the Manchester School Board must surely be the

relatively very large proportion of time devoted to the production of reports and statistics on the higher grade schools of the city, and the correspondingly small amount devoted to upholding the extraordinarily extensive system of evening continuation schools run by the School Board. It might well be that the Board felt that, if sufficient pressure could be brought to bear to secure the withdrawal of the Higher Elementary Schools Minute, then there could be a perfectly legal future to their higher grade schools, along the lines laid down in the Concordat. It realised the danger in leaving both the public and the government in ignorance of the true state of affairs in Manchester, lest there should still be grave doubts whether or not overlapping and wasted effort still existed. The Manchester Concordat might well have provided a model for the necessary coordination of effort in secondary and technical education which was so conspicuously lacking in some other areas at that time, and the School Board were right to do their utmost to draw attention to the success of the scheme in their own city.

As far as the evening continuation schools were concerned, it was obvious that fresh legislation would be needed to secure their continued existence, now that the Court had ruled that the education of adults out of the rates was illegal. Moreover, there was not the same danger of rival and conflicting interests in this field

of educational endeavour. Some concessions and arrangements had had to be made, it is true, at the time of the drawing up of the Concordat, but it might be broadly said that the School Board were in almost undisputed control in this territory. Fresh legislation would be needed, but meanwhile it was hardly sound policy to advertise too fully the scope and extent of the remarkable evening school extension in the city. The School Board's attitude seems to have been one of sitting tight and waiting to see what would emerge in the interim measures which the government would assuredly have to introduce in the very near future.

Meanwhile something had to be done quickly to cover the hundreds of cases of illegalities that were being carried on up and down the country as the result of the Queen's Bench decision. The Government brought in a short measure, entitled "The Education Act, 1901," in which, for the first time, the qualifying epithet "Elementary" was missing. Although it was designed as a short-term measure to cover the position while the Government's major overhaul of the whole situation was being planned, it contained one very far reaching proposal, namely, the establishment of Local Education Authorities, with coordinating functions in the various districts. Section 1(1) of the Government's Bill, introduced by Gorst on the 7th May, read:-

"The council of every county and county borough acting through an education committee constituted in accordance with a scheme made by the council and approved by the Board of Education shall be the education authority for the county or county borough."

Under cover of a temporary measure, designed to patch up the framework while major legislation was pending, Gorst was obviously going to try out a pilot scheme for providing overriding educational authorities, which would have the power of sanctioning or rejecting the work of the school boards at their pleasure. As it stood, the supporters of the Voluntary schools, if they had had sufficient strength in a given area, might have obtained control of the local Education Committee to hamstring the efforts of the school boards, in so far as their work in the controversial issues of secondary education was concerned. There was some very bitter argument over this subterfuge of Gorst's to introduce a major change of policy in a minor, temporary measure, but the Government won the day and the Bill was enacted.

A second provision, in s.1(2), read: "Every such scheme shall provide that a majority of the members of the committee shall be members of the council, and that there shall be other members...not members of the council."

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The Manchester Board wished to amend this section to delete the final words "not members of the council," and

replace them with "not appointed by the Council; a due proportion being elected by School Boards where School Boards exist." Clearly they saw the real threat to school board work that might exist if there was an inadequate representation of the Board's work on the new, ad hoc Committee and wished to remedy the situation in this way.

The relevant, and all important, section of the proposed Bill, dealing with the irregularities that had been brought to light as a result of the Cockerton decision read:

"S. 8(1). Where a school board is at the passing of this Act maintaining out of the school fund any school to the maintenance of which the school fund is not lawfully applicable, the education authority may empower the school board to continue to carry on the school on such terms as may be agreed upon, or in default of agreement determined by the Board of Education, and in that case the school board may, notwithstanding anything in the Elementary Education Acts, apply out of the school fund towards the maintenance of the school such sum as may be agreed on between the school board and the education authority."

Thus, with the sanction of the new education committees, the school boards were indemnified against surcharges in carrying on their illegal classes and schools, but the Manchester Board again sensed the possible danger of not seeing entirely eye to eye with the new committee, and they accordingly sought to amend this section by the addition of the following words:

"and School Boards shall also by agreement with the Education Authority be empowered to make further provision from time to time for Schools of Science, Higher Elementary Schools and Evening Continuation Schools."

They were not content with merely maintaining the status quo, under the overriding authority of the Education Committee, but sought specific power to continue the work of establishing and extending the controversial schools and classes. However, the Bill was passed without any major amendments, and its provisions were continued and somewhat extended by the second of the Cockerton Acts, the Education Act, 1901 (Renewal) Act, 1902. This latter Act also authorised the continuance of pupil-teacher centres by school boards, after it had been declared illegal for boards to establish such centres in 1902.⁽¹⁾

As soon as the first of the Cockerton Acts became law no time was lost in Manchester in regularising the position. It was reported to the School Board⁽²⁾ "that the Manchester City Council...had empowered the Board to carry on and maintain for a period of one year from the 31st July, 1901, the Schools and Classes to the maintenance of which it had been held that the School Fund was not applicable." At the same time the Board expressed

(1) Dyer & others v. the London School Board (1902, II Chancery, p. 768)

(2) SB/65; p. 92; 26/8/1901.

their thanks to the Technical Instruction Committee "for the spirit which they had shown in dealing with the question of the Schools and Classes affected by the Education Act, 1901." In this fashion the continued existence of this side of the School Board's work was safeguarded, at least for the time being, while the Government's new legislation was being prepared.

The great Education Act of 1902 brought about the abolition of the school boards. The government's case for this change appears to have been based chiefly on the idea that the result of the Cockerton decision was to leave the local Boards with only restricted powers and an uninteresting residue of primary education. In addition they were firmly wedded to the principle of overriding authorities in each county or county borough, so that the Local Education Authorities created in the Act of the previous year were to become the coordinating authority for all elementary and secondary education provided for out of the local rates. Moreover it was considered to be of paramount importance that the educational and the financial responsibility for each area should be married, so that the rating authority should also be the final arbiter for educational provision. The terms of office of existing school boards were extended,

as necessary, till the appointed day for the Act to come into operation, and one of the final entries in the long series of Minute Books of the Manchester School Board records a letter from Morant to the City Council, fixing the appointed day as the 1st July, 1903, when the School Board was to hand over its duties finally to the new Local Education Authority. As perhaps one of the principal schemers of the demise of the school boards, it is appropriate to find Morant's name appended to this letter of the 20th March, 1903, which gave notice of the official end of the Manchester School Boards.

Although Morant first appeared on the educational scene in 1895, when he was appointed as assistant to Michael Sadler in the office of Special Inquiries and Reports, it was not until 1899 that he became private secretary to the Vice-President, with the object of helping Gorst with the Education Act of that year. However, Morant certainly played a large, and some would say even a sinister part in the framing of the great administrative changes that culminated with the abolition of the school boards which, with all their failings, had in many cases served their districts well and faithfully for almost thirty-three years, and had successfully launched this country's first major essay into the important sphere of public elementary education.

It smacks almost of bathos to record the remaining actions of this eleventh and last School Board in Manchester, but one or two pleasant domestic interludes are worthy of a brief note. In March, 1902, congratulations were forthcoming for the Chairman and the Clerk on the occasion of their receiving respectively honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws and Master of Arts at the Victoria University, Manchester, in recognition of their outstanding achievements and services to the cause of educational administration. Maclure had already been made a member of the consultative committee of the Board of Education, and Wyatt became the new Director of Elementary Education, with Reynolds, of the Technical School, as Director of Secondary Education, under the new Education Authority for the city. It was on this same occasion that Scotson, headmaster of the Central Higher Grade Board School, also received a well-deserved award, the honorary degree of Master of Science. His work in establishing the very high standards of the Central School was certainly worthy of special note and he was undoubtedly the greatest headmaster to serve under the Manchester School Boards.

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In November of the same year a motion was at last adopted to abolish all remaining fees in elementary board schools in Manchester, with the exception of the higher

grade schools, as from the beginning of 1903. Thus a strangely tardy recognition was secured for the principles of "free" education for the masses, which the earlier Manchester School Boards had fought so long and earnestly to secure.

A new scale of teachers' salaries, resolved upon after joint consultation with the Salford School Board, was adopted in February, 1903, and one of the final actions of the Board was at a special meeting for the purpose of recommending five members to the City Council for appointment to the new Education Committee. Those chosen were the Chairman and Vice-Chairman (Maclure and Broadfield respectively), Miss Dendy, and Messrs. T.F. Kelly and W.F. Lane-Scott. To the end, therefore, the denominational majority on the Board was carefully secured, since the Dean of Manchester, with Lane-Scott, represented the Church, and Kelly stood for the Roman Catholic minority, while Miss Dendy and Edward Broadfield were representatives of the unsectarian minority which had played such a big part in the former debates of successive school boards.

The final ordinary meeting of the Manchester School Board was held on the 29th January, 1903, when all were present to nominate Frank Grant for appointment as School

(1) GP/7 (final entry); see also SB/70, pp. 426-27.

Board representative on the Education Committee, in place of Lane-Scott, who had meanwhile secured election to the City Council.

It is perhaps pleasantly appropriate that the final resolution of this last school board should be the granting of a half-holiday to all their schools on the occasion of the forthcoming Schools' Sports. Only one other meeting was ever held; on the 5th October, 1903, a special meeting was held to pass the final accounts for the three months to the 30th June previously, on which date the term of office had officially ended.

Thus passed from the scene a remarkable experiment in the field of educational development in this country. Whatever the critics of school board administration might say, and there were plenty of them, there can be no doubt that the eleven Manchester Boards laid a sound and far-sighted basis upon which the new Education Authority could build. If they were over-ambitious in their plans for the development of secondary and adult evening education, at least they had shown the way for others in what could be accomplished with a ^gmeasure of good will and a spirit of give-and-take, as far as cooperation with the Technical Instruction Committee of the City Council was concerned, and their Concordat became a model for other

authorities in this respect. The way was now open for further developments within the larger framework of the Education Act, 1902.

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(The sources of information drawn upon in this and the concluding chapters have already been mentioned earlier. Special reference should be made, however, to the following:-)

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" " " General Purposes Committee, Vol. 7.

XIV. - Review and Conclusions.

The Manchester School Board was the first to be elected in England and Wales in 1870 and, even allowing for the special case of London, was one of the largest and most influential in the country. Although the voluntary societies operating in Manchester had not left the city with quite such a serious state of educational deficiency as some of the other large northern cities, it was doubtless felt that, as the centre of so much agitation for a rate-aided and compulsory school system, it could hardly be left to the Education Department to force a school board on the city. Moreover the ravages of the cotton crisis, resulting from the American Civil War a few years earlier, had rendered the impact of the industrial revolution upon Manchester even more terrible than before, so that it was considered a matter of the utmost urgency to carry out various measures of social reform, and public elementary education held a premier position on this list.

From the first Manchester returned a school board with a denominational majority, but most of its more prominent members, at least on the earlier Boards, had served a period of apprenticeship, probably of a deeply moving character, on one or other of the Cotton Famine

organisations for the relief of suffering amongst the unemployed, as well as having taken part in the historic movements in the city for educational reform that had led up to the first Elementary Education Act in 1870. As a consequence, these denominational boards were surprisingly generous in their interpretation of the Education Acts, and, under Herbert Birley's chairmanship, the Manchester and Salford School Boards proceeded to pay out more, in the remission of poor children's fees, than all the rest of the school boards in the country put together.

With the experience and statistics of the Manchester Education Aid Society to guide them the members of the newly elected Board realised that compulsion would be necessary to make any system of public elementary education work in a city like Manchester, and byelaws were promulgated accordingly. The enforcement of this regulation was made exceedingly difficult, however, for various reasons, but mainly because the courts would not convict, in general, unless attendance had fallen below 50% of the possible figure, and, in the first few years, a personal appearance of the teacher in court had to be made in order to prove the attendance register in question for each individual prosecution. With the

removal of this last restriction in the Elementary Education Act, 1873, better efforts were made by the second, and succeeding, School Boards and the situation steadily improved from then on.

Closely allied with the work of carrying out the law of compulsory attendance was the administration of the special laws dealing with criminally neglected children. The Industrial Schools Act had been passed in 1866, but it was not until school boards came into existence that anything like a proper application of the provisions of the Act could be made. The successive Manchester Boards strenuously applied the powers given them and sent to industrial schools some 6,634 children during their term of office. Early on, however, it was felt that something more was needed, in addition to the supply of efficiently managed voluntary industrial schools, to which children could be committed by the courts for long periods, completely cut off from the rest of their families. Legislation was passed in 1879 and 1880, the Elementary Education (Industrial Schools) Act and the Industrial Schools Amendment Act, but it was not until 1886 that the Manchester Board tried the experiment of building a Day Industrial School in Mill Street, Ancoats. This school proved very successful and gained a high reputation for an institution of its kind.

Also connected with this work of rescuing neglected children from the streets and their committal to industrial schools in suitable cases, it was found that in a large proportion of the cases brought before the magistrates the children had been engaging in street trading, often in conjunction with begging and similar forms of vagrancy. Over a long period successive Manchester Boards urged the Home Secretaries of the day, and the Watch Committees of the City Council, to take effective steps to control and license such forms of irregular employment. The Manchester Corporation eventually took up the matter and, in 1901, special legislation was obtained enabling the Watch Committee to license and control children engaged in street trading - a power that was extended to cities generally two years later.

A special feature of school board administration in Manchester was the early development of the Higher Grade Schools, where the charging of higher fees, sometimes the maximum of 9d. per week, made it possible for assistant teachers to be employed in lieu of the monitors and pupil-teachers. This, together with the absence of half-timers from these middle class schools, enabled ~~the~~ many of the pupils to go through the standards more quickly than in the poorer schools (where the poor physical condition of the children undoubtedly militated

against high academic standards), so that it was early found that more advanced work could be undertaken, and Manchester had perhaps the first of these truly higher grade schools working by 1877, at Christ Church, Greenhays, afterwards moved to new, extended premises in Ducie Avenue. This work continued to expand, and it was possible to extend it further under the Code of 1882, when such "Graded Schools" could be organised into two divisions, the upper one containing only those standards above the fourth. By 1900 Manchester had a total of 2,605 pupils in the lower sections of the five higher grade schools in the city, with a further 1,033 in the ~~Organisgonds~~ Science Schools comprising the upper sections, as well as several years of successful cooperation with the Technical Instruction Committee of the City Council, under the terms of a widely acclaimed Concordat between these two principal authorities concerned with the administration of more advanced education in the city out of public funds.

Perhaps the most remarkable development of all, however, under the Manchester School Boards, was the wide scope of the work done in the evening continuation schools. At first the ordinary night schools were quite unremarkable, except that, as in other towns and cities,

they immediately began the instruction of adults, as well as of children - a point which was specifically declared to be illegal in the Cockerton judgment of 1900. These earlier night schools were considerably cramped by difficult regulations and the major demand for their services petered out with the gradual elimination of illiteracy from the bulk of the adult population, as a new generation of children grew up which had been through the compulsory system in Manchester. Thus these early elementary evening schools rose rapidly at first, the total grant earned increasing from £21/11/6 in the session 1873/74 to £687/2/1 in 1878/79. During this initial period of growth there occurred the significant development of evening continuation work, when the Board opened the special pupil-teachers' classes, in 1876, to members of the public. A second significant feature was the use by the Board, after suitable arrangements had been made with the Managers, of premises of voluntary schools, as well as of their own schools for day scholars. Indeed, the Manchester Boards were somewhat chary about beginning the erection of their own schools, and did not actively encourage the transfer of existing schools to their own management for some time, so that there would have been a paucity of suitable accommodation for the night schools had the early arrangements with the voluntary schools for evening classes not been instituted.

The work being carried on in the former pupil-teachers' classes that had been opened to the public was certainly not "elementary" in the accepted sense, since these classes were expressly started to provide instruction for obtaining the certificates of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, while the elementary evening classes continued to work under the Education Department Codes, Whitehall. However the work of these latter schools steadily declined so that, by 1887, the returns of attendance for night schools all over the country showed a great decline, and one Inspector remarked in his report, "Evening schools had become nearly extinct." Manchester's answer to this challenge was to concentrate the efforts on a smaller number of centres, under principal teachers "of known excellence." It was also decided to extend the subjects taught in the night schools, and they really became extensions of the former science and art classes already opened to the public at the pupil-teachers' centres, together with new ventures into commercial subjects and special classes for young women. In fact, the first "Women's Institute" was founded in 1891, in Manchester, to give specialised instruction in the domestic arts, and so successful was the experiment that, twelve years later, on handing over

to the new Local Education Committee, in 1903, there were about 1,500 women and girls in the evening classes each week in these Institutes.

Another experiment conducted by the Manchester Boards led to the establishment of Commercial Evening Schools, and the success of this branch of the work can best be judged by reference to the Central School, in Whitworth Street, where, by 1903, some 2,500 students, mostly adults, were nightly receiving instruction in foreign languages and many other subjects bearing upon the commerce and trade of Manchester and the outside world. Altogether there were at that time eleven commercial evening schools, with over 5,000 students.

In addition to this more spectacular work carried on by successive boards in the sphere of evening continuation and higher grade work, there were other interesting aspects of the Board's work. For example, as well as the care of the neglected children already mentioned, much good work was done for the needs of other afflicted children. Immediately legislative powers were given to school boards by the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act, 1893, the Manchester Board undertook to provide for the education of all such children in their district, through the existing institutions, such

as Henshaw's Institution for the Blind and the Royal School for the Deaf and Dumb, both in Stretford. Six years later full advantage was taken under the corresponding measure for Defective and Epileptic children. Two special day schools for this category of children were built, while the school board also gave active encouragement to the Sandlebridge Residential Homes, established by the Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-Minded, where the good work carried on was associated with the name of Mary Dendy, a member of the Manchester School Board for 21 months in 1896-97, and again for the term of office of the last Board.

Another underprivileged class of child that attracted the attention of the school board was the underfed. Very early in the life of the first Board, under the direct influence and encouragement of Herbert Birley, practical effect was given to the desire to do something for the children who came to school in the winter months insufficiently fed and clothed. Year after year, from 1871 onwards, free breakfasts, followed by an extension of the scheme to free dinners, were provided through the administration of a charity to necessitous children attending the Board schools. At least half of all the

money subscribed was raised through the efforts of the teachers in the various schools, and the meals were voluntarily served by the teachers and other officers of the Board.

Also amongst these "side-lines" of the Board's work might be mentioned the schools' savings bank scheme, which was run very largely under the control and administration of the Clerk to the Board, C.H. Wyatt. Originally aimed to inculcate lessons of thrift in the children, the scheme received a great impetus by the abolition of fees, under 10s. a year, by the Assisted Education Act of 1891. Nearly ten million individual transactions were recorded during the life of the scheme, up to the time that the schools were handed over in 1903, amounting in the aggregate to over £300,000. More than £22,000 was deposited in the last year, to 1903.

In these and many other ways it may surely be claimed that the eleven Manchester School Boards planned, on the whole, wisely and well. Mistakes were made and dissensions occurred, some of the latter reaching unfortunate proportions, but the overall picture is one of noble devotion to duty of public-spirited men and women. In particular the names of Herbert Birley, the first Chairman, and Charles Henry Wyatt, the second and certainly the greatest

Clerk (perhaps the greatest in the country during this era) have already been mentioned, and although it would be invidious to continue to single out names, yet mention must surely be made of Edward Craig Maclure, Dean of Manchester, who besides acting as Chairman for a number of years, was also a member of the Bryce Commission, and subsequently served on the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education; also of Edward John Broadfield, who had the longest service record of any of the Board's members, giving 25 years of unstinted public service, and whose voice carried great weight in the deliberations of the various sub-committees of the Board, where so much of the real work was done; while other long serving members included the Rev. Joseph Nunn, the inveterate opponent of school board expenditure to the exclusion of all else, Canon Lawrence Toole, the much loved leader of the Roman Catholics, and Lydia Ernestine Becker, ardent feminist and suffragette, and first woman to serve on a school board in this country; each of these individuals served the Board faithfully for more than 20 years.

But it is not in the efforts of noble men and women as individuals that the Manchester School Board established its name as one of the most important and influential in the country; rather it was in its corporate existence as

a leader of educational development at a critical time in the history of the national educational system.

Perhaps nobody has summed up the position better than Michael Sadler, in words that he wrote about the time that he was appointed private secretary to the Vice-President of the day, Sir John Gorst, in 1899:-

"It is hardly too much to say that the years which have elapsed since the passing of Forster's Act have witnessed, especially in the towns, the growth of a new public sentiment in favour of education. Noble, indeed, were the sacrifices which were made by religious denominations, by societies, and by individual benefactors for popular education in England before that date. Those fine efforts laid the foundation necessary to all later success, but they were hampered by the apathy of the masses of the people, for no system of national education can become or remain effective without popular sympathy and interest. Since 1870, however, the attitude of the nation, as a whole, towards elementary education has undergone a surprising change. The value of a good school had become more widely appreciated, and parents evince an increasing desire to secure the benefits of efficient teaching for their children. This change in public opinion has made possible much which the zeal of educational reformers, the goodwill of local authorities, the liberality of subscribers, and the experience and devotion of the teachers would otherwise have been powerless to effect. It has permitted great expenditure in order that, within the lifetime of a single generation, dangerous deficiencies might be removed. It has created, in a number of places, the atmosphere of sympathy and encouragement which is necessary to the welfare of schools, and the change may be traced to a growing belief in the value and necessity of education, which cannot fail to increase the number of persons competent to take part in the local administration of educational affairs, and thus to form the best guarantee for wise advance, intelligent criticism, and prudent expenditure in the future."

Perhaps after all the Manchester School Boards only succeeded in so far as they helped to educate the public to an appreciation of this new spirit towards education, and thereby to assist in the establishment of that ^{frak}~~new~~ ethos which could lead to the emancipation of the depressed classes from the slough of the industrial revolution out into the cleaner, healthier air and greater promise of the twentieth century.

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Appendix I - Extracts from "A Report of a Committee of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the Borough of Manchester in 1834."

(see p. 12)
(" p. 39)

"It appears that the numbers at present attending the different Schools in the Borough of Manchester are 43,304, of whom:

10,108	attend Day & Evening Schools only;
10,011	" both Day & Sunday School;
23,183	" Sunday Schools only;
<u>43,304</u>	

"The population of the Borough being at present probably two hundred thousand, the above number of persons receiving instruction of some kind or other is 21.65% of the total population. Of those attending Day and Evening Schools the numbers give about 10%.... The whole number of children between the ages of five and fifteen in the Borough of Manchester being estimated at fifty thousand (or one-quarter of the whole population), it would thus appear that about two-thirds of ~~these~~ ~~number~~ are attending school, and that about one-third are receiving no instruction in schools whatever."

"Dame Schools: Under this head are included all those schools in which reading only, and a little sewing, are taught. This is the most numerous class of schools, and they are generally in the most deplorable condition. The greater part of them are kept by females, but some by old men, whose only qualification for this employment seems to be their unfitness for every other. Many of these teachers are engaged at the same time in some other employment, such as shopkeeping, sewing, washing, etc., which renders any regular instruction among their scholars absolutely impossible. Indeed, neither parents nor teachers seem to consider this as the principal object, in sending the children to these schools, but generally say that they go there in order to be taken care of, and to be out of the way at home.

"These schools are generally found in very dirty unwholesome rooms - frequently in close damp cellars, or old dilapidated garrets. In one of these schools eleven children were found in a small room, in which one of the children of the Mistress was lying in bed ill of the measles. Another child had died in the same room, of the same complaint a few days before; and no less than thirty of the usual scholars were then confined at home with the same disease.

"In another school all the children to the number of twenty were squatted upon the bare floor where being no benches, chairs, or furniture of any kind in the room. The Master said his terms would not yet allow him to provide forms, but he hoped that as his school increased, and his circumstances thereby improved, he should be able sometime or other to afford the luxury.

"In by far the greater number of these schools there were only two or three books among the whole number of scholars. In others there was not one; and the children depended for their instruction on the chance of some one of them bringing a book, or a part of one from home. Books however are occasionally provided by the Mistress, and in this case the supply is somewhat greater; but in almost all cases, it is exceedingly deficient."

"Common Day Schools: These schools seem to be in rather better condition than those last mentioned, but are still very little fitted to give a really useful education to the children of the lower classes. The Masters are generally in no way qualified for their occupation; take little interest in it, and show very little disposition to adopt any of the improvements that have elsewhere been made in the system of instruction...The Masters themselves have generally a better opinion of their qualifications for their office. One of them observed during a visit paid to his school that there were too many schools to do any good, adding, "I wish government would pass a law, that nobody but them as 'is high larnt should keep school, and then we might stand a chance to do some good." Most of the Masters and Mistresses of these schools seemed to be strongly impressed with the superiority of their own plans to those of any other school, and were very little inclined to listen to any suggestions respecting improvement in the system of education that had been made in other places. "The old road is the best," they would sometimes say....

"In concluding the above remarks on the means of education now existing in the Borough of Manchester, the Committee beg leave to state in general terms the results to which their enquiries have led them.

"I. That of the children between the ages of five and fifteen, one-third appear to be receiving no instruction whatever in any school.

"II. That the number of children returned as attending different schools afford a very imperfect

criterion of the real state of education in any town or district where such returns are made.

"III. That uniting this ground of judgment with actual inspection of the school, and examination of the nature and general efficiency of the instruction there received, it appears, that the means of education at present existing in the Borough of Manchester for the lower classes of the people are extremely inadequate, and are in general very little fitted to secure any of the really valuable results of education to the children who attend them.

"IV. That of the children who attend the Dame Schools amounting to 4,722, and about half of whom are under five years of age, the vast majority receive no instruction which is at all deserving of the name, and derive little benefit from their attendance at school, but that of being kept out of harm during a few hours of the day.

"V. That the thing most to be wished for children of this early age is, that infant schools should gradually supplant the old Dame Schools, and be established on so large a scale throughout every part of the Borough, as to afford accommodation for all the children of an age to receive instruction there.

"VI. That of the children who attend the common Day Schools, amounting to nearly 7,000, the greater part receive an extremely poor education, scarcely meriting the name - that this is owing chiefly to the ignorance and incapacity of the Masters who conduct them - and that no effectual means can be taken to render these schools efficient, until proper seminaries are established for the instruction of the Teachers themselves, and till the idea is exploded that the task of education is the only one for which no previous knowledge or qualification is required.

"VII. That notwithstanding the short time necessarily devoted to instruction in the Sunday Schools, they must, nevertheless, be regarded as forming a most important feature among the means at present existing in Manchester for the education of the lower classes of the people. That the number of children attending these schools is very considerable, being half as many more as those attending all the other schools put together. That taking into account the miserable state of the Dame and Common Day Schools, which are attended by two-thirds of

all the children of the lower orders, who are under course of daily instruction, it may well be doubted whether the instruction at Sunday Schools, inadequate as it may appear, and as it really is, be not yet the most valuable that at present exists in the Borough for the children of the lower classes of the people.

¶VIII. That until similar enquiries are instituted in other districts, this Report will afford no means of comparing the state of education in Manchester with that in other large towns, or in the rural districts; but assuming that Manchester affords a fair average, the state of education in England presents a painful and mortifying contrast to that of some of the countries on the continent."

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II. Districts in which School Boards were formed in 1870:

<u>Order</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Date of Election</u>	<u>No. of Members</u>
1.	Manchester	24th November	15
2.	Liverpool	25th "	15
3.	Rochdale, Lancs.	26th "	11
4.	Chipping Wycombe, Bucks.	28th "	5
	Gateshead, Co. Durham.	" "	11
	Wolverhampton, Staffs.	" "	11
	Birmingham	" "	15
	Leeds	" "	15
	Sheffield	" "	15
10.	Stockton-on-Tees	29th "	7
	London	" "	49
	Nottingham	" "	13
	Bridgewater, Som.	" "	7
	Middlesbrough, Yorks.	" "	9
	Aberystwith, Cardigan.	" "	7
16.	Congleton, Ches.	30th "	7
	Bolton, Lancs.	" "	13
	Bootle-cum-Linacre.	" "	9
	Salford, Lancs.	" "	15
	Coventry, Warwicks.	" "	11
	Bradford, Yorks.	" "	15
22.	Stockport, Ches.	1st December	11
23.	Swansea, Glam.	5th "	11
24.	Maidstone, Kent.	7th "	9
25.	Cardigan.	9th "	5
26.	Brighton.	13th "	13
27.	Hanley, Staffs.	19th "	9

(see p. 26)

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Appendix III. - Highest Sums paid by the 61 School Boards in England & Wales paying school fees of poor children, under Section 25 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, for the account year ending at Michaelmas, 1874:-

(see p.27)

<u>Order</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Amount Paid</u>
1.	Manchester	£2,405
2.	Salford	£1,323
3.	Liverpool	£ 824
4.	Bristol	£ 386
5.	Wakefield	£ 318
6.	Sheffield	£ 143
7.	Wolverhampton	£ 136
8.	Newcastle-on-Tyne	£ 114
9.	Bolton	£ 111
10.	Maidstone	£ 98

(The total amounts paid out in this year varied from 2s.2d. by one authority, to £2,405 - 6 - 4, by the Manchester School Board.)

N.B. The information contained in Appendices II and III was obtained from "The Report of the Committee of Council on Education (England & Wales), with Appendices (1874-75)". The facts given in Appendix II are from the Report for 1874, Part I of the Appendix; while the figures cited above are from page xxx of the Report.

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Appendix IV. - First General Report of the Manchester School Board, for 24/11/1870 to 31/12/1872:-

(see p.70)

"The Board held their first Meeting 15th December, 1870, when the Chairman and Vice-Chairman were elected, the General Purposes Committee formed, and other preliminaries arranged. The Clerk to the Board was appointed 30th January following. The first few months were devoted by the Board to the organisation of the Staff, the preparation of standing orders and other regulations, and to the collection of the statistical information required by the Education Department.

(1)

"On the 25th Sept., 1871, a reply to the circular letter of the Education Department was adopted, setting forth:4

1. The requirements of the city in respect of school accommodation;

(1) Vide P.R.O., ED 16/172.

2. The amount and character of the existing school provision;
3. The manner in which any ascertained deficiency should be met.

"The Board reported that according to their returns, which included projected schools, and schools not under inspection, there was a want of accommodation for 4,606 children, and that the Board proposed to erect suitable schools in the districts in which the accommodation was shown to be needed. Subsequently, the Education Department reported to the Board that after eliminating the schools pronounced by their Inspector to be inefficient, there was still accommodation to be provided for 6,283 children." (There followed a Table showing the various Registration Sub-Districts, &c.)

"The Board have appointed a Committee for the purpose of supplying the needful school accommodation; and are negotiating for plots in Every-st., Ancoats, and in Vine-st., Hulme. The principal obstacles to progress in the selection of sites are the difficulty of meeting with suitable and unoccupied plots, and of finding such plots sufficiently distant from any existing school.

"Various offers have been received from managers of schools and trustees of school buildings to transfer their schools, or to lease their school buildings to the Board. In the following cases the Board have accepted such proposals, viz:- the Ashley Lane British School, the Hamer-st., Hulme, School-room, and the premises in City Road known as the Hulme Working Men's Institute. Negotiations are also pending between the Board and trustees of the schools in Osborne-st., Oldham-rd., and Lombard-st., Deansgate.

"A statement of the income and expenditure of the Board schools (appears) in Appendix I (of the Report), (in which it was shown, inter alia, that the half-yearly charge on the Rates amounted to 0.8d. in the £.)

"Immediately on the dissolution of the Education Aid Society, in March, 1871, the payment of school fees for indigent children was commenced, and from that date to the 29th November, 1872, there were issued by the Board 48,512 orders for the payment of school fees. Of these about 88% have been used.

"The Chorlton Board of Guardians, having ceased to pay the School fees of pauper children under Denison's Act, and the Manchester Guardians having closed their out-relief day school, the School Board have undertaken the payment of fees for all pauper children whose schooling has been hitherto, or might be properly paid out of the local poor rates. Out of the full number of orders granted:-

14.34% have been granted to the children of paupers;
29.93% to orphan children;
4.40% to children of disabled fathers;
0.83% to illegitimate children. Total = 49.5% of
orders granted.

(A Tabulated Analysis of these matters followed.)

"The Bye-Laws...received royal assent on 3rd Nov., 1871. Since that date, the task of carrying (them) out has been an important part of the work of the Board." (An Analysis of 2,864 cases under compulsory attendance orders followed; also classified Attendance Returns of all the public elementary schools in the district.)

"The Board have not found it necessary to establish an Industrial School, the existing accommodation being ample for both Protestant children and Roman Catholic children. The Board have abstained from seeking the committal of children to Industrial Schools where the workhouse appeared to be the proper refuge." (Further details and a Table on these points followed.)

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N.B. - The above is from an unpublished Report which appears in full on pages 444-452 of "The Proceedings of the School Board, Vol. 1," and which was received at the Board's meeting on 28/4/1873. The official Reports of each of the first ten School Boards in Manchester were published in Vols. I and III-V, inclusive, of the "Manchester School Board Reports", of which the only complete set appears to be in the Manchester Central Reference Library.

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Appendix V. - Schools Erected by the Manchester Boards:-

(see p.93)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Date of Opening</u>	
1.	Vine-st., Hulme	9 Aug.,	1875
2.	Every-st., Ancoats	10 Jan.,	1876
3.	Chester-st., Ardwick	10 Jan.,	1876
4.	Burgess-st., Harpurhey	1 Oct.,	1877
5.	Armitage-st., Ardwick	8 Oct.,	1877
6.	Lloyd-st., Hulme	30 May,	1878
7.	Abbott-st., Ancoats	12 Aug.,	1878
8.	Southall-st., Cheetham	14 Oct.,	1879
9.	Bank Meadow, Ardwick	10 Jan.,	1881
10.	Mulberry-st., Hulme	10 Jan.,	1881
11.	Ducie Avenue, Greenheys	8 Feb.,	1881
12.	Smedley-rd., Cheetham	5 June,	1882
13.	Ross Place, Ardwick	5 June,	1882
14.	Upper Jackson-st., Hulme	20 July,	1883
15.	Central, Deansgate	7 July,	1884
16.	Birley-st., Beswick	27 Apr.,	1885
17.	Bangor-st., Hulme	18 Oct.,	1886
-	Mill-st., Day Industrial Sch.	28 Jan.,	1889
-	(School Board Offices, Deansgate)	24 June,	1889
18.	Waterloo-rd., Cheetham	16 Sept.,	1889
19.	Lyon-st.,	2 Dec.,	1889
20.	Duke-st., Hulme	19 May,	1890
21.	Johnson-st., Bradford	12 Aug.,	1891
22.	Webster-st., Chorlton-on-M.	3 Dec.,	1892
23.	(New) Burgess-st., Harpurhey	6 Dec.,	1893
24.	(New) Birley-st., Higher Grade	1 June,	1894
25.	Ashton Old Road, Openshaw	18 July,	1894
26.	Devonshire-st. Higher Grade	29 Sept.,	1894
27.	Heath-st. Higher Grade	6 Oct.,	1894
28.	Holland-st., Newton Heath	12 Aug.,	1895
29.	Queen-st., Bradford	12 Aug.,	1895
30.	Nelson-st., Miles Platting	2 Sept.,	1895
31.	Thomas-st., Gorton	27 Apr.,	1896
32.	Varna-st., Openshaw	25 Oct.,	1897
* 33.	Dean Lane (temp.), Moston	15 May,	1899
34.	(New) Central Higher Grade	15 Oct.,	1900
35.	Moston Lane, Moston	19 Aug.,	1901
* 36.	Stanley Grove (temp), Longsight	27 Jan.,	1902
37.	New Moston, Moston	28 Apr.,	1902
38.	Hague-st.	12 Jan.,	1903
39.	St. Mary's-rd., Moston	12 Jan.,	1903

* Schools were opened in temporary premises and permanent schools were being built, and largely completed, by the School Board, at the time that the work was handed over to the Education Committee, on 30th June, 1903.

Appendix VI. - Chronological List of the Earliest Board Schools (to end of 1878) and how acquired:- (see p.76)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of School</u>	<u>How Acquired</u>	<u>Date opened (by Board)</u>
1.	Hamer-st. (Hulme Oper ^g)	Temp. (Lease)	1 Mar., 1872
2.	Ashley Lane Brit. Sch.	Transferred	29 Sept. 1872
3.	City-rd. (Wrkg. Men's Ins)	Temp. (Lease)	3 Feb., 1873
4.	Lombard-st (Half-Timers)	" "	24 Mar., 1873(a)
5.	Osborne-st., Oldham-rd.	Temporary	29 Sept. 1873
6.	Every-st., Ancoats	"	8 Jan., 1874
7.	Vine-st., Hulme	Built by Bd.	9 Aug., 1875
8.	Sharp-st., Rochdale-rd.	Transferred	1 Oct., 1875
9.	Zion Chapel, Hulme	Temporary	1 Oct., 1875
10.	Every-st., Ancoats	Built by Bd.	10 Jan., 1876
11.	Chester-st., Ardwick	" " "	10 Jan., 1876
12.	Harpurhey	Temporary	10 Jan., 1876
13.	Salem, Strangeways	Transferred	1 Mar., 1876
14.	Mount-st., Queen's Park	Temporary	1 Mar., 1876(b)
15.	St. Peter's, Oldham-rd.	Transferred	1 Apr., 1876
16.	St. George's, " "	"	1 June, 1876
17.	St. Matthew's, Byron-st.	"	5 Aug., 1876
18.	Christ Church, Greenheys	"	2 Oct., 1876
19.	St. James's, Ancoats	"	2 July, 1877
20.	Lyon-st.	Temp. (Dease)	13 Aug., 1877
21.	Rochdale-rd.	" "	13 Aug., 1877
22.	Bury New Road	Transferred	3 Sept., 1877
23.	Burgess-st., Rochdale-rd.	Built by Bd.	1 Oct., 1877
24.	Cheetwood	Temporary	1 Oct., 1877
25.	Dutton-st.	"	1 Oct., 1877
26.	New Bridge-st.	"	1 Oct., 1877
27.	Park-st.	"	1 Oct., 1877
28.	Armitage-st., Ardwick	Built by Bd.	8 Oct., 1877
29.	Granby-Row	Transferred	1 Jan., 1878
30.	Lloyd-st., Hulme	Built by Bd.	30 May, 1878
31.	Bank Meadow, Ardwick	Temporary	1 July, 1878
32.	Abbott-st., Rochdale-rd.	Built by Bd.	12 Aug., 1878
33.	St. Mary's, Beswick	Transferred	4 Nov., 1878
34.	Chapman-st.	Temporary	2 Dec., 1878

(a) Closed by first Board shortly after taking over, on 25/4/1875.

(b) Burgess-st. was being erected by the Board, and was opened 1/10/1877; Mount-st. was the temporary accommodation for the Burgess-st. scholars.

N.B. The positions of the above schools, together with those others built by the Board, can be determined by reference to the accompanying map (in separate folder).

Appendix VII - Extract from "The Manchester Guardian,"
of 6th June, 1874, relating to the laying of the
Memorial Stone of the first Board School in Manchester. (sep. 93)

"Mr. Herbert Birley, the chairman of the Manchester School Board, laid yesterday the memorial stone of the first school which the Board have built. The site is at the corner of Junction-street, in Vine-street, Hulme, on a plot of land of irregular shape, and presenting considerable difficulties to the architect. (1) The Board selected the designs of Messrs. Medland and Henry Taylor, of this city, and the contract has been taken by Mr. G. Napier for a sum slightly exceeding £3,000. On the ground floor is a large room 30ft. wide, with a "babies" room opening out of it. Immediately adjacent, under cover, are convenient offices; and just beyond, through a porch, are the respective playgrounds. The entrance for girls is from Mary-street, and for boys on the opposite side, from Junction-street. They respectively reach their "mixed" schoolroom by spacious stone staircases. This room is 57ft. by 30ft. and adjoining it are two spacious classrooms, one of which is specially arranged to serve as a library also. On both floors are private rooms for the schoolmistresses, and on the upper floor a room for the pupil teachers, and, besides the library, a good book store. In the basement is a kitchen 18ft. by 24ft. with all appliances for tea parties, &c. There are large places for storing fuel, with convenient shoots from the street above, and all the rooms are warmed by open fireplaces and are thoroughly well ventilated. The walls are faced to a certain height with glazed bricks, which can be easily cleaned, and on which writing or other defacement is impossible. Round both schoolrooms run bands of encaustic tile, bearing Shakesperian mottoes. The exterior design is in simple scholastic architecture, but so treated as to present a handsome appearance. Besides the children's entrances, there is a good porch for the entrance of the members of the School Board or other visitors. A belfry rises to a height in all of about 70ft. The unusual irregularity of the site gives occasion for exceptional and picturesque features, particularly in the elevations to Mary-street and Junction-street; and care has been taken that there shall be no shabby back view, though, of course, the best elevations are to the principal streets.

The ceremony was witnessed by a considerable crowd, who endured the alternate showers of rain and blinding clouds of dust with exemplary good humour.

(1) See illustration in separate folder.

In opening the proceedings,

Mr. T. DALE said that after considerable discussions as to the requirements of the city, the School Board had decided upon erecting three schools, of which that was the first and would be called School No. 1. It would afford accommodation for 500 children, while the Every-street School would accommodate 1,000 and the Ardwick School 800 children.

Mr. F.O. RUSPINI, the clerk to the School Board, announced that letters had been received from the Bishop of Manchester, the Rev. A. McLaren, and Mr. Alderman Lamb, stating their inability to be present.

The Rev. Dr. M'KERROW said: It is customary when foundation or memorial stones are laid in connection with public buildings that some one interested in the occurrence should make a few remarks on the nature and design of the undertaking. The members of the Manchester School Board and a number of their fellow-citizens are now assembled to witness the placing of a memorial stone in their first new Board school. It devolves on me as chairman of the Sites and Building Committee briefly to address the present assembly, and then to hand to the respected Chairman of the Board a silver trowel wherewith to perform the usual observance of the Masonic ritual. On this occasion, when harmonious and kindly feeling alone should occupy mind and heart, I desire to avoid as much as possible all those controversial aspects of the education question which have divided the nation into antagonistic sects and parties. Nevertheless, I may be permitted to give a short statement of facts with regard to the progress of public school education in the country, and to express an opinion or two concerning them. In doing so, I trust I shall not be found to have displayed any want of respect or charity towards those members of the Board and of the community in general whose sentiments may somewhat differ from mine.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 was designed to extend the educational agencies already existing, to render them more systematic and efficient, and likewise to introduce new modes of action, which might gradually, under popular choice, representation, and control, diffuse the beneficial results of their operations throughout the country. The Government had, previously, for nearly 40 years, been assisting with grants of money the voluntary efforts made by the benevolent and religious public to build schools and educate the young. But such efforts and the help thus rendered to them were altogether inadequate to cope with prevalent ignorance

and the widely spread evils of which it had been productive. Hence the passing of the Elementary Education Act was accomplished. The Act, as is generally known, requires that the accommodation provided by denominational and other schools be taken into account in estimating the condition of any particular locality before measures are adopted to found in it any board school. The zeal and liberality of the friends of education in Manchester, with the aid obtained from Government grants, have furnished so much school accommodation as to render necessary under the terms of the Act ~~the~~ erection of but a very few board schools. According to the statistics supplied by one of Her Majesty's inspectors, additional provision is needed in the borough only for 8,283 children. In the registration district of Hulme the deficiency to be supplied is for 2,610, as reported by the same authority. Hence the Board in the performance of its duty ~~has~~ undertaken the establishment of the Vine-street Schools. In two other districts (Ancoats and Ardwick) the same kind of work is in hand. In the one building has been begun, and in the other it is about to be commenced. To say a word on behalf of Board schools I consider to be perfectly appropriate on the present occasion. They are the property of the ratepayers of Manchester without distinction of sect or party. They are governed by representatives whom the people chose. They ~~provide~~ provide a refuge for the consciences of those who object to pay for or in any way to encourage the teaching given in various other schools. They are fitted to excite between themselves and denominational schools an honourable rivalry by which the general interests of education may be promoted. They will, with due economy, present in size, structure, accommodation, furniture, and other appliances the best of the requisites demanded for health, comfort, and efficient teaching. It has been asked whether the erection of Board schools should depend in any district on the mere ground of the amount of accommodation supplied by denominational schools. The Act does not prohibit a School Board from taking other considerations into account, and from proceeding as justice to the community and to the general interests of education may demand. There are many reasons, which need not be enumerated here, why a Board school should be established in every registration district, whatever may be the accommodation otherwise provided. I shall not be tempted to discuss in any degree the question of religious education in relation to board or denominational schools; nor shall I inquire how much or what kind of it can be given in consistency with the claims of conscience. It

is enough for my purpose that the undeniable fact must be recognised that the great majority of the nation insists that something which they call religious education shall be given in day schools supported at the public expense, and that at least the Bible shall be read as a daily exercise.

I may, perhaps, be excused in referring to this subject if I venture to say a word by way of explanation. While some of us members of the Manchester School Board, in common with multitudes of others, have been opposed to the teaching in schools supported by public taxation of the theological doctrines of the various religious denominations, it is scarcely necessary to say that we are interested in the diffusion of religious influence, and in the inculcation of those practical moralities of life the importance of which is acknowledged by all. Apart from our wish to protect as far as possible the rights of conscience and to ascertain whether the country might agree to accept a system of secular instruction and moral training, leaving religious opinions to be taught by the manifold agencies which religious people might be disposed to supply, we have not been opposed to the use of the Bible in day school education. Why should it be excluded by legislative enactment or disparaged by being treated as if it were inferior to other books employed in the education of the young? It is not necessary to settle to every one's satisfaction the questions which have been raised concerning its divine inspiration and infallible authority before introducing it into schools. Why not receive and honour it, on the ground of the unparalleled singularity and excellence of the knowledge and influence which it conveys? Apart from the teaching of disputed theological doctrines, and which may be learned from multitudes of sources by those children whose parents are specially interested in them, the old history contained in the Bible, its pure and comprehensive morality, its lessons of practical wisdom, its simple and interesting narratives, its sweet consolations and animating hopes, with its wondrous record of the life and death of the great Author of the Gospel, entitle it to universal veneration and acquaintanceship. No history of ancient or modern times in almost any language - no book of English literature more especially - can be rightly understood without a knowledge of the Scriptures. Hence popular opinion in their favour has secured their introduction under the auspices of almost every school board in the country into the schools under their control.

The scheme of religious education emitted by the first Manchester School Board comprehended merely the use of the Lord's Prayer, and the reading of the scriptures, with such simple explanations as were suited to the capacities of children. The second or present board have added some unsectarian appropriate forms of devotion, expressive of the duties, needs and other characteristics of the circumstances of children. There has also been introduced a series of scriptural extracts to be committed to memory, and which, being treasured up in the youthful mind, may be called to remembrance in future life, to preserve from temptation, to comfort in trouble, and to stimulate to the performance of duty. These extracts have not been accompanied with any interpretation of their meaning, and are no more fitted nor likely to be perverted to sectarian uses than any reference to God and Christ, to the human soul, and prayer and immortality which may be found in almost every common school book.

My only apology for having occupied so much of your time is my conviction that the present is an occasion on which some information should be given regarding school board principles, diversities of opinion, and schemes of education, so that a right estimate may be formed of the measure of confidence and encouragement due to us as professed workers together for the public good. I have now the pleasure of handing to Mr. Birley the trowel with which he is to lay the memorial stone of this new building. By the unanimous vote of the Board he has been chosen to perform this ceremony. The request has been made not simply because he is our chairman, but because as such he is respected by us all, and not least by those of us who differ from him in some points of educational opinion and action. We who are of the national and undenominational party disavow all desire to carry on any ungenerous, unjust, or mere party warfare against denominational schools, in this neighbourhood or elsewhere. We merely ask for Board schools a fair field, while we seek no favour. We have faith that you, Mr. Birley, as the chief official guardian of the public interests of education in Manchester, will, if need so require, protect them from injustice and harm. May you be long spared to look and think now and then on this symbol of educational progress through the agency of the Board. May it be viewed by your family as an heirloom worthy of acceptance and preservation, not only as a mark of personal esteem, but also as a memorial of publicly honoured and useful work.

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I have recently seen a collection of ancient pieces of armour which had been transmitted from one generation

to another of a family who had borne through the long centuries a distinguished ancestral name. Among helmets, breastplates, and gloves of steel, there was a gigantic sword, specially valued because it had been wielded by the strong arm of a knightly crusader on many a battle-field, and had inflicted many a blow of bloodshed and death amidst groans and shrieks of agony, mingled with wild shouts of ferocious triumph. We live in more enlightened times, and I do not doubt that you and your descendants will contemplate with more pleasure than you would a sword or spear this humble tool of industry, expressive as it is of mental and not mere physical power, and associated with the blessings of an age and a country in which schools' boards are our battle-fields, in which our crusades are struggles to vanquish ignorance, vice, and misery; and thus not to destroy men's lives, but to save them; and in which the sounds proceeding from the forces we employ are the glad voices of children singing songs of glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good-will to men. - (Applause).

The trowel, which bore the following inscription, was then handed to Mr. Birley:- "Presented to Herbert Birley, Esq., chairman of the City of Manchester School Board, on the occasion of his laying the memorial stone of the Vine-street Board School, being the first public elementary school erected by the Board. June 4, 1874." The stone, which bore an appropriate inscription, having been declared "well and truly laid":

Mr. BIRLEY expressed his obligations to his colleagues on the School Board for the honour they had done him in inviting him to lay the stone, but he regretted that the compliment had not been paid to some other gentleman who, from his position and influence, might very properly have been invited to take that prominent part in their proceedings. He had also to thank very warmly his friend Dr. McKerrow for the very kind, but too complimentary remarks which he had made about him. It was only right that they should understand that it was the expression of the cordiality and good-feeling which subsisted between his colleagues and himself upon the School Board, and he hoped amongst all present upon the matter of education, notwithstanding their differences of opinion upon the education question. (Hear, hear). It was perhaps only right that on that occasion he should say a few words with regard to the action of the Manchester School Board in the matter of school building in the city, so as to allay any apprehension there might be in the minds of the managers of voluntary schools on the subject.

It was the duty of the School Board to supply any deficiency in school accommodation there might be if after due notice that deficiency was not supplied in some other way. At the earliest stage of the proceedings of the first School Board a statement was prepared, in compliance with the instructions of the Education Department, showing the requirements of the city in the matter of school accommodation, the provision which already existed or was in the course of being supplied, and the manner in which the School Board proposed to supply the deficiency. That statement was dated September, 1871. It was submitted to the Education Department, and subsequently revised by an inspector of returns appointed by the department, who issued his report in the following year. The report showed that there was a deficiency of school accommodation in Manchester for upwards of 8,000 children, the deficiency being chiefly in the registration sub-districts of St. George's-in-the-Fields, Ancoats, Ardwick, Chorlton-on-Medlock and Hulme. The township of Hulme showed the largest deficiency. That township contained a population of nearly 75,000 persons, and there was a deficiency of school accommodation for 2,600 children, ^{and} that deficiency ~~being~~ had only been supplied to a very small extent by private persons since that date.

Now he was not in favour of the increase of school board schools, holding as he did to the opinion that religious education in the day school was of essential importance, and knowing that school board schools must always labour under very serious difficulties in imparting that education. Voluntary schools should also serve, and he trusted did sometimes serve, as a bond of union between rich and poor, the employer and employed, and this could never be the case with school board schools. But in the present circumstances there was no choice. A deficiency in the school accommodation existed, and it was the duty of the School Board to supply the deficiency, making their schools as efficient as possible for the instruction of children in sound secular learning and godliness, and to prepare them as far as possible for the faithful discharge of their duty in after life. He held that School Board schools ought to be made model schools. - (Hear, hear). A school board would be able by having a number of schools of their own to compare the different forms of school management and school keeping, and having the advantage of the public purse would be able probably to engage the services of the best teachers and to supply the best appliances and apparatus to their schools.

But School Board model schools ought to be made to show their economy as well as their efficiency, and he trusted the School Board of Manchester would avoid all extravagant expenditure in school building and school keeping, having a careful regard to the interests of the ratepayers as well as to the education of the children. The School Board had always borne in mind, and he trusted would continue to bear in mind, that they had to attend to the elementary education of the children of the poor, and it was intended in those schools, as in all the other schools under the School Board, that the children of the poorest person should be received into them if the parent selected them for his children. - (Hear, hear.) The School Board did not intend unduly to compete with the voluntary schools. Their object was to supplement and not to supplant, and in their selection of sites for schools they had carefully avoided any position which appeared to be in close proximity to an existing school. Neither had the School Board in the regulation of the fees of their schools adopted a system of receiving all classes of children at a nominal charge, but they had so arranged their terms as to have a scale of charges fairly proportionate to the charges made by the managers of voluntary schools. - (Hear, hear.) He would not detain them with any further remarks, but in conclusion he wished to say that great credit was due to the architects for the admirable way in which they had overcome the difficulty of the site, and that he believed the school they had designed would prove a great benefit to the inhabitants of the district. - (Applause.)

(The MAYOR then briefly addressed the meeting, and was followed by Dr. JOHN WATTS, who proposed the vote of thanks to the Mayor for his presence, which was then seconded by Miss BECKER. The motion was carried, the MAYOR briefly replied, and the proceedings terminated with cheers for Mr. BIRLEY.)

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N.B. - A picture of the Vine-street school, when completed, may be found in a separate folder accompanying this account. It is of interest to note that these early efforts in board school architecture carried over something of the ecclesiastical nature of the voluntary schools, which were generally associated with a church or chapel, in the retention of such features as the narrow, pointed windows, on certain elevations, and the spire-like belfry. The school has only recently been closed as a separate teaching institution.

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Appendix VIII - A Letter to the Manchester School Board
from the Rector of St. Paul's, Hulme, on the Question of
the Proposed Transfer of the Mulberry Street Schools to
the School Board, dated 24/4/1876.

(see p. 103)

"Having carefully considered the proposition made to me several weeks since by the Chairman and Mr. Hughes, desiring me to place the St. Paul's C. of E. Schools.... under the management of the School Board, I beg to submit the following for your consideration.

"The reasons stated by you for making this proposal were that the Zion Chapel Schools, in the immediate neighbourhood, which could not succeed as denominational schools, having been placed under the Management of the School Board, are now in a prosperous condition, hence the present application to take them under the Management of the School Board.

"That the St. Paul's Schools," to quote from the "remarks" in your published summary of "school attendance," "are not flourishing," I admit, and it was urged by your Chairman and Mr. Hughes, as a reason for compliance, that still further injury must be done to them, by the erection of a new Board School, in the immediate neighbourhood, as the inevitable result of my refusing to hand over our Schools to the School Board.

"But the statement that our schools are not flourishing requires explanation, and I am prepared to show that it is principally owing to the opening of the Zion Chapel Schools as Board Schools which offer advantages which few of the denominational schools can afford to give.

"I refer, first of all, to the low fixed charge, by these Board Schools, of 3d. per week, for boys and girls, whereas in St. Paul's, and in all the denominational schools in the neighbourhood there is a scale of fees, rising from 3d. to 6d. per week.

"I refer next to the Board Schools supplying free of charge Books, Copy Books, Slates, etc. for school use, and home lessons, which is not done in any of the denominational Schools in the neighbourhood.

"The case is simply one of under-selling, and it requires no argument to prove that any denominational Schools situated at a reasonable distance from these Board Schools must have a hard struggle to keep up their numbers under such unfavourable and unfair competition.

"But in the case of St. Paul's Schools the Board School is not placed at a reasonable distance but is in the same street, and is distant not more than a hundred yards. But I would ask, are the St. Paul's Schools the only denominational Schools that are not flourishing?

"What of the Radnor Street, Wesleyan Schools not distant from the Board Schools more than three minutes walk? I have it from a personal enquiry from the Master that the Board Schools have had the effect of diminishing the number of scholars by 150, many of whom were paying 6d. to 8d. per week.

"I would therefore suggest that in the next published summary of School Attendance the Wesleyan denominational Schools, Radnor Street, should also be remarked upon as 'not flourishing.'

"But the fact I perceive is admitted by you in 'The Summary of School Attendance,' when a decrease is shown in that part of Hulme in which St. Paul's and the Radnor Street Schools are situated, and which is accounted for by the increase in that part of Hulme adjoining, in which the low fee'd Board Schools are placed.

"Let it not however be imagined that I am opposed to giving a cheap and good education to the people. If their circumstances require it, I would gladly aid to the utmost of my power in providing for the education of their children at the lowest possible charges. But I submit that their circumstances do not require it. They are well able to pay, as they have done heretofore, 6d. and 8d. per week. In the adjoining parish of St. Michael's, where the circumstances of the parishioners are not near so good as in my parish, the parents are paying fees up to 8d. per week for their children. In the Commercial Schools which are situated in my Parish, and which are not more than 110 yards from the Board Schools, an arrangement has been made to receive boys of the same age, to be instructed in the same subjects as those in the Board Schools, at the rate of 30s. per quarter. An admission fee is also required and the parents have to pay for Books, etc.

"Under these circumstances I would ask whether it is right to pay out of the public rates for the education of children where parents are well able to pay for themselves? And is it right to members of Christian Churches, which have made great sacrifices of time and money to erect schools in connection with their places

of worship, to set up rival schools which, as ratepayers, they are compelled to support, in addition to their having to support their own denominational schools?

"As to the lack of school accommodation, it is, I submit, quite a mistake to say any such thing. The total school accommodation for St. Paul's Parish, which contains a population of about 8,000, is for 2,630 children, and they are not full by 800 - a fact to be borne in mind before there is any more school building in the Parish.

"The Conclusion, gentlemen, at which I have arrived, after mature deliberation and consultation with the principal contributors towards the erection of St. Paul's Schools, is that we cannot accede to the proposition of the Chairman and Mr. Hughes to hand over these Schools to the School Board, involving as it would a breach of trust.

"They were subscribed for as Church of England Schools and the trust deed sets forth the same object, so that if even the menace, for so I regard it, to erect another Board School in the immediate neighbourhood takes effect, why then the only alternative remaining will be for us to close these Schools of ours."

(Signed)

(Rev.) THOMAS DANIELS.

Rector of St. Paul's Church, Hulme.

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Appendix IX - A Letter to the Secretary of the Education Department from the Clerk to the Manchester School Board on alleged irregularities cited by Rev. J. Nunn, 27/10/84.

(See p. 182)

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo enclosing copy of a letter addressed to the President of the Local Government Board by the Rev. Joseph Nunn, a Member of this School Board, in which Mr. Nunn complains of certain alleged irregularities and improper expenditure of money on the part of the Manchester School Board which he deems it to be his duty to bring under the notice of the Local Government Board.

"I propose to reply to these charge in the order in which they appear in Mr. Nunn's letter.

"1. The Interest Fund. The subject was very fully discussed in a correspondence with the Education

Department some years ago and I am instructed to hand you herewith copy of a letter from this Board to your Department dated December 24th, 1879, explaining the origin and the purpose of the Interest Fund. To that letter the Board have but little further to add by way of explanation excepting to remark that the claim of their Bankers for interest upon money advanced during the Session of the present Board will probably largely exceed any allowance for interest to which they may have been entitled for the balances which have appeared to their credit from time to time in the account.

"2. The Stores Department. This Scheme is founded upon the lines of the Stores Department of the London School Board and the Committee for carrying it out was appointed by the former Board in December, 1879. The Stores Committee was re-appointed by the present Board in December, 1882.

"The Funds for establishing and putting into operation the Stores Department were furnished in the first instance by an advance from Bankers upon the personal security of the Members of the Stores Committee and the accumulated profits upon the Sales are held for the sole use and disposal of the School Board to be applied in the first instance to the repayment of the advance from the Bankers to provide the needful stock of books, Stationery and other School Materials together with a principal sum for working expenses and finally to the reduction of the prices charged to the Schools for Books, etc., as far as may be found practicable.

"The Accounts of the Stores Department are open for the inspection of any member of the School Board, and a printed copy of the Balance Sheet duly audited and certified in the form attached hereto is furnished annually to every Member.

"Through the medium of the Stores Department the Board are enabled to supply their 44 Schools spread over the whole City with far greater economy and promptitude than was possible under the former system when the goods were ordered in small quantities for each School separately from the Stationers or other tradesmen, having constant regard also to the importance of keeping very small stocks of Books and Needlework materials in the Schools.

"The prices at which the Books, etc., are furnished by this Stores Department to the Schools are lower (as a rule very much lower) than the cost of the like articles

purchased through the ordinary channels and it would obviously be impossible to purchase the "Remainders of Sale Books" suitable for Prizes in any quantity excepting through the medium of a "Store" in some form.

"For some time past the Stores Committee have delivered the Books, etc., to the Schools in their own vans (this it may be observed is also the practice of the London School Board) and with a view to economy the Committee are now about to build Stables, etc., on a portion of the Southall Street School ground which is not required for School purposes.

"For this accommodation the Stores Committee will pay to the Common Fund of the Board a rental of £16 per annum.

"The Stores Committee pay also a rental of £80 per annum for the premises which they occupy as a depot for Books, etc., at the Central Offices of the Board.

"With the sanction and approval of the School Board the Board's Accountant keeps the Accounts of the Stores Department and purchases the goods as required for which services he receives a salary of £25 per annum out of the Stores Department.

"It must be borne in mind that although the funds for establishing the Stores Department have been furnished from private sources any profits that may accrue are applied wholly to the use of the Schools in reduction of the cost of maintenance and under the control of the School Board through a Committee of their own appointment.

"3. Lease of Central Offices. As regards the Lease to the School Board of their Central Offices from the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Thomas Dale, I am instructed to say that Mr. Dale has been advised that the tenure of his seat upon the Board is not invalidated by the transaction and no proceedings have been taken hitherto to test the legality of his position."

"I have the honour, &c."

Appendix X - Votes Polled in School Board Elections:- (see p.125)

<u>1st Board (1870)</u>	<u>2nd Board (1873)</u>	<u>3rd Board (1876)</u>
Toole (RC) 54,560	Toole (RC) 30,572	(No Contest)
Richardson (RC) 36,308	O'Reilly (RC) 28,980	The following were elected unopposed by arrangement between the parties:-
Birch (Ind.) 35,415	Birley (Ch) 28,531	
Birley (Ch) 34,026	Nicholson (RC) 28,262	
Callender (Ch) 31,824	Anderton (Ch) 24,852	
Gladstone (Ch) 24,237	Lamb (Ch) 22,247	
Lamb (Ch) 22,987	Nunn (Ch) 21,846	
Dale (Ch) 20,688	Bremney (Ch) 21,607	
Becker (Un) 15,249	Dale (Ch) 20,613	
Haworth (Wes.) 13,137	Whitelegge (Ch) 19,927	
McKerrow (Un) 9,919	Hughes (Un) 17,091	
Rumney (Un) 9,510	McKerrow (Un) 16,257	Becker (Un)
Watts (M/c Bill) 8,861	Watts (Un) 15,041	Birley (Ch)
Cooper (Wes.) 8,020	Becker (Un) 14,487	Croston (Ch)
Heywood (M. Bill) 7,902	Phythian (Un) 13,673	Dale (Ch)
(There followed 29 other names of un- successful candidates. There were no official party labels.)	Bedford (Wes) 12,870	Henn (Ch)
	Slagg (Un) 12,322	Hughes (Un)
	Jackson (Un) 11,827	McKerrow (Un)
	Hoyle (Wes) 11,037	Milner (Ch)
	Pankhurst (Ind & Unsect.) 10,585	Nicholson (RC)
	Darrah (Ind & Unsect.) 3,190	O'Reilly (RC)
		Phythian (Un)
		Pooley (Ch)
		Doole (RC)
		Watts (Un)
<u>4th Board (1879)</u>		<u>5th Board (1882)</u>
Birley (Ch) 25,171		Birley (Ch) 29,348
Becker (Un) 22,698		Broadfield (Un) 26,099
Burke (RC) 21,869		Phythian (Un) 25,964
O'Reilly (RC) 20,947		Hughes (Un) 25,800
Watts (Un) 19,007		Slatter (Un) 25,746
Toole (RC) 18,618		Watts (Un) 25,011
Broadfield (Un) 17,954		Nunn (Ch) 24,407
Phythian (Un) 17,902		Croston (Ch) 23,752
Dale (Ch) 17,598		Toole (RC) 23,455
O'Neill (RC) 17,445		Henn (Ch) 22,964
Hughes (Un) 17,366		Milner (Ch) 22,304
Garrett (Ind.Ch.) 16,854		Burke (RC) 22,201
Croston (Ch.) 16,328		Dale (Ch) 21,431
Slatter (Un) 16,227		Gillow (RC) 21,156
Milner (Ch) 15,384		McConnel (Ch) 20,931
Nunn (Ch) 12,480		Kenny (Land Leag) 12,301
Gill (Ch) 12,387		Calvert (Ch) 6,149
Phillips (Ch) 6,797		
Galvert (Ind) 5,406		
Hargreaves (Ind) 2,308		
O'Connor (Ind.Ch.) 2,053		

6th Board (1888)

Nunn (Ch)	24,950
Henn (Ch)	24,436
Becker (Un)	23,649
Schou (Ch)	23,507
Toole (RC)	23,187
Burke (RC)	22,732
Birley (Ch)	22,530
O'Neill (RC)	22,214
Broadfield (Un)	21,988
Kelly (RC)	21,984
Newbold (Ch)	21,857
Phythian (Un)	21,733
Watts (Un)	21,480
Hughes (Un)	21,277
Slatter (Un)	21,205
Marshall (Ch)	20,899
Livesey (Ch)	19,262
Dale (Ch)	12,259
Payne (Sec)	11,690
Ross (Ch)	8,777

7th Board (1888)

Birley (Ch)	39,106
Nunn (Ch)	27,746
Smith (Ch)	27,434
Watson (Ch)	27,227
D'port Kelly (Ch)	27,001
Kelly, T.F. (RC)	26,944
Burke (RC)	26,337
Schou (Ch)	26,178
Toole (RC)	25,600
O'Neill (RC)	25,530
Crosfield (Un)	25,158
Shann (Ch)	24,376
Broadfield (Un)	24,347
Becker (Un)	24,271
Slatter (Un)	23,456
Hughes (Un)	22,616
Thompson (Un)	21,659
Newbold (Wes)	11,131
Smallman (Sec)	10,607

8th Board (1891)

Scott (FBS)	52,536
Woodcock (FBS)	48,083
Broadfield (FBS)	43,668
Nunn (Ch)	40,734
Holliday (FBS)	38,900
Crosfield (FBS)	37,177
Maclure (Ch)	36,840
Watson (Ch)	35,404
Clark (Ch)	33,850
Smith (Ch)	33,517
Shann (Ch)	32,411
Desplenter (RC)	31,075
Stuttard (FBS)	30,601
Core (Ch)	30,342
Kelly (RC)	29,490
Lockwood (RC)	28,956
Moyes (RC)	27,474
Slatter (Lab)	16,520
Kelley (Lab)	14,490
Jenkins (Lab)	13,502

9th Board (1894)

Chadwick (Ch)	58,514
West (Ch)	57,048
Richmond (Ch)	48,880
Maclure (Ch)	48,528
Desplenter (RC)	45,014
Lynch (RC)	44,926
Kelly (RC)	44,129
Broadfield (Pr)	42,299
Nunn (Ch)	41,667
Woodcock (Pr)	41,525
Crosfield (Pr)	37,550
Bingham (Ch)	33,772
Scott (Pr)	33,596
Holliday (Pr)	33,134
Ward (Pr)	31,882
Core (Ch)	28,541
Pankhurst (Lab)	26,841
Harker (Lab)	20,939
Stewart (Lab)	18,062

10th Board (1897)

Wardale (TC)	84,259
Meadowcroft (Ch)	51,876
Chadwick (Ch)	50,442
Lynch (RC)	42,329
Kelly (RC)	41,060
Hackforth (RC)	40,060
Broadfield (Pr)	38,072
Brocklehurst (Lab)	38,072
Maclure (Ch)	37,520
Bingham (Ch)	36,799
Nunn (Ch)	32,820
Tulloch (Ch)	31,674
Barker (Pr)	31,388
Woodcock (Pr)	31,082
Richmond (Ch)	31,057
Dendy (Pr)	27,490
Garnett (Pr)	25,778
Slater (Pr)	25,367
Crossman (Lab)	

11th Board (1900)

Wardale (TC)	69,942
Meadowcroft (Ch)	41,927
Birley, H.A. (Ch)	40,302
Broadfield (UE)	38,874
Maclure (Ch)	38,329
Brocklehurst (UE)	37,123
Kelly (RC)	36,839
Lynch (RC)	36,599
Hackforth (RC)	35,531
Pankhurst (UE)	34,502
Grant (Ch)	31,867
Lane-Scott (Ch)	29,061
Taylor (Ind. Ch)	28,491
Barker (UE)	26,971
Dendy (UE)	26,165
Porter (UE)	25,366
Leach (UE)	24,453
Richmond (Ch)	20,116

Party Labels:-

Ch = Church (i.e. the official Church party of the Church of England)

Ind.Ch. = Independent Church (i.e. not belonging to the official C. of E. party)

RC = Roman Catholic

Un = Unsectarian

FBS = Free Board School party (formerly "Unsectarian")

Pr = Progressive (formerly the "Free Board School" party)

Lab = United Trades & Labour party - united in 1900 with the Progressives to form:-

UE = United Education party (formerly Progressives & Labour)

Ind = Independent

M/c Bill = Manchester Education Bill representative

Wes = Wesleyan Methodist.

Land Leag. = Land League.

Sec = Secularist.

TC = Teachers' Candidate.

N.B. - In the contest of November, 1885, for the 6th Board, there were two separate lists of "Church" candidates, one headed by Birley and the other by Nunn (for details see Chap. VIII, especially p. 197)

Appendix XI - Memoranda of Arrangements between the Manchester School Board and the Municipal Technical School (adopted by School Board on 6/1/96.) (see pp. 282 & 300)

(The preamble stated that the Scheme "has for its object the effective co-ordination, due-grading and economical management of the work undertaken by both institutions," and continues with the words:-)

"The scheme is intended to realise the following aims: (a) the prevention of overlapping between the two authorities with respect to the objects and subjects of instruction undertaken in the day and evening departments of the respective institutions; (b) the promotion of the supply of students for the Technical School and other places of higher education - (1) of those who desire the more specialised forms of instruction of the day and evening departments of the Municipal Technical School, and (2) of those who desire to continue their general or professional education at the Grammar School or the Owens College. This scheme is presented in broad detail as follows:-

"1. The School Board shall conduct in the New Central School, shortly to be erected, the work of the Organised Science School now carried on in the Central School, Deansgate; and the preparatory or manual department of the Municipal Technical School shall be discontinued.

"2. The curriculum of the Organised Science Day School shall be so arranged as to fit in with the subsequent courses of the day technical departments of the Municipal Technical School. In the case of pupils desirous of proceeding to the Manchester Grammar School, the Girls' High School, or other secondary school, the object of instruction shall be to fit such pupils for the Courses of instruction at such first grade secondary schools.

"3. The pupils of the Central School shall be encouraged to compete for the scholarships which may be legally tenable at the schools of the Technical Instruction Committee, at the Grammar School, or at the Owens College, and generally to avail themselves of the facilities offered for higher education in Manchester, rather than for the National Scholarships or Royal Exhibitions now held at the Royal Colleges of Science of London or Dublin.

"4. Bursaries shall be founded by the Technical Instruction Committee, tenable for three years: during

the first two years at the Organised Science Department of the Central School and during the last year at the Municipal Technical School. These bursaries shall be of the following value:-

1st year:	£9	-	Tenable	at	the	Central	School;
2nd "	£12	-	"	"	"	"	"
3rd "	£15	-	"	"	"	Municipal Technical	School.

The arrangements of the examinations for the award of these bursaries shall be made by the Technical Instruction Committee, and the competition for bursaries shall be open to all Manchester pupils in public elementary schools, or in any other schools of the city. By this means pupils who intend to devote themselves to industrial or commercial pursuits may have continuous instruction, and thus be enabled to proceed to the Municipal Technical School, or to other places of higher instruction, with a view to their further advancement.

"5. The School Board at the Central School shall cease to give Science and Art Instruction to day students beyond the stages required by the regulations of the Education Department, Whitehall, or the scheme arranged for Organised Science Schools. The School Board shall also cease to give instruction in science or in art in the Central Evening School, and the School of Art at the Central School shall be discontinued.

"6. The Technical Instruction Committee shall provide in the evening for all the subjects of the Syllabus of the Science and Art Department, and for the Art Instruction hitherto conducted in the Central School.

"7. All Honours Instruction in Science and Advanced Instruction in Art, hitherto given at the Central School, including the special courses for the Art Class Teachers' and the Art Masters' Certificates, shall be given respectively in the Municipal Technical School and the Municipal School of Art.

"8. Provision shall be made by the Technical Instruction Committee in separate classes for the instruction of teachers in such subjects as wood and iron work in the Municipal Technical School in conjunction with the School Board; and in drawing exclusively for pupil-teachers, either at the pupil-teachers' centres or at the Municipal School of Art.

"9¹/₂ The Technical Instruction Committee shall transfer to the Central School all the commercial instruction now given in the Municipal Technical School, and shall cease to teach the subjects comprised in the course of the Commercial Evening Schools; e.g. English composition and correspondence, arithmetic, writing, book-keeping, shorthand, typewriting, and foreign languages. This arrangement is not to exclude the Municipal Technical School from providing courses of study or lectures in advanced commercial knowledge, such courses to be included in the subjects set forth in the curriculum of the Central Evening Commercial School, the qualified students in which may attend these courses, and the attendances be registered with those made at the Evening Commercial School. Pupils under 18 years of age may be enrolled as students of the Central Evening Commercial School, provided that they possess the necessary educational qualifications.

"10. The Central Evening Commercial School shall continue to provide the facilities hitherto available for preparation in the subjects of University Graduate Courses, the science needed being given in the Municipal Technical School.

"11. A system of free admissions, with or without small bursaries, to the evening classes of the Municipal Technical School and the Manchester School of Art, shall be arranged, and the privilege of free admission competed for annually by pupils of the public elementary schools who have passed the Sixth Standard. The examinations shall be conducted by the School Board in such subjects, and with such regulations as to age and degree of proficiency, as may be approved by the Technical Instruction Committee, having regard to the present or intended occupations of the competitors.

"12. The Technical Instruction Committee will, as far as desirable, avail themselves in the evening classes of the Municipal Technical School of the services of the Assistant Science Masters in the Board's new Central Day School, thus securing continuity in instruction and the interest of these teachers in the welfare of the two institutions.

"13. The foregoing arrangements are not to exclude the Technical Instruction Committee from teaching foreign languages in the Day Technical Departments, nor from the establishment, if deemed desirable, of an advanced technical department in commercial knowledge

for day students of 15 years of age and upwards, nor from the continuance and development of the present Domestic Economy Classes for women, special and exclusive provision being made for teachers desirous of obtaining certificates from examining bodies; but such domestic economy courses are to be arranged so as not to be in competition with the School Board's Evening Institutes for Women and Girls.

"14. It is desirable, if possible, that the new Central School be erected in the immediate vicinity of the New Municipal School in Whitworth Street and Sackville Street.

"15. The Syllabuses issued respectively by the School Board and by the Technical Instruction Committee shall be the subject of joint consideration and agreement, and be issued simultaneously, and each, as the case may be, shall refer to the work of the School Board of the Technical Instruction Committee. The monthly periodical styled "The Evening Student" shall embrace the work of both institutions, and be as far as possible the organ of both.

"16. The School Board being under the necessity of providing accommodation for the work now carried on in the Central School in Deansgate within 18 months from the present time, the foregoing arrangements shall come into effect for the Session 1897-8, that is to say, 12 months before the new Technical School is ready for occupation. The Students in Science and Art now attending the Central School Evening Classes shall be accommodated in the Municipal Technical School in the rooms vacated by the Commercial Classes now carried on therein."

(Signed by) EDWARD C. MACLURE, D.D.,	}	(on behalf of the School Board for M/C.)
Dean of Manchester		
C.H. WYATT, Clerk	}	(on behalf of the Technical Instruction Committee of M/c.)
JAS. HOY, Chairman.		
J.H. REYNOLDS, Director and Secretary.		

(The Scheme was described as the "first of its kind entered into by Municipal Authorities charged with the administration of education, and its provisions have created a widespread interest throughout the country.")

Appendix XII - Report of Sub-Committee on the Instruction of Feeble-minded Children (and Miss Dendy's Report).

(see p.321)

"The Sub-Committee appointed by the Board on the 19th July last [1897] to visit and report on the provision made by the London School Board for the instruction of feeble-minded children have to state that, accompanied by the Clerk, they visited on the 21st July two of the principal Centres in London. The Members were met at the School Board by General Moberly, Vice-Chairman of the Board, and by Dr. Shuttleworth. Mrs. Burgwin, Superintendent of these Schools in London, accompanied them to the Schools visited.

Special Schools - The London School Board have 30 Special Schools for those children who, by reason of physical or mental defects, cannot be properly taught in the ordinary standards or by ordinary methods.

Situation of Schools - A sufficient number of rooms where possible in a building distinct from, but within the precincts of a large Board School, are provided for this special instruction, and the children are properly classified in order to meet their individual capacity for mental development, so that they may eventually be enabled to attend an ordinary public elementary school.

Methods of Instruction - An extended system of Kindergarten is taught at these special schools, but complete liberty is afforded to the teachers in the provision of that kind of instruction which will best develop the intelligence of the pupils.

Grants - The Education Department send their Inspectors to examine the Schools, and at present the Infant School Grant of 17s. 6d. per head is paid. No fee is charged. With regard to grants, the Deputation whilst in London had an interview with the Departmental Committee appointed by the Education Department to inquire into the provision of means of instruction for dull and defective children, and were given to understand that the Committee contemplated the recommendation of special grants, similar in amount to those given for the instruction of Blind and Deaf Children (£5), for instruction of the kind now under consideration.

Teachers - Teachers are appointed generally on probation, and they are taken from the ordinary Schools of the Board as a rule, selection being made of those

best fitted for this kind of work. Not more than 30 children are assigned to each teacher, the accommodation at the Centres varying from 24 to 150.

Admission of Children - The children received at the Schools are first nominated by the Head Teachers of the Elementary Schools, and are those who are known to be weak, poorly endowed with perception, memory, powers of reasoning, etc. Before admission they are examined by a Doctor appointed by the Board and by the Superintendent of the Special Schools. The children are not sent to the Schools from a greater distance than half a mile from their home.

The sub-Committee having had before them information relative to the large number of children requiring such special instruction in Manchester (see Miss Dandy's Report, appended),

Recommend - That Centres be established forthwith in suitable localities.

(Signed) EDWARD C. MACLURE, D.D.
MARY DENDY.

Sept., 1897.

(Appendix) Miss Dandy's Report on the Dull and Defective Children found in the Manchester Board Schools.

"It appeared to me that, after having seen the Special Classes in London, and having obtained the information offered to you in the Report just read, the next practical step was to find out, approximately, how many of these Dull and Defective Children were in our own Schools. In view of the difficulty in obtaining anything like reliable second-hand information, I thought it desirable to visit all the Schools and see all the children myself. I have now nearly completed my round. I am sorry that it was not possible quite to finish it before the meeting of the Sub-Committee. I have, however, seen 25,753 children, and have noted 495 cases. My notes are here, and I should like to offer a few words in explanation of them.

With regard to my method of proceeding, I have, of course, gratefully accepted any information offered to me by teachers, which is, in some cases, most valuable; but I have also seen all the children in their classes (excepting some who were absent), I have spoken to all the children noted (and to probably about three times as many), and I have not included any children who appeared to me

to be able to hold their own mentally and physically with others. Some few cases I have noted which are unsuitable for Special Classes - these are (a) Epileptics, and (b) Deaf and Dumb. Cripples I have noted only when (a) they are also mentally defective, or, (b) when, owing to the structure of the school buildings, they cannot be placed in their proper standard, or (c) when they are exposed to risk in mixing with other children. It is only in extreme cases that this risk occurs; generally they are treated most kindly by other boys and girls. In looking through the standards I have inquired first into cases of children who should, according to age, be higher in the school than they are. Many of these are backward owing to the neglect of parents, and many owing to defective eyesight. These I did not regard as within the scope of the inquiry, though I should be glad to note in passing that great help might be given in many cases of weak sight.

I have not attempted to use any medical terms in describing the children, excepting the one "mongol type," which defines a kind of case very easily recognisable, and of which I have seen an illustration. Where I have said that a child is "nervous," I mean that nervous tricks are extremely apparent, and I believe I have distinguished between these and the natural nervousness of a sensitive child in being spoken to by a stranger. I have particularly noted a peculiar swelling of the upper part of the nose, and because I find in Mrs. Burgwin's Report (School Board for London, Report of School Management Committee) the following statement:- "I am often struck by the fact that the dull child's troubles are frequently caused by its bodily conditions, and an operation on throat, eyes, ears, nose, and even teeth, seems at times to open the mind by magic."

It will be seen that a great number of the cases noted are in need of articulation lessons.

By "Dull" I mean that a child has not capacity for acquiring knowledge in the ordinary way. By "Defective" that mental incapacity is shown otherwise than in being unable to learn. Many of these defective cases appear to me to border on idiocy, and to be quite as bad as some of those included in my first Report (Children unable to attend School). Where I have written "Case" after a name, I mean that the defectiveness would be apparent to even a casual observer. By "Marked case" I mean that the need for help is very urgent.

I have been careful in speaking to the children to address many who were normal, as well as those of whom I was making notes, being anxious to avoid pointing them out as singular. In only very few cases have the children shown the least distress in being talked to. The work, though interesting in the extreme, is very sad, and the saddest part of it is that so many of these poor children are approaching the limit of school age, and will soon be beyond our help.

I find but few infants markedly defective, whilst many are slightly abnormal. Amongst the older boys and girls many are markedly defective. I believe that the tendency of ordinary school training, after a child has left the infant school, is to increase mental defects - the sense of being always behind weakening further the already weak will.

There are many questions of extreme interest involved in this inquiry, on which I have no time to dwell at present. It will, however, suggest itself to anyone who looks through the report that there is a curious difference in the numbers of cases produced by the different districts of the town, and that this difference does not appear to be accounted for by varying degrees of poverty. It will also be seen that constantly several cases occur in the same family.

I believe that this report is by no means exhaustive, and, of course, having no medical knowledge, I do not claim for it freedom from error. I do think, however, that it affords ample evidence of the necessity for our taking immediate action for the relief of our dull and defective children.

(Signed) MARY DENDY. Sept. 16, 1897.

XIII - Extract from L.E.A. - Part II, Major File. Letter of 12 Mar., 1895, to the Secretary of the Science and Art Department, from the Manchester & District Association of Science Teachers:- (see p. 318 n.)

"That some other way of assessing the Department's aid to the School should be adopted than that of marking the School Excellent, Good, or Fair." "That the amount of aid proposed to be given by the Department is insufficient. The kind of building and equipment required, and the character of the Teaching staff involves such an expenditure that only Schools able to charge a high fee can hope to nearly meet their expenses. It is desirable that the aid given should be such as would enable a School to be held in every town with such a fee charge as will enable all classes of the community to send their children to it." (GEO. H. HURST.)

Appendix XIV - Correspondence between the Manchester School Board and the Education Department on the New Code, 1900 (Appendix to the Board's last General Report)
(see p. 329)

"To the Secretary, Education Dept.,

The New Code, 1900.

Sir,

The Manchester School Board, at a special meeting in committee, held this day, have had under consideration the proposed alterations contained in the New Code of Regulations for Day Schools at present lying on the tables of both Houses of Parliament, and I am requested to write to you on the subject.

I need hardly say that the Board view most sympathetically the proposal to pay a Block Grant of 21s. or 22s. per head for older scholars in so far as it means increased aid to poor struggling schools which so urgently require such help.

But in the opinion of this Board there are other aspects of the question in which some of the proposals of the Code appear to seriously threaten the educational interests of the country.

The immediate effect of the new scale of payments will be to diminish seriously the grants in the best schools for older scholars. The highest grant for these schools cannot in future exceed 22s. per head, with some additions for manual instruction, and for practical teaching in domestic subjects for girls. At the same time the least efficient school will be able to earn 21s. per head. Thus the difference in the grants obtainable by the best and worst schools will be too small to offer any financial encouragement to efforts either in the direction of an extended curriculum or of any other of the many forms of school activity that differentiate between the "Excellent" and the merely "Moderate" school. In this way the tendency of the Code will be to lower the standard of education in Public Elementary Schools. The teaching of specific subjects - payment for which is practically abolished - will largely die out. Many subjects, such as Drawing for girls, will also doubtless disappear.

The alterations in the Code will in the opinion of the Board tend to hinder the efforts that are being made, particularly in the large towns, to prolong by a year or two, the school life of the children, and to discourage the better training of pupil teachers.

As I have already observed, our objection is not to the principle of the Block Grants. But we cannot help contrasting the present Code for England with the provisions of the Scotch Code, from which many of the objectionable features of the former are absent. The Scotch Code contains distinct incentives to better education and to the prolongation of the school life of the children, while by the provisions of the proposed Code for England the present disabilities suffered by English and Welsh Schools are actually increased. The following is an extract from the Majority Report (p. 169) of the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts, 1888, on this subject:-

"In Scotland liberal grants are now made to the managers of Elementary Schools for advanced instruction to scholars who have passed the highest standard, and we see no reason why English children should not be afforded like assistance for continuing their education. This arrangement would facilitate the provision of such higher instruction in the smaller and less populous school districts, and for reasons already suggested might be preferred by the authorities of some even of the larger districts to the establishment of separate schools."

And in the summary of Conclusions and Recommendations they say (part VII, p. 219, No. 152);-

"That in certain cases the object of higher elementary schools might be secured by attaching to an ordinary elementary school a class or section in which higher instruction was provided for scholars who had passed the seventh standard. That liberal grants made, as in Scotland, to the managers of elementary schools for advanced instruction to scholars who have passed the highest standard, would facilitate the provision of such higher instruction in the smaller and less populous school districts."

The Manchester School Board, therefore, whilst recognising the advantage of the Block Grant, felt that the financial clauses are open to the gravest objection

on educational grounds, reducing as they do the grants paid to efficient schools throughout the country, and at the same time limiting the facilities for advanced education to the children in attendance in the elementary schools. In the case of Manchester this reduction will work out to the sum of no less than £1,659 per annum as shown in the appended schedule. This is a most serious consideration. In one department of a higher grade school under this Board, with an average attendance of 349 the prospective loss in grant (excluding fee grant and grant for pupil teachers) is estimated to be nearly £75 or 4s. 3d. per head.

The Board feel that changes of such great moment ought not to have been made without some reasonable period of notice being given. The Board further venture to think that inasmuch as the recently created Board of Education will very shortly take over the functions of the Education Department it is undesirable that the latter department should issue a Code embodying considerable changes in respect to matters that might seem to be more properly within the province of the Board of Education itself.

I have the honour, &c.

EDWARD C. MACLURE, D.D.

Dean of Manchester.

Chairman of the Board.

The following is a summary of the figures supplied to the Education Department, and referred to in the foregoing letter:-

<u>Summary showing loss in Grants</u>		£.	s.	d.
1.	Schools for Older Scholars	1,472	12	6
2.	Pupil Teachers	187	0	0
	<u>Total Loss</u>	<u>1,659</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>

Reply of the Board of Education (Code G. - '00/5428 - D)

2nd April, 1900

Reverend Sir,

Adverting to your letter dated the 20th ultimo, I am directed to state that the Board of Education note

that the School Board approve the principle of a Block Grant, as well as the increased financial help to be given under the new Code to poor, struggling schools. This increased financial help, and many of the other advantages which are the objects of the introduction of a Block Grant, cannot, in the opinion of the Board of Education, be obtained without adopting the system proposed in the Code. The annual sum of money voted by Parliament for education is not likely at present to be largely increased, and thus the poorer schools can only be relieved by some surrender on the part of the richer.

The Board of Education do not agree with the School Board in the view that the tendency of a fixed grant will be to lower the standard of education in public elementary schools, a view which is at variance with that of all modern authorities on Education.

The plan of trusting chiefly to financial motives for securing efficiency has proved abortive; and it is the opinion of all those best qualified to judge, that it has caused actual mischief, and that recourse should be had to other expedients. To reduce the grant to a poor school because it is less efficient is the sure way to make the inefficiency permanent. With regard to the teaching of specific subjects, and of Drawing to girls - take the instances given in your letter - the Board of Education do not anticipate that such teaching will be dropped merely because the separate special payment formerly made for them is merged in the Block Grant. Where the circumstances of the schools or of the children require, the Board believe that such subjects, instruction in which involves little, if any, additional outlay, ought to be included in the curriculum without a claim for additional grants being thereby established.

The offer of such grants has in many cases resulted in those subjects being taught, which are less suitable for the education of the children, but which draw more money from the Exchequer.

The figures which you forward show that the net annual loss to the Manchester School Board, due to the introduction of the Block Grant, is £1,472. This means that the education now given in the Manchester Board Schools can be continued unaltered by the addition of about one-eighth or one-ninth of a penny in the pound to the School Board rate.

The Board therefore hesitate to believe that the abolition of the separate grants for special subjects will, as a matter of fact, result in any decrease in the efficiency of the schools of your Board or of other Boards similarly situated. On the other hand, the financial help given to schools with more slender resources to fall back upon, will be comparatively wide-spread in its effects, and by giving such schools considerably increased opportunities of raising themselves to a more satisfactory level will tend to raise the general standard of education throughout the country.

With regard to your remark as to the prolongation of the school life of the children, there does not appear to be anything in the Block Grant articles adverse to such prolongation, with the exception of the very small financial loss which has just been dealt with.

With regard to your comparison of the new Code with the Code of the Scotch Education Department, I am to point out that the Scotch Code still contains the "Seventeen and Six-Penny limit" which was repealed by the Voluntary Schools Act, 1897, for both Board and Voluntary Schools in England and Wales. The retention of this guarantee so much differentiates the conditions under which grants are paid to English Schools that no fair comparison of the two Codes is possible.

With regard to the alteration in the scale of Pupil Teachers' Grants (Article 102 of the Code) which does not diminish the total amount paid by the State for Pupil Teachers, similar considerations apply; the payment will be made for work done in instructing the Pupil Teachers not for the results attained. I may point out in addition that under the new system it will be easier for Pupil Teachers to take other examinations than the Board's Collective Examinations, and thus the Pupil Teachers' course of instruction may be adapted with a view to their entering Training Colleges through some University or other approved examination, instead of through the Queen's Scholarship examination only. This object cannot well be attained while the system of graduated grants for Pupil Teachers remains.

I have the honour, &c.

G.W. KEKEWICH.

Appendix XV - Statistics relating to the 5 Higher Grade Schools and Pupil Teachers' Centres, attached to each being a School of Science, as handed over by the School Board to the City of Manchester Education Committee, on June 30, 1903, (from Part II I.E.A. Major File, M/cr.)

School	No: on Books		Gov. Grants.		Cost to Rates	
	Stds.	Sci.Sch.	Stds.	Sci.Sch.	Whole Sch.	Sci.Sch. only
Central (Whitworth-st)	961	484	£ 1441	£ 3000	£ 2045	£ 11
Ardwick	1134	154	1617	875	767	£ 78 credit balance
Birley-st (Beswick)	2151	143	2961	772	1694	344
Cheetham	766	170	1023	1111	826	46
Ducie Avenue	1353	1173	1791	574	1598	360
TOTALS	6335	1124	8833	6333	6530	665
<u>Fees per Week:-</u>	<u>In the Standards</u>		<u>In the School of Science</u>			
	Ratepayers	Non-Rs.	Ratepayers	Non-Ratepayers		
Central (Whit'th-st)	6d.	1s.0d.	7d.	1s. 6d.		
Ardwick	6d.	9d.	7d.	1s. 6d.		
Birley-st (Beswick)	1d.	1d.	1d.	1d.		
Cheetham	6d.	9d.	7d.	1s. 6d.		
Ducie Avenue	6d.	9d.	7d.	1s. 6d.		

(see p. 336)

Appendix XVI - Alphabetical List of School Board Members.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Held Office</u>		
		<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	
Anderton, George	Church	Nov/73	July/78	r.
Barker, James	Progressive	Jan/96	June/03	
Becker, Lydia E.	Unsectarian	Nov/70	Aug/90	d.
Bingham, Joseph	Church	Nov/94	Feb/00	r.
Birch, William	Independent	Nov/70	Nov/73	
Birley, Herbert	Church	Nov/70	Nov/90	d.
Birley, Hugh A.	Church	Mar/00	June/03	
Boddington, Henry	Unsectarian	Dec/90	Nov/91	
Bremner, John A.	Church	Nov/73	Nov/76	
Broadfield, E.J.	Unsectarian	July/78	June/03	
Brocklehurst, F.	Labour	Nov/97	June/03	
Burke, Rev. John	R. Catholic	Nov/79	Dec/90	r.
Callender, W.R.	Church	Nov/70	Nov/73	
Chadwick, Geo. W.	Church	Nov/94	Nov/00	
Clark, Lt.Col.J.H.	Church	Nov/91	Nov/94	
Cooper, John	Wesleyan	Nov/70	Nov/73	
Core, Prof. T.H.	Church	Nov/91	Nov/94	
Crossfield, Ald.J.H.	Unsectarian	Mar/87	Nov/97	
Croston, James	Church	Nov/76	Feb/85	r.
Dale, Thomas	Church	Nov/70	Nov/85	
Dendy, Mary	Progressive	{ Feb/96	Nov/97	}
		{ Nov/00	June/03	
Desplenter, Canon	R. Catholic	Nov/91	Sept/95	r.
Garrett, Dr. John	Ind. Church	Nov/79	Jan/81	r.
Gillow, Joseph	R. Catholic	June/80	Apr/84	r.
Gladstone, Robert	Church	Nov/70	May/72	d.
Grant, Frank M.S.	Church	Nov/00	June/03	
Hackforth, James	R. Catholic	Dec/95	June/03	
Haworth, Rev. J.G.	Church	Dec/90	Nov/91	
Haworth, Richard	Wesleyan	Nov/70	Nov/73	
Henn, Rev. John	Church	{ Nov/76	Nov/79	}
		{ Feb/81	Mar/85	
		{ Nov/85	Nov/88	
Heywood, Oliver	Unsectarian	Nov/70	Nov/73	
Holliday, Rev. A.	Free Bd. Sch.	Nov/91	Sept/95	r.
Hughes, Charles	Unsectarian	Nov/85	Nov/88	
Hughes, William	Unsectarian	Nov/73	Oct/85	d.
Kelly, Canon J.D.	Church	Nov/88	Nov/91	
Kelly, Thos. F.	R. Catholic	Nov/85	June/03	
Lamb, Ald. Joseph	Church	Nov/70	Nov/76	
Lane-Scott, W.F.	Church	Nov/00	June/03	
Livesey, Clegg	Church	Apr/85	Nov/85	
Lynch, Rev.Dr.P.	R. Catholic	Nov/94	June/03	
McKerrow, Dr. Wm.	Unsectarian	Nov/70	June/78	d.

Maclure, Dean Ed. C.	Church	Nov/90	June/03	
Mclure, John Wm.	Church	Dec/72	Nov/73	
Mayson, John S.	Church	July/78	Nov/79	
Meadowcroft, Nathan	Church	Nov/97	June/03	
Milner, George	Church	Nov/76	Mar/85	r.
Moyes, Canon James	R. Catholic	Feb/91	Nov/91	
Newbold, James A.	Church	Nov/85	Nov/88	
Nicholson, Edward	R. Catholic	Nov/73	Nov/79	
Nunn, Canon Joseph	Church	{ Nov/73	Nov/76 }	
		{ Nov/82	Nov/00 }	
O'Neill, Charles	R. Catholic	Nov/79	Nov/82	
		Aug/84	Nov/91	
O'Reilly, John	R. Catholic	Nov/73	May/80	d.
Pankhurst, Mrs. E.	United Educ.	Nov/00	June/03	
Phythian, Joseph	Unsectarian	Nov/73	Mar/87	d.
Pooley, Wm. Ormsby	Church	Nov/76	Nov/79	
Richardson, George	R. Catholic	Nov/70	Nov/73	
Richmond, William	Church	Nov/94	Nov/00	
Ross, Frederick B.	Church	Apr/85	Nov/85	
Rumney, Ald. Robert	Unsectarian	Nov/70	Aug/72	d.
Schou, Nicholai C.	Church	Nov/85	Nov/90	r.
Scott, Mrs. R.S.	Free Bd. Sch.	Sept/90	Jan/96	r.
Shann, Thos. T.	Church	Nov/88	Nov/94	
Slater, Leigh	Church	Apr/85	Nov/85	
Slater, Rev. W.F.Z	Progressive	Oct/95	Nov/97	
Slatter, Henry R.	Unsectarian	Nov/79	Nov/91	
Smith, Dr. R.C.	Church	Nov/88	Nov/94	
Stuttard, Rev. E.E.	Free Bd. Sch.	Nov/91	Nov/94	
Taylor, Rev. A.W.	Ind. Church	Nov/00	June/03	
Thompson, Ald. J.	Unsectarian	{ Dec/72	Nov/73 }	
		{ Aug/87	Nov/88 }	
Toole, Canon L.	R. Catholic	Nov/70	Nov/91	
Tulloch, A.A.G.	Church	Nov/97	Nov/00	
Ward, John	Progressive	Nov/94	Dec/95	r.
Wardale, William	Teachers' Can.	Nov/97	June/03	
Watson, Rev. John	Church	Nov/88	Nov/94	
Watts, Dr. John	Unsectarian	Nov/70	Feb/87	d.
West, John	Church	Nov/94	Nov/97	
Whitelegge, Canon	Church	Nov/73	Nov/76	
Woodcock, Dr. Sam.	Free Bd. Sch.	Nov/91	Nov/00	

r = resigned (before normal term of office ended)
d = died (while in office)

N.E. - The Unsectarian party called themselves the Free Board School party in 1891, and Progressives in 1894, and again the United Education Party in 1900, when they combined with the Labour and Trades Union candidates. Names are shown under the first label under which they fought.

Chronological List of Public General Acts of Parliament.

Reformatory Schools Act, 1866	(29 & 30 Vict., c.117)
Industrial " " " "	(" " " " c.118)
Elementary Education " 1870	(33 & 34 Vict., c. 75)
Reformatory & Industrial Schools Amendment Act, 1872	(35 & 36 Vict., c. 21)
Elementary Education Act, 1873	(36 & 37 Vict., c. 86)
" " " 1876	(39 & 40 Vict., c. 79)
" " (Industrial Schools) Act, 1879	(42 & 43 Vict., c. 48)
Industrial Schools Amendment Act, 1880	(43&44 V., c.18)
Elementary Education Act, 1880	(43 & 44 Vict., c. 23)
School Boards Act, 1885	(48 & 49 Vict., c. 38)
Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children Act, 1889	(52 & 53 Vict., c. 44)
Technical Instruction Act, 1889	(" " " " c. 76)
Education Code (1890) Act, 1890	(53 & 54 Vict. c. 22)
Local Taxation (Customs & Excise) Act, 1890	(" " c.60)
Reformatory & Industrial Schools Act, 1891	(54&55 V., c.23)
Elementary Education Act, 1891	(54 & 55 Vict., c. 56)
" " (Blind & Deaf Children) Act, 1893	(56 & 57 Vict., c. 42)
" " (School Attendance) Act, 1893	(56 & 57 Vict., c. 51)
Industrial Schools Act Amendment Act, 1894	(57&58 V., c.33)
Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1894	(" " " " c.41)
Voluntary Schools Act, 1897	(60 Vict., c. 5)
Elementary Education Act, 1897	(60 Vict., c.16)
School Board Conference Act, 1897	(60 & 61 Vict., c.33)
Elementary School Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1898	(61 & 62 Vict., c. 57)
" Education (School Attendance) Act, 1898	(61 & 62 Vict., c. 57)
" Amendment Act, 1899	(62 & 63 Vict., c.13)
" Education (Defective & Epileptic Children) Act, 1899	(62 & 63 Vict., c.32)
Board of Education Act, 1899	(62 & 63 Vict., c. 33)
Elementary Education Act, 1900	(63 & 64 Vict., c. 53)
Education Act, 1901	(1 Edw. VII, c. 11)
Youthful Offenders Act, 1901	(1 Edw. VII, c. 20)
Education Act (1901) (Renewal) Act, 1902	(2 Edw.VII, c.19)
" " , 1902	(2 Edw. VII, c. 42)

Appendix XVIII - Index to School Board Minutes, 1870-1903.
 (Stored in the Muniment Room, Education Offices, M/c., 3)

"Proceedings of the Board" (i.e. full Board Meetings)					
Vol.	Dates of Meetings		Vol.	Dates of Meetings	
	From	To		From	To
1	15/12/70	17/11/73	36	23/1/93	18/5/93
2	1/12/73	22/ 2/75	37	26/6/93	30/10/93
3	22/ 3/75	20/12/75	38	27/11/93	29/ 1/94
4	24/ 1/76	30/10/76	39	26/ 2/94	28/ 5/94
5	30/11/76	27/ 8/77	40	25/ 6/94	29/10/94
6	24/ 9/76	24/ 6/78	41	29/10/94	18/ 2/95
7	15/ 7/78	24/ 3/79	42	25/ 2/95	29/ 4/95
8	28/ 4/79	15/12/79	43	27/ 5/95	23/ 9/95
9	29/ 1/80	30/ 8/80	44	25/ 9/95	6/ 1/96
10	27/ 9/80	21/ 3/81	45	27/ 1/96	31/ 3/96
11	25/ 4/81	31/10/81	46	27/ 4/96	13/ 7/96
12	28/11/81	26/ 6/82	47	31/ 8/96	30/11/96
13	31/ 7/82	1/ 2/83	48	21/12/96	22/ 2/97
14	26/ 2/83	27/ 8/83	49	22/ 3/97	31/ 5/97
15	24/ 9/ 83	21/ 4/84	50	28/ 6/97	25/10/97
16	28/ 4/84	10/11/84	51	8/11/97	31/ 1/98
17	24/11/84	27/ 4/85	52	28/ 2/98	25/ 4/98
18	18/ 5/85	9/11/85	53	23/ 5/98	29/ 8/98
19	30/11/85	21/ 4/86	54	19/ 9/98	28/11/98
20	21/ 5/86	29/11/86	55	19/12/98	27/ 2/99
21	29/11/86	23/ 5/87	56	20/ 3/99	15/ 5/99
22	27/ 6/87	19/12/87	57	26/ 6/99	25/ 9/99
23	30/ 1/88	25/ 6/88	58	30/10/99	18/12/99
24	16/ 7/88	17/12/88	59	29/ 1/00	26/ 2/00
25	28/ 1/89	27/ 5/89	60	19/ 3/00	28/ 5/00
26	24/ 6/89	25/11/89	61	25/ 6/00	24/ 9/00
27	25/11/89	17/ 3/90	62	29/10/00	17/12/00
28	21/ 4/90	25/ 8/90	63	28/ 1/01	18/ 3/01
29	22/ 9/90	15/12/90	64	29/ 4/01	29/ 7/01
30	26/ 1/91	20/ 4/91	65	26/ 8/01	25/11/01
31	20/ 4/91	21/ 9/91	66	16/12/01	24/ 2/02
32	26/10/91	14/12/91	67	17/ 3/02	26/ 5/02
33	25/ 1/92	25/ 4/92	68	23/ 6/02	22/ 9/02
34	25/ 4/92	26/ 9/92	69	27/10/02	15/12/02
35	31/10/92	23/ 1/93	70	26/ 1/03	23/ 5/03
			71	27/ 4/03	5/10/03

"Proceedings of Sub-Committees - Vol. 1"

N.B. There is a second, later volume with this title. This volume contains the earliest minutes of various Committees (General Committee, Industrial Schools, School Visiting, Finance, Office, and General Purposes, &c)
 From: 19/12/70 To: 29/4/72

"Miscellaneous Committees - Vol. 2

This contains minutes of various committees, as in the "Proceedings of Sub-Committees - Vol. 1", above. After this time separate Minute Books were used.

From: 3/6/72 To: 28/6/73

"Managers of Board Schools - Vol. 3": 25/4/73 to 8/6/74

"Proceedings of the School Managers"

1	16/ 7/75	1/11/76	11	24/ 3/87	8/ 3/88
2	11/ 1/77	11/11/78	12	15/ 3/88	14/11/89
3	28/11/78	12/ 2/80	13	18/11/89	12/ 3/91
4	26/ 2/80	12/ 5/81	14	13/ 4/91	29/ 8/92
5	26/ 4/81	20/ 7/82	15	5/ 9/92	30/ 9/94
6	27/ 7/82	28/ 6/83	16	10/ 9/94	14/ 9/96
7	5/ 7/83	29/ 5/84	17	26/10/96	5/12/98
8	12/ 6/84	11/ 6/85	18	19/12/98	15/ 2/01
9	18/ 6/85	21/ 4/86	19	4/ 3/01	19/ 1/03
10	13/ 5/86	17/ 3/87	20	2/ 2/03	29/ 6/03

"Proceedings of the School Management & Organisation Committee"

From: 8/12/73 To: 20/9/75 (after which date it was merged into General Purposes Committee)

"Proceedings of the General Purposes Committee"

2 July/73 Nov/76 - MISSING? (Earlier reports - i.e. up to June, 1873 - will be found in "Proceedings of Sub-Committees - Vol.1" (above); nothing between these dates.

3	11/12/76	8/12/79	5	11/12/82	11/ 5/85
n4	15/12/79	27/11/82	6	15/ 5/85	4/ 7/87
			7	11/ 7/87	23/ 3/03

"Proceedings of the Sites & School Buildings Committee"
(Vols. 1 & 2 refer to the appropriate entries in "Proceedings of Sub-Committees - Vol.1" and to "Miscellaneous Committees - Vol.2", already referred to above.)

3	3/ 7/73	7/ 5/77	7	3/11/90	15/ 5/93
4	14/ 5/77	4/ 7/81	8	5/ 6/93	10/ 5/97
5	8/ 7/81	13/ 2/88	9	24/ 5/97	27/ 8/00
6	27/ 2/88	27/10/90	10	3/ 9/00	22/ 6/03

"Proceedings of Sub-Committees - Vol. 1"

N.B. There is an earlier volume with the same title, referred to above, but confusion is avoided if care is exercised in observing the dates of the entries.

1	16/12/75	8/12/90	2	11/12/90	12/12/04
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"Evening Schools Sub-Committee"

1	9/ 2/91	7/ 5/94	2	11/ 6/94	4/ 5/03
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"Pupil-Teachers' Instruction Sub-Committee"

1	22/ 2/91	29/ 8/98	2	8/ 9/98	18/ 6/03
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"Sanitary Committee" - From: 22/2/92 To: 11/9/96

"Stores Sub-Committee" From: 20/1/86 To: 21/10/86

"Fees & Bye-Laws Committee" 14/12/85 to 27/11/88

"Office Committee" (See note above on early reports)

2	7/ 5/72	11/12/79	4	15/12/87	24/10/95
3	22/ 2/80	24/11/87	5	21/11/95	25/10/00
			6	8/11/00	25/ 6/03

"Finance Committee" (See note above on early reports)

2	July/73	Sept/75 -	MISSING? (Gap in records here)		
3	21/10/75	19/ 4/77	7	24/11/87	5/11/91
4	10/ 5/77	17/ 1/79	8	10/12/91	30/12/95
5	MISSING		9	23/ 1/96	26/ 4/00
6	11/ 7/83	7/11/87	10	28/ 5/00	29/ 6/03

"Industrial Schools Committee" (See note on early reports)

3	22/ 5/73	9/11/76	7	29/ 4/89	9/ 7/91
4	14/12/76	15/ 7/80	8	27/ 8/91	30/ 8/94
5	25/ 8/80	19/ 9/84	9	13/ 9/94	24/ 2/98
6	22/10/84	29/ 3/89	10	17/ 3/98	23/1 /02
			11	20/ 2/02	25/ 6/03

"Day Industrial Schools Committee"

1	20/ 7/88	18/ 9/02	2	23/10/02	14/ 5/12
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of this account of the Manchester School Board many different sources have been used. The primary sources were the 140 volumes of manuscript minutes listed in the last Appendix, together with other valuable manuscript material at the Ministry of Education and the Public Record Office. Many other local sources are available to the student, and it has been thought valuable to add a list of at least some of these, many of which were published at the time of the School Board.

It is most important that the student should consult the general history of education before embarking upon a small, local field of investigation, and this category could be listed at considerable length. The general aim, however, has been to give titles of contemporary accounts with the School Board, which might not be so well known, together with a few of the standard authors without which such a list would not be complete. This constitutes the second list below.

A third list contains the various Education Department and Board of Education Reports, together with similar reports issued by national associations and local bodies which figured largely in educational investigations. Finally, it was found that a number of legal and parliamentary volumes had to be consulted, and it has been thought useful to include some of these in a fourth list; while the titles of certain newspapers, periodicals, etc., which have provided useful background material have been given in a final list. For convenience of reference, each list is given in alphabetical order of authors (editors, etc.), where appropriate.

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|----------------|---|-----------|
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