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THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF
MAINTAINED SECONDARY EDUCATION IN EALING
1902-1944

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A thesis submitted by John Frederick Burford
to the University of Durham for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

March 1986



-8. OCT. 1986

ABSTRACT

The thesis attempts to explain the emergence of maintained secondary education in Ealing by 1913 and to describe the subsequent development of the maintained secondary schools up to 1944. These developments are set within the context of the community which formed the borough and of the county of Middlesex. They are related to contemporary educational ideas and practices. Contributory demographic, social and political influences on the development of maintained secondary education in Ealing are identified and an assessment of the roles of influential personalities is undertaken. Some appraisal of the success or otherwise of Middlesex and Ealing policy and of the place of this policy within the national framework is offered. An effort has been made to portray adequately the educational experiences of boys and girls at the Ealing County Secondary Schools in the period 1913-1944.

The possibility of a thesis first arose with the acquisition of notebooks and documents belonging to the late Mr. E.P.H. Pugh. These were kindly lent by Mrs. Pugh. The notebooks contain copies of documents relating to many aspects of Ealing's history including some relevant to education. The documents in the collection include some annual reports of the Ealing Educational Association and the Ealing Education Committee together with letters and papers concerned with discussions prior to the implementation of the 1944 Education Act in the borough. As such the collection has been a useful springboard from which to launch a study of secondary education in Ealing between 1902 and 1944.

Other local primary sources consulted are to be found in the Ealing Reference Library and the Greater London Records Office and History Library. They include newspapers, the minutes of various education, borough and county committees, headteachers' reports, the reports of H.M. school inspectors and the texts of various addresses and lectures given during the period by the personalities involved. National primary sources consulted are to be found in the Public Records Office. Attempts were made to contact former pupils and teachers who worked in the Ealing County Schools between 1913 and 1944. Those who contributed are listed in the bibliography.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Frontispiece

Map, Ealing in the London Context

Source: Emery

The London Boroughs



CHAPTER I

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXT -
THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF EALING 1900-1945

On the 3rd June 1901 Ealing's Royal Charter of Incorporation was signed by King Edward VII. A booklet produced fifty years later in celebration of Ealing's Silver Jubilee noted with some pride that this Royal Charter was the first to be granted in the twentieth century, the first to be granted to any district in Middlesex and the first to be signed by Edward VII. The Charter proclaimed that the King, acting on advice from the Privy Council, 'hereby creates a municipal borough by the name of the Borough of Ealing'.¹ The Broadway, which by 1901 had emerged as the commercial centre of the community, lay just eight and a half miles west of Westminster.

Proximity to London had been an influence on the development of Ealing for the previous 400 years. In the sixteenth century the open spaces in the area served as market gardens and provided agricultural and dairy produce for the capital. The eighteenth century brought an improvement in highways and the village of Ealing became a staging point for traffic between London and the west of England. Stagecoaches and their passengers were tended and refreshed at such inns as 'The Bell' and 'The Feathers'. The

1 M.C.T. 13:7:06 p.6.



improvements in communications continued into and throughout the nineteenth century. The clean air of Ealing, contrasting with the increasing grime of the capital, attracted some of the wealthier residents of London who moved into its more hospitable environs. It was at this time that Pitshanger Manor was built. The new middle-classes too found the prospect of fresh air and green fields attractive and after the opening of the District Railway in 1838 began to construct their large detached properties north of the centre of Ealing on Castlebar Hill above the flood level of the River Brent. In a pamphlet produced in Queen Victoria's Jubilee year of 1887 the suburb of Ealing was described as 'one of the healthiest places in the whole of England. This is due to the large open spaces and to the perfection of its system of drainage. It combines all the advantages of a town with the beauty of the country'.² The accolade 'Queen of the Suburbs' was first applied to Ealing and gained currency in this period. The census returns for the nineteenth century demonstrate the growth of the area and illustrate that this growth was a reflection of the increase in the population of England and Wales as a whole and of the increase in the population of London.

Ealing grew and a sense of community was engendered and developed. This sense found expression in the assumption of a measure of administrative responsibility and in

TABLE I

Population Growth in Ealing 1801-1901

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population of Ealing</i>	<i>Population of Greater London</i>	<i>Population of England and Wales</i>
1801	5,035*	958,000	8,872,980
1851	9,828*	2,680,735	17,929,609
1901	33,031	6,581,402	32,527,843

* NOTE: These figures for the population of Ealing include Old Brentford.

The population figure for Ealing in 1901 does not include Old Brentford.

SOURCE: For 1801 and 1851 : Emery p.13.
For 1901 : Census 1921, '31, '51.

the responsible discharge of relevant duties. In 1863 the Ealing Local Board was set up. After the enactment of the Public Health Bill in 1875 the board had the power to make bye-laws regulating the spaces around houses and the width of streets. In 1888 county councils replaced the local boards and in 1894 Ealing became an urban district of Middlesex. It was one of several which included Acton, Hanwell, Southall/Norwood and Greenford. There were detached parts of Hanwell and Greenford at Twyford. The delegation of administrative duties to localities in the nineteenth century grew out of an increasing concern with public health. Many local areas accepted responsibility with enthusiasm. Ealing was such an area. Sanitation was improved and in 1883-4 a new sewage farm constructed in the north-west of the district at a cost of £10,000. It was so

efficient that Ealing appealed successfully against inclusion in the Thames Valley scheme which was discussed in the 1870s. Parks and libraries were provided, roads improved and the problem of lighting tackled. Provision increased from one lamp at Ealing Green in 1863 to 1,150 lamps in the urban district by 1901.³

In the last decade of the nineteenth century Ealing Urban District Council sought to widen their sphere of influence and gain a greater degree of autonomy. Some members of the community came to believe that the size and nature of the area justified the granting of a full Charter of Incorporation. The subject of incorporation was first discussed in public in November 1892 at a meeting in the Old Lyric Hall, Ealing Broadway. Mr. Tracy Hutchison and Colonel Prendergast Walsh were particularly enthusiastic in their public support for the acquisition of borough status. A second public meeting was held in 1893 and presided over by Sir Edward Montague Nelson, chairman of the local board. But the indifference of the majority of the members of the board resulted in the frustration of those who favoured incorporation. The campaign for the Charter was renewed in 1894. The election of the 12 members of the new Urban District Council had returned 11 who supported the idea of incorporation. A petition, signed by two thousand residents, went to the Privy Council but was rejected.⁴ A second petition presented in 1898 met

3 *Jones V. to C.T.* p.114.

4 *Scouse* p.12.

with more success. By now the cause of incorporation had a new, perhaps more powerful champion in the person of Lord George Hamilton who had been Ealing's member of Parliament since 1885. The necessary Charter was prepared and sent by the Privy Council for signature in 1901. This was done despite the opposition of the Middlesex County Council who were fearful for the fragmentation of the county unit.⁵ However the county council withdrew its opposition and the King signed the Charter. The granting of Ealing's Charter of Incorporation signified a recognition of the increasingly energetic community life of the old urban district and registered a vote of confidence in the potential civic life of the new borough.

There were to be 18 councillors representing six electoral wards. The new borough of Ealing comprised an area of 2,947 acres and the population measured by the 1901 census at 33,031 was distributed by electoral ward thus:

TABLE II

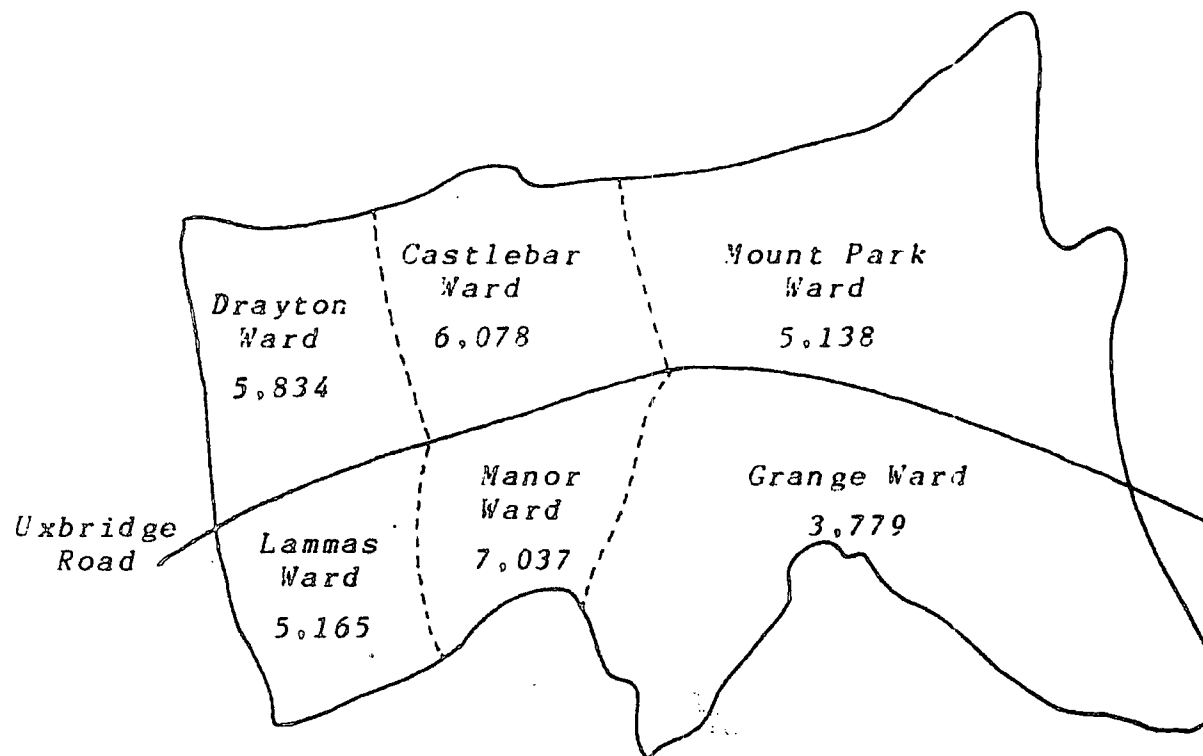
Distribution of Population by Electoral Ward
in Ealing 1901

Drayton Ward	5,839
Castlebar Ward	6,078
Mount Park Ward	5,138
Grange Ward	3,779
Manor Ward	7,037
Lammas Ward	5,165

SOURCE: Census 1901.

Illustration II

Map showing Distribution of population
by Electoral Ward in London Borough of Ealing 1901



Map showing Distribution of Population by Electoral Ward
in London Borough of Ealing 1901

Source: Census 1901.

Manor Ward with the highest population is significantly the ward which was served by South Ealing railway station on the Metropolitan and District Railway line. There was an unbroken half-hourly service with two additional trains each morning and evening.⁶ Lammas Ward was served by Northfield Halt on the same line. The Halt was later to become Little Ealing Station. Residents of Grange Ward and Manor Ward could most conveniently use the Ealing stations on the Great Western line and on the Metropolitan and District line as could people from Castlebar and Mount Park. From Drayton a walk to West Ealing station was easiest although the service here was less frequent than on the Metropolitan and District line. Few trains on the Great Western Railway actually terminated or began their journeys at Ealing but many expresses stopped when passing through. The Middlesex County Times of Saturday 7th December 1901 explained that Ealing had 24 more trains available for London traffic than Southall next along the line out of the capital. Intervals between trains were irregular but the importance of the railways in the growth of Ealing was already acknowledged by the new borough's own residents. The same edition of the newspaper made reference to an article in Railway magazine which wrote of the presence of a 'rail-faring class in Ealing'.⁷

At the time of incorporation there were 5,991 houses inhabited in Ealing and a further 445 classified in the 1901

6 M.C.T. 7:12:01 p.2.

7 M.C.T. 7:12:01 p.2.

census as uninhabited. There were $33\frac{3}{4}$ miles of road repairable by the town council.⁸ The new borough possessed the Common, Haven Green, Ealing Green, Drayton Green and Lammas Park and was already proud of its open spaces. The first borough engineer, Charles Jones, writing in 1911 recalled that in 1901 'the residents of Ealing, individually and collectively are proud of the title "Queen of the Suburbs"'.⁹ On the 1st May 1901 Walpole Park was opened to the public by Lord George Hamilton and Hanger Hill Golf Club by Sir Edward Montague Nelson. At the same time however Ealing could provide only ten beds in the Hospital for Infectious Diseases, one part-time Medical Officer of Health, Dr. C.A. Patten, and one sanitary inspector.¹⁰

The Royal Charter of Incorporation was publicly received in Ealing on the 10th July 1901. The day was one of double celebration as simultaneously a procession of tramcars marked the opening of the London United Tramways extension from Shepherds Bush to Southall through Ealing. The 'double event' was commemorated by Councillor W.H.C. Groombe R.B.A. whose cartoon appeared in the Ealing Gazette and subsequently in the Jubilee booklet. Mr. W. Ruston, Town Clerk, read the Charter aloud on Ealing Common. Earlier, councillors and representatives of various public bodies, including the Ealing Cycling Club and Society of Plasterers, had arrived at the municipal buildings 'in a continual stream with a

8 Jones D. of P. pp.20-22.

9 Jones D. of P. p.22.

10 Jones D. of P. p.53.

Illustration III

Ealing's Double Event

Source: Scouse

EALING'S DOUBLE EVENT



sprinkling of the fair sex'. From there they had walked to the Common in a procession of 'dignity and simplicity'. In his speech as Charter Mayor, Sir Edward Montague Nelson reminded the people of Ealing that 'the advantages to be gained from Incorporation rest entirely with yourselves'.¹¹ The festivities to mark the reception of the Charter included a garden party for ladies and children in Walpole Park, a children's fete in Lammas Park and a banquet given by Sir Edward Montague Nelson in Victoria Hall. The Middlesex County Times of Saturday 13th July 1901, while expressing some reservations as to the preparedness and organisation of the celebrations and noting concern as to the uncertainty of adequate funds, was adamant that a good time was had by all.

Lord Rothschild declared the tramways extension open. The first trams appeared outside the Town Hall just as the councillors, other public representatives and their ladies gathered on the steps in readiness for their procession to the Common to hear the reading of the Charter. For a moment the two events merged into one scene of celebration. A reporter of the Middlesex County Times described what happened:

*'... the next mild form of excitement was the arrival of the first electric car en route for Southall, followed by several others all beautifully decorated with garlands of roses. As the car passed respectful greetings were exchanged between those on the steps of the Municipal Buildings and those riding on the top of the cars, there being a general raising of hats.'*¹²

11 M.C.T. 13:7:01 p.6.

12 M.C.T. 13:7:01 p.1.

Both the granting of the Charter and the opening of the tramway were to be of enormous importance in the development of Ealing in the first half of the twentieth century. The tramway was largely instrumental in prompting and facilitating the rapid increase in population which was so particularly evident in the first ten years after incorporation. The timing of its construction was so important. Nationally the population was growing and a comparison of the census figures in Table III for the first half of the twentieth century for London reveals an interesting and significant trend. There was a marked decrease in the number of people living in the Administrative County of London and a corresponding increase in the number living in Greater London. There was a drift of people to the suburbs. This trend was able to occur because of the improved lines of communication into, out of and around the capital. The tramways were the first major improvement in transport in and around London in the twentieth century. It became possible for some of London's working population to live at increasing distances from their place of work. The trams on the extended line from Acton to Southall which passed through Ealing along the Uxbridge Road ran much more frequently than the trains and were cheaper. Trams in both directions ran every three minutes compared with the half-hourly train service. The tramway company managers claimed that their service was three times as fast as that provided by the railway. The maximum fare on the tramway was three-pence and special workmen's cars in the morning and evening

had a maximum fare of one penny.¹³ Significant numbers of London's workers came to live in Ealing as a result of the convenience afforded them by the tramway. The borough grew and its social base became broader. The possible effects of this cheap and regular transport on the social class of the borough did not escape many of the longer standing residents who were eager to see Ealing continue to live up to its image as 'Queen of the Suburbs'. Also the trams were noisy, were in their prescribed route a possible threat to tradesmen who might now find their tasks of loading and unloading made more difficult. Mr. Henry Douglass of The Vicarage, Ealing Common, described the problem picturesquely. The trams, he complained, were 'a grievous nuisance'. He disliked the 'ear-splitting thunder and nerve-scraping resonance' of the 'gaudy tumbrils'. 'Each car is rapidly evolving a special sonorousness of its own. There are some now that emit a giant sigh and a monster pant and even whistle and scream in addition to the general rumble, rattle and grind'.¹⁴ But the columns of the local newspaper are also evidence of the support which existed for the tramways. Mr. H. Morgan-Browne speaking for the National Liberal Club insisted that the trams were 'in the interests of the great majority of the inhabitants of Ealing'.¹⁵

The granting of the Charter ensured that during this time of rapid growth and development the efficient organis-

13 M.C.T. 20:7:01 p.3.

14 M.C.T. 17:8:01 p.5.

15 M.C.T. 10:8:01 p.6.

ation of local affairs, the welfare of the residents and the adequate satisfaction of their requirements would be the concern to a large extent of people within the community. It established in Ealing the principal of local responsibility for the affairs of the community. Anticipating the enthusiastic public reception of the Charter the editor of the Middlesex County Times of Saturday 8th June 1901 concluded that 'it has been universally recognised that local government can be more effectively carried on under the powers created by the Municipal Corporation Act of 1882 than under the District Councils Act of 1894'. In the next half century Ealing was to tackle its problems and applaud its own achievements with no mean measure of civic pride.

The census returns show continual growth in the population of Ealing throughout the whole of the first half of the twentieth century. (See Table III). Two periods of particularly rapid growth are apparent; between 1901 and 1911 and between 1921 and 1951. In the period from 1901 to 1911 of the City of London and 28 metropolitan boroughs, 20 decreased in population while all but one of 33 urban districts increased in population. Only two increased in excess of Ealing. They were Tottenham and Willesden.¹⁶ The growth and development of Ealing between 1902 and 1944 is most clearly described if the period is divided into two, the year 1926 marking the division.

The southern part of Ealing developed first in the twentieth century with the largest population increases occurring in Lammas, Manor and Grange Wards. Maps of the

16 Census 1921, '31, '51.

Population Growth in Ealing in relation to Population of
 i) England and Wales
 ii) London
and Distribution of Population in Ealing by Electoral Ward 1901-51

Population of	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951
A. England & Wales	32,527,843	36,070,492	37,886,699	39,952,377	43,757,888
B. Administrative County of London	4,536,267	4,521,685	4,484,523	4,397,033	3,347,932
C. Greater London	6,581,402	7,251,358	7,480,201	8,110,856	8,348,023
D. Area of Borough of Ealing	2947 acres	2947 acres	2947 acres	9133 acres	8781 acres
E. Total Population of Bor. of Ealing	33,031	61,222	67,755	117,688	187,323
Distributed thus:					
Drayton Ward	5,834	7,621	7,535	10,318	11,965
Castlebar Ward	6,078	9,516	10,905	10,106	11,393
Mount Park Ward	5,138	7,713	7,992	9,053	10,367
Lammas Ward	5,165	14,628	15,895	13,278	10,874
Manor Ward	7,037	12,440	15,052	11,007	9,914
Grange Ward	3,779	9,304	10,376	15,034	11,168
Grosvenor Ward				11,452	10,226
Hanwell S. Ward				8,878	13,536
Hanwell N. Ward				10,270	15,087
Greenford Ward				15,244	
Northolt Ward				3,048	
					13,573
					13,893
					16,358
					9,049
					10,152
					10,745
					9,979

SOURCES:

i) Census 1921, '31, '51

ii) Prelim. Rep. 1931

iii) Census Middx. 1961

Wards created after 1945

Greenford Central

Greenford North

Greenford South

Northolt North

Northolt South

Hanger Hill

Perivale

borough dated 1905 and 1910 and available in the reference library until a recent fire reinforce this picture of events. There was a concentration of housing to the north and south of Uxbridge Road with a greater density immediately to the south of that section of Uxbridge Road called The Broadway. The housing constructed then has been described as 'typical Edwardian style terraced housing ... compact and monotonous estates fronting straight forty foot roads'.¹⁷ The higher class of detached housing on Castlebar Hill is discernible. The periphery of the borough in the north, lying to the south of Perivale and the Great Western Railway London to Birmingham branch, which had been opened in 1904, was still rural and remained so until the late 1920s. In the first ten years of incorporation 6,784 new houses were built, the majority being constructed by firms for owner-occupation or private tenancy.¹⁸ Brentham Garden Suburb in the north-east of Ealing represented an early experiment in co-ownership housing. Formed in 1901 by six workers in the building trade who joined forces to purchase plots for nine houses in Woodfield Road at a cost of £400, Ealing Tenants Limited saw their membership rise from 59 to 353 between 1903 and 1910. In 1907 they erected 108 houses and by 1910 nearly 200 houses 'mainly of cottage type' covered a total area of 60½ acres.¹⁹ House building slowed down after 1911. Between 1916 and 1920 30 houses were built by private enterprise and 65 by the Town Council, the first council estate being the Village Park and

17 *Emery* p.11.

18 *Scouse* p.31.

19 *L.H. 1954 part II* pp.39-43.

Popes Lane estate which was commenced in 1918.²⁰ Between 1921 and 1925 792 houses were built by private firms and 208 by the Town Council,²¹ but by 1926 there was apparently a housing shortage for the Middlesex County Times of 3rd July 1926 asserted that in Ealing the situation regarding housing 'is as acute as in most towns'.

Who were the new residents in the borough and to what extent did they broaden the social basis of the community? There had been a working class presence in Ealing certainly since the last decade of the nineteenth century. In accordance with the Housing of the Working Classes Act 1890, workmen's dwellings had been built in North Road and South Road in South Ealing on a six and a half acre site. Their existence is alluded to in Mr.Groombe's cartoon. 131 cottages and flats were constructed and Charles Jones, Borough Surveyor, estimated the number of tenants in 1911 to be 400.²² Unemployed relief had been undertaken in Ealing since 1904-5 when 413 people registered for relief.²³ The unemployed in fact did much useful work including the creation of the lake in Walpole Park, widening the road across the Common and various improvements to the bacteria beds in the sewage farm. The number of people defined as out of work by the 1921 census was 100, comprising 77 men and 23 women. Assuming full tenancy of the workmen's dwellings the number of labouring class persons in Ealing in 1921 would have been approximately 500. This represented a small

20 M.C.T. 3:7:26 p.12.

21 M.C.T. 3:7:26 p.12.

22 Jones D. of P. pp.66-67.

23 Jones D. of P. p.74.

proportion of the total population of the borough which in 1921 was just less than 68,000.

The majority of Ealing's population in 1921 and the majority of the new residents were families whose bread-winners were either people working in the professions, in public administration or a commercial occupation and who can best be termed middle class, or skilled artisans and some skilled working class. Table IV, representative of the 1921 census, illustrates the point. On balance, then, Ealing's population at this time was middle-class. This is further suggested by the fact that the birth rate in Ealing in 1925 was measured at 14 per 1,000 comparing with 18.3 per 1,000 for England and Wales and 18 per 1,000 for London.²⁴ The Middlesex County Times claimed that this was proof that 'Ealing is a middle-class suburb' in that people, the paper suggested, already had families when they were promoted to London and before they came to live in Ealing.²⁵

That many of the new residents had the jobs they did is not surprising given the changes which were occurring in English society in the first quarter of the twentieth century. All these areas of increased employment were growth areas within the economy. Roads, railways and tramways expanded, new branches of insurance were developed to satisfy more varied requirements, commerce as an activity was in the ascendancy, the large chain stores made their appearance in English towns and the growing system of public administration

24 M.C.T. 3:7:26 p.12.

25 M.C.T. 3:7:26 p.12.

TABLE IV

Sample of Occupations of Ealing Residents 1921

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>No. of Males</i>	<i>No. of Females</i>	<i>Included in Job Description</i>
Professional Occupation	1,355	1,086	
Public Administration	1,270	492	
Commercial, Financial, Insurance	3,300	1,089	
Transport and Communic- ations	2,000	161	108 porters and lampmen. 255 bus and lorry drivers. Many railway officials.
Builders, Bricklayers etc.	694	5	118 employers and managers. 119 skilled bricklayers. 19 bricklayer labs. 68 plasterers.
Workers in Wood and Furniture	889	31	41 managers and employers. 66 cabinet makers. 410 carpenters. 304 upholsterers.
Makers of Textile Goods	402	788	114 managers and employers. 110 tailors and tailors' pressers etc.
Food and Drinks Makers	245	54	260 employers and managers. 110 bakers.
Electrical Apparatus	488	39	117 electrical engineers. 62 workers with no spec- ific description.
Watches and Clocks	119	5	
Metal Workers	1,607	56	185 employers, managers or foremen. Skilled workers, mechanics, gas fitters, finishers.

Source: Census of England and Wales, County of Middlesex, 1921 (H.M.S.O. 1923). Table 16
'Occupations by Sex of Persons Aged 12 Years and Over'.

required large numbers of new clerical officers. The 1921 census shows that more people who lived in Ealing were employed outside the borough than within it. 16,589 Ealing residents travelled to jobs outside the area, 11,479 of them to the City of London and 4,194 to places elsewhere in Middlesex. 11,317 residents worked within the borough boundaries although there were an additional 4,414 people working in Ealing but enumerated elsewhere.²⁶ There was in fact little significant industrial development in Ealing during the first 25 years of the twentieth century. The Purex Lead Company had been attracted by the northern branch of the Great Western Railway. The building was used as a munitions factory in the First World War and in 1919 became the site of the Rockware Glass Company. In contrast to Ealing, there was large scale industrial development to the west along the Great Western Railway in Southall and to the east in Acton where the Acton Park and Acton Vale industrial estates were constructed close to the railway between 1900 and 1908. For the first quarter of this century Ealing remained a growing residential borough.

Its growth presented the civic authorities with formidable challenges. On the assumption of borough status in 1901, Sir Edward Montague Nelson, Mayor, had reminded the people and their elected representatives that 'the advantages to be gained from Incorporation rest entirely with yourselves'.²⁷ Some review of the activities of the Town Council

26 Census, County of Middx, 1921. Workplaces.

27 M.C.T. 13:7:01 p.6.

in the period 1901-1926 may help to gauge the enthusiasm with which the community approached these challenges.

Between 1901 and 1911 there was a 30% increase in road mileage within the borough. The mileage of public roads reparable by the council increased from $33\frac{1}{4}$ miles to $52\frac{1}{4}$ miles almost $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles of which was tar-macadam. The increase was due mainly to works of intercommunication such as the construction of a 620 feet long road, 40 feet in width between Leighton Road and Mayfield Avenue in West Ealing. There was a similar development between Bradley Gardens and Denbigh Road. Many roads, including Ealing Road, were widened and drainage, lighting and paving were provided for the first time. Little Ealing Lane was widened to 50 feet, Popes Lane to 40 feet and various sections of Gunnesbury Lane, Hanger Lane and Windmill Lane were broadened. These improvements were paid for mainly by the council although sometimes, as in the case of Queens Gardens, and Mount Pleasant Road, they were due to the initiative of private owners. Two new bridges were built. Drayton Green bridge over the Great Western Railway was opened on the 14th August 1907, the construction costs being shared between Middlesex County Council, Hanwell Urban District Council and the Ealing Town Council. Perivale bridge was built to replace the old bridge and in this case the cost was shared by the borough, Middlesex County Council and Greenford Urban District Council.²⁸ The streetlighting within the borough and the supply of electricity to homes improved considerably.

The number of streetlamps increased from 1,084 in 1901 to 1,818 in 1911²⁹ and the number of domestic consumers of electricity increased from 731 in 1901 to 4,564 in 1911.³⁰ The total acreage of open spaces within the borough was 158 acres in 1911. Dean Gardens, Pitshanger Park and Hanger Hill Park had been the council's major acquisitions as Ealing strove to preserve the quality of its environment in the face of encroaching residential development. Many Ealing residents undoubtedly remained proud of their borough and regarded Ealing as something of a pacesetter of national importance. Charles Jones represented the views of many councillors and burgesses when he wrote in 1911 that the work accomplished within Ealing in the previous ten years was 'unequalled in any district, corporate or otherwise, in the whole of England'.³¹

Of particular concern to the Town Council was the health of the residents. Drainage and sewage disposal were accorded priority and it was Mr. Jones' contention that 'in matters affecting the treatment of sewage and sewage disposal Ealing was pioneer in the South of England'.³² Indeed the sewage disposal works in South Ealing were visited by admiring delegations from places as far away as Japan. In 1903 the council successfully applied to the Local Government Board for a loan of £2,000 to pay for the construction of nine ladies' and twelve gentlemen's slipper baths in Williams Road.

29 Jones D. of P. p.40.

30 Jones D. of P. pp.74-75.

31 Jones D. of P. p.32.

32 Jones D. of P. pp.44-45.

In 1904 the Central Baths were altered and enlarged to provide ten for the gentlemen and nine for the ladies and, as a precursor of modern times, a solarium electric light was provided. In 1911 a new swimming bath exclusively for the use of elementary school children was being constructed at the rear of number two Woodland Place and in Longfield Avenue. One first class swimming bath measuring 90 feet by 30 feet, one third class swimming bath measuring 75 feet by 30 feet, one ladies bath 60 feet by 24 feet, one elementary school bath 65 feet by 27 feet 6 inches and 46 new slipper baths were also under construction at this time.³³

At a time of growing national interest in the health of the individual and of particular concern with the well-being of infants and pregnant women, the Town Council afforded significant priority to the extension of the borough's medical service. Between 1901 and 1926 two new hospitals were constructed and opened. The King Edward Memorial Hospital opened with forty beds in September 1911 and the South Ealing Maternity Hospital began to take in patients in 1921. Both became objects of civic pride. In 1907 the medical inspection of school children was begun and co-ordination between the school medical service and the child welfare services soon followed. Ealing's first health visitor was appointed in 1911 and the development of the borough's health services continued throughout World War One with Dr. Thomas Orr replacing Dr. C.A. Patten as Medical Officer of Health in 1915. In 1916 two infant

welfare sessions a week were held in the town hall and the council engaged a private midwife to treat up to ten cases a year. A part-time obstetrical consultant was appointed and twice monthly ante-natal sessions began in 1917. In 1918 the first Maternity and Child Welfare Centre with a School Clinic opened at 13 Mattock Lane. A part-time Medical Officer was appointed for maternity and child welfare, home helps were to be provided where necessary and dental treatment for expectant and nursing mothers was undertaken at the council's expense. In 1920, the year before the opening of the maternity hospital, a Committee for Maternity and Child Welfare was formed and in 1925 a scheme for orthopaedic treatment of school children was inaugurated.³⁴

Such improvements had been achieved by a town council which was essentially conservative in character and Conservative in politics. Before 1926 there had been only one Labour member of the council, Mr. A.H. Chilton, first elected to represent Lammas Ward in 1917. He was a man who enjoyed immense respect within the community but even he was unable to secure any tenure on the council in this period.

The improvements in health services for the community and the other civic achievements up to 1925 formed the vanguard of Ealing's arguments in favour of the extension of the borough boundaries in 1926 and 1928. The second period of rapid population growth had two causes. The first was the enlargement of the borough in itself. The second

34 Scouse pp.73-77.

was the influx of people which resulted from the industrial development which took place within the extended borough and from new advances in communications with the capital.

The Town Council had been encouraged in their design to extend the borough boundaries by the report of the Royal Commission on Greater London Government 'which advocated the union of small local government areas'.³⁵ They were eager to secure enlargement because 'practically the whole area of the borough was covered with buildings and there was no margin for development'.³⁶ Middlesex County Council did not oppose amalgamation in 1926 as they had incorporation in 1901. There had, throughout the country, been an increasing concern with town planning which had produced the Housing, Town Planning Act in 1919, the Housing Act of 1923 and the Town and Country Planning Act of 1925. Middlesex were keen to see responsibility for the town planning of the district in and around Ealing in the care of one authority. Amalgamation was achieved with Hanwell and Greenford in 1926 after a campaign by Ealing Town Council lasting two and a half years. Hanwell welcomed the new arrangements but Greenford went into the borough reluctantly. Northolt was included within the boundaries in 1928 and was eager to benefit from Ealing's 25 years of experience in the administration of a large community.

The period 1926 to 1944 brought considerable changes, not only in the size and population of the borough, but also

35 M.C.T. 16:1:26 p.8.

36 M.C.T. 16:1:26 p.8.

in its character. The controlling factors of development remained the same as they had been before 1926; the proximity to London, trends in the economy of the country and more particularly of the capital and advances and new departures in transport and communications. The residential areas of the old borough continued to grow between the wars as the population figures for Grange Ward presented in Table III show. In Grange Ward there was a rise in population of just less than 5,000 people between 1921 and 1931. But the most obvious feature of Ealing's development in the period between amalgamation in 1926 and 1944 is the industrialisation and urbanisation of the newly acquired north. Western Avenue had been constructed as far as Greenford by 1926 and during the early 1930s was continued through Greenford to Northolt. The railways and tramways had brought the initial developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; motorised road transport encouraged the transformation of the late 1920s and the 1930s. Greenford Road had been constructed in 1924 providing a link between Uxbridge Road and Western Avenue in the west of Ealing and by 1933 the North Circular Road formed a junction with Hanger Lane in the north east corner just inside the borough boundaries.³⁷ Writing in the Jubilee publication of 1951 J. Lawson Petingale described how at this time factories, shops and schools 'spread like a tide over the cornfields and pasture land; aged trees from old orchards came in front gardens'.³⁸

37 *Emery* p.12.

38 *Scouse* pp.22-23.

The attraction of Greenford and Perivale as a location for light industry had been realised before the construction of Western Avenue as the appearance of the Rockware Glass Company signifies. In 1921 J. Lyons and Company opened a factory at Oldfield Lane dealing in tea, coffee, chocolate, cocoa and sweets and was soon joined by the British Bath Company, built 'to meet intense German competition' in Long Drive,³⁹ by the Glaxo Laboratories opened in 1935 and by the Central Ordnance Depot which provided a considerable number of jobs in the 1930s. There is no doubt that Western Avenue was the reason for the siting of large scale industrial concerns in Perivale in the late 1920s and the 1930s. In 1929 A. Sanderson and Sons, wallpaper manufacturers, opened a factory on a 52 acre site at the foot of Horsenden Hill. The Hoover Company built a factory on an eight acre site just off Western Avenue and today this is a listed building. Both the Hoover and Sanderson sites included extensive sports and recreational facilities. The area behind the Hoover factory in Wandsworth Road developed into an industrial estate half a mile square in area containing such factories as the Philco Radio Company, Peerless Built-in Furniture Company and manufacturers of oil lamps and heaters. The completion of the North Circular Road brought, in the late 1930s, similar development in the north east and Hanger Hill sections of the borough. Four large factories are particularly worthy of note: Arrow Electric, Wolf and Company, the Kiwi Boot Polish Company and Virol Foods Limited.⁴⁰ Ealing was thrust

39 Scouse p.99.

40 Scouse pp.97-103.

into the national and international consciousness with the opening in 1931 of the Ealing Film Studios.

The residential development which accompanied the industrial growth was likewise most marked in the newly acquired areas although the population of the area of the old borough also increased as the drift from London to the suburbs continued. In 1931 the population of this old area was approximately 80,000, a sizeable increase on the population of just less than 68,000 for 1921. Some anomalies require explanation. Manor Ward showed a decrease in population. This was due to the transfer of an area south of Bramley Road and Airedale Road to Lammas Ward. Even so, the population of Lammas Ward decreased by 2,617 persons in the same period due to the creation of the new Grosvenor Ward to which Lammas surrendered the area north of Salisbury Road. Grosvenor Ward also included new residential areas north of Haslemere Avenue and west of Midhurst Road. In assessing the population of the old borough area this new ward must be taken into account as its western perimeter ran less than a quarter of a mile to the west of the old borough boundary. Grange Ward increased in population between 1921 and 1931, most of the newcomers being housed in the development in the south of the ward around Village Park and Popes Lane. The 1951 census returns show only a small increase in the numbers resident in Drayton, Castlebar and Mount Park wards and decreases in population in Lammas, Manor, Grange and Grosvenor wards. It seems likely therefore that the population of the area of Ealing which had comprised the old borough as it had

been before 1926 remained fairly stable between 1931 and 1945 and may even have begun to decrease. In 1931 the population of this area was 80,428 and in 1951 it totalled 74,990.⁴¹ In Hanwell the population actually fell by a little over 1,000 people from 20,481 in 1921 to 19,148 in 1931, this after a rise of just under 9,000 in the first decade of the twentieth century to a total of 19,129 in 1911.⁴² The 1930s brought the construction of a London County Council housing estate in Hanwell.

In the north of the borough population growth and housing development were spectacular. The population of Greenford measured by the respective censuses rose from 1,461 in 1921 to 15,244 in 1931. There are, of course, no official figures for 1941 but by 1951 there were three electoral wards in Greenford and their combined population was 43,834 suggesting a continued substantial growth in Greenford in the 1930s and 1940s. A similar growth is indicated for Northolt in this period where the population increased from 3,048 persons at the time of the 1931 census to 19,201 in the two Northolt electoral wards in 1951. By 1937 there was a large new residential development in Northolt to the east and to the west of Church Road, north of Western Avenue and south of the Great Western Railway London-Birmingham branch. In Greenford the area between Perivale Park and Ravenor Park, to the east and west of Greenford Road and north and south of Ruislip Road became another residential

41 Census 1921, '31, '51.

42 Census 1901, Census 1911 and Census 1921, '31, '51.

area. New properties were also built to the west along Mansell Road towards Allenby Road and Greenford town and shopping centre grew up along Ruislip Road. Similar housing development occurred in the extreme north of the borough at Greenford Green to the north and south of Whitton Avenue encompassing Lyons Sports ground and Horsenden Hill where a shopping parade also developed.⁴³ Perivale became enveloped by houses. The old village centre was sandwiched between the already developed Castlebar and Drayton areas to the south and the new houses which had been built to the north between Western Avenue and the Great Western Railway near to Perivale station. There was further development behind Wandsworth Road north of the railway and to the south east of Horsenden Hill.⁴⁴ The population growth of Perivale was such that by 1951 it was created another electoral ward, there being 9,974 persons resident there.⁴⁵

The spread of residential development away from Uxbridge Road indicated a lessening dependency on the tramway although that major thoroughfare of Ealing became crowded with omnibuses to such an extent that in 1926 the Ministry of Transport issued an order restricting the number of buses on the road.⁴⁶ The improvements in bus services undoubtedly enhanced the attraction of Greenford and the Middlesex County Times is full of evidence of pirate bus services providing cheap and frequent connections between Ealing and the capital and link-

43 B.S. Maps. 1927, 1937.

44 B.S. Maps. 1927, 1937.

45 Census 1921, '31, '51.

46 M.C.T. 6:3:26 p.4.

ing different parts of the borough. In the north the residents were well served by rail through the stations at Park Royal, Twyford Abbey and Northolt Park on the District Railway. Alperton, Sudbury Town and Sudbury Hill, although just outside the borough boundaries, were within easy reach of the Perivale and Greenford Green areas. The motorcar was beginning to emerge as an important means of transport. From as early as the late 1920s agents who advertised property for sale or rent regarded the provision of a 'splendid garage' as attractive a selling point as proximity to the railway stations.

What effect then did this growth and development have on the social composition of Ealing and on the character and political nature of the borough? Ealing could no longer, as it could prior to 1926, be adequately described as a residential suburb. There was significant industrial development but the borough was *also* residential. With regard to the social class of the new residents in the north of Ealing, a study of the advertisement pages of the Middlesex County Times in the period of expansion is instructive. Two advertisements for houses taken from the same edition of the newspaper on the 2nd June 1928 are representative. They are typical of the types of property that were being built in the new developments and allow some conclusion to be drawn as to the kind of people who were moving to Ealing.

The first advertised houses for sale at Greenford Park Estate. A £5.00 deposit secured a freehold house valued at £550. The houses comprised three bedrooms, two reception

rooms, a kitchen and a bathroom. There was electric light and gas and the properties were connected to the main drainage. There were 'long gardens' and, importantly, 'room for garage'. The advertisement continued - 'Frequent buses to and from Iron Bridge, Uxbridge Road, pass the estate, with connections by bus or tram for Ealing and Southall and to the City by G.W.Rly. (Greenford) or District Railway (Sudbury Hill)'. A generous advance was available to assist with purchase. The second advertised houses to let on Hanger Hill New Garden Estate. In this advertisement Ealing was still referred to as 'Queen of the Suburbs'. The houses were described as 'beautiful new car homes, with all latest labour-saving designs and fittings'. In large, heavy capital letters it was proclaimed that a 'SPLENDID GARAGE' was attached to each. These three and four bedroom homes were available for rent to tenants at forty five shillings a week. For those reliant on public transport the estate was served by North Ealing District station which was 'right on the estate' and from which there was a 'wonderful service to all parts'. The majority of the newcomers were thus those able to afford to buy a home or pay a substantial rent. They would be the professional classes or skilled workers. However there was, in 1940, a larger body of working class people in the borough than there had been in 1901. The amalgamation with Hanwell had ensured that. Local authority housing schemes were present in the south east of the borough and in Hanwell by 1940. But by far the greater number of residents were still owner-occupiers or private tenants. There is evidence to suggest that some contemporaries were aware that the nature of their

borough was changing. As early as 1926 a letter from Mr. W.A. Berians to the Middlesex County Times proposed that Ealing was 'no longer the favourite suburb'.⁴⁷ Such an impression had apparently driven Mr. Berians into exile for his letter carried an address in Carshalton! It is likely that many of the occupants of the large detached properties of Castlebar, once so obviously in the countryside and now submerged in a large and still increasing urban development, would have shared that view. The overall social basis of the borough however remained middle class although undoubtedly by the outbreak of the Second World War there were rather more of the lower middle-classes and upper working classes than there had been previously.

This prevailing middle class nature of Ealing continued to be reflected in the political life of the community. In the six parliamentary elections between the end of World War One and 1935 there had been Labour opposition to the Conservative candidate each time and in 1922 and 1929 there was a Liberal opponent. The Conservative was returned on every occasion with a substantial majority. In the field of local politics the addition of Hanwell to the borough in 1926 brought to the council two Labour councillors for the first time in Ealing's history. It was headline news in the Middlesex County Times when in 1937 there were seven Labour councillors, but they were seven out of a total of 48. The effective political impulses remained Conservative. In 1941 Councillor Cyril David Grant from Greenford became Ealing's

first Labour mayor. The editor of the Middlesex County Times was quick to reassure his readers:

*'We know that old Conservative Ealing has not yet changed its character very much; it has merely included within its municipal boundaries the recently industrialised district of Greenford and the senior Greenford representative on the Town Council has reached his turn to take the chair.'*⁴⁸

Ealing had based its case for the extension of the borough largely upon its self-predicted ability to provide for the potential development of Greenford, Northolt and Hanwell more thoroughly than the existing district councils in those areas. Municipal progress prior to 1926 had been the cause of a good deal of civic pride. To what extent was this determined and enthusiastic approach of the community to the welfare of its burgesses maintained after amalgamation?

The impetus given to town planning by legislation has already been alluded to. After 1919 some form of town planning was compulsory for all local authorities with a population in excess of 20,000. The co-ordination of local authority schemes was encouraged by the Town and Country Planning Act of 1925. A number of planning programmes were prepared by Ealing during the 1930s. Town Planning Scheme A was approved by the Minister of Health in 1933, the Ealing (Northolt) Planning Scheme and the draft of the Ealing (Central) Planning Scheme were approved in 1937 and in 1938 the Ealing (Greenford) Planning Scheme was adopted.⁴⁹ The

48 M.C.T. 15:11:41 p.4.

49 Emery pp.16-20.

intent to plan future development is apparent but in fact the outbreak of World War Two brought a halt to such schemes and many never became operative. A serious concern of the Town Council in the first quarter of the century had been the provision of open spaces for the enjoyment of the residents. The amount of positive control which the enlarged council had over the provision of such amenities in the newly developed northern areas of the borough is uncertain. The opinion of R.A. Emery is that in fact 'social facilities and public open space were not however afforded high priority and it was fortunate that some land was less suitable for building'.⁵⁰ He maintains that it was this lack of suitability for building purposes which explains why Horsenden Hill and the Brent Valley remained open. The Town Council purchased all of Horsenden Hill in 1933 and this area along with Brabsden Green formed a substantial area of parkland in the north.

The health of the people remained a priority and attention was quickly turned to the needs of the newly acquired areas. Ealing's Medical Officer of Health assumed responsibility for the whole of the new enlarged borough and in 1926 a Maternity and Child Welfare Clinic was opened at Cherington House, Hanwell and a temporary clinic was organised at Greenford. Immediately after the inclusion of Northolt into the borough in 1928, Islip Manor was purchased to serve as a Maternity and Child Welfare Centre. In response to the Midwives Act and Nursing Home Registration Act the maternity

⁵⁰ Emery p.13.

and child welfare services in Ealing became co-ordinated under the auspices of the Medical Officer of Health in 1929. In 1930 the Ravenor Park Health Clinic was opened in Greenford, in 1936 Greenford Green Health Clinic and Perivale Health Clinic were established and in 1937 the Perivale Maternity Hospital was opened to replace the smaller one in South Ealing.⁵¹ Local government in Ealing remained vigorous and the right to local control was carefully guarded. The centralisation of services that had occurred by 1944 was looked on with dismay and indignation by the Town Council who fought hard and argued long to preserve their power.

Life in Ealing was inevitably interrupted and disrupted by the Second World War. Throughout the country the continuance of ordinary life in accustomed conditions was made impossible by the necessary redirection of economic, social and political energies towards the war effort. In the borough civilian services were mobilised, air-raid shelters constructed and shelters dug in many of the parks. The physical damage sustained was considerable. The bombs began to fall in 1940 and between 1940 and 1944 a total of 746 high explosive bombs, 61 oil and phosphorous bombs, 7 parachute mines and 11 flying bombs fell in Ealing. Sometimes as many as a hundred incidents a night were reported by wardens in the borough. Up until January 1944, 304 people were killed within the borough boundaries, 332 were seriously injured and 1,565 slightly injured. To the same date 443 houses had been destroyed completely and 11,671 damaged.

⁵¹ Scouse pp.73-82.

Many Ealing men and women served in the armed forces and 750 Ealing men experienced captivity.⁵² Total war assaulted the lives of the residents of Ealing as it did the lives of residents of urban boroughs throughout Europe. The community's prime concerns were survival and protection and resources were geared to that end. When peace returned individual and corporate ambitions were pursued with some urgency in an increasingly complex society. Social pressures changed, economic growth continued and new and different problems required new and different solutions. There were myriad new challenges which municipal bodies like Ealing had to tackle. Such challenges required to be met with persistence, intelligence and compassion.

The history of Ealing between 1900 and 1945 is one of growth, of urbanisation and industrialisation, of a political conservatism retained in a period when the social composition of the borough began to broaden. It is the history of a responsiveness to the demands of statute and the needs of the inhabitants, of the continued development of a strong sense of community which ensured that municipal problems were addressed with vigour and energy such that a high sense of pride was felt in corporate achievements.

The development of secondary education in the borough between 1902 and 1944 must be set in this context.

52 Scouse pp.93-95.

CHAPTER II

A PRELUDE : EDUCATION AND THE COMMUNITY 1870-1902

In a statement to the Bryce Commission which sat during 1894 and 1895, Cecil Reddie, the head of Abbotsholme, the progressive public school, suggested that there should be 'the school for the Briton who will be one of the muscle workers ... the school for the Briton whose work requires knowledge of the modern world ... the school for the Briton who is to be a leader'.¹ Reddie's proposal in fact amounted to an identification of all that English education had been up until that date. The amount and type of education available to young people varied from one social class to another. The country's leaders had received and continued to receive their education in the public schools led by Eton and Harrow. The impetus and finance for public school education came from parents who wanted their children taught in a definite way to a prescribed curriculum. The middle classes educated their children in the endowed Grammar Schools, newly reorganised following the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, and, if it is to be allowed that skilled craftsmen and artisans formed the lower orders of the middle classes, in some of the schools of the Wesleyan Society. It was the opinion of Matthew Arnold that the Wesleyan Schools were provided 'for the sake of children of tradesmen, of farmers, and of mechanics of the higher class rather than for the sake of the children of the poor'.² The survival of the grammar schools still depended

1 L. and S. p.344

2 L. and S. p.270.

primarily upon the fees paid by the parents of their pupils. Schools for the 'muscle workers' had existed since the first decades of the nineteenth century. These schools were built and administered by various interest groups whose organised involvement in education was an important indication of the growth of a wider public concern with the problem. The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church was established in 1811, the British and Foreign School Society was formed in 1814 and the Ragged School Union began work in 1844. The congregation of large numbers of working class people in cities during the first half of the nineteenth century had made obvious their many deficiencies in health and education. Chadwick's Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population 1842 graphically described the conditions in the towns and lamented that 'No education as yet commonly given appears to have availed against such demoralising circumstances'.³ The sheer force of numbers of such labouring people was potentially useful to various groups. The religious bodies regarded it as their duty to educate those members of society who were less well off and whom it was thought were unable to improve themselves. They undoubtedly saw an opportunity, through their schools, to swell their own ranks. The Ragged Schools too were partly concerned with making Christians out of potential criminals but at the same time dispensed some level of care to the most needy children. This education of the working classes was described as elementary education.

3 Chadwick quoted in Williams p.224.

The accumulation of working class people and their children in England's industrial cities continued into the second half of the nineteenth century. The religious and Ragged School agencies depended on voluntary contributions to sustain their schools and they began to find it an increasingly difficult task to cater for all those children in need of education whilst at the same time they were loathe to entrust the job to anyone else. People's attention continued to be drawn to the shortages in educational provision. The National Education League was formed in 1869 pledged to promote state-aided education and Parliament debated the elementary education problem on a number of occasions in the 1850s and 1860s. The product of these social, political and moral concerns was the Elementary Education Act of 1870. The Act was the first step in large scale state involvement in education and its stated intention was that

*'There shall be provided for every school district a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools available for all the children resident in such district for whose elementary education sufficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made and where there is an insufficient amount of such accommodation ... the deficiency shall be supplied in manner provided by this Act.'*⁴

If the Education Department were dissatisfied with existing provisions a school board was to be set up. The school board was to be directly elected and was to possess powers enabling it to make bye-laws requiring the attendance of all children between five and up to fourteen years of age. The board could also provide for the partial remission or full payment of fees.

No special religious affiliation was to be demanded of either staff or students in board schools. All board schools were to be funded from the rates. Responsibility for adequate elementary school accommodation was thus placed in the hands of the local communities and they could carry out this responsibility either by ensuring sufficient voluntary contributions to maintain the schools in the district or by electing a school board and imposing a rate. As a consequence of the Act, 2,500 school boards were created in England and Wales between 1870 and 1896 and the average national attendance in board schools was measured in 1895 at nearly 1,900,000.⁵ The voluntary agencies stung by the threat which board schools posed to their sectarian teaching reacted vigorously to the legislation of 1870. They set about the task of precluding the need for board schools so that in 1895 the average national attendance at voluntary schools was something over 2,500,000, approximately double what it had been in 1871. Similarly in 1871 there had been 8,800 inspected voluntary schools and by 1900 this figure had risen to 14,500.⁶

Such a legislative approach did not occur at the same time in that area of education which was later to be described in the Education Act of 1902 as 'other than elementary'. Education for the middle and upper classes remained in the hands of private enterprise or the Charity Commissioners. Such education was however becoming subject to more public

5 L. and S. p.320.

6 L. and S. p.320.

scrutiny and schools were being asked to consider new ideas. Between 1861 and 1864 the Clarendon Commission had met to discuss the public schools and between 1864 and 1868 the Taunton Commission had sat to consider the grammar schools and the education of girls. But, while open to a certain degree of public concern these schools did not find themselves subject to effective public control at the same time as did the elementary schools.

In Ealing in 1870 there were seven schools which were described as 'available for the poor of the Parish'.⁷ They were:

- i) and ii) The endowed schools of St. Mary's. The boys' department had opened in 1721 and was situated at The Grove just south of The Broadway and to the west of Ealing Common. The girls' department opened in 1837 with fifty girls in buildings on The Green south of The Broadway and west of St. Mary's Road.
- iii) The British Schools in Lancaster Road in the south of the parish established in 1857 as an undenominational school by a 'committee of men of all classes of opinion'. The school opened with 50 children on roll.
- iv) Christ Church Infants sharing a site at The Grove with St. Mary's. The boys' department which became the National School was opened in the south of the parish in Ealing Road South in 1870.

- v) St. John's Schools (formerly Ealing Dean) which was opened in a small iron hut in 1865 and which found a permanent site on the junction between Alexandra Road and Green Man Lane in the west of Ealing close to Hanwell just north of Uxbridge Road and south of the Great Western Railway and Drayton Green.
- vi) The Wesleyan School established in 1865 at The Broadway.
- vii) St. Stephen's Parish School in the north of the parish in Pitshanger Lane, just south of the River Brent.⁸

There is no documentation of the numbers on roll or the numbers in attendance at these schools in 1870. St. Mary's Boys was referred to locally as Ealing Boys' School and the girls' department as Ealing Green School. Charles Jones also makes mention of a school called 'Ealing Grove' and he describes it as the 'first Industrial School in England'.⁹ It is likely that he was in fact referring to Lady Byron's School, a private school, with a curriculum which included carpentry and gardening and a school which offered special rates for those it regarded as poor. There is inadequate documentation of a Ragged School which is referred to in an unpublished work kept in the Central Ealing Reference Library entitled 'Ealing. The Second Educational Era', written by J.M. Craddock. Craddock describes the constern-

8 Jones V. to C.T. pp. 105-108 and KELLY'S DIRECTORY 1899-1900.

9 Jones V. to C.T. p.144.

ation of the British Schools at the closure of the Ragged Schools which occurred in November 1873.¹⁰ It is likely that this reference was in fact to the Ragged School in Brentford. The seven elementary schools which existed in 1870 were still providing a basic education in 1902. By this time St. Mary's had a boys', girls' and infants' department as did Christ Church and St. John's. St. Stephen's catered for boys and girls and the British School had a mixed and infants' department.

From the time these schools were built and until the 1902 Education Act they were maintained by voluntary contributions supplemented by the government grants for which they became eligible. No directly elected school board was ever constituted in Ealing and elementary education before 1902 was not funded from the rates. The conditions which had prompted the election of a school board in neighbouring Acton in 1875 did not hold in Ealing. In Acton voluntaryist endeavour was unable to cope with the problems which arose from a rapidly growing population, many of whom were London's working class labour force. In Ealing the number of people in the class for whom the public elementary schools were originally intended was not substantial enough to bring about any dilution of the prevailing middle class nature of the area. Here the elementary schools had to rely on enlightened beneficence bringing forth adequate contributions to maintain their buildings, their staff and their equipment. There was, however, throughout the period 1870

10 Craddock. Part I p.25.

to 1902 a growing body of opinion which urged the community to accept responsibility for elementary education and provide funds from the rates. The evidence indicates that the history of elementary education in Ealing in this period is the history of the struggle of two forces, one working determinedly for continued voluntary provision, the other demanding support for the elementary schools from the rates.

Certain deficiencies in elementary provision had been pointed out to the school managers in Ealing by the Education Department in 1872.¹¹ They subsequently met to discuss the matter of a school board in 1873. The advantages of such a board were considered and a resolution was moved by S.H. Walpole M.P.:

'This meeting of school managers is of the opinion that the deficiency shown in the correspondence with the Education Department should be supplied by other means than a School Board in order to prevent the necessity of levying a rate for the erection of a School Board Room but that, for the sake of the compulsory powers steps should be taken, after such deficiency is supplied to establish a School Board for this Educational District - and this meeting pledges itself to take the necessary steps thereto'.¹²

They wanted a school board but not a board school! There was concern about the elementary education of the children in the district but a greater concern about the rates. An Act of 1876 required the establishment of school attendance committees in areas where there was no school board and thus it became possible to enforce attendance without constituting an elected school board. The fact that children in Ealing

11 Craddock. Part II p.19.

12 Craddock. Part II p.19.

could now be compelled to attend voluntary schools, which was apparently the wish of the school managers as expressed in the resolution of 1873, might have resulted in the generation of those conditions which, under the terms of the 1870 Act, would have made the election of such a board obligatory. But the residents of Ealing possessed the confidence and, they believed, the ability and resources to maintain adequate voluntary provision.

In 1877, to co-ordinate and administer the efforts of those who wished to contribute to and provide for the elementary schools, the Ealing Educational Association was established. From its inception, minutes of the Annual General Meeting were published. The objects of the Association prefaced each report. A study of these objects reveals the specific reasons for the formation of the Association and for the determined avoidance of a school board:

- 'a. To maintain religious teaching, as an integral part of public elementary education, in the Schools of the Parish of Ealing.*
- b. To provide for the efficient working in the Parish of the "Elementary Education Act, 1870" and for the better effecting such purpose, to collect from time to time authentic information as to the educational requirements of the Parish. For example - the number of children in want of education, and the sufficiency of the existing school accommodation, and to report, as occasion may require, upon the nature and extent of such requirements, and the best means of satisfying them.*
- c. To raise and maintain, by voluntary subscription, as opposed to compulsory rating, a central fund, for the purpose of subsidizing, when necessary, the existing schools. To cause such subscription to be, so far as possible, general throughout the Parish, and to secure the proper and effectual distribution of the fund.*

d. To provide, if and when necessary, such increased school accommodation as may from time to time be required.

e. And generally to take such measures as may, from time to time, appear necessary or proper to prevent, in accordance with the desire of the Ratepayers expressed in general meeting duly constituted, the establishment of a School Board in the Parish.'¹³

A fear that a loss of control over the religious content of the curriculum of the elementary schools should a school board be established is expressed in object a. Political opposition to the compulsory rate that would be levied by a school board is apparent in object c. and object e. Further elucidation of the political viewpoint of the Ealing ratepayers followed later in the 1879 A.G.M. Report:

*'While desirous that suitable education may be placed within the reach of all, the Committee have no sympathy with the extravagant notions that appear to be entertained in some quarters as to the amount of education that should be provided for the poor out of the pockets of other people.'*¹⁴

Socialism was not yet to have its day in Ealing! Political and religious considerations contributed to the energy of the Association, but the A.G.M. Reports give the impression that financial concerns were paramount. By 1888 the rubric 'Established in 1877 to prevent the introduction of a School Board and its accompanying heavy expenditure' was printed on the front cover of the Annual Report and was printed so on all subsequent reports. The attention of the ratepayer

13 E.E.A. 1879 p.2.

14 E.E.A. 1879 p.5.

Illustration IV

Front Cover of the Annual Report
of the Ealing Educational Association for the year
ending 31 December 1901

HEALING
Educational Association.

*Established in 1877 to prevent the introduction of a School Board
and its accompanying heavy expenditure.*

**TWENTY-FOURTH
ANNUAL REPORT
AND
TREASURER'S ACCOUNT
OF
Receipts and Payments
FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st,
1901.**

*To be presented at the Annual General Meeting of the Association,
to be held at the*

PUBLIC BUILDINGS,
UXBRIDGE ROAD,
On TUESDAY, 6th MAY, 1902,
At 8.15 P.M. PRECISELY.

Galing. W.A. :
"TIMES" PRINTING AND PUBLISHING WORKS, BROADWAY.

1902.

was constantly drawn by the Association to the financial advantages of maintaining the voluntary system for funding the parish's elementary schools. In 1888 the Committee explained that

*'If established the rate could not be less than 6d. in the £ (in London it is nearly 10d.), whereas if all the Ratepayers would only consent to pay 1d. in the £ upon their rateably value, there would be sufficient income received by the Association to subsidize all the schools in the district.'*¹⁵

Professor Simon would recognise the use by the Ealing Educational Association of the capital letter R for ratepayer. This persuasive argument was repeated in what were, for the Association, the more desperate climes of 1899 when ratepayers were warned:

*'If this small voluntary rate be inadequately paid, it would be replaced by a far higher compulsory School Board rate. Neighbouring districts in Middlesex show that School Board rates vary from 8d. to 2s. in the £ a year as against a Voluntary Rate of 3d. in the £ in Ealing.'*¹⁶

Between 1877 and 1902 the Ealing Educational Association succeeded in forestalling the imposition of a school board. By the end of that period, in the 1890s and the first two years of the twentieth century, the task of doing so had become more difficult and by 1902 it was, arguably, impossible. During this time there developed within Ealing a body of opinion which considered the Association an inappropriate means of maintaining public elementary education in the district.

¹⁵ E.E.A. 1888 p.9.

¹⁶ E.E.A. 1899 p.6.

The successes of the Association are, not surprisingly, catalogued in the Annual Reports. The same source provides an understanding of the difficulties it faced in later years. Letters and editorials in the Middlesex County Times are representative of some critical opinion.

Under the auspices of the E.E.A. elementary school accommodation certainly increased. In 1887 there had been places for 1,785 pupils¹⁷; by 1901 the accommodation available was 3,046, 810 places being described as available for boys, 830 for infants, 698 for girls and the remaining 708 mixed. Average daily attendance figures at this time were 2,500, comprising of 801 boys, 739 girls, 607 infants and 353 mixed.¹⁸ The E.E.A. was proud of the grants its pupils earned for their schools. In 1890 the average grant per scholar was 18s. 5½d.¹⁹ In 1899 it was £1 1s. 4¾d. and by this time the total government grant to the schools aided by the Association was £4,543.²⁰ An editorial in the Middlesex County Times in 1901 agreed that the schools did well from the fee grant system and expressed concern at the possible 'financial effect on Ealing schools of what is to be known as the "block grant system"'.²¹ The teaching staff was of good standard. The Annual Report for 1901 shows that

17 E.E.A. 1887, pp.17ff.

18 E.E.A. 1901 pp.21-22.

19 E.E.A. 1890 p.10

20 E.E.A. 1899 p.5

21 M.C.T. 13:4:01 p.5.

all Ealing elementary schools had certificated Head Teachers, a situation which had been normal since at least 1890 at which date there were also certificated assistant teachers employed at St. Mary's Infants, St. Mary's Girls and St. Stephen's Boys. By 1901 salaries were being paid to specialist teachers of cookery at St. Mary's Girls, St. John's Girls and the British School and to specialist teachers of Carpentry at St. John's Boys and the British School. The curricula of the schools was essentially that elicited by the Codes of 1875 and 1882. A detailed study of the curricula and teaching methods is possible through the existing school log books which are kept in the Central Ealing Reference Library. The log books are bursting with details of life in the schools and would form the basis of any study into the life, the achievements and the tribulations of the voluntary schools in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Only the Wesleyan School had any exciting breadth in its curriculum, a breadth which the Education Codes had in fact allowed for. It was the opinion of J.M. Craddock that the Wesleyan School had 'a curriculum far in advance of that to be found in most of the other schools of that date'.²² It included

*'Geography, English Grammar, History, French, drawing, book-keeping, mensuration, euclid, algebra, singing and needlework. Latin and Greek were optional, lectures began in chemistry, accounts, light, heat and physiology.'*²³

22 Craddock. Part I p.25.

23 Craddock. Part I p.25.

H.M.I. reports which were made available by the managers of the schools were published in the later Annual Reports of the Association. They show that the teaching of the staff in the schools was considered by the inspectors at the time to be effective. In 1899 the inspector of St. Mary's Boys and Infants observed that 'Geography has been excellently taught and the Object lessons have been of great value'. At St. Mary's Girls' School 'the tone and conduct of the girls seem to be specially good, and the school work is carried on with energy and cheerfulness'. At Christ Church National School for Boys 'the class subjects ... are well and interestingly taught'. In the girls' department the inspector concluded that 'the girls are orderly and well-behaved and there seems to be a very nice tone in the school'. The boys of St. John's had been 'carefully and intelligently taught' and the girls here too were 'orderly and well-behaved'. Despite the fact that St. Stephen's had been closed by an epidemic, the inspector decided that 'satisfactory progress is being made'.²⁴

The British School and the Wesleyan School received similar praise. The good work was confirmed by the Middlesex County Times, a newspaper which had never been slow with its criticism of the schools when it thought it appropriate. It was the judgement of the newspaper in 1901 that 'the Ealing elementary schools continue to do excellent work'.²⁵

However, the press, the public and in some cases the teachers did become more critical of the work of the Educa-

24 E.E.A. 1900 pp.18-19.

25 M.C.T. 13:4:01 p.5.

tional Association as the nineteenth century drew to a close. The motives of the Association's personnel were scrutinised. J.M. Craddock described Sir E.M. Nelson, a chairman and member of the Association until 1900 as a 'businessman who was little interested in the religious controversy and the education of the poor'.²⁶ In 1901 the Middlesex County Times called for the 'reconstruction of the Association and especially its personnel'.²⁷ In the same article the newspaper questioned the ideological basis of the Association, lamenting that 'the objects of the Ealing Educational Association as Sir Montague Nelson once frankly said are financial not educational'. A letter written to the newspaper, and published in May 1901, explained the writer's reason for not paying the voluntary rate. He refused to pay because 'the Association aims ... at preventing the beneficent operations of an act that affirms the principle of a school place for every child'.²⁸ In 1902 a parent's letter complained that the Educational Association prevented the community of Ealing from providing a public elementary school within easy reach of all children. The middle class children of West Ealing had to go to the Church School in the 'undesirable neighbourhood of Williams Road' or travel one mile to the Wesleyan School or go into an expensive private school which was 'inefficient and badly maintained'.²⁹ The same letter incidentally illustrates the growing respectability of the voluntary schools among

26 Craddock. Part II pp.60-61.

27 M.C.T. 13:4:01 p.5.

28 M.C.T. 4:5:01 p.3.

29 M.C.T. 25:1:02 p.7.

the middle classes by the beginning of the twentieth century; a trend which added to the difficulties they already faced in coping with an increasing number of pupils. In April 1901 the Middlesex County Times acknowledged the growing problems now facing the Association. There were 'considerable difficulties, difficulties arising from overcrowding, difficulties due to the unsuitability of some of the school buildings, difficulties caused by insufficient means to employ a proper teaching staff'.³⁰ Indeed in 1899 the headmaster of St. Stephen's School complained that

*'This school is a very difficult one to organise because the class room is too small to accommodate the infants in Standard I ... It is quite impossible to teach 61 children in 7 standards and the managers should seriously consider this question and in the interests of education give more than the minimum staff required by the Education Department.'*³¹

The population of Ealing had increased by almost four times between 1857 and 1901 from 9,828 to 33,031. In their reports for 1900 Her Majesty's Inspectors reported overcrowding not only at St. Stephen's but also at St. Mary's Girls and Infants, St. John's Boys and Infants and at the British School.³²

In this way the resources of the E.E.A. were taxed to the limit. The 1879 Annual Report explained that 'the resources of the Association have proved equal to the claims upon them'. The income for the year was £323 5s. 4d.³³ In 1901 the income was £1,091 1s. 11d., an additional £633

30 M.C.T. 13:4:01 p.5.

31 St. Stephen's Log Book 15:3:1899.

32 E.E.A. 1900 pp.22-23.

33 E.E.A. 1879 p.3.

being subscribed voluntarily to individual schools.³⁴

Although the subscriptions increased they did not keep pace with the educational requirements of Ealing and by 1901 the Association had become unable to meet these requirements or to continue to carry out with any measure of proficiency the duties demanded by the 1870 Education Act. In order to satisfy the demands of the recently constituted Board of Education and to continue to avoid a school board Ealing had to provide a further 900 elementary school places at an estimated cost of £10,000.³⁵ There had already been expenditure to increase existing accommodation at the insistence of the Education Department and Board of Education when between 1897 and 1900 St. John's School had been improved at a cost of £3,136:85.³⁶ The growing population exacerbated the situation. The H.M.I.s' Reports for 1897 pointedly remarked on the vigorous work of the school boards in nearby Chiswick where a new girls' school for 700 pupils had been built, and in neighbouring Acton where two new schools had been erected in the first term of the school board's existence. The inspectors quoted similar additions by the Finchley school board but noted deficiencies in accommodation at Brentford, Hanwell and Ealing:- 'at Ealing some additions have at last been supplied, but with a deliberation which has made itself felt in the overcrowding of existing schools'.³⁷

34 E.E.A. 1901 p.4

35 E.E.A. 1901 pp.6-7.

36 E.E.A. 1900 p.5.

37 Craddock. Part II p.201.

The correspondent who had written to the Middlesex County Times insisting that the Ealing Educational Association betrayed the principles of the 1870 Act calculated that a rate of 3d. in the £ would yield an income of £3,060.³⁸

In the face of this criticism the committee of the Association continued to express their belief that the ratepayers of Ealing were beginning to recognise their responsibilities for paying the voluntary subscription. Excuses were found to explain insufficient subscriptions. In 1900 it was

*'the claims of the War and Famine Funds ... together with the high District Rate ... Moreover, the last half-year's rate of 1900, was made a fortnight later than the corresponding rate of 1899, so that practically the collecting period of 1900 has been two weeks less than that of 1899.'*³⁹

The committee's faith in the Ealing residents' sense of responsibility was not sufficient to prevent them from resorting to desperate measures to raise finances. In 1900 Sir Edward Montague Nelson printed the notice regarding the voluntary rate in red below the annual demand for the District Rate and was berated in the national press for abusing his authority. The story appeared in the Daily Chronicle, The Star, the Westminster Gazette, the Leeds Mercury and The Christian World.⁴⁰ In 1901 the Association sought to prevent its own demise by issuing shares in an attempt to

38 M.C.T. 4:5:01 p.3.

39 E.E.A. 1901 p.4.

40 Craddock. Part II p.209.

form a limited liability company, the proceeds from which would go towards the provision of the necessary elementary school places. The Middlesex County Times applauded the encouraging results of the Association schools to date but suggested

*'that under the more favourable conditions which would be created by the establishment of a School Board, the Ealing Schools might take rank with the very best in the country, though this improvement in the circumstances of the schools would involve financial sacrifices which the majority of the ratepayers would probably be very reluctant to make.'*⁴¹

The newspaper continued the debate into 1902 and produced a most appropriate comment - 'Whilst we all admire the great work which has been done and is being done by the voluntary system, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that it is not equal to the requirements of the times'.⁴² On the 6th May 1902 the Annual General Meeting of the Ealing Educational Association informed the residents that a 'final notice' dated 27th March 1902 had been issued by the Board of Education requiring additional accommodation to be provided 'otherwise a School Board will be formed'.⁴³ This time a school board in Ealing was forestalled only by the passing of the 1902 Education Act which reorganised responsibilities for the provision of elementary education by local communities.

The social structure and political complexion of Ealing had produced an organisation which in the twenty-five years of its existence maintained a level of elementary education

41 M.C.T. 13:4:01 p.5.

42 M.C.T. 22:2:02 p.7.

43 E.E.A. 1902 p.8.

which was sufficient to prevent a school board but did not meet all the demands of the area. The education that pupils received in the elementary schools of Ealing, as in those throughout England and Wales, was self-contained. The curriculum was not devised with any thoughts of the pupils progressing along the educational ladder even so far as it existed. Elementary education was the basic education of the working classes, but by 1900 the respectability of elementary schools was gaining for them larger numbers of pupils from middle-class homes. Regardless of their clearly defined limitations the elementary schools did kindle, in some of their pupils, educational ambition. There were those who wished to continue their education beyond the strictly elementary level. What could they do? The private system in which this could be achieved was debarred to them by financial requirements and no doubt an element of class prejudice from both sides. There were in fact, at the turn of the century, three ways in which an elementary school pupil unable to pay private school fees could continue his education.

The first was a development which while it shared the 'elementary' label took education in the elementary schools beyond that rigidly circumscribed stage. This was the Higher Grade School. By 1900 there were almost 200 such schools providing instruction⁴⁴ which, in order to reap the benefits of grants from the Science and Art Department, followed a curriculum that was largely scientific. There

44 *L. and S.* p.338.

was no Higher Grade School in Ealing. This is not to say that the Ealing elementary schools did not foster ambition in the way that other elementary schools did. The Middlesex County Times was convinced of the existence of a reservoir of pupils who wanted to attend and who would benefit from such a school:

*'It is disappointing to find that the Association has apparently not taken into consideration the establishment of a higher grade school in Ealing. Such a school is badly needed in the district and with the generous grants made by the Board of Education, it is probable that it would not strain the resources of the Association.'*⁴⁵

It is interesting to note that this opinion appears two years after the Cockerton judgement which thwarted the development of higher elementary classes and in the same editorial as the suggestion that it would be better for Ealing to constitute a school board. There is however no attempt to estimate the numbers of pupils who might attend such a school.

The second way in which an elementary school pupil might extend his or her education was by attending one or other of the classes providing technical instruction. The Technical Instruction Acts of 1889-1891 had empowered local authorities to assist technical education and evening classes from the rates and further aid was forthcoming from the grants made available by the Science and Art Department. The first classes to provide such instruction in Ealing opened in 1876 at the Ealing British Schools under the direction of

Mr. F.W. Neville who was certificated by the Science and Art Department. The classes opened with 16 pupils for science and 13 for Art.⁴⁶ They moved to new premises at Ashton Villa and subsequently to the library by which time the number of pupils had increased to forty. The date of this move is not clear. The courses offered included physiology, hygiene and chemistry although the teaching of chemistry had to be banned - 'it was too smelly - the fumes from the concoctions finding their way into the reading room'.⁴⁷ The expense of equipping the laboratories was also a problem. The Science and Art Department programme for Ealing for the year 1901-1902 is evidence of the growth of technical education. At this time there were two divisions of science classes, three divisions of technological classes, five of domestic classes, five of art classes and eight divisions of commercial classes. The number of students connected with these classes was estimated to be 526.⁴⁸ It is highly probable that some of these students were ex-elementary school pupils wishing to continue their education in some way. It should be emphasised though that fees were payable, that students usually followed *one* of the courses or classes available and their period of attendance rarely followed on immediately from their time at elementary school.

46 M.C.T. 15:2:02 p.7.

47 M.C.T. 15:2:02 p.7.

48 M.C.T. 15:2:02 p.7.

The third way in which an elementary school pupil, unable or unwilling to pay private school fees, could continue his or her education and the only way he or she could break into a 'secondary' school was through the system of scholarships. In 1900 there were estimated to be between five and five and a half thousand boys and girls from public elementary schools in England and Wales holding scholarships awarded by local authorities.⁴⁹ In the same year there were 21 junior scholarships provided in Middlesex and there were 269 candidates for them, 150 boys and 119 girls.⁵⁰ The following year the number of scholarships was raised to 63 in the county. By 1901 pupils from the Ealing public elementary schools had gained a total of 16 scholarships.⁵¹ There is no information regarding the schools which these pupils subsequently attended.

The evidence is conclusive that there was in Ealing by the end of the nineteenth century a number of pupils who desired to extend their education beyond the strictly defined elementary stage and who could not afford to do so in the private schools. But the number of parents who were willing and able to pay for their children's education ensured that by the time of incorporation, the private industry in education was well established in Ealing.

49 *H. of C. Papers. Cmd 968 XV 385 1920.*

50 *Ed. in Middx. p.25.*

51 *E.E.A. 1901 p.6.*

The condition of secondary education in England was debated in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the Bryce Committee reported in 1895 describing the effects of 'dispersed and unconnected forces, needless competition between the different agencies, and a frequent overlapping of effort with much consequent waste of money, of time and labour'.⁵² By this time legislation and codes had begun to define elementary education in terms of those pupils who were at elementary schools and in terms of the instruction they received there. There was no similar definition of secondary education and the phrase 'other than elementary' was the only appropriate description of such an eclectic mass of curricula on offer at such a wide variety of schools. The directing and controlling influences on the schools were provided by a confusion of examinations which had gained public credence and which were beginning to have value as currency in the employment market. Examinations had been held by the Science and Art Department since 1860 and the eminent T.H. Huxley, himself an ex-Ealing scholar, was among the Department's examiners. Eager to produce excellence through competition, the Civil Service began examinations for the Indian Civil Service in 1853 and the Home Civil Service in 1855 when examinations were declared 'open'. In the same year the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich had begun a selection process based on examination. The College of Preceptors, an association of private schoolmasters, was formed in 1846 and began examining boys and girls in school subjects in 1853. The Royal Society for Arts established

52 MacLure p.140.

examinations for the 'non-privileged classes' in 1855.⁵³ In 1856, resulting from persuasion by J.D. Ackland and Frederick Temple, Oxford University agreed to support the examining of pupils from middle class schools in Exeter and delegated the organisation of this procedure which consequently became known as the Oxford Local Examination. It could be taken at two levels, with the Junior exam intended for pupils under 15 and the Senior for those under 18. Cambridge University followed suit and in the 1860s both universities instituted Higher Examinations. Other exams were held by the National Froebel Union, the Associated Board for the Royal Academy of Music, the Royal College of Music and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce had been examining since 1759. In addition there were scholarships offered by St. Andrews University and enthusiastically advocated by John Stuart Mill.

Success in these examinations could be pursued in Ealing in any of a large number of private schools. Many of these schools had preparatory departments where children, most of whom were of the same age as those at elementary school, were taught in a deliberate preparation for their future instruction. A compilation of advertisements for private schools taken from two copies of the Middlesex County Times spanning the year 1901 illustrates the healthy condition of private education in Ealing.

53 *Armytage* pp.120-123.

TABLE V

List of Institutions other than Elementary Schools,
referring to themselves as Schools in Ealing, 1901

a. Name and address of school	b. Type of student	c. Prep. Dept. with description if any	d. Examinations entered for or other description of education/curriculum as listed in the advertisement	e. Any special facilities indicated in advertisement	f. Principal and qualifications; any note referring to other staff at the school	g. Prospectus or not
EALING GRAMMAR SCHOOL (prospectus available from The Park, Ealing W.)		No	Oxford Locals : Cambridge Locals : Sci. & Art Dept. Exams : Society for the Encouragement of Arts : Public School Scholarships	-	Warden - The Bishop of Marlborough	Yes
ROLANDSECK SCHOOL 6 Haven Green, Ealing		Yes 'For little boys'	'All Examinations'	-	E. J. Marx Ph.D. M.A. (Lond.) First and Second Class Honours	Yes
CASTLE HILL SCHOOL		Yes 'For young boys'	'Various Professional and Local Examinations'	'Buildings new and commodious. Play Field adjoins the School Premises'	E. J. Morgan 1st B.A. Univ. of London	Yes
SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE Acton Hill	Boys - Day and Boarders	No	'Thorough modern education Technical subjects'	'Workshop, Gynnasium and Drillshed'	Mr. H. Waymouth F.C.C. London	Yes
GORDON HOUSE SCHOOL 6 Eaton Rise, Ealing	Boys	No	'Scholarships and Entrance Examination at the Public Schools, especially St. Paul's - and University Exams'	-	Mr. W.S. Tupholme M.A. CCC (Oxford in Honours)	?
HARROW VIEW Cleveland Rd., Ealing W.	Boys	Yes ? --	'Preparatory School for Public Schools Entrance Scholarships and the Royal Navy'	-	No information	?
86 THE GROVE, EALING	Boys	Yes	'Preparatory School for the Sons of Gentlemen'	-	Miss Newman "who has great experience in the education of boys"	Yes
PRINCESS HELENA COLLEGE AND HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS	Girls - Day and Boarders	Kinder- garten	University Preparation : Assoc. Bd. of R.A. & R.C. of Music : S.K. Science and Art Exams : National Froebel Union Certificate	-	Miss Williamson	?
EALING MODERN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS 33 and 35 Sandringham Gdns. W.	Girls	'Junior School taught by 6 mistresses, certificated	London Institute, Needlework, London Matriculation 'Special attention paid to Music & Accomplishments of all not taking exam. course' 'Schl. course can be adapted to backward or delicate girls'	'Fully equipped Chemical Laboratory,' 'School premises large and airy	Full use of upper school staff with qualifications	Yes
ST. STEPHENS Gordon Rd., Ealing	Girls	Kinder- garten for boys and girls	University Preparation : Assoc. Bd. R.A. & R.C. Music : S.K. Science and Art Exams	-	Miss E.R. Bennett Miss F.M. Bennett (formerly of Ealing Art School)	?

TABLE V (continued)

LADIES SCHOOL "The Hawthorns", Ealing Common	Girls	Kinder- garten for boys and girls from 3 yrs of age	Univ. of London, Camb. & Oxford (Higher & Local) : Trinity College; College of Preceptors; Ass. Bd. R.A. & R.C. of Music ; Incorp. Soc. of Musicians. S.K. Science and Art Dept. Exams	-	Mrs. Wrist- bridge Miss Waghorn	?
FRIEDENHEIM 83 Uxbridge Rd.	Girls	No	Prep. for St. Andrews Univ. Oxf. & Camb. Higher Cert. & Camb. Locals. S.K. Science and Art Dept. Ass. Bd. R.A. & R.C. Music	'French taught con- versationally and individ- ual attention given'	Miss Broadbent Miss Mitchell (LLA Hons)	?
HEIDELBERG 26 Castlobar Rd., Ealing W.	Girls - Day and Boarders	Kinder- garten attached	Prep. for Universities : Assoc. Bd. R.A. & R.C. of Music : Trinity College : College of Preceptors; S.K. Science and Art Examinations	Classes in Art, Needle- work, Wood carving + Fr. Conver- sation. Musical Centre planned	'The Misses Watson' 'Assisted by Visiting Professors & Certificated English & Foreign Gov- ernesses'	?
MODENA HOUSE LADIES SCHOOL Drayton Green Rd., Ealing	Girls - Day and Boarders	No	No description - prospec- tus on application	-	Mrs. Fernes	Yes
ABBOTSFORD Ealing Common	Girls	No	'Pupils prepared for Public Exams.' 'Young ladies unconnected with the School can attend the classes for French, German and Painting'	-	'The Misses Rose' 'Assisted by well-qualified English and Foreign teachers'	?
CASTLEBAR HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS 4 Castlebar Rd., Ealing	Girls - Day and Boarders	No	'Preparation for Examina- tions'	-	'The Misses Hoare'	Yes
LADIES HOME SCHOOL 19 Grange Park, Ealing	Girls	No	'Individual care and attention'	-	Miss E. Burton	?
WHINREY HOUSE COLLEGE AND KINDERGARTEN Eaton Rise, Ealing W.	Girls - Day and Boarders	Yes - for boys and girls under 8 yrs of age	Prep. for 'Cambridge and other Exams' 'Open classes for dancing and calisthenics'	'Special terms for Anglo- Indian children'	Miss Spencer	?
EALING SCHOOL OF ART AND MUSIC 59 Harwick Rd., Ealing	? - Resident pupils received'	No	Prep. for 'All musical examinations' 'Drawing, Painting etc. Music in all branches, Elocution and Languages, Dancing and Physical Culture'	-	Mrs. Tinson- Day (Assoc. Finniste, Trinity Col- lege, London)	?
ITALIAN-SPANISH SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES 8 Westbourne Grove, W.	?	No	'Method Berlir' 'Not a word of English spoken during the lesson'	'Trial les- son free'	Pr f. C.E. Trivero	?

SOURCE: H.C.T. 5.1.01 p.5.
H.C.T. 2.11.01 p.4.

The importance of the examinations is obvious and the appeal of the South Kensington Science and Art Department with their lucrative grants is evident. There are no details of the size of the schools in terms of numbers of pupils on roll or in daily attendance or of the extent or quality of some of the premises, but it is possible to glean certain information about these factors from a more detailed look at the schools' advertisements. How did they sell themselves? Some indication of the size of Ealing Grammar School can be gained from a review of the list of successful students in the year 1900-1901 which is included in the school's advertisement which appears in the Middlesex County Times of the 2nd November 1901. The school was proud of 72 successes in Science and Art Department examinations, 57 certificates in Phonography, 27 passes in the College of Preceptor exams, 13 in Oxford Local exams, 32 in the Cambridge Locals, 2 certificates in book-keeping from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and 3 scholarships to eminent public schools, one for Bedford Grammar School, one for Eastbourne College and one House Scholarship for King's School, Canterbury. There were 206 successes in all that year but duplication of entry must be taken into account in any estimation of size. The school was in fact one of Ealing's most interesting. Founded as Ealing Grove School by Lady Noel-Byron in 1834 it started life with an Owenite headmaster, Mr. E.T. Craig. There was no corporal punishment; drawing, carpentry and gardening were in the curriculum and special rates were available to the poor. The school agreed to take poor students at the rate of six for twopence a week. Mr. C.N. Atlee renamed the school Byron

House School in 1859 and in 1861 there were 87 boys in attendance aged between 8 and 17.⁵⁴ In 1896 the school was renamed Ealing Grammar School and the headmaster then was Dr. B. Brucesmith. Boarders and day pupils were prepared for public examination.

For girls the Ealing Modern School for Girls appears to have been one of the largest schools. Here, the pointer to size is the number of staff; in 1901 there were six mistresses in the Upper School and six in the Lower School. The school's own description of itself is informative:

*'Fully equipped Chemical Laboratory. Junior School taught by six mistresses, certificated, under the supervision of the above (i.e. Upper School staff). Special attention paid to Music and Accomplishments of all not taking the Examination course. Needlework under the direction of the London Institute. School premises large and airy. Successes brilliant, over pressure avoided. School course can be adapted to backward or delicate girls.'*⁵⁵

There was an interesting concern, albeit most probably born of financial considerations, with the less able. Attempts to unearth prospectuses have proved fruitless and assessment of the sizes of many of the institutions must remain speculative. In some cases, however, the address is suggestive of a small building and some buildings, such as that used by Friedenheim School at 83, Uxbridge Road, are still standing. But in 1901 only Castle Hill School, in addition to Ealing Modern School for Girls, alerted the public to

54 Victoria Hist. Middx. Vol. 7. p.168.

55 M.C.T. 5:1:01 p.5.

its 'buildings new and commodious' and the 'playfield' which 'adjoins the school premises'.⁵⁶

There is evidence that some of the schools in Ealing were offering in 1901 instruction in what were regarded as the more modern subjects, those that were technical or practical. Springfield College boasted of a 'thorough modern education' in 'technical subjects' on premises which included a workshop, gymnasium and drill shed.⁵⁷ Art, needlework and wood-carving were taught at Heidelberg School and Conversational French formed part of the curriculum at Friedenheim and at Heidelberg. Dance was taught at Whinney House College and at the Ealing School of Art and Music. Lieutenant T.A.W. Flynn opened his gymnasium at 24, St. Mary's Road for those who wished to get fit. Amongst the activities available were gymnastics, fencing, weight lifting and the seemingly exotic 'Indian Club Swinging'. 'Gentlemen's sons', were 'trained for the Public School and Aldershot Championships' and there was a 'Remedial Gymnasium'.⁵⁸

Column f of Table V attempts some assessment of the quality of staff in the private schools of Ealing. The principals ranged from those who were proud of their own academic achievements such as E.F. Marx Ph.D., M.A. at Rolandseck School and at Castle Hill School E.J. Morgan who gained a '1st B.A.' from the University of London to those

56 M.C.T. 5:1:01 p.5.

57 M.C.T. 5:1:01 p.5.

58 M.C.T. 2:11:01 p.4.

who apparently had no scholarly qualifications at all. The principals of Castlebar High School were described simply as 'the Misses Hoare'. At 86, The Grove, Ealing Miss Newman's marketable commodity was that she had had 'great experience in the education of boys'. Only Heidelberg and Ealing Modern School for Girls advertised the services of certificated teachers in their junior departments. Skilful and accomplished musicians gave tuition at two schools. At Ealing School of Art and Music Mrs. Tinson-Day, the principal, was an 'Associate Pianiste' at Trinity College, London and Heidelberg School was pleased to advertise the services of Miss Adelaide E. Clarke, a pupil of Friedrich Reichel and Frederick Westlake F.R.A.M. who was involved in forming a 'Musical Centre' there. That the students were successfully taught in many instances there is no doubt. Castle Hill School and Ealing Grammar School listed their successes in their newspaper advertisements. Others, such as Rolandseck School, announced that details of their successes would be enclosed in their prospectuses.

For those who did not pursue success in one or other of the private schools, there was a thriving body of individuals, often very well qualified, who received or visited students for tuition. They gave instruction in a wide variety of topics including dance, Swedish drill, musical instruments, the piano and violin being especially popular, and prepared pupils for examinations and scholarships. In the Middlesex County Times of the 5th January 1901 there were no less than 51 advertisements offering the services of

private tutors. A sample of these individuals completes the picture of 'other than elementary' education in Ealing at the time of incorporation.

- '1. Miss F. Helena Marks (certificated).
Visiting Teacher at Public High School.
Visits Ealing twice weekly.
Lessons on the Pianoforte and in Harmony
and Counterpoint.
2. An Oxford B.A. gives lessons in shorthand,
book-keeping and usual school subjects -
Address "A", 90, Haven Lane, Ealing.
3. Companion pupils desired for girls, aged
nine and seven, being educated by exper-
ienced governess: 6, Albany Road, West
Ealing.
4. Daily or morning engagement required by
Governess: piano R.A.M. Hons., French,
Violin etc. "F.H." Box 18, Ealing.
5. Dancing:- The Misses De Jaye, daughters
of the eminent Monsieur Alexandre (late
of the Italian Opera) will resume their
class for Dancing et de bonne tenue at
the Victoria Hall, Ealing on Saturday,
January 19th at three o'clock. Address:-
"Vera Glen", Arlington Road, West Ealing,
or 52, Manchester Street, Manchester Square.
6. Dancing: Where to learn, - Waltzing and
Reversing taught in six lessons. 10s. 6d.
Apply Mr. W. Clements, 4, Lothair Road,
South Ealing.
7. Experienced Governess desires morning or
afternoon engagement. Thorough English,
French, music, drawing, painting, Highest
references - Address 'L' Box 18, Ealing
office of this paper.
8. French - Madame J. De Mersan visits and
receives pupils for Conversation and Liter-
ature; preparation for public exams; classes
elementary and advanced; schools attended;
commercial correspondence - 55, Homefield
Rd, Chiswick W. Holiday lessons.
9. Free education offered an intelligent girl
to work with another for exams. Address
"L.H.S." Box 21, Ealing office of this
paper.

10. Lady (certificated South Kensington) desires pupil to join another at drawing lesson; two afternoons a week; terms £1 1s. for one term. Address "A.A.A." Box 21, Ealing office of this paper.
11. Lessons in Swedish Drill given by fully certificated mistress; special arrangements for delicate children. Address "Swedish", Box 14, Ealing office of this paper.
12. George Heppel M.A. (Cambridge). Assistant examiner at South Kensington. Prepares pupils for Oxford Responsions, Cambridge Previous; London Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A. Sandhurst, Woolwich, Naval Cadetships and other Public Examinations. 55, Madeley Road, Ealing.
13. Mr. Edward R. Kellett, Private Tutor, Lecturer on Book-keeping to Middlesex County Council at Treddington and Feltham and to the local Committee at Ealing and Uxbridge. Prepares Pupils for the Civil Service, Oxford and Cambridge Locals, College of Preceptors, Entrance Scholarships to Public Schools, Science and Arts examinations, Society of Arts and for Pitman's Shorthand Certificates. 18, Kenilworth Road, Ealing W.'59
14. 'Madame Elizabeth Arnold (Pianiste London Concerts) And Piano Teacher.

Ladies desirous of improving themselves in Music, or of learning to play from memory on an original and sure method, can have Private Lessons of Madame Arnold.

Elementary pupils quickly interested in their work and pushed on.

Special care with new pupils who have shown distaste under other teachers for lessons or practising. Guaranteed success with this sort of pupil. References kindly permitted to parents of many such. Hundred per cent passes in exams (Associated Boards R.A.M. and R.C.M.) last year.

By arrangement with Madame Arnold, Miss ANNIE LAURIE, the well known Concert Singer gives SINGING LESSONS in Ealing (opera, ballad and drawing room songs).

For terms, etc. apply to Madame Arnold, 10, Gordon Road, Haven Green, Ealing W.'60

The educational provision in the period before incorporation and the 1902 Education Act reflected the social composition of Ealing. The proliferation of private schools and of individuals offering private tuition was a consequence of the ability of a large number of residents to pay for education. The private schools were to remain a feature of Ealing throughout the period 1902-1944 and some survived well beyond that time. Their presence affected the evolution of secondary education in Ealing after the legislation of 1902 and before the Act of 1944. The struggle between the supporters of the Ealing Educational Association and those who advocated a school board is evidence of a disagreement within the district as to what the relationship between education and the community should be. By 1901 there were people who believed that the cause of education could be properly served only if the ratepayers assumed responsibility for it. By 1901, it seems in retrospect, they were right. Nonetheless, the E.E.A. elementary schools were, by the turn of the century, beginning to produce pupils with aspirations to an extended education. The successful extension of the elementary service in the first half of the twentieth century continued this trend which was to be the major effective force in producing, both nationally and locally, demands for secondary education. The beginnings of the growth of a number of pupils requiring some form of post elementary education but unable to pay for it at the private schools can be traced in Ealing back to the work of the elementary schools supported by voluntary contributions.

By 1902 a definition of the relationship between elementary education and the community was required together with a more efficient organisation of the service in the borough. The continued success of the majority of the private schools was ensured by the fact that the social composition of Ealing remained predominantly middle-class.

CHAPTER III

THE EMERGENCE OF THE MAINTAINED SECONDARY SCHOOLS
1902-1926

In the history of education the years 1902 and 1926 are remarkable for an Education Act and for the Hadow Report respectively. In the history of Ealing the years mark the period between the assumption of borough status in 1902 and the extension of the borough boundaries in 1926. During that time a system of secondary education emerged so that by the time the borough increased in size there were within its boundaries two maintained secondary schools existing alongside the private schools. How was it that a district reluctant to accept responsibility for elementary education in 1900 was willing to play its part in the maintenance of two secondary schools by 1926? Legislation, social and economic pressures and personalities all played their part. But the basis of the demand for secondary schools remained the successful elementary school.

For Ealing the problem of defining the relationship between elementary education and the community was resolved by the 1902 Education Act. The Act created two types of local education authorities. The councils of counties and county boroughs became major authorities and were required to assume the functions previously carried out by the school boards and technical instruction committees. For the first time they were permitted to take 'such steps as seem to them desirable ... to supply or aid the supply of education other

than elementary and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education'.¹ Because they were referred to in Part II of the Act the county councils and county boroughs became known as Part II authorities. Non-county boroughs with a population of more than 20,000 were made responsible only for elementary education within their area. These boroughs became known as Part III authorities because they were dealt with in Part III of the Act. Ealing, with a population at the 1901 Census of 33,031, became a Part III authority and was expected to assume its role as such from the 1st April 1903. The borough was compelled to provide sufficient elementary education and in order to do so could purchase or sell land and buildings as necessary and was empowered to raise a rate or borrow money to secure an adequate financial basis for the service. An education committee would be formed. In parts of the country the implementation of the Act was accompanied by an outcry over what many people saw as the demise of real democratic control over education with the abolition of the directly elected school boards. Similarly there was some consternation at the provisions of the Act which allowed voluntary schools to be brought under the auspices of the L.E.As providing these schools agreed to meet certain conditions. The idea of subsidising sectarian education from the rates outraged many people. Neither of these issues was given much public airing in Ealing. There had never been a school board and the religious issue was secondary

to the rates issue. A letter written by a Mr. J. Campbell to the Middlesex County Times in 1902 is typical. Mr. Campbell claimed that there was no religious bigotry in the voluntary schools and the difference between voluntary and board schools was that

*'in the case of the Board School the rate-payers have to pay for it (i.e. education) and the extravagance in which it is carried on is shown by the fact that the cost per head is £2 17s. 7½d. a year, whilst in the voluntary schools substantially the same result is obtained at £2 6s. 4½d. and in the latter case no charge upon the ratepayer except his voluntary gift or subscription.'*²

Continued concern for the rates was to produce a parsimony which plagued Ealing's elementary provision for some years to come.

The duty which the community was to discharge through its elementary education system was described in the preface to the published minutes of the Borough Education Committee:-

'The purpose of the Public Elementary School is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both boys and girls, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually for the work of life.'

*The School to enlist as far as possible, the interest and co-operation of the parents and the home in an united effort to enable the children not merely to reach their full development as individuals but also to become upright and useful members of the community in which they live, and worthy sons and daughters of the country to which they belong.'*³

2 M.C.T. 8:2:02 p.7.

3 Ed. Cttee. Ann. Report 31:3:05, p.4.

Elementary school provision was increased and reorganised. This was not due to any change in the political nature of the borough. Most of the members of the old District Council were returned to the Town Council. The majority of the 24 members of the Education Committee, however, had not been members of the Ealing Educational Association. Only eight in fact had been, and these included two notable future champions of educational progress, Alderman H.C. Green and Councillor M. Hulbert. Although Sir Montague Nelson's influence was no longer felt, the kinds of people now considering the educational requirements of Ealing were still very similar to the kinds of people who had sat on the Committee of the E.E.A. They were, in the main, businessmen. Despite this there was a perceptible change of emphasis in the approach to elementary education after 1902. The rates still were a concern but they were no longer expressed as the prime concern. The legislation of 1902 demanded a different approach and there were people who genuinely sought a more proficient system of elementary education, people such as Councillors Farr, Hulbert and Green who were to become particularly prominent in future years. A clue to another reason behind this changing attitude is perhaps contained in a letter from Mr. Tom Norris, a member of the Independent Labour Party, to the Middlesex County Times in 1902. A previous critic of the ratepayers' indifference to education, Mr. Norris wrote that 'The educational spirit is beginning to rise, but only I am afraid, because it is found necessary to educate our children in order to keep our

country abreast of Germany and America'.⁴ He saw any progress as the result of the businessmen's response to a challenge to his markets.

In the early years after incorporation, temporary schools were erected as an interim measure until permanent buildings were completed. New provided schools existed side by side with the established non-provided schools. There were occasions when the managers of provided schools and the Ealing Education Committee agreed that it would be best for all if a voluntary school was transferred to the local authority. The following table illustrates something of the borough's approach to the demands of the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The quality of education in the elementary schools varied. The Drayton School serves as a good example of a successful elementary school. The school offered a vigorous education in a stimulating environment and it played an energetic part in the life of the community. Drayton was a fee paying school until 1919 and drew its pupils from homes superior to the average. The new buildings impressed the H.M.I. who visited the school on 17th July 1908 and prompted him to remark on 'this fine and well-equipped school'. He was similarly impressed by the 'keen interest and co-operation of the children and the excellent tone and discipline in all three departments'.⁵

4 M.C.T. 8:2:02 p.7.

5 *Drayton School L.B. I (Girls)* 13:7:08.

TABLE VI

The Establishment and Reorganisation of Elementary Schools
in Ealing, 1902-26

<i>Date</i>	<i>Schools Opened</i>	<i>Schools Closed</i>	<i>Schools Amalgamated or Transferred</i>
1903	1. St. Luke's C of E Temporary 1. Ealing Lammas Temp. Council School (Northfields Lane, Ealing W.) 2. Drayton Council School Temp. (Alexandria Rd., W. Ealing)		
1905	1. Little Ealing Co. School (Little Ealing Lane, S. Ealing) 2. Northfields Co. School (Balfour Rd., W. Ealing)	1. Lammas Temp. Co. School 2. Drill Hall Temp. School	
1907		1. St. Luke's C of E Temp. School	
1908	1. Drayton Council School (Drayton Grove, W. Ealing)		
1910	1. Lammas Council School (Cranmer Ave., W. Ealing)		
1911	1. North Ealing Co. School (Pitshanger Lane, Ealing W.)		
1914	1. South Ealing Junction Rd. Temp. (Good Shepherd Hall)		
1921		1. Wesleyan School	1. St. Stephen's to Ed. Cttee. Becomes N. Ealing Boys' 2. Christ Church and St Mary's amalgamated. Northfields and Lammas amalgamated.
1924	1. Central School		1. Lammas Boys' and Girls' becomes Central School
1925	1. Ealing Grange Co. School (Church Place, S. Ealing)	1. Joseph Lancaster School	

Source: 1. Preliminary Statements. P.R.O. Ed. 7/87.

2. Scouse pp.67-68.

The head teacher of the Girls' School from 1908 until 1924 was Miss Winifred Montgomery. Under her care the students prospered. The school curriculum gained official approval and praise. After inspection visits in November 1913 and on the 4th December 1913 the Girls' School Log Book recorded the comments of the Inspector: 'This is a thoroughly good school - several interesting experiments are being tried. There is a good deal of specialisation. Every mistress teaches certain subjects in classes other than her own'.⁶ In fact there was specialist teaching in Science, Geography, History, Drawing, Physical Education and Literature. In Standard VI and Standard VII there was division according to whether girls wished to enter commercial or domestic occupations after leaving school. By 1926 there was a more particular and focussed concern for the less able girls and an awareness of the problems that might have arisen had they remained in classes with pupils who were more able:- 'Miss Alderton will take charge of a small class of children from Standards IV and V and by doing so will relieve these classes from the burden of older, backward children and give those children an added opportunity of improvement'.⁷ By the 1920s French was taught and the local authority was preparing to send to the school specialist visiting teachers of French, Science and Art. By 1920 French had also been introduced into the Boys' Department. The staffs of the Boys' and the Girls' Schools were

6 Drayton School L.B. I (Girls) 4:12:13.

7 Drayton School L.B. (Girls) 13:4:26.

responsive to the needs of their pupils and to the environment in which, together, they lived. Visits and extra-curricular activities were common features of school life. In 1909 the first class of the Boys' School formed a debating society. The first issue for debate was 'Boy Scouts - Is their institution a good thing?'⁸ On the 14th July 1909 a chess club was formed. On the 15th June 1909 choir boys from the school had sung at a wedding and this resulted in decreased attendance. The absence of the choirboys was to cause annoyance to staff on other occasions. They were required to sing on Ascension Day, All Saints' Day, Ash Wednesday and at weddings and funerals. An entry in the school logbook on the 27th April 1910 refers to the school band and on the 2nd October 1912 mention is made of the Old Boys' Orchestra. The Girls' School logbook records the visits made by that department. On the 6th October 1909 the head teacher with one assistant and 43 girls visited the Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey. On the 12th October of the same year two teachers together with 40 girls visited the Tower of London. On the 30th May 1911 four teachers and 60 girls visited the Festival of Empire of the Crystal Palace. Some natural wonders could be observed much nearer home and on the 14th April 1912 'Each class in turn went into the playground to watch the eclipse'.⁹

Parental co-operation was an asset much valued by the heads and the staff of the Drayton Schools. Situated in an

8 *Drayton School L.B. (Boys) 6:5:09.*

9 *Drayton School L.B. (Girls) 14:4:12.*

area of predominantly middle class housing in Drayton Grove, West Ealing, the school enjoyed the support of parents who were already experienced in the ideas of education and were convinced of its value for their children. On the 16th December 1908 between eight and nine hundred parents and friends attended a parents' evening at the school and on the 14th December the following year between six and seven hundred people supported a similar function.¹⁰ The public elementary schools were gaining respectability amongst the middle classes. The Drayton Schools for Boys and Girls were, in fact, thoroughly good schools. The life in the schools had been affected by the Great War and the staff and students made a substantial and determined contribution to the war effort. On the 7th June 1916 the school received news that Lieutenant Rush, R.N., had been made temporary Governor of the Isle of Tenedos in the Greek Archipelago. He had been given charge of the large naval and military forces there.¹¹ Rush was an assistant teacher at Drayton School. The infants' school logbook recorded that by January 1915 the girls had knitted 70 garments for the men of H.M.S. Euryalus. On the 7th August 1915 girls of the senior classes made sandbags for the troops - '140 bags were dispatched in the afternoon'.¹² The sadness and awful waste of war became familiar to the students in these years. By 1915 there were frequent announcements of the deaths of former pupils who had been killed in action. In

10 Drayton School L.B. (Boys) 16:12:08 and 14:12:09.

11 Drayton School L.B. (Boys) 7:6:16.

12 Drayton School L.B. (Girls) 7:8:15.

all, 32 former Drayton School boys lost their lives in World War One. Two members of staff died; Mr. H.W. Best, a master, and Mr. C.F. Wilson, a student teacher. A remark of Councillor Arney at a discussion during an Acton District Council meeting is pertinent also to Ealing and the country generally:

*'It had been said that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton ... the battle of the Marne, the Somme, and other battles of the Great War were won on the asphalt playgrounds of the elementary schools.'*¹³

In the early years of the twentieth century Ealing was an area of contrast between new council schools and older voluntary schools. The Joseph Lancaster School remained dependent upon voluntary contributions until it was handed over to the local education authority on the 31st December 1905. Little improvement ensued. Situated in Lancaster Road, South Ealing, the Joseph Lancaster School did not share the social environment of the Drayton Schools. It was in South Ealing that the workmen's dwellings had been erected in North and South Road and it was in the south of the borough, bordering Brentford, that the only properties in Ealing which came close to warranting the description 'slums' were to be found. In 1905 the area around Murray Road and Carlyle Road was referred to in the Middlesex County Times as 'Savage South Ealing'.¹⁴ It was also in the south that the Village Park and Popes Lane council estate was built in 1918.

13 M.C.T. 25:12:18, p.2.

14 M.C.T. 7:1:05 p.5.

In 1904 H.M.I. Streatfield was critical of overcrowding in the school. 'Far too many children are being taught,' he wrote, 'in a horribly confined space, both as to school accommodation and also as to playground'.¹⁵ The Board of Education revised the permitted accommodation in 1909, reducing it from 429 to a maximum of 371. Despite this H.M.I. Stobart still complained on the 28th October 1921 that

*'in some of the classrooms ventilation is so poor that it is hard for the children to attend to their lessons especially on close afternoons when the smell from the neighbouring stables becomes oppressive. Physical exercises are taken under difficult conditions in the public passages surrounding the school. It is also difficult to inculcate habits of tidiness when the surroundings are so squalid.'*¹⁶

The Joseph Lancaster School was closed on the opening of the Ealing Grange Council School in 1925. The Wesleyan School which, prior to 1902, had been the pride of the Ealing Educational Association came in for similar criticism. H.M.I. Webb described in 1907 how 'the want of a playground has resulted in the dangerous practice of allowing big girls in Standards VI and VII to stand in the seats of the desks to perform physical exercises'.¹⁷ The school was closed in July 1920.

The teachers in the Christ Church Schools situated in the centre of the old parish of Ealing laboured gallantly despite their working conditions. As early as 1893 H.M.I. Willis had reported that the 'boot and knife boys flock here

15 J.L. School file 23:1:04.

16 J.L. School file 28:10:21.

17 W. School file 10:1:07.

because discipline is lax'.¹⁸ By 1906 H.M.I. Streatfield was able to report that the appointment of a new headmaster had improved things. 'The new headmaster has brought both zeal and ability to bear upon the management of his school', but he still found a need in the upper school for 'somewhat firmer class discipline and more stimulating oral teaching'.¹⁹ In 1921, whilst finding problems in the girls' school. H.M.I. Stobart paid tribute to the work of the teachers in the infants' department. In spite of 'the grime of the walls, the gloom of the rooms on dark days, the broken surface of the yard and the general air of neglect' the depression was largely expelled by 'the evident happiness of the children and the kindly management of them by the teachers'.²⁰ In the reorganisation of 1921 the Christ Church Schools were grouped with the St. Mary's Schools. Lammas and Northfields Schools were similarly unified. Such arrangements, however, were not carried through without some tension. In a minute paper dated the 19th April 1921, H.M.I. Stobart expressed concern that although in the case of the boys' departments the Lammas-Northfields union was progressing well when it came to the girls' departments 'its smooth working is hampered by the fact that the two headteachers are not on speaking terms'. Problems also attended the union of the Christ Church and St. Mary's girls' departments:-

18 C.C. School file 16:12:1893.

19 C.C. School file May 1906 and June 1906.

20 C.C. School file January 1921.

*'The head teacher of St. Mary's is capable and vigorous; the head teacher of Christ Church girls' amiable but aged, deaf and incapable. She is 63. There is also a young woman at Christ Church girls' who has been brought up with dynastic expectations of the headship.'*²¹

The quality of the schools bore a definite relationship to the social class of the area in which they were built. The Drayton Schools were in 'Upper Ealing' where the housing was well spaced and the clientele middle class. Christ Church and St. Mary's were situated in the heart of Old Ealing and the original building grant for St. Mary's and Christ Church Infants' stated that the purpose of the schools was to provide 'for the instruction of the children of the labouring poor in the said Parish of Ealing'.²² By the turn of the century the population was already most dense in this area of Ealing and the neighbourhood was heavily built up.

The established middle class residents, those pre-Edwardian aristocrats of Ealing, were becoming concerned at the encroaching lower middle classes. The Wesleyan School had, in the past, been regarded by some aspiring aristocrats as suitable for their children. Their patronage had enhanced the school's reputation in Ealing in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The decision to close the school, taken in 1920, provoked a quick response from Mr. F.W. Green of 220, Pitshanger Lane, who wrote a letter to the President of the Board of Education. He explained:-

21 W. School file 19:4:21.

22 W. School file 19:4:21.

'No-one contends that the Wesleyan School is an ideal school from a structural point of view but the difficulty is that no alternative accommodation is offered. The distribution of children among the existing schools works out in my own case to mean that I MAY be able to get a place for my boy in what I think is a suitable school at a school entailing a walk of over half an hour making it practically impossible to get home to dinner with any comfort. This does not strike me as being a reasonable alternative.

There are three schools - two 'provided' schools where the accommodation is notoriously inadequate and another (20 minutes walk) situated in the "back streets" to which I might but do not propose to send my boy.'²³

That the borough was active in increasing the number of elementary schools and in reorganising the accommodation is evident. But did the community of Ealing, through its Education Committee appointed by the Borough Council, do enough? Incorporation had been an idea conceived in the minds of Ealing's businessmen and aristocrats. A predominantly conservative political outlook was maintained throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century. It is worth recalling the statement of the Ealing Educational Association that it had little sympathy 'with the extravagant notions that appear to be entertained in some quarters as to the amount of education that should be provided for the poor out of the pockets of other people'.²⁴

By 1920 the social composition of Ealing had begun to broaden sufficiently to produce problems that could only be solved by a more socially responsive attitude, but not

23 W. School file 7:12:20.

24 E.E.A. 1879 p.5.

sufficiently to produce any fundamental change in the political nature of the borough. It was the opinion of H.M.I. Stobart that Ealing's reorganisation policy of 1921 was a poor substitute for a rebuilding policy. In a minute paper dated the 19th April 1921, and found in the Wesleyan School file in the Public Records Office, he contended that 'the Authority is engaged in saving the rates by various expedients more or less ingenious'. At the time he wrote the council was still negotiating for an extension of the tenancy of the much criticised site of the Joseph Lancaster School. Stobart's conclusion was a pointed criticism: 'Ealing has about 16 years of parsimony and neglect to make up for'.²⁵ The spectre of the rate-avoiding E.E.A. reappeared as the rate-saving L.E.A.

There is evidence of stringency. It does seem that while the elementary school accommodation increased, it did not keep pace with requirements. The 1921 Census counted a total of 67,755 people resident in Ealing. Of this number 11,374 were of school age between five and fourteen years old.²⁶ The number of elementary school places in the borough at provided and non-provided schools was 7,765.²⁷ In 1911 there were 6,911 pupils on roll in the elementary schools.²⁸ The numbers of pupils on roll in 1921 were 7,602²⁹ but

25 *W. School file 19:4:21.*

26 *Census 1921. Prel. Rep.*

27 *W. School file 19:4:21.*

28 *Jones, D. of P. p.18.*

29 *W. School file 19:4:21.*

Stobart estimated the actual average attendance as being in all probability 6,500.³⁰ The 1921 Census discovered a total of 10,057 children aged between five and fourteen in attendance at educational institutions. The Higher Education Committee in Ealing set the number of pupils in private schools that year at 2,228³¹, thus leaving 1,586 children of school age apparently attending no school at all. The School Attendance Committee had been active and in 1912 had issued 58 summonses.³² The Inspectors were not the only people to charge the Education Committee with stringency. In 1918 the Committee had been accused by two borough councillors, acting on a report from an H.M.I., with failing to ensure a sufficient supply of textbooks in its schools. Councillors Hulbert, Bradford and Miss Hawkins, all of whom had displayed considerable educational zeal in their time, accused the council of taking inadequate action to remedy the situation.³³ The council did agree to replace history readers and atlases but did not see the need to replace readers, prose and poetry books in Standards IV, V, VI and VII.

The borough of Ealing's activities as a Part III authority also came in for criticism from a different section of the community and for different reasons. At a meeting of the neighbouring Acton District Council in December 1918 the effects of increased elementary provision, the broadening

30 W. School file 19:4:21.

31 H.E.C. March 1920.

32 Ed. Cttee. Ann. Report 31:3:12.

33 M.C.T. 27:7:18 p.3.

curriculum and the attendance requirements were discussed as they affected pupils there. 'The Secretary to the Education Committee set a number of boys to do ordinary arithmetic and nearly all the students failed at sums they ought easily to have worked'.³⁴ Girls were also reported to have failed to complete tasks they should have accomplished. The more comprehensive curriculum was blamed. There was no longer enough cramming of the three R's. Councillor Skinner of Acton was proud to exclaim, 'I left school at 13 years of age, but in those years I got enough education to get on in life'.³⁵ Such a sentiment was no doubt as much a reaction to the 1918 Education Act which raised the minimum school age to 14 and proposed the introduction of compulsory attendance at continuation schools as it was to the developments of the previous 16 years. It is highly likely that Councillor Skinner's views were shared by some Ealing businessmen and artisans doubtful of this educational approach to the threat to Britain's economic position in the world, whose education for life had been gained through apprenticeships or early employment. There is evidence that a section of Ealing's businessmen had been critical of the borough's elementary education policy. An article in the Middlesex County Times in February 1918, written after the publication of the 1918 Act encouraged the businessmen and educationalists of Ealing to meet together to increase their understanding of each other's needs. If the Ealing Chamber of Commerce and the

34 M.C.T. 25:12:18 p.3.

35 M.C.T. 25:12:18 p.3.

Ealing Education Committee were to meet 'the one will become much less critical and exacting, the other less dull and more practical'.³⁶

There is then substance to Stobart's claim that in 1921 Ealing was an authority still much concerned with the saving of the rates to the detriment of the quality and quantity of elementary education in the borough. Although there were many commendable educational developments within certain of the schools, the increase in the provision of elementary education in Ealing in the first quarter of the century was not sufficient to fulfil all the requirements of the growing population. However, one indisputable result of the 1902 Act was that the numbers of children attending elementary schools in the borough did increase. There may not have been full attendance but there was increased attendance. More children were taught with some success in Ealing's elementary schools. This increase was particularly marked in the period from 1902-1911. (See Table VII).

It was out of this elementary basis that aspirations for secondary education developed. It was indeed the apparent intention of the Ealing Education Committee that such aspirations should emerge. An extract from the Introduction to the Code of 1909 appeared in the Borough Education Committee Report for the year ending 31st March 1912:

36 M.C.T. 23:2:18 p.4.

TABLE VII

Attendance at Ealing Elementary Schools 1902-1926
and the Relationship of Attendance to Population

<i>Date</i>	<i>Attendance at Elementary Schools</i>	<i>Population of Ealing</i>
1902	3,167 on roll 2,653 average attendance	33,031
1907	5,489 on roll 4,872 average attendance	
1911-12	6,911 on roll 6,140 average attendance	61,222
1921	7,602 on roll 6,500 average attendance	67,755

- Sources: 1. *Population of Ealing from Respective Censuses*
2. 1902 - Jones, *Decade of Progress*
3. 1907 - Ed. Cttee. 31:3:07 pp.36 & 40
4. 1911-12 - Jones, *Decade of Progress*
5. W. School file 19:4:21

'It will be an important, though subsidiary, object of the School to discover individual children who show promise of exceptional capacity, and to develop their special gifts (so far as this can be done without sacrificing the interests of the majority of children), so that they may be qualified to pass at the proper age into Secondary Schools, and be able to derive the maximum of benefit from the education there offered them.'³⁷

37 Ed. Cttee. Ann. Report 31:3:12, p.7.

Dr. Marjorie Cruickshank has contended that the 1902 Act 'made possible a co-ordinated system of elementary and secondary education',³⁸, whereas Professor Simon has maintained that the purpose of the Act was political and was designed to protect an elitist system of secondary schooling.³⁹ Indeed the exact relationship of elementary education to the secondary schools was the occasion of much debate and experiment throughout the period 1902 to 1944. What was the response of the community of Ealing to a growing number of children who may have wanted to partake of secondary education?

The private sector in education in the borough continued to flourish although some schools did close down. The Hawthorns closed in 1912 and Girton House School closed in 1923. The demise of Ealing Grammar School occurred in 1917. In 1912 the Grammar School had 200 boarders⁴⁰ but by 1915 had apparently begun to struggle for financial survival. For the first time recourse was taken to the pages of the Middlesex County Times in order to attract customers and advertisements were placed in the newspaper. On the 22nd December 1915 the school set out its store as it had done throughout the year. The advertisement carried the proud proclamation 'Founded in 1835 by Lady Byron' and '100%

38 M. Cruickshank, 'A Defence of the 1902 Act'. Hist. of Ed. Soc. B. No. 19, Spring 1977 pp.2-7.

39 B. Simon, 'The 1902 Act - A Wrong Turning'. Hist. of Ed. Soc. B. No. 19, Spring 1977 pp.7-14.

40 Vict. Cty. Hist. Middx. Vol. 7 p.168.

successes'. A girls' section had been opened on the 28th October that year as much a result of financial necessity no doubt, as of educational idealism, but by 1917 closure had become unavoidable. The majority of Ealing's private schools however continued their vigorous lives. There is much testimony to their energies in the Middlesex County Times. Reports of prize-givings, speech days, entertainments and sports events abound. New institutions opened. In 1902 Father Sebastian Cave opened St. Benedict's School. Renamed Ealing Priory School in 1916 the school occupied premises in Montpelier Road from 1906 until 1924 when it moved to Eaton Rise. Clark's College opened in Uxbridge Road in 1910 and Pitman's College opened at 52-56 Uxbridge Road in 1914. The Convent of Augustinian Ladies School opened in 1915 as a day and boarding school for girls and as a day school for small boys. In 1923 Lourdes Mount School for Girls was opened by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary at Rochester House. The premises of the by then defunct Girton House School were taken over in 1925 by Acton College and the establishment was renamed Ealing College. Gregg Secretarial College opened in 1926. There had been 29 private schools in the borough in 1900. In 1949 there were still 26.

The 1902 Act had empowered the County Councils, as Part II authorities, to assess the needs for and meet the requirements of secondary education in their area. Middlesex County Council was the authority responsible for secondary education in Ealing. The private fee paying schools were able to claim grants from the Board of Educa-

tion if they were recognised as efficient. After 1907 the recognition of a fee paying school for purposes of a higher rate of grant was dependent upon the school accepting 25% of its previous year's intake as free place pupils from the public elementary schools, although this regulation was waived when the circumstances warranted it. In 1908 the Board of Education published a list of efficient schools including those in receipt of grant. None of the Ealing private schools was on that list.⁴¹ Neither did any appear on the list of Fee Charging Secondary Schools in England and Wales in which the normal free place regulations had been waived, which was published in 1919.⁴² In 1928-9 none of the Ealing private schools was included in the return of the 235 secondary schools not provided by local education authorities but which continued to receive grant direct from the Board of Education.⁴³ It may be concluded then that the private sector in Ealing did not absorb any of those pupils who were being produced by the elementary schools in the borough and who sought to continue their education. These fee paying schools did not wish to accede to the level of public control demanded in return for the award of a grant and in some cases were not prepared to forego their denominational religious teaching. There was also a steady supply of fee paying pupils throughout the

41 *H of C* 1908 *Cd.* 4374 lxxxiii 261.

42 *H of C* 1919 *Cmd.* 241 xxxix 267.

43 *H of C* 1928-9 (118) xvi 839.

period sufficient to maintain the schools without need for them to have recourse to a grant.

What then were the courses of action open to the aspiring elementary school pupil in Ealing? There were Middlesex County Scholarships which provided fees, the Joseph Lancaster Scholarship providing two years free secondary education at one of the Middlesex County Secondary Schools, and between 1905 and 1910 four Pupil Teacher Scholarships offered by the Ealing Education Committee for free secondary education from 12 to 16 years of age with a maintenance grant available for pupils over 14 years old. Ealing candidates competed successfully for the County Scholarships. The results of the 1908 County Scholarship examinations 'showed that a great number of the scholarships were awarded to children attending Ealing schools'.⁴⁴ The specific details are not given. All the scholarship winners however had, before 1913, to attend secondary schools outside the borough. A crossed out note in the minutes of the Education Committee General Purposes Sub-Committee held on the 26th February 1907 recognised this fact. In order that pupil teachers could meet the requirements of a course of secondary education 'it will be necessary to send all Pupil Teacher Scholarship Holders and Candidates to Secondary Schools outside the Borough unless a Secondary School be established in Ealing'. The details of such awards for one year illustrate the problem: 'On March 31st, 1905, there were 14 Pupil Teachers in the service of the Local Education

44 *Ed. Cttee. Ann. Report 1909, p. 15.*

Authority and 7 candidates for Pupil Teachership all attending the Acton and Chiswick Pupil Teacher Centre'.⁴⁵ For those who did not win a scholarship and who could not afford the private schools the only courses of action that remained open were to engage a private tutor or attend evening class. There were no trade or craft schools, a fact which the Education Committee regretted: '"Trade" and "Craft" schools are greatly needed, but before the Local Education Authorities can deal with this important matter in a satisfactory way, increased grants must be forthcoming from Imperial sources'.⁴⁶ The Committee believed that the establishment of Special Subject Centres was a step in the right direction. By 1912 there were three such centres. Cookery and handicraft were taught at The Hall, and cookery, laundry and handicraft at Lammas and at Drayton. During that year 1,100 pupils had received instruction in handicraft, 854 in cookery and 639 in laundry.⁴⁷

The 1902 Education Act did more than give permission to the Part II authorities to assess the situation regarding secondary education in their area and aid the fee paying schools. They were allowed to establish maintained secondary schools. The new secondary schools were to be founded at the joint expense of the local committees and the County Councils. In 1902 in Middlesex there were five endowed schools aided by the County and four provided secondary

45 *Ed. Cttee. Ann. Report* 31:3:05, p. 13.

46 *Ed. Cttee. Ann. Report* 31:3:09, p. 13.

47 *Ed. Cttee. Ann. Report* 31:3:12, p. 13.

schools.⁴⁸ The policy of the Middlesex Education Committee under the secretaryship of Benjamin Gott has been open to various interpretations. Modern Educationalists in Middlesex have looked back on the work of the Committee and of Gott between 1902 to 1928 as a period of achievement and initiative. It was the opinion of the County Education Committee in 1965 that

*'Sir Benjamin Gott was a creative pioneer passionately concerned with education, many of whose ideas and policies were thirty years or more in advance of public opinion and paved the way for later national developments.'*⁴⁹

Certainly the number of provided secondary schools increased. By 1918 the County Council could boast of 29 fully maintained secondary schools.⁵⁰ A contemporary assessment by the Board of Education doubted the sufficiency even of this progress:-

*'The inadequacy of the provision of Secondary School accommodation in these areas (i.e. Middlesex) is painfully obvious. It is admitted that Middlesex have an extraordinarily difficult problem. Probably no other Part II L.E.A. has to deal with so high a proportion of the population that seeks to send its children to secondary schools and is able to pay for them.'*⁵¹

Middlesex had another extraordinary problem. It was caused by the dramatic increase of population in the period 1901 to 1921. The elementary basis of the educational system broadened as a result of this. In 1901 there were just over 100,000 children of compulsory school age; in 1921 there

48 Ed. in Middx. p.27.

49 Ed. in Middx. p.27.

50 Ed. in Middx. p.27.

51 P.R.O. Ed. 15/203.

were just over 200,000 of compulsory school age.⁵² That the proliferation of private schools caused a drag effect on the provision of maintained secondary schools is evident. Ealing's first County Secondary School opened in 1913 as a result of consumer demand, as a consequence of the Middlesex county policy of extending their system of secondary schools and as a result of considerable pressure from Ealing which showed, perhaps predictably, concern over an efficient return for rates contributed. If concern over the rates had had a detrimental effect on the elementary service then determination to get a fair return on rates levied by the county within the borough played its part in the provision of the Ealing County Boys' School. In 1909 the Education Committee recorded the forwarding of plans for the new secondary school to the County Education Committee. Attached to this record is a postscript:

*'Practically all other parts of the County of Middlesex are now provided with County Secondary Schools; while Ealing although contributing very largely to the County Rate, is not securing the same educational benefits which her neighbours enjoy.'*⁵³

Councillors would have been looking at the county secondary schools in Acton and Southall. Both schools were used by pupils from Ealing and significantly the Acton County School, opened in 1906, had advertised for pupils in Ealing. Both Acton and Southall were different kinds of communities from Ealing. Their populations were much more working class and private schools did not proliferate.

52 *Ed. in Middx. p.12.*

53 *Ed. Cttee. Ann. Report 1909.*

The Ealing County School for Boys opened on 25th September 1913. A Middlesex County Times reporter wrote:

*'Ealing's new county school, the completion of which has been delayed by strikes was opened on Thursday. There was no inaugural ceremony, as the building is still far from being finished but an official opening will be performed by Mr. W. Regester J.P., chairman of the Middlesex County Council.'*⁵⁴

When completed the school would have accommodation for 300 pupils. By the opening date over 100 boys had already enrolled and by 1925 there were 449 on roll,⁵⁵ most of whom had emerged from the Ealing elementary schools.

By the time that the 1918 Education Act was passed then, there was in Ealing an established, vigorous County School for Boys. Fees were charged, but in line with Board of Education regulations concerning the payment of grants to schools, free places to the total of 25% of the previous year's intake were awarded. The 1918 Act held out the promise of a boost for the whole field of maintained secondary education. The purpose of the Act was post war reconstruction and to enable a more complete fulfilment of the potential of the individual. The architect of the Act was H.A.L. Fisher and he was eager to see education grow from what he considered to be its functionalist approach. It was his opinion that 'clearly a state of society which regards the children of the people principally as industrial units, as pieces in a great

54 M.C.T. 27:9:13 p.6.

55 H.E.C. May 1925.

mechanism of toil is not solidly constituted'.⁵⁶ The Act made it the duty of the

*'council of every county and county borough, so far as their powers extend, to contribute thereto by providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education in respect of their area.'*⁵⁷

Attendance at school from 5 years of age until the end of the term in which a pupil reached 14 was made compulsory. Local bye-laws could raise the leaving age to 15 years. All who left at 14 had to attend a continuation school for 320 hours per year. The establishment of central schools, constituted of the more able pupils from various elementary schools in a particular area brought together in one centre for more advanced instruction and a feature of the development of advanced elementary work since soon after 1902, was encouraged as was the policy of Local Authorities to award maintenance grants which would allow poorer students who won free places to actually take up the place. Optimism was the keynote of the 1918 Act and the exuberance permeated through to the local level. The idealistic Secretary of the County Education Committee, Benjamin Gott, was in his element and in 1920 the Middlesex Education Committee produced their Scheme of Education for Middlesex. The Scheme was remarkable for its vision and modernity and in many aspects was a precursor of the Hadow Report of 1926. It was designed to provide increased opportunity for pupils to take part in

56 D.W. Dean. 'H.A.L. Fisher, Reconstruction and the Development of the 1918 Education Act', B.J.Ed.Studies, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1970 pp.259-276.

57 P.R.O. Ed. 10/22.

secondary education up to the age of 16 and advocated selection for grammar schools based on ability and aptitude, rather than ability to pay, by means of a common entrance examination for all candidates whether fee paying or free placers. The scheme sought to establish a common element in all secondary school curricula which would be taught to all pupils up to the age of 13 and which would thus facilitate the easier transference of pupils from one institution to another. Sixth forms, the Committee suggested, should be grouped in centres to enable the effective teaching of specialist subjects. All grammar schools should do some practical or manual work; some, it was planned, would specialise in non-traditional subjects like science, modern studies, commercial studies and domestic science. Modern schools were to be developed along the lines of higher grade schools with central schools serving a number of smaller elementary schools. And this was 1920!

In January 1921 the Ealing Education Committee produced its Draft Report of the Advisory Committee Re. the Preparation of a Scheme for the Local Education Authority. This was in accordance with the provision of Section 4 of the 1918 Education Act and represented an attempt to apply the optimistic and determined mood of the immediate post First World War years specifically to the requirements of Ealing. A progressive document at the time, the Report offered suggestions for the improvement and extension of all the educational services in the borough. Aware of the deficiencies still apparent in the elementary school provision, the Committee recommended that 'As soon as circumstances permit ...



sufficient modern schools be erected to supply the needs of all children requiring state assisted elementary education in the Borough'.⁵⁸ Convinced of the trend towards and demand for more advanced learning within the elementary system the Committee urged that adequate provision be made for special subject teaching. In January 1921 out of a senior school roll of 4,873 pupils, 1,365 were receiving instruction in special subjects including handicraft, cookery, housewifery and laundry.⁵⁹ By senior pupils, the Report referred to those aged over 11 years. It was felt that both South Ealing and North Ealing would benefit from more special subject centres. It was recommended that

*'the local Education Authority make such provision as will allow of all children over 11 having the opportunity of receiving instruction in Handicraft and other Special Subjects ... About 28% of the children are receiving instruction in Special Subjects but it is recommended that such teaching be extended in all parts of the Borough.'*⁶⁰

Reorganisation to allow for advanced instruction for older children was anticipated: 'arrangements have been made whereby the Lammas Boys' and Girls' Schools are being conducted as Senior Departments, the Northfields Boys' and Girls' Departments being retained as Junior Departments i.e. for children below the age of 11'.⁶¹ The Hadow Report recommendation of a split at age 11 was already considered in Ealing! The Committee further recommended 'that at

58 Draft Report 1921.

59 Draft Report 1921.

60 Draft Report 1921.

61 Draft Report 1921.

least 3 schools of a "Central School" character be provided in the Borough' and 'that in selecting children for admission to schools of Central School type more value be placed upon the record of a child's work during the year last past than upon any entrance examination which may be held'.⁶² The character which these central schools would have was hinted at later in the Report when staffing requirements were considered: 'With regard to the "Standards of Staffing" it will, of course, differ in connection with the various types of schools which will be developed e.g. the Central School will approximate to the Secondary School standard for the area and so on'.⁶³ It was envisaged that Ealing's central schools would offer an education that was essentially secondary.

The proposed reorganisation may be summarised as follows:-

- a) Infants' Schools to cater for pupils up to the age of 7 years;
- b) Junior Schools or Primary Schools for pupils aged 7-11 years;
- c) Senior Schools or Intermediate Schools from 11+ and Central or Secondary Schools.

The emerging secondary provision was in this way to be allotted its place in a more coherent system. It was thought that

'this arrangement would meet to a great extent the demand for "equal opportunity" e.g. a boy

62 Draft Report 1921.

63 Draft Report 1921.

*who showed special facility for commercial work would probably enter a Central School with a Commercial bias from the age of 12 onwards. Similarly a boy who showed special ability on the academic side should enter a secondary school with a view to matriculating and thus be given an opportunity of entering a professional career. The boy who is more expert with his hands would probably find himself in a "Craft" class attached either to the Primary School or Central School at which special training will be given towards the development and training of such children.'*⁶⁴

This projected tripartite division after the age of 11 foreshadowed the provisions of the 1944 Education Act by 23 years although whether that fact should be more a judgement on the Act than on the Ealing proposals is a matter for debate. Retrospectively the genesis of the 1944 Act may seem sluggish. There is no doubt that, in 1921, the Ealing proposals were progressive. The terminology of the 1921 Report and the emphasis on Senior Departments, central schools and secondary education pre-empted the Hadow Report by 5 years. The Ealing Committee may not have gone overtly as far as Hadow in recommending secondary education for all but it did suggest that there should be some form of secondary education available for all whom it was thought would benefit from it.

The Advisory Committee also called for the urgent provision of a girls' secondary school in Ealing and considered it desirable that a day continuation school should be established in the borough, if possible before September 1921. Such a school should be conducted in the best equipped

and most convenient buildings available. A good deal of thought was given to the quality and type of education that should be given particularly in those schools and departments that were in fact an extension of the elementary system. Classes, it was advised, should be limited to 40 pupils and a majority of the Committee thought that all school departments should be sexually mixed. The appointment of an expert in sex hygiene was recommended and additional swimming baths and playing fields were necessary to improve the social and physical training of elementary school children. A more efficient school meals service and a medical service were required. Realising the effect that increased and improved elementary education would have on the number of pupils aspiring to secondary schools and aware of an increasing number of such pupils who would be unable to afford secondary school fees, the Committee offered suggestions for making available more scholarships. It was their opinion that in 1921 only 10% of the number of children who were capable of profiting from a scholarship actually obtained one. They deplored this inadequacy and sought the development of a policy, jointly with the County Authority, which might improve matters and at the same time suggested that the merchants and manufacturers of London be encouraged to form a scholarship fund which would give aid to pupils in London and the Home Counties.

The hope and determination which prevailed in the immediate post First World War years had produced bold plans at national, county and local level. Had they been

implemented the relationship between elementary and secondary education would have seen some advance and every young person would have had a larger experience of the educational system. That these plans were not carried out with any consistency or in any way approaching their entirety was due primarily to the prevailing economic climate of the years 1921-1924 which brought the infamous wielding of axes by the Geddes Committee on National Expenditure. Education suffered in the cutbacks; the acquisition of buildings and the appointment of teachers was hit. In nearly all cases, with Rugby being the notable exception, the plans for continuation schools were abandoned and never resumed. All improvements were made subject to financial circumstances. But in Ealing all was not lost.

In areas where there were Part III authorities, central schools were under their management, while secondary schools existing in the same Part III area came under the auspices of the Part II authority. In December 1918 the Board of Education decided that central schools and secondary schools should be managed not only by the same administrative body but also by the same officer. As a result Higher Education Committees were established.⁶⁵ In Ealing the Higher Education Committee began its work in 1919. From that time on there was a body of people whose attention and energy was concentrated and focussed on post-elementary education in the borough. Since 1913 and the opening of the Boys'

65 P.R.O. Ed. 15/203.

County School there had been a Committee for Higher Education which fulfilled the role of overseer of the new secondary school, the Art School and Technical Institute. The new body provided for more positive local initiative and allowed for the effective channelling of such initiative. The Higher Education Committee was to consist of one third members appointed by the County Education Committee, at least one of whom was to be a woman, and two thirds were to be appointed by the Part III authority with the similar requirement that at least one appointee be a woman. The H.E.C. was to be responsible for the management of the County Secondary School, the Technical Institute, School of Art, Evening and projected Day Continuation classes. It would assume the management of any future polytechnic. Also within its brief was the award of free places, the appointment of teachers and the preparation of schemes of work. The Education Committee, however, retained the right to erect buildings, to approve all schemes and estimates and award county scholarships other than free places. Of course in the field of secondary education, the Part III authority had to elicit the approval of the Part II authority. In the next 25 years the Higher Education Committee was to play an important and a vigorous role in the educational life of the borough. The initiative for progress in secondary education was placed firmly in local hands.

The Advisory Committee's recommendation to establish central schools was heeded. Ealing was slow to introduce

central schools and the reasons behind this are the same as those which explain the slow evolution of maintained secondary schools in the borough. Professor Simon has described how central schools were provided in London from 1911 and in Manchester from 1912.⁶⁶ The large number of private schools in Ealing retarded quasi-secondary developments which only came with the growth and increasing social complexity of the community. In Middlesex however central schools first appeared in 1908. They were selective and offered free education up to the age of 16 or 17 years.⁶⁷ The Advisory Committee which reported to the Ealing Education Committee in 1921 had recommended that three such central schools should be established in Ealing. In fact in 1924 there was created in Ealing one central school for boys and one for girls. Lammas Boys' School became the Central Boys' School and Lammas Girls' became the Central Girls'. The intended secondary nature of the school was in fact confirmed by the Higher Education Committee who explained that

*'the examinations to be held in Ealing would not only provide for the entrance into secondary schools but would also provide an opportunity for selecting Ealing children for the Central School which will be established at the Lammas Council School in August 1924.'*⁶⁸

The Central Schools did however remain under the auspices of the Ealing Education Committee and continued to be considered for administrative purposes as an elementary

⁶⁶ Simon II p.120-121.

⁶⁷ Ed. in Middx. p.32.

⁶⁸ H.E.C. 15:2:24.

school. Elevation to central school status brought changes to the Lammas Schools to accommodate the new timetable. In the boys' school a dark room with demonstration table was to be provided and considerable alterations were carried out to the handicraft room which was to be used as a science room. The boys' school would have nine members of staff. In the girls' school sinks, gas taps and a demonstration table were to be added and there would be fewer members of staff.⁶⁹ There was, eventually, to be accommodation for 320 boys and 320 girls.⁷⁰ Maintenance grants were to be made available for pupils over 14.

It is interesting to note that while Ealing may have regarded the establishment of a central school as a step forward in 1924, such schools were already being regarded, within Middlesex, as an anachronism. Benjamin Gott and the County Education Committee would have considered that the opening of a central school in Ealing was a retrograde step. Gott would have agreed with Tawney and Professor Simon who regarded the establishment of central schools as a deflection of energy from the real issue of the provision of an adequate number of secondary school places. Professor Simon cites the L.C.C. under Conservative dominance in the early 1920s erecting a large number of central schools in support of his theory of a Tory conspiracy in education. In Manchester in the same period, the Professor contends, central schools were definitely a substitute for 'proper' secondary schools.⁷¹

69 Ed. Cttee. 5:5:24.

70 Ed. Cttee. Ann. Report. 1935-7 p.7.

71 Simon II p.120-121.

In 1921 the Middlesex Education Committee expressed disagreement with that part of the 1920 Scheme of Education for Middlesex when it decided

*'not to establish Central Schools in the County Part III area, the Scheme being based on the principle that primary education covers a period up to the age of 11 to 12 years, and that from 11-12 to the age of 16 to 18 the education of all children who can benefit thereby should be at a Secondary School.'*⁷²

- the County Part III area being that area of Middlesex in which responsibility for elementary education had not been delegated to a local area but was retained by the County Authority. The effect that the Central Schools in Ealing, with considerable accommodation for boys and girls up to 16 years of age, had on the establishment of further secondary schools is a matter of conjecture. It seems reasonable to assume though that had the Central Schools not existed the clamour, between the wars, for more secondary provision would have been greater than it was.

The Draft Report of the Committee of 1921 had considered the provision of a girls' secondary school in the borough to be a matter of urgency. The education of girls had long been on the minds of the Ealing Education Committee. The Boys' County School had originally been intended to accommodate 150 boys and 150 girls. On the question of mixed education Ealing disagreed with Benjamin Gott. Gott advocated co-educational schools for the social benefits that would result. The Advisory Committee of 1921 reached the same conclusion. The borough Education Committee how-

ever disagreed. Boys and girls, they decided, should be educated separately. This idea was still adhered to in 1928 in the Ealing Education Committee Report on the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on 'The Education of the Adolescent'. 'It is generally agreed', said the Report, 'that boys and girls should preferably be separated in all kinds of secondary schools'. As it was, until 1925 the girls of Ealing who did not go to the private schools had to attend the Art School or Technical Institute, go to an evening class or had to engage a private tutor. The Ealing Education Committee's resolve to provide secondary education for girls had been reinforced as early as the summer of 1914 when a letter was received from the honorary secretary to the Ealing Chamber of Commerce. In his letter he enclosed correspondence from 'a tradesman at West Ealing' claiming that local tradesmen's children were being boycotted at some private schools. The tradesman went on to point out the need of a county school for girls in the borough.⁷³ A letter requesting the same from the women's section of the Labour Party in 1918 brought a positive response from the Education Committee who reassured them that the decision to provide such a school had already been taken and further steps were contemplated. In 1921 the shadow of a Geddes axe hovered over educational expansion. The Middlesex Education Committee explained that

'The question of the provision of adequate Secondary School accommodation throughout the County is a matter which has been constantly under consideration by your Committee and the Council will be aware that it is a matter of

*increasing difficulty owing to the present serious financial position and the necessity of rigorous economy.'*⁷⁴

Practically every district in the county had placed demands for further secondary education before the county authority and the county had suggested that, where possible, temporary measures should be taken to meet these demands. However, the Inspectors' condemnation of 1918 describing the inadequacy of secondary provision in Middlesex must have had some impact on the Board of Education. The population of Middlesex was still growing and while the period of national stringency brought school building in many parts of England to a complete halt it did not do so in Middlesex. In those parts of the county where the population grew new elementary schools were built. In contrast, in those areas where the population growth slowed down the old pre-1914 buildings remained in use and were still, in some cases, in use in the 1950s. The plans for Ealing County Girls' School were approved by the Board of Education and this approval was notified to the county authority in June 1922. The Girls' Secondary School in Ealing was one of only 5 secondary schemes approved in Middlesex that year.⁷⁵ The school opened on Tuesday 15th September 1925 and could accommodate 383 pupils.

The 1902 Education Act had made elementary education in Ealing a municipal responsibility. The cause of elementary education was furthered more efficiently than before.

74 M.E.C. 30:6:21.

75 M.E.C. 29:6:22.

Though the adequacy of elementary provision may be doubted it is certain that under the auspices of the borough Education Committee more children were successfully taught at that stage and consequently a greater demand for secondary education was created. This happened coincidentally with the growth of the population in the borough and more than ever before there were parents ambitious for their children's continued education who were unable to afford private school fees. The 1918 Education Act gave such people cause for enormous optimism but hopes were smartly dampened by the economic austerity of the years 1921-1924. Nevertheless, as a response to local needs and as a result of county policy, Ealing had two maintained secondary schools by 1925 together with a selective central school for boys, and one for girls, where some form of secondary education was available. The Art School and Technical Institute with its evening classes provided other opportunities for further education at the post elementary level. Private enterprise in education thrived as before and had in fact exercised a drag effect on the maintained secondary sector. The Boys' and Girls' County Schools were opened in response to demand and to the changing situation in the borough rather than in anticipation of it.

1926 was a momentous year for Ealing. The borough boundaries were extended and this introduced greater complexity into the community's social composition. It also increased the extent of corporate responsibility for all community services including education.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXTENSION OF THE BOROUGH -
AN INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY

After a campaign led by the Town Council lasting two and a half years, Ealing achieved amalgamation with Hanwell and Greenford in 1926. Northolt was included in the borough in 1928. Hanwell had demonstrated an eagerness for amalgamation and was keen to bring the experience of the Ealing Town Council to bear on its own increasing problems. The Ealing councillors no doubt felt encouraged in their plans for amalgamation by the Royal Commission on Greater London Government which advocated the union of small local government areas. Middlesex County Council, who had opposed the initial plans for incorporation in the 1890s, did not object to the proposed extension of the borough boundaries in 1926. They shared the general and growing concern with town planning which had produced the Housing, Town Planning Act of 1919, the Housing Act of 1923 and the Town and Country Planning Act of 1924 and they wished to see the responsibility for town planning in the area put in the care of one authority. Hanwell's enthusiasm for amalgamation was shared by Northolt and Northolt's application for inclusion in the borough is recorded in the Middlesex County Times of the 24th July 1926. Greenford, on the other hand, opposed amalgamation. Keen to retain what they considered to be their own character and identity the people of Greenford had to be persuaded and almost bullied into inclusion in the enlarged borough of Ealing.

The population of Hanwell had grown in similar fashion to and at the same time as that of Ealing. The tramway which had brought large numbers of London's workforce to Ealing extended along the Uxbridge Road through Hanwell complementing the omnibus service which had been inaugurated with two daily services in 1854. The corresponding and resultant growth is evident.

TABLE VIII

Population Growth in Hanwell 1901-1931

Area	Population			Reorganis- ed as	Population in 1931
	1901	1911	1921		
1,067 acres	10,438	19,129	20,481	Hanwell North	10,270
				Hanwell South	8,878

Source: 1. 1901 figures from Census 1901
 2. 1911 figures from Census 1911
 3. 1921 and 1931 figures from Census, London, 1921, 1931, 1951

Among the first of the new residents attracted by the tramway were Mr. and Mrs. William Thompson of 18, Grove Avenue, Hanwell. They bought two plots of land and moved to Hanwell in 1902. On one plot their own house was built and on the adjoining plot a friend, Mr. William John Mockley, built his home. On the occasion of their golden wedding in January 1938 they reminisced

'there were no houses on the north side of Cuckoo-Hill in those days. Framfield Road was a row of houses only a few years old. There

*was only one shop in Greenford Avenue. The mansion of Hanwell Park stood in what is now Drayton Bridge Road, but was in decay.'*¹

Mr. and Mrs. Thompson's children used to play around the mansion. Mrs. Farquhar, wife of an eminent rector of the district, remembered the Hanwell of 1899 as a village. In 1938 she recalled that

*'there was a glebe field by the old rectory where I kept poultry and goats. The garden was very large and its lawn sloped down to the Brent.'*²

The Hanwell which merged with Ealing in 1926 was a very different place. The population in 1925 was estimated to be 20,980.³ The most rapid growth had occurred, as it had in Ealing, between 1901 and 1911. The Ealing Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Orr, reported in 1926 that the average density of population in Hanwell was 19.2 persons per acre but in West Central Ward it was 57.7 persons per acre.⁴ He drew attention to some of the organisational, administrative and practical problems which the growth in population had produced. He pointed out the need in Hanwell for the co-ordination of services, particularly between school medical and child welfare services such as there had been in Ealing. He urged the development of a maternity and child welfare clinic and a school clinic. Ealing promised Hanwell the benefit of its experience. Between 1931 and 1951 the population of the Hanwell Wards increased by just under

1 M.C.T. 3:1:38, p.3.

2 M.C.T. 3:1:38, p.6.

3 M.C.T. 31:7:26, p.2.

4 M.C.T. 31:7:26, p.2.

10,000 and a London County Council Housing estate was built there.

Greenford did not go gently into amalgamation. The area had retained its rural character. The tramway did not run through Greenford and both the London and North Western Railway (London-Birmingham line) built in 1837 and the Great Western Railway (London-Bristol line) opened in 1938 skirted Greenford. The Paddington Canal built in 1801 did pass through the parish but the only traffic remarked upon were the Sunday barge trips bringing revellers and courting couples from London to the Middlesex countryside. In 1904 a halt was established at Greenford on the loop line between Ruislip and Ealing Broadway on the Great Western Railway and in 1921 J. Lyons and Company opened a factory at Oldfield Lane on the Grand Junction Canal. The only previous industrial development was the Rockware Glass Company which had established premises in Greenford in 1900. In 1924 Greenford still warranted the description as 'the smallest urban district in Middlesex in point of population'.⁵ But, in 1924, Greenford stood on the verge of a dramatic metamorphosis. The Middlesex County Times predicted that 'Greenford is likely to develop considerably in the near future and the different schemes in hand or in contemplation will effect a remarkable transformation in the district'.⁶ The following table is evidence of that transformation.

5 M.C.T. 3:5:24, p.9.

6 M.C.T. 3:5:24, p.9.

TABLE IX

Population Growth in Greenford 1901-1931

Area in 1901	A Population including Greenford Green and Twyford Abbey 1901	B Population of 'A' plus Perivale		
		1911	1921	1931
3,041 acres	879	1,064	1,461	15,244

Source: 1. 1901 figures from Census 1901
 2. 1911 figures from Census 1911
 3. 1921 and 1931 figures from Census, London, 1921, 1931, 1951.

The population figures illustrate both the enduring rural character of Greenford and the perception of the prediction in the Middlesex County Times. Because of the district's opposition to amalgamation Ealing was obliged to state and prove its case for the merger in public. Councillor J.C. Fuller, Chairman of the Boundaries Extension Committee and a chief advocate of an enlarged borough, addressed the opening session of the amalgamation Inquiry on the 13th January 1926. Greenford, he observed, was 'cut up by arterial roads and railways and it is a good area for industrial development'.⁷ It was this anticipated future development that Ealing wanted to be able to control. There had as yet been little residential development in the district since World War One. Previous to 1913 some plots of land had been available at £5 per plot and the Lyons Company built some houses for employees in the Costors Avenue

7 M.C.T. 16:1:26, p.8.

area. In 1924 it was projected that Western Avenue would enter Greenford at Perivale and pass across the district to Northolt in a line south of and parallel to the main railway line crossing the north-south road (Oldfield Lane) just north of Greenford Church. This was to be completed in 1926. Another road was under construction by the Middlesex County Council, to be the new Greenford Road, running parallel to Oldfield Lane, and was to open in 1925. Increased accessibility and the junction of two major roads would ensure that Greenford would become a major traffic point. This was at a time when the value of road over rail transport for light industries was being realised and Greenford was ideally situated close to the capital and the docks. Several schemes of housing development were already being contemplated. In the north, Grove Park estate was planned to be close to South Harrow station on the London North Eastern Railway and to Sudbury Hill Station on the District Railway. This would comprise of 150 houses. In the neighbourhood of the village of Greenford three developments were envisaged; the Greenford Hall estate was to be constructed to the east of Oldfield Lane and would number 150 houses when complete, the Ravenor Park Estate on the western side of Oldfield Lane with two to three hundred houses and Highview estate on the western boundary of Greenford and partly in Northolt, of about 400 houses most of which were bungalows.⁸

8 M.C.T. 3:5:24, p.9.

At the inquiry, held before the Ministry of Health officials in a snowy January in 1925, representatives of Ealing's Town Council argued that Greenford Urban District's provisions for the existing community were inadequate. There were just sixty gas lamps within the district boundaries and apparently no electric street lighting. Eastwood Avenue and Grove Park estate were not yet connected to the sewers. This shortcoming was seized upon by the council which regarded Ealing as the pioneering borough in southern England when it came to sewage disposal and was to be an important consideration of the Inquiry. The surveyor of Greenford Urban District Council did not help Greenford's case, and perhaps that was his intention, when he listed the amenities within the district as consisting primarily of wheelbarrows and slopcarts! The outcome was that Greenford was amalgamated with Ealing in 1926. In view of the future massive industrial and residential development in the area which brought the population of Greenford in 1951 to 43,834⁹, and the apparent reluctance of Greenford in 1926 to move with this development, the merger can only be regarded as ultimately beneficial.

Unlike Greenford, the community of Northolt anticipated the likelihood of the westward spread of industrial and residential development along the arterial roads from and to London. In fact in the case of Northolt such development occurred later than it did in Greenford. In 1904 the Great Western Railway's new route to Birmingham was opened and it

9 Census, London, 1921, 1931, 1951.

joined with the Great Central Railway's route to Sheffield at Northolt Junction. Initially a halt was considered to be sufficient at the junction but a joint station was opened at Northolt Junction in 1905. There was, however, little immediate impact. In 1906 the Middlesex County Times included a description of Northolt in its 'country rambles' section. Northolt, it was explained, could be reached from Ealing by a 'rustic bridge' over the River Brent or by the 'equally pleasant' Greenford Road. Stiles had to be crossed! From the churchyard of Northolt one could see London, Castlebar and the Cuckoo Schools, where the Chaplin brothers first tasted official education in the nineteenth century. 'On the south side of the Church are some fine elm trees and the little village of Northolt lies snugly in a hollow about 200 yards west of the churchyard'. There was a detailed description of the fecund plant and animal life. 'Crossing the meadows between Greenford and Northolt the shrill cry of the lapwing, silver plover or peewit can often be heard'.¹⁰ In 1921 Northolt was still a village, but its foresight was justified as the population began to increase in the 1920s and did so more obviously and rapidly in the 1930s and the 1940s as Table X shows.

By 1928 the inclusion of Hanwell, Greenford and Northolt within Ealing effected a large and immediate increase in the population of the borough. Hand in hand with the increased civic responsibilities, Ealing had now to assume its duties for educational provision in the newly acquired areas. What

Illustration V

Map showing urban growth in Ealing 1914-1939

Based on Emery, Fig. 17

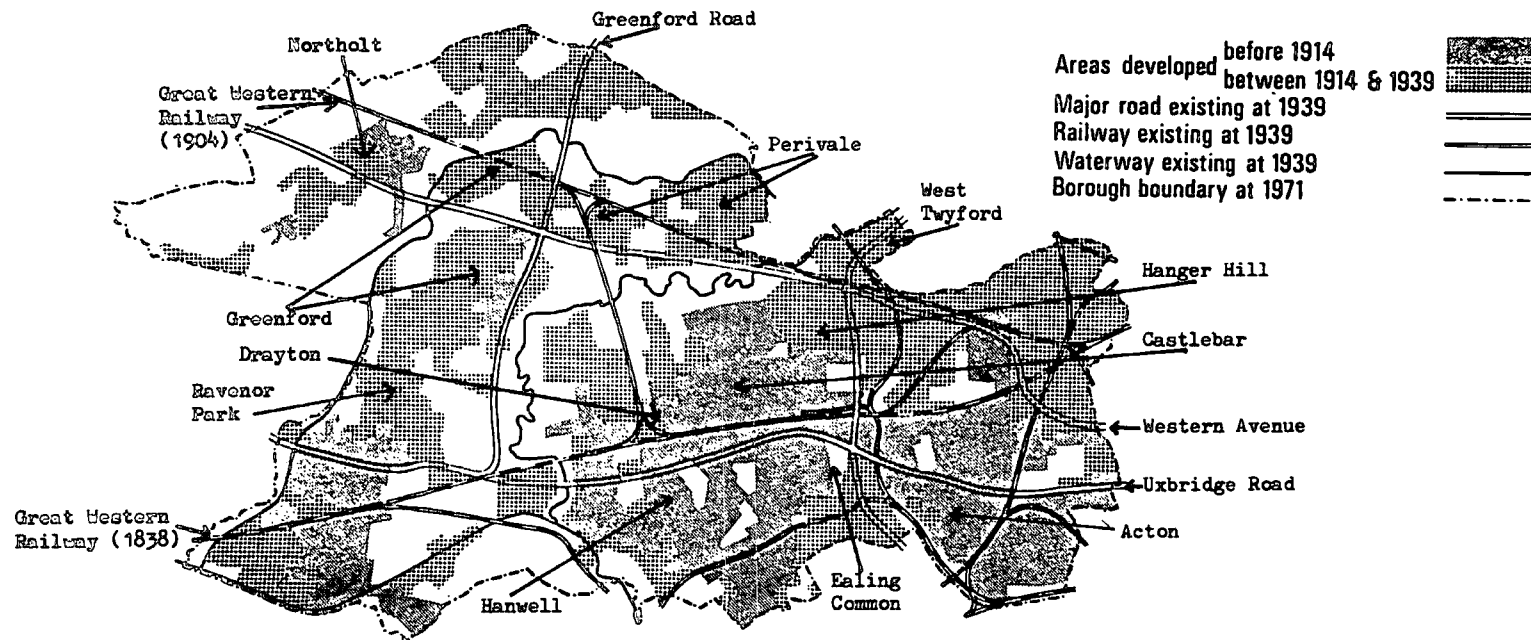


TABLE X

Population Growth in Northolt 1921-1951

1921	1931	1951
904	3,047	19,301

Source: Notes on the History of the Church and Village

existing provision was there in these new areas? What, if any, problems did Ealing inherit? What, if any, new assets did the borough absorb?

The history of education in Hanwell between 1870 and 1926 is different to the history of education in any other part of the borough of Ealing as it was constituted between 1902 and 1944. The first provision for education was made on the 21st April 1484 when William Hobbayne bestowed a charity upon Hanwell in which he stipulated that 'any residue to be for the benefit of the poor and poor children of the towne of Hanwell'.¹¹ A school in fact was not opened until 1782 when the trustees of the charity declared themselves willing to receive the names of poor children of the parish whose parents wanted them to be instructed in reading and writing. The school opened with 28 children from the parish and 24 from elsewhere. The buildings seem to have been prone to singular misfortune, the first one being destroyed by what was described as a 'hurricane' in 1799 and the replacement struck and destroyed by lightning in 1805. The third building sufficed until 1854 when it too was

11 Bygone Hanwell, p.64.

replaced by new premises. In 1817 the school became affiliated to the National Society and was renamed the Hanwell National School. In 1871 the British School was opened in Westminster Road by the British and Foreign School Society as an undenominational school. There were apparently many quarrels between the pupils of these two schools. When some pupils were removed from the National School to attend the undenominational school in 1880 rivalry resulted in a pitched battle.¹²

As in Ealing every attempt was made to forestall the establishment of a school board. It was not an easy task. In 1890 the headmaster of the National School, Mr. George Frederick Harwood was responsible for one class of 90 pupils in one room of the two roomed school and by 1893 he had a class of 145 boys in the lower room and 200 in the upper room.¹³ Determined fund raising by the Reverend Ewart-Porter enabled the building of three new classrooms for girls to be completed in 1896, but by 1898 with the population of Hanwell approaching 10,000 even the school managers were pushing for the acceptance of a school board.¹⁴ A directive from the Education Department, soon to be reorganised as the Board of Education, dated 6th May 1899 required the election of a school board in Hanwell because of the district's inability to meet earlier demands concerning elementary education.¹⁵ The school board was duly elected and had seven members who were the Rector of Hanwell William Farquhar,

12 *Johnson, p.5.*

13 *Johnson, p.7.*

14 *M.C.T. 1:11:02, p.3.*

15 *Hanwell School Board 22:6:1899.*

John Freestone a commercial clerk, John Daley a clerk, George Lowden a nonconformist minister who, incidentally, polled 1,080 votes which was twice as many as anyone else, James Poole a builder, Leonard Walker a schoolmaster and William Williams a mercantile clerk. The tensions accompanying its institution reflected the tensions in the country as a whole. The managers of the British School were reluctant to hand their school over to the Board, although they did see the advantage of co-operation with such a body in so far as they were eager to enlist the services of the attendance officer. Their attitude bore a close resemblance to that expressed by the school managers of Ealing at their meeting to discuss a school board in 1873. A letter from the managers of the British School in Hanwell dated the 15th August 1899 but actually attached to the minutes of a meeting of the Hanwell School Board held on the 22nd June 1899 reveals that they felt the School Board were 'chasing them that the initiative for any handover should come from them, the managers'. Objections to the transfer of the National School came from the National Society but the man in the field, the Rector, William Farquhar, dissociated himself on many occasions from their reluctance.¹⁶ In fact both schools were taken over by the School Board in 1900. Religious rivalries between them became eased to such an extent that the non-conformist minister, George Rowses Lowden, first chairman of the School Board, became an active visitor and helper at the National School. A third school

16 *Hanwell School Board 1899-1900. Various dates.*

existed in Hanwell in 1900, St. Joseph's Roman Catholic School, but documentation of this school at this time is scant.

The School Board recognised the need for a rapid extension to the existing accommodation in Hanwell and after renting the Wesleyan Chapel to 'relieve the present congested state of the Public Elementary Schools of Hanwell',¹⁷ they opened the new St. Ann's Board School on the 8th October 1902. All ratepayers were invited to the opening through a prominent advertisement in the local press. Once again national preoccupations were reflected in Hanwell. Mr. Leonard Walker, vice-chairman of the School Board, suggested that education would determine Britain's future position in the world. Education, he concluded, would be as important in our future defence as the army or navy.

'The threatened invasion of 100 years ago was repelled mainly through our physical superiority, but intellect will play a far larger part in future fights than in the past,' -

he explained referring to the expected invasion of foreign traders and goods. He continued:-

*'The cuter American and more highly equipped Germans reaped large advantages from our expenditure of blood and treasure in expanding our empire.'*¹⁸

In 1903, due to the reorganisation required by the 1902 Education Act, Hanwell fell within the Middlesex County Council Part III area. The County was thus responsible for elementary education in the district. In 1903 the Hanwell

17 Hanwell School Board 22:6:1899.

18 M.C.T. 22:11:02, p.6.

School Board handed over 1,933 children and a staff of 41 teachers to Middlesex.¹⁹

By 1926 the Middlesex County Council was responsible for four elementary schools in Hanwell. The former British School became Oaklands Road School and from 1906 occupied its new site built by the County Council. It had also been known briefly as Westminster Road Board School. In 1926 it had on roll 1,057 pupils in a senior, a junior and an infants department. St. Ann's School in Springfield Road had a roll of 953 in 1926 in senior girls, junior mixed and infants departments. The National School was by this time officially known as St. Mark's School, Hanwell and had 351 pupils on roll in junior and infants departments. Greenford Avenue School had been erected by the County Council with junior and infants departments and in 1926 had 289 pupils on roll.²⁰ The total number of pupils on roll in the Hanwell elementary schools in January 1926 was 2,593, representing an increase of approximately 35% on the number for 1901. The available accommodation was calculated by the Council School Managers to be 2,810.²¹ St. Mark's junior and infants departments, St. Ann's junior and infants, Greenford Avenue junior and infants and Oaklands Road junior and infants were all under attended. The evidence suggests that irregular attendance in Hanwell had been a long standing problem. The managers of the former British School had been eager to enlist the help of an attendance officer in

19 M.C.T. 22:11:02, p.6.

20 *Hanwell Council School Managers* 8:2:26.

21 *Hanwell Council School Managers* 5:10:25.

1899 and in 1902 there had been complaints that some 400 children were absent every day from school in Hanwell.²² An H.M.I. referred to 'poor attendance' at Oaklands Road School in 1925.²³ At a meeting of the Hanwell Council School Managers held on the 14th December 1925 Ealing Education Committee had given formal notice of its intention to erect two new schools in Hanwell after amalgamation and suggested the need for new classrooms, indicating that the Ealing committee either did not consider the existing accommodation to be sufficient or did not regard it as appropriate.

In Ealing in the period 1902-1926 the increase in elementary provision, and the successful elementary schools, had engendered in some pupils the ambition to continue their education and to progress to secondary school. Was this the case in Hanwell? The evidence suggests that while elementary accommodation was inadequate or inappropriate, there were pupils in Hanwell in 1926 who would have considered themselves, would have been considered by their parents and would have been considered by the Ealing Education Committee as being able to benefit from secondary education. In 1925, 20 Hanwell elementary school pupils gained scholarships to continue their education after the completion of their elementary course. Nine entrance scholarships were gained by pupils at Oaklands Road, three went to pupils of St. Ann's Girls' School and one to St. Ann's Boys'. Two Hobbayne Scholarships went to pupils at Oaklands Road and

22 M.C.T. 22:11:02, p.6.

23 *Hanwell Council School Managers* 5:10:25.

one to St. Mark's Girls'. Four art scholarships went to pupils at Oaklands Road.²⁴ It is significant that the upper departments of the St. Ann's Boys' and Girls' Schools were overcrowded. There were 342 boys in a department which could accommodate 240 and 347 girls in a department which could accommodate 240. Similarly Oaklands Road Senior mixed department had 390 pupils on roll in a department calculated to accommodate 280.²⁵ It is not naive to regard this as some barometer of serious educational intent.

It is not clear, though, how many of these pupils would have been successful in the selective examination determining entry to the Ealing County Secondary Schools. In a report on St. Ann's School after an inspection carried out on the 4th and 5th July 1922, H.M.I. Stobart noted that the average age in the upper departments was well over 11. He praised 'good teaching, wisely directed, producing a high standard of work among able boys who are profiting by it'. He did at the same time, however, maintain that no less than 110 boys and 106 girls in the senior departments were doing work which was below the level of Standard IV.²⁶ The Council School Managers undoubtedly considered some of their pupils in the upper departments of the elementary schools to be candidates for secondary school places as indeed did the Ealing Education Committee. Referring to the Secondary School which Ealing was proposing to build after amalgamation, the managers remarked at their meeting in October 1925

24 *Hanwell Council School Managers 5:10:25.*

25 *Hanwell Council School Managers 5:10:25.*

26 *Hanwell Council School Managers 8:2:26.*

that 'it should be remembered that when this school is provided the number of children in the upper departments of all the elementary schools will be reduced to some extent'.²⁷ Ealing's intention to provide a secondary school for Hanwell featured in a resolution of the managers in November 1925 which is a further indication of the recognition of the fact that there were in Hanwell immediately prior to inclusion in the borough of Ealing, aspiring secondary school pupils. The managers of the Hanwell Council Schools thought it their duty to 'point out the urgency for the provision of a Trade School and Technical Institute for Hanwell without prejudicing in any way the secondary school which has already been promised'.²⁸ Returns of the average attendance at evening classes at St. Ann's Evening School also point to a growing demand for education that went beyond the elementary stage in Hanwell. On the 6th February 1925 there were 456 enrolments for 25 different classes which included English, Arithmetic, Shorthand, Book-keeping, Typewriting and French.²⁹ Such was Ealing's educational inheritance which accompanied the amalgamation of Hanwell into the borough in 1926. An elementary system already existed consisting of St. Ann's, St. Mark's, Oaklands Road and Greenford Avenue schools all controlled by the County Council Part III authority and St. Joseph's Roman Catholic School which was maintained independently. The system required extension and some improvement. The borough of

27 *Hanwell Council School Managers* 5:10:25.

28 *Hanwell Council School Managers* 5:11:25.

29 *Hanwell Council School Managers* 7:2:25.

Ealing had recognised the requirements of Hanwell regarding secondary education and was already, by 1926, thinking about satisfying those requirements.

The amalgamation of Greenford and Northolt was carried out with *future* problems in mind. The schools that existed in these two districts at the time when they became part of the borough of Ealing reflected the rural nature of the communities to that date.

In Greenford there was only one school, the non-provided Betham's School which came under the auspices of Ealing in 1926 after a very brief spell with the Middlesex County Council. Founded by Edward Betham, Rector of Greenford from 1769-1783, the school first functioned in a house at 162, Oldfield Lane. Betham's endowment provided for the salary of a master and mistress. The expressed intent of the endowment was to

*'instruct 30 poor boys and girls to read and write and cost accounts and know the principles of the Christian Religion, the girls to be taught to work, knit and sew, £30 in cash for the school, another part in clothing the children and the remainder on repairing the school house and in buying spelling books and Prayer Books and Testaments.'*³⁰

Pupils came from Perivale, Northolt and Hanwell as well as Greenford but after the building of new premises in Rickyard Lane in 1870 only Greenford children were admitted. The school remained in the same building until 1926. Although a minute book dating from 1784-1885 and a log book after

30 Quoted in Blount, p.35.

that date exist there are few details as to the numbers on roll, although it is known that in 1878, 65 children were taught in the new buildings consisting of two classrooms, a cloakroom and lavatory and equipped with a clock tower.³¹ The infants together with Standards I and II were taught in one room and Standards III and IV in the main classroom. It does seem that there may have been some congestion by the time Greenford became part of Ealing. In 1925 the governors had to hire rooms in the village hall. This coincided with the availability in Greenford of plots of land for sale for house building at £5.00 per plot. The Lyons Company bought some of these plots and erected houses for their employees. The price, together with available subsidies, must have proved an attractive proposition to others too. Another factor prompting the hire of the village hall may also have been the poor physical condition of the existing buildings. The headmaster, Mr. Blount, recalled how, after one thunderstorm, he waded back to school to find

*'the water in the small hall four inches deep and the children were sitting in their chairs on the tops of tables. Each child had to be carried out and handed over to their parents.'*³²

Immediate alleviation of the problem followed the merger with Ealing when the Education Committee provided for the building of a small hall containing two classrooms at the bottom of the garden of Betham House.

The Log Books of Northolt School are fascinating reading. They provide a very vivid picture of life in a rural elementary

31 Blount, pp.35-38.

32 Blount, p.38.

school in the last 34 years of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. Thereafter they testify to the adjustments required of the school as a result of the development in Northolt. The log books dating from 1866 to 1945 are extant and available in Ealing Reference Library. They are also available in an edited version which was published in 1981. The editor is C.H. Keene. As in Greenford there was in Northolt in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century just one elementary school. In 1907 new buildings were erected and the school was handed over to Middlesex County Council. The new school was at West End Lane and consisted of four classrooms and a hall. The headteacher was a Mr. Martin. His wife was assistant head and the Martins remained in charge of the school until 1934. There was also one other teacher and one monitor. There was accommodation for 216 pupils in Junior and Infants departments and the average attendance in 1907 was 130.³³ By the time it was handed over to Ealing in 1928 the school had been considerably enlarged and was comprised of seven classrooms, an assembly hall, cloakrooms and washing facilities, the extensions being opened on the 30th October 1926. By this time there was accommodation for 296 pupils.³⁴ In 1928, in the log books, Mr. Martin boasted that no class in his school had over 50 pupils in it.

It is difficult to gauge the numbers of pupils in Greenford and Northolt who aspired to secondary education in 1926

33 *Northolt School Log Book - Sept. 1907.*

34 *Northolt School Log Book - Oct. 1926.*

and 1928. Certainly in the case of Betham's School in Greenford some students were staying on to Standard VII, although in his attempted history of Greenford the headmaster of the school at the time, Mr. Albert Blount, does not specify how many. There were no evening classes in either district although it is quite possible that there may have been people who attended the evening classes in Ealing or Hanwell or some of the day classes of the Ealing Art School or Technical Institute. The importance of Greenford and Northolt was the test of educational policy, both elementary and secondary, which they were to set to Ealing and Middlesex in the next twenty years. For it was these newly acquired areas of the borough which were to develop most quickly and at a rate unprecedented in Ealing's history. These developments were to broaden still further the social class of the Ealing community. They introduced into the borough more people who were not able to pay fees to send their children to secondary schools. The challenges which Greenford and Northolt presented came at a time when the authorities were considering major changes of educational policy as suggested by the Hadow Report of 1926 and backed up by the Board of Education pamphlet of 1928, The New Prospect in Education.

CHAPTER V

1926-1939. A POLICY FOR OPPORTUNITY?

It is the opinion of many historians of education that the effects of nationwide discussion and of national crises on schools in England in the period 1926 to 1929 were pronounced. The Hadow Report, The Education of the Adolescent, was published in 1926 and no doubt consolidated the experiences of many schoolmasters and schoolmistresses when it recognised that

*'there is a tide which begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven or twelve. It is called by the name of adolescence. If that tide can be taken at the flood and a new voyage begun in the strength and along the flow of its current, we think that it will move on to fortune.'*¹

The report advocated a clean break in the process of education at the age of eleven to twelve with the development of appropriate courses for pupils staying on until they were aged fifteen in schools that were still not officially considered as being secondary. The provision of secondary education 'in a truer and broader sense of the word'² was encouraged and it was suggested that this should be organised in selective and non-selective central schools and in senior departments of elementary schools. The Consultative Committee which produced the report thought that the curriculum in such schools should be practical rather than purely academic.

1 Hadow quoted in Curtis, p.348.

2 Hadow quoted in Curtis, p.348.

Bernard Doherty summarised one effect of the Hadow Report succinctly when he wrote,

*'The Hadow Report served to reinforce the demands for an organisation based upon secondary schools of varying types, with the existing secondary school as one of these types.'*³

The Committee was alert to the problem of achieving parity of status between different types of secondary schools. It was, they considered, important that such parity be established. In promoting the idea of different types of secondary schools, the Hadow Report brought acutely into focus the problem of selecting the right type of child for the right type of school. The report gave official credence to an already increasingly used new terminology of education. The term 'Elementary' was replaced by 'Primary' and the use of the word 'Secondary' was urged for all post primary education up to the age of 16. By implication then, education was a continuous progression. One suspects that R.H. Tawney, author of the Labour Party pamphlet Secondary Education for All published in 1922, would have approved, for he had expressed sentiments shared by many when he wrote

*'if education is to be loved and not merely tolerated, it must be seen, at any rate in outline, as an intelligible whole. It must give a sense of movement, of growth, of continuous progress towards expanding horizons.'*⁴

3 Bernard Doherty, 'The Hadow Report', D.R.R. Sept. 1964, Vol. IV, No. 15, p.121.

4 Tawney quoted in J. Birmager, 'The Consultative Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Henry Hadow: The Education of the Adolescent', Hist. of Ed. 1981, Vol. 10, No. 4, p.275.

The implementation of the recommendations in many parts of the country was retarded by the economic depression of 1931 to 1933, by political insecurity and in some cases by sheer reluctance. The recession of 1931 brought a halt to school building in many areas and fostered other money saving devices such as reductions in teachers' salaries and the attempted substitution of special places for free places. Once out of the depression discussion concerning the nature of secondary education and the components of the secondary school curriculum resumed with vigour. The Spens Report published in 1938 criticised the stifling effect of examinations on the secondary school curriculum and recognised the potential of the school as a unit for important and advantageous social education. The report was based on the assumption that education should be child-centred rather than subject-centred. Secondary education for all between 11 and 15 years of age was recommended and the Spens Committee included the technical schools in their secondary model. There were, then, to be three types of secondary school - the Grammar, the Modern and the Technical. The pupils were to be educated as young people with bodies, minds and spirits and also as future citizens of a democracy. A response to the rise of Fascism in Europe was evident in this urging of the sanctity of the democratic principle and process. The Spens recommendations formed the basis for much urgent discussion about education during the Second World War. The regions responded to these national reports and indeed to national crisis but it is pertinent in the study of education in Ealing between 1926 and 1939, and in Middlesex, to ask to what

extent developments were the result of *local* initiative and to what extent they were dependent on *local* conditions. Local factors were arguably more important than official pronouncements from Consultative Committees and even national economic crises. The shape of secondary education in Ealing between 1926 and 1939 was determined not so much by the Hadow Report as by the ideas of Benjamin Gott who remained as Secretary to the County Education Committee until 1928 and whose policies were continued by his successor Henry Maurice Walton. It was determined by Middlesex Education Committee's response to the 1918 Education Act embodied in the 1920 Middlesex Scheme for Education, by some aspects of the Ealing scheme published in 1921 also in response to the 1918 Act and by the active interest and positive participation of the local Higher Education Committee.

The greatest impetus for the extension of the maintained secondary system, by now becoming established in the borough, came, once again, as a result of a more proficient and complete elementary system. Most of the new elementary schools were built in the acquired areas where the population grew quickly. The population of Greenford and Perivale increased by almost 14,000 people between 1921 and 1931 to total just over 15,000. Although figures do not exist for 1941 a continued and equally rapid increase is indicated by the Census of 1951 which gives a total of 46,834 people living in three Greenford electoral wards. Northolt's experience was similar. There the population grew more slowly at first increasing by

just over 2,000 to a total of 3,047 in 1931. By 1951 the population was 19,301 and it is reasonable to assume therefore a population in the region of 12,000 in 1941. The responsibility for elementary education in the period lay with the Ealing Education Committee, whose Director of Education from 1925 until 1937 was Mr. A.L. Binns. He was succeeded in 1937 by Mr. J. Compton. The following tables show to what extent the Committee's responsibilities were increased.

TABLE XI

Elementary Schools transferred to Ealing
from Acquired Areas 1926-39

<i>Date of Transfer</i>	<i>From</i>	<i>School and Type</i>
1926	Hanwell	Greenford Avenue: Jnr. M. Inf.
1926	Hanwell	Oakland Road: Jnr. M. Inf.
1926	Hanwell	St. Ann's: Snr. G. Jnr. M. Inf.
1926	Hanwell	St. Mark's: Jnr. M. Inf.
1926	Hanwell	St. Joseph's R.C. All standards
1926	Greenford	Betham's School: All standards
1928	Northolt	Northolt School: Jnr. M. Inf.

Key: Jnr. = Junior
 Inf. = Infants
 M. = Mixed
 SnrG. = Senior Girls

Source: Education in Ealing 1870-1945.

Table XII illustrates the quite extensive building programme undertaken.

TABLE XII

Elementary Schools built in Ealing 1926-1939

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>School and Type</i>
<u>Ealing</u>	1927	Grange Jnr. M.
Ealing	1931	Grange Inf.
Ealing	1936	St. John's Jnr. M. Inf.
<u>Hanwell</u>	1932	Bordeston Snr. B.
"	1936	Cuckoo Jnr. B. and Jnr. G.
"	1937	Cuckoo Snr. B.
"	1939	Cuckoo Inf.
<u>Greenford</u>	1928	Coston Jnr. G.
"	1930	Stanhope Jnr. M. and Inf.
"	1931	Horsenden Jnr. M. and Inf.
"	1932	Stanhope Snr. B.
"	1934	Perivale Jnr. M.
"	1935	Horsenden Snr. B.
"	1935	Ravenor Jnr. M. and Inf.
"	1936	Selborne Snr. B., Jnn. M. Inf.
"	1937	Perivale Snr. G.
"	1938	Coston Snr. G.
<u>Northolt</u>	1931	Wood End Snr. G.
"	1935	Wood End Jnr. G.
"	1939	Wood End Inf.

Source: Education in Ealing 1870-1945.

The growth in average attendance and average roll in the period is tabulated thus:

TABLE XIII

Summary of Averages of Numbers on Roll
and Attendances of Children at Ealing
Elementary Schools 1926-1938

<i>Year to March</i>	<i>Average Attendance</i>	<i>Average Roll</i>	<i>% of Average Attendance on Average Roll</i>
1926	5,532	6,392	86.55
1927	6,902	7,923	87.11
1928	8,376	9,521	87.97
1929	8,431	9,829	85.77
1930	9,088	10,335	88.02
1931	9,643	10,983	88.71
1932	10,570	11,891	88.89
1933	11,121	12,624	88.09
1934	12,038	13,547	88.86
1935	12,633	14,154	89.25
1936	13,001	14,616	88.95
1937	13,594	15,537	87.47
1938	15,563	17,749	87.68

*Source: Borough of Ealing Education Committee
Annual Report 1937-38, p.9.*

The number of pupils attending Ealing elementary schools in the period increased approximately by a multiple of three. A corresponding increase in the demand for secondary education as it had been defined in the Hadow Report was likely.

The private schools remained an important feature of the educational life of the borough throughout the inter-war years. In the Ealing Year Book, 1937, 30 private schools still advertised for customers. They had survived the potentially difficult years in the early 1920s and 1930s. As well as preparing pupils for civil service examinations, for entry to the armed services and for commercial occupations, most of the senior departments of these schools now also pursued success in the School Certificate and Higher Certificate examinations. In 1926 the Pitman School had more than 100 successes in the R.S.A. examinations and 12 girls and 9 boys passed in the Oxford Local Examinations, 22 girls and 8 boys passing the Junior exams.⁵ In 1930 the Ealing Priory School, a Roman Catholic School, gained four Higher School Certificate passes with the Oxford and Cambridge Board and 16 passes at School Certificate.⁶ In December 1930 the school had 168 pupils on roll.⁷ Lourdes Mount Convent School successfully entered 56 pupils for a wide spectrum of examinations in 1934. 55 gained passes in exams as varied as the University of London Matriculation, University of Oxford School Certificate, Royal Academy of Music and the Royal Drawing Society.⁸ In 1938 the same school achieved 50 successes in the examinations of the Royal Drawing Society and was by now entering pupils for Trinity College of Music exams and offering courses in type-

5 M.C.T. 4:9:26, p.4.

6 M.C.T. 20:9:30, p.9.

7 M.C.T. 13:12:30, p.13.

8 M.C.T. 22:12:34, p.8.

writing and shorthand.⁹ By 1940 the pupils in the school had achieved five passes in the Pitman's Commercial Certificate and Shorthand Typing Examination.¹⁰

But the elementary school pupils did not go to the private schools. They were dependent upon the maintained sector for their experience of secondary education. The provision of maintained secondary schools in Ealing remained the responsibility of Middlesex County Council as the Part II authority. The problems set by the rapid population growth during the late 1920s and the 1930s were not unique to Ealing. The population of Middlesex increased by 30.8% between 1921 and 1931, five times as great as the increase in England and Wales as a whole, representing the highest county rise in the country. Between 1931 and 1939 the population of the county rose by 27.4%, seven times the increase in England and Wales.¹¹ Figures for some individual regions are staggering. Between the wars the population of Kingsbury Urban District increased by a massive 796.3%, Wembley by 199.9% and Hendon by 143.6%.¹² Despite this mammoth task, when the County Council came, in 1965, to look back at the work done between the wars it did so with pride; pride in the dynamism of Benjamin Gott and in the achievement. Gott lived in Ealing. His contemporaries certainly saw him as the prime mover in the extension and improvement of Middlesex's elem-

9 M.C.T. 17:10:38, p.8.

10 M.C.T. 7:10:40, p.3.

11 Ed. in Middx., p.12.

12 Ed. in Middx., p.16.

entary and secondary education service. On the occasion of his retirement in 1928 after 26 years as Secretary to the County Education Committee, the County Council resolved

*'That this council places on record its high appreciation of the distinguished services of Sir Benjamin Gott M.A. as an officer of the County Council for a period of 30 years and gratefully recognises that the successful development of the system of education provided by the council is largely due to his wise leadership and untiring energy.'*¹³

Knighthood was conferred on him in 1924. His energy was plentiful. His work was rarely conducted from a central office but instead 'he had made a practice of personally visiting schools and attending meetings of managers'.¹⁴

Speaking at Gott's retirement function, Alderman Darlington explained that

*'Most county council work was little known outside the county, but Sir Benjamin Gott's work had become well known throughout England as it was recognised that owing to his energy and wisdom Middlesex had a system of education that was second to none in the country.'*¹⁵

Certainly within Middlesex the maintained secondary sector grew. In 1918 there had been 29 fully maintained secondary schools.¹⁶ Where such schools were situated in a Part III authority other than the County authority, building costs were shared between the Part III authority and the county but running costs were paid by Middlesex. In 1928 there

13 M.C.T. 22:12:28, p.8.

14 M.C.T. 22:12:28, p.8.

15 M.C.T. 22:12:28, p.8.

16 Ed. in Middx., p.27.

were 18,549 pupils at the county's maintained secondary schools.¹⁷ In 1935 there were approximately 21,500 pupils at 48 maintained secondary schools¹⁸ and by 1938 the number of maintained secondary schools had increased to 51 and the number of Middlesex pupils at such secondary schools was 25,089 although this figure included an unspecified number who went to London County Council schools.¹⁹ Such development still struggled to keep pace with the requirements of the rising population. The County Council acknowledged that 'A race between the private housebuilder and the Education Department of a local authority is not a fair contest!'²⁰ But school building had continued in Middlesex when it was halted elsewhere. The peculiar problems caused by the often enormous population growth had been given some allowance by the Board of Education. Middlesex was grateful: 'the Board of Education have been ready to recognise the special conditions obtaining in Middlesex' as was evident from 'their willingness to approve the proposals for the erection of a large number of new elementary schools and several technical and secondary schools'.²¹

17 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Box File 62b Item 6.

18 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Box File 62c.

19 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Box File 62b Item 3.

20 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Box File 62b Item 4.

21 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Ed. in Middx. 1929-33. *A Report of the Secretary to the Middlesex Education Committee, 1933*, p.4.

That Ealing was subject to the influence of Benjamin Gott and that it was within Middlesex County Council, with all its demographic peculiarities, was important. But the pressures working towards increased secondary provision were not only external to the borough and permeating in from the county. Along with the naturally growing demand in Ealing resulting from more elementary school pupils, there was considerable enthusiasm on the part of some people in the borough for the cause. The link between Ealing and the County Council in the field of secondary education was the local Higher Education Committee. The chairmen of that Committee, though different personalities, reflected the effective forces concerned with maintained secondary education in Ealing. In the course of its life, between 1919 and 1944 the Committee had five chairmen. They were:

July 1919 - December 1920	= H.C. Green
December 1920 - January 1922	= G.C. Farr
February 1922 - December 1930	= J.C. Fuller
December 1930 - December 1932	= W.T. White
December 1932 - December 1933	= J.C. Fuller
January 1933 -	1945 = Colonel R.R. Kimmitt

The two men who presided over the Committee during the times of expansion were Alderman Dr. J.C. Fuller and Colonel R.R. Kimmitt. The Girls' County School had opened in 1925, Drayton Manor in Hanwell in 1930 and Greenford County in 1939. The minutes of the Higher Education Committee exude enthusiasm for the cause of secondary education in the borough.

John Charles Fuller held the Chairmanship of Middlesex Education Committee and Middlesex Higher Education sub-committee as well as that of the Ealing Higher Education Committee. He came from a nonconformist background and lived in Hanwell. His contemporaries regarded him as the man responsible for persuading the Middlesex County Council to build the Ealing County School for Girls. It was the judgement of the Middlesex County Times that in his work on the County Education Committee Dr. Fuller inherited the tradition of Sir Benjamin Gott and brought to his work 'a noble enthusiasm for education. Under his leadership the Middlesex Education Committee achieved a truly creative piece of work'. The reference was to the expansion of the county's secondary system.²² On the occasion of his death in 1941 it was his work in education that was remembered as it was suggested that 'there is no resident in this borough who has not in some way benefited by his diligence and integrity and no schoolboy who should not rise up and call him blessed'.²³ It was for his services to the Middlesex Education Committee that he was, in 1939, awarded an honorary Doctorate in Law by the University of London.

A man of different background and experience to Dr. Fuller, Colonel Robert Robertson Kimmitt also involved himself heavily in public service. He settled in Ealing in 1898 and revelled thereafter in the independence which he felt his Irish background afforded him in local affairs.

22 M.C.T. 16:8:41, p.4.

23 M.C.T. 23:8:41, p.3.

During his chairmanship he represented the concern of the Committee with the issues affecting the existing secondary schools and with the keen planning in anticipation of the new Greenford County School. He was chairman when the Committee passed a resolution in March 1936 'that the Middlesex Education Committee be requested to proceed with the building of the proposed Greenford County School at an early date'.²⁴

Public demand, demographic factors, personal ideals and matters of policy combined to ensure that in the period 1926 to 1939 more pupils were educated at maintained secondary schools in Ealing than ever before. Table XIV illustrates the point. It should be noted that the County Boys' School was built to accommodate 300 pupils, the girls' school to accommodate 383 pupils and Drayton Manor to accommodate 450 pupils. The figures for annual new admissions were not presented regularly and therefore are not available for all years.

Several interesting points arise from the table. First, elementary accommodation in the borough had increased by a multiple of three between 1926 and 1939 but the secondary school accommodation in the borough in the same period increased by just $2\frac{1}{4}$ times. It would be surprising therefore if there was not evidence of frustrated aspirations. Secondly, the number of pupils in maintained secondary schools in Ealing did increase. But the increasing numbers

TABLE XIV

Numbers on Roll in Maintained Secondary Schools in
Ealing 1914-1939 and Annual New Admissions

Date	Ealing Boys'		Ealing Girls'		Drayton Manor		Total	
	Roll	N/Adm.	Roll	N/Adm.	Roll	N/Adm.	Roll	N/Adm.
Oct. 1914	257	71					257	71
" 1915	343	82					343	82
June 1916	322	-					322	-
Oct. 1917	361	-					361	-
Sept. 1918	358	-					358	-
Oct. 1919	400	-					400	-
" 1920	419	194 ²⁵					419	194
" 1921	440	-					440	-
" 1922	425	-					425	-
" 1923	437	103 ²⁶					437	103
" 1924	450	92					450	92
Sept. 1925	449	94	113	113			562	204
Oct. 1926	434	91	225	95			659	186
" 1927	435	87	328	100			763	187
" 1928	432	94	388	86			820	-
" 1929	439	87	396	70			835	-
" 1930	447	93	410	82	127(Disc.)	127	984	302
" 1931	480	90	424	97	224(b 113) (g 111)	91	1128	278
" 1932	490	98	434	101	317(b 161) (g 156)	90	1241	289
" 1933	488	96	433	98	390(b 202) (g 188)	88	1311	284
" 1934	496	95	449	111	463(b 240) (g 223)	-	1408	-
" 1935	490	94	490	92	466(b 236) (g 232)	95	1448	281
Sept. 1936	486	99	500	93	471(b 244) (g 227)	-	1457	-
Oct. 1937	492	95	483	93	455(b 247) (g 215)	98	1450	286
" 1938	503	91	471	91	468(b 245) (g 222)	100	1442	282

Source: *Headmasters' Reports given to H.E.C. in month indicated except*

25 M.O. Report 1920

26 M.O. Report Feb. 1924.

on roll in the period 1926-1939 was not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of new admissions. It is apparent therefore that more students were staying longer at secondary school and it would be pertinent to look for evidence of sixth form work developing at this time. Given the chance of a secondary education many students and their parents were determined to make the most of the opportunity. This phenomenon was not exclusive to Ealing. The Spens Report cites very specific figures for the years 1925-1937. The numbers of students in grant aided schools in England and Wales aged 16 and over rose from 38,396 immediately post Hadow in 1928 to a peak of 51,747 in depressed 1932. By 1937 the numbers had dropped to 46,082 but this was still 10,000 more than ten years earlier. By 1932 in secondary schools in England of all students admitted 15.3% were staying at school for six years and 10.8% for seven years. The figures had dropped slightly by 1937 when 15.0% were remaining at school for six years and 8.9% for seven years.²⁷ The effect of the economic depression of the years 1931-1934 in causing some young people to stay on at school because of the difficulties of finding employment is readily apparent in the figures in Table XIV. Finally, the numbers on roll at the Ealing secondary schools quickly came to be in excess of the accommodation provided. It will be necessary, therefore, to look for evidence either of more building to provide extensions to the existing accommodation or, conversely, of overcrowding.

27 *Spens, p.143.*

To what extent did the increased number of places at the maintained secondary schools in Ealing represent an extension of opportunity to all eleven year olds in the borough to continue their education beyond the elementary stage? It has already been pointed out that the number of secondary school places increased at a slower rate than the number of elementary school pupils. A large proportion of the admissions to the secondary schools each year were ex-elementary school pupils. Some statistics are available in the annual report of the School Medical Officer which, until 1931, were appended to the Higher Education Committee minutes. The statistics for this period are not consistently presented. Information concerning the percentage of the annual intake coming from elementary schools for the years 1932-1939 is not presented in the Medical Officer's Reports nor in the H.E.C. minutes. (See Table XV).

G.A.N. Lowndes points out that between the outbreak of World War One and 1929 the odds against an elementary school pupil proceeding to a secondary school were considerably reduced. In 1914 the odds against this happening were, he calculates, 40 to 1,²⁸ in 1920-21 they were 21 to 1²⁹ and by 1929 had been reduced to 13 to 1.³⁰ Certainly in Ealing the opportunities for an elementary school pupil to attend a maintained secondary school received an immediate boost on the occasions of the various schools' opening. Once they

28 Lowndes, p.89.

29 Lowndes, p.91.

30 Lowndes, p.94.

TABLE XV

Number and Percentage of Ex-Elementary School Pupils
in Annual Intake into Ealing Maintained Secondary
Schools, 1921-1931

Date	EALING BOYS			EALING GIRLS			DRAYTON MANOR		
	Pupils Examined	No. from El. Schs.	% from El. Schs.	Pupils Examined	No. from El. Schs.	% from El. Schs.	Pupils Examined	No. from El. Schs.	% from El. Schs.
6/5/21	194	151	74.7%						
19/5/22	322+	255	79.1%						
2/2/23	226+		66%						
15/2/24	103	79	76.7%						
29/9/25				113	75				
19/7/26	94	78	83.0%						
19/10/26				95	70				
7/7/27	95	81	85%	229+	143	62%			
16/2/28	90	77	85%	104	86	83%			
7/2/29	94	82	87.2%	86	72	83.7%			
8/5/30	94	87	92.5%	77	62	80.5%			
5/3/31	103	82	79.6%	90	67	74.4%	103 boys 90 girls	82 67	79.6% 74.4%

Source: Based on Medical Officer's Report contained in H.E.C. minutes of date given. Pupils examined refers to intake previous September and will include subsequent individual admissions which occur between September and date of examination and is subject to individual withdrawals from original admissions. Pupils examined refer to new admissions unless marked +.

were established, however, the number of new admissions each year remained fairly constant; witness the figures in Table XIV for the Boys' School after 1924 and the Girls' School after 1935. The number of admissions at Drayton Manor remained similarly stable after 1931. The rapidly expanding population of the northern areas of the borough had to wait until 2nd October 1939 before Greenford County Secondary school for boys and girls opened.

During the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s the social class of Ealing broadened to include more lower middle class people and some who were working class. To what extent did the provision of the maintained secondary schools in the borough allow the opportunity of a secondary education to all social classes? How far was the chance to go to secondary school still related to the ability to pay the fees which in 1925 were four guineas per term³¹ and in 1935 were fifteen guineas per annum³² at both the Boys' and Girls' Schools in Ealing. All secondary schools in England and Wales desiring to remain eligible for full grant had each year to admit a number of students equivalent to 25% of the previous year's intake as Free Place scholars. In 1930 they were allowed to offer free places to between 40% and 50% of new admissions. The only prerequisite for a student competing for a free place was that he or she must have spent at least two years at public elementary school. In fact, the respectability of

31 H.E.C. 29:5:25.

32 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Box File 62c.

the public elementary schools meant that some of their students came from backgrounds where the parents could afford secondary school fees. Thus, in 1932 in a period of dire economic recession, the Government substituted *special* places for free places. Remission of fees was henceforth to be dependent on parental income and there was to be a limit for each school of 50% special places for each year's intake. This, it was hoped, would ensure that all who could afford to contribute to their children's secondary education would do so. People campaigning for free secondary education regarded such a move as a retrograde step. Local authorities had however been left free, between the 1918 Education Act and the introduction of the special place scheme in 1932, to evolve their own policy regarding aid to students. The policy effective in Ealing was of course that of Middlesex. A study of Middlesex's policy regarding the award of free places and of the response to the Board of Education Circular 1421 requiring the implementation of the 50% limit to the special place scheme demonstrates the progressiveness of the county in its attempts to allow students of ability to go to secondary schools irrespective of their family's financial circumstances.

The genesis of this policy occurred in 1923 with two important departures from what had until then been the common practice of selecting free place students by a separate and different procedure from fee payers and of awarding free places on the basis of two years spent in elementary schools. First, in that year, the Middlesex Education Committee inst-

ituted a common entrance examination to be taken by all candidates for the secondary schools whether they were fee payers or seeking a free place. One of the tenets of the 1920 scheme for education was that this should be so. There was considerable concern by 1923 that previously some fee payers of low ability had been admitted.³³ All elementary school pupils, except those deemed unsuitable by their head teachers, sat a general preliminary examination. They were examined in English, which included composition and 'reproduction exercises', one question being set by the head of the elementary school concerned and one by the Board of Examiners which included the secondary school heads. There was also a paper in Arithmetic which included one half hour mental test and a one hour written paper marked by the head of the elementary school. A number of students equal to twice the amount of free places available proceeded to a second examination and it was this section of the test which was the same for fee payers and free placers. It was possible for parents of the elementary school children to insist that their child be submitted for this exam irrespective of the results of the previous paper and of the fact that this may result in the eventual number of candidates exceeding the previously agreed total of twice the number of available free places. The second examination also consisted of papers in Arithmetic and English but there was at this stage an oral examination. The exercise this time was conducted by the

33 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Box File 62b Item 8, p.3.

head teachers of the secondary schools and their staff did the marking.³⁴ The application of an identical examination enabled a direct comparison of children from different backgrounds based on ability alone, at least as far as it could be measured by such a test. What if a common exam should reveal more students of ability from the societal group unable to pay fees than from the group able to pay in circumstances of an already agreed allocation of places to each group? Here lay the germs of a potential moral and political dilemma.

The second important innovation was the decision, effective in county policy for the first time in 1923, that free places in Middlesex would not be awarded until a detailed examination into the financial circumstances of the parents had been carried out. In fact in that year 766 free places were awarded.³⁵ No doubt one of the main aims of this policy was to prevent public money being spent needlessly. A machinery was created and made workable in the county whereby parental income could be investigated. In 1920 the Departmental Committee on Scholarships had stated that the implementation of such a policy was, because of the practical problems involved, 'impossible'.³⁶

The combination of these two measures produced an initiative which led to the introduction of new procedures for the admission of students to the maintained secondary

34 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Box File 62B Item 8, p.3.

35 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Box File 62B Item 8, p.12.

36 H. of C. Papers. Cmd 968 xv 385. 1920.

schools in Middlesex. The consequences of following the two procedures through to their conclusion was immediately apparent to the Secretary to the Education Committee, Benjamin Gott. He explained that

*'to carry the same policy to its logical conclusion some modification of the Board's regulations as to the percentage of Free Places to be awarded appears to be desirable.'*³⁷

As a result of all students taking the same examination in which the same pass standard was applied, it did become apparent to the Education Committee that a limited number of free places or a limited application of a policy of remission of fees did in fact result in the exclusion from secondary schools of a number of students of ability. By 1928 there had been a far-reaching change of policy. By now Middlesex was awarding, after the sitting of the common entrance examination, places in maintained secondary schools on merit with the fees to be determined *afterwards* relative to parents' ability to pay.³⁸ It is not absolutely clear when this policy, which Middlesex referred to as a 100% Special Place scheme, began although it seems likely that it was first applied in 1926 as this was the year when a system of partial remission of fees which would have involved investigation of family income was first instigated.³⁹ It is unlikely that Benjamin Gott and the Committee would have missed the opportunity to reward ability. The result of this special place policy, linked as it was to the common

37 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Box File 62B Item 8, p.12.

38 M.E.C. 27/10/32.

39 M.E.C. 27/10/32.

entrance examination, was not to ensure a greater income from school fees but quite the contrary: the number of free places awarded increased! 766 free places had been awarded in 1923,⁴⁰ in 1929 there were 2,253 free places and 190 reduced fees at secondary schools in the county, in 1930 2,649 free places and 225 reduced fees, in 1931, 2,727 free places and 310 reduced fees, in 1932 2,356 free places and 546 reduced fees and in 1933 2,327 free places and 815 reduced fees.⁴¹ The drop in the number of free places and the corresponding rise in numbers of students benefitting from reduced fees in 1932 and 1933 suggests the application of a more severe type of means test in the depressing economic climate of those years, although there is no mention of such in the County Education Committee Minutes. Measured as a percentage of all students in the secondary schools the numbers of free places for the years 1928 to 1929 is as follows:- In 1928 the percentage of students in the maintained secondary schools with free places was 43.2%, in 1929 it was 45.7% and in 1930, 55.7%.⁴² In addition clothing grants, free dinners and travelling expenses were available in necessitous cases along with maintenance allowances for students remaining at school after the age of 14. Statistics also exist for the County Junior Awards at secondary schools as they do for the County Intermediate awards. The Junior

40 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Box File 62B Item 8, p.12.

41 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Ed. in Middx. 1929-33. Report of the Secretary to the Middlesex Education Committee 1933, p.53.

42 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Box File 62B Item 5, pp.3-4.

awards enabled students to continue their education up to the age of 16, the Intermediate awards up to 18. The number of Junior awards rose from 462 in 1929 to 871 in 1933, and the Intermediate awards from 215 in 1929 to 298 in 1933.⁴³ Scholarship awards covered tuition fees and maintenance awards were fixed on the basis of parents' income, the number of pupils in a family and the age of the pupil. The abiding impression of the Middlesex County policy in this period is that it was one designed as far as possible to relate opportunity to ability and to remove the anomalies inherent in the percentage free place system.

The County instantly recognised the threat to its policy which was posed by the government decision to institute in 1932 the Special Place scheme replacing free places and imposing the limit of 50% special places. It was the government's opinion that the economic climate required that all who were able to pay school fees did so. The measure was introduced under the guise of a concern to preserve the existing levels of secondary education, which it was suggested the abuse of the free place system was eroding. Meeting in March 1932 the Middlesex Education Committee referred to the Board of Education Circular 1421 which explained that the special place system was being introduced out of the 'concern to maintain the facilities which Local Education Authorities and Governors at present offer for poor parents to obtain for their children the benefits of

43 G.L.R.O. MCC/E 'Ed. in Middx. 1929-33. Report of the Secretary to the Middlesex Education Committee' 1933, p.53 and G.L.R.O. London Statistics 1920-1921, p.209.

secondary education'.⁴⁴ Reaction within Middlesex to the 50% proposal was immediate and vociferous. Meetings were held, petitions written and parental resolutions forwarded to the County Council. Some of these communications survive in a Correspondence File in the Greater London Records Office. They are from bodies as diverse as the Railway Clerks Association Willesden Branch, the National Union of Railwaymen Hounslow Branch, the Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools, Acton Education Committee, the Honorary Secretary of the London Co-operative Society, Yiewsley and West Drayton Trades Council and Labour Party. Individual schools also made their representations and amongst the letters collected in the file is one from Miss Beck, Headmistress of Ealing County Girls' School, dated the 21st November 1932 enclosing the following resolution, the result of parents' conferences held on 14th and 15th November 1932, signed by 239 parents and which is typical of the tone of all the other letters and petitions. The parents resolved that

*'This meeting of parents of children attending Ealing County Girls' School expresses its very strong condemnation of Circular 1421 which, if carried into effect, would deprive of Secondary education many children whose abilities would make such education beneficial to themselves and to the state.'*⁴⁵

The Middlesex Education Committee was equally convinced of the perniciousness of the proposals and, by now under the Secretaryship of H.M. Walton, constructed a very careful

44 M.E.C. 27/10/32.

45 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Correspondence File No. 65.

argument which was politically difficult for any government to ignore. Their contentions can be read in an appendix attached to the minutes of the County Education Committee held on the 27th October 1932. The Committee began by stating aspects of their policy which were guaranteed to elicit Board and Government approval. Parental income had been taken into account for some time and remission of fees 'has not been awarded if the parents have been deemed capable of paying fees'. 'The Committee's income scale was reviewed from time to time' and was very similar to that proposed by the Board of Education. Again 'no financial assistance is received except by parents who really need it'. Referring to the common entrance examination the Committee moved on to explain that they had 'a carefully organised scheme designed to ascertain what children are most capable of profiting by secondary education' and this arrangement had been approved by the Board's inspectors in January 1928. They then pointed out the contradiction in policy implicit in the 1932 50% rule when compared with the aims of the 1921 Education Act:-

*'... the Committee have put into practice the principle laid down in the Education Act 1921, that within the limits of the available accommodation in their schools no child fit to profit by secondary education shall be debarred therefrom by financial circumstances. ... The Committee view with the utmost concern the proposal to impose a limit of 50% upon the number of special places to be awarded during the next school year. They are strongly of the opinion that if this limit is insisted upon in Middlesex, the effect will be to deprive a number of promising children of the poorer classes of the opportunities of secondary education.'*⁴⁶

This tour de force worked. The Board of Education agreed to the Middlesex 100% Special Place scheme. The County's success had already attracted the attention of other authorities, themselves keen to implement a policy of extended opportunities in their areas. During 1932 the County education committee received enquiries as to the working of their 100% special place scheme from all parts of the country including Cheshire, Gateshead, Rotherham and Cornwall.⁴⁷ There were in fact widespread protests to the new national policy and the Board received no less than 1,600 resolutions expressing dissatisfaction with the proposed system.⁴⁸ G.A.N. Lowndes regarded the tumult caused by the Special Place scheme as being instrumental in bringing about eventual relaxation of the 50% limit in 1936. The effect of the continuing Middlesex policy can be illustrated with reference to the figures for Autumn 1934. That year 4,532 pupils were admitted to the County's secondary schools. Only 27.2% of those were required to pay full fees and 52% were awarded free places. In all, assistance as either full or partial remission of fees was given to 72.8% of the pupils. In some schools in the County 90% of the pupils received assistance and in 28 of the 37 maintained secondary schools the proportion receiving aid was not less than 70%. In addition, in the year 1934-5 nearly £½ million was spent by Middlesex on maintenance allowances for students over fourteen years of age.⁴⁹

47 G.L.R.O. Correspondence File No. 65.

48 Lowndes, p.95.

49 G.L.R.O. MCC/E. Box File 62C.

How then did this policy affect Ealing? The Middlesex system did pertain in Ealing. A note in the Borough Higher Education Committee minutes in 1923 states that 'it was understood that the Part III Authority had already agreed to give effect to the suggestions of the County Education Committee in regard to the examinations in the elementary schools'.⁵⁰ The common examination was applied. Mr. Alan Wylie, ex-pupil now living in Guildford, remembers in 1923 taking both written and oral papers while still a pupil in the preparatory department at Castle Hill School. He explains that as far as he can recall, and this tallies with the written evidence, at this stage places were not yet allocated solely on merit but still in the proportion of 25 or 30% free, the rest fee paying. Unfortunately the statistics regarding the number of free places is very incomplete. Occasionally such details are alluded to in head teachers' reports or H.M.I. reports. Although the figures are incomplete the trend is nevertheless discernible and it is as it was throughout Middlesex. The number of free places increased. The amount of aid increased. The opportunity to partake of secondary education was no longer dependent upon the ability to pay for it. As would be expected, the number of free places in the County Boys' and County Girls' Schools was not as great as in some areas of Middlesex. It did not reach the 90% that it did in some schools in the county mentioned by Mrs. E.A. Brooks, wife of Alderman Brooks, in her lecture on 4th July 1935 to the Hanwell Association. Old

Ealing was still essentially a middle class borough with a sizeable proportion of people who could afford fees. At Drayton Manor however, in more working class Hanwell, the proportion receiving aid was slightly over 90% in 1935. In 1926 of 95 new admissions to the Ealing County Girls' School 24 girls had free places and 17 'Special Free Places'.⁵¹ In 1928 Board of Education Inspectors discovered that out of a roll of 345 when the school was inspected, 84 girls had free places, 41 special free places, 34 reduced fees while 161 paid full fees.⁵² The distinction between 'free places' and 'special free places' is not clear and is explained nowhere in the inspection report or the headmistress's comments. The term 'special free place' may have applied at this time to free places which were awarded until the financial circumstances of the family changed. Orally the term 'special place' was used in Ealing in a different way at the end of the 1930s but the circumstances which gave rise to this other usage did not apply in 1928. An inspection of the County Boys' School between the 15th-18th November 1932 revealed that out of 485 pupils on roll, 314 were receiving their education free and could claim maintenance grants after they reached the age of 14. There is no mention of how many pupils received partial remission of fees.⁵³ The inspection of Drayton Manor School carried out in October 1935 revealed that of 468 pupils only 52 paid full fees while 85 students were partially exempt and 331 totally exempt.⁵⁴

51 H.E.C. 19:10:26.

52 H.E.C. 15:6:28.

53 H.E.C. 18:11:32 and 9:3:33.

54 H.E.C. 5:6:36.

In 1936 in the borough the form of the entry examination changed. It was necessary now to take into account school record marks and it does seem that some places may have been awarded solely on the basis of the headmaster's report on his pupil. Miss Beck at the Girls' School did not approve of this innovation. She complained in 1937 of an unprecedented number of students from the previous September's intake making a poor start and commented 'I feel that this large number of misfits is due to the unsatisfactory nature of the 1936 Entrance Examination'.⁵⁵ It was from this innovation that the other usage of the term 'special place' in Ealing may have derived. Professor Gordon Batho of Durham University proceeded to the County Boys' School in September 1940 from a maintained primary school, Northfields. He remembers that he did not take an entrance examination but was admitted on the report of his headmaster and because of this method of admission was also referred to as a 'special place scholar'.

That the Ealing County Schools extended the opportunity for secondary education with lessening respect for social class or financial circumstances is apparent. They did remain selective in terms of ability. Generalisations about the measure of equal opportunity afforded to pupils through the implementation of a uniform examination must be cautious. The importance of social environment on performance in such an examination must not be neglected and such environmental

variations did exist even in Ealing. The county secondary schools were never intended to be available to all. Even supporters of secondary education for all conceded that the particular education available in this type of school was not applicable to all students of secondary age. In 1920 the Report of the Departmental Committee on Scholarships, Free Places and Maintenance Allowances suggested that between one third and one half of all students in elementary schools were capable of benefitting from the then existing secondary schools.⁵⁶ In a Board of Education publication entitled 'New Prospect' dated 1928 it was argued that only one quarter of all children at elementary schools were appropriate pupils for the county secondary schools. In 1936 the Secretary to the Ealing Education Committee, A.L. Binns reported to the Higher Education Committee on the post elementary requirements of Greenford and Northolt. He wrote:-

*'Secondary education probably remains the best preparation for academic, literary, professional or administrative careers, but it would be well if all those concerned would recognise that the majority of young people, wherever they live, have not the aptitude or the capacity to make the best use of such an abstract form of education.'*⁵⁷

Binns considered that the figure of 25% of elementary school children who would be able to benefit from the secondary schools was too high. He thought that the County Committee should aim to provide 14 such secondary school places per 1,000 of the population.

56 *H. of C. Papers. Education and Schools. Reports of Commissioners, Cmd. 968 xv 385, p.34.*

57 *H.E.C. 5:6:36.*

Concurrent with discussions as to the proportion of the population for whom secondary school education would be beneficial was the growing importance which was being placed on secondary school experience by future employers and society in general. Testimony to this was given at a meeting of the Boston Manor Ratepayers' Association in June 1937 when the opinion was expressed that 'It is essential today that the child seeking commercial employment shall have secondary or, at least, central school education'.⁵⁸ Aspirations outstripped provision. Accommodation had increased in the period but the contention of the County Council that the race between the house builders and the education service was an unfair one proved true in Ealing. Some indication of the level of disappointment that must have existed in the borough can be gauged from the figures available which show how many candidates failed to gain entrance to the secondary schools. The numbers of candidates refers to those sitting the second part of the examination. (See Table XVI).

The discrepancy between the number of places available as represented in Table XVI and the actual number of admissions as listed in Table XV can be explained by the admissions subsequent to the entrance examination for reasons such as transfer. Figures regarding the number of candidates and places available were given only intermittently by the head teachers and are therefore incomplete. It does seem safe, though, to assume frustrated aspirations. It is significant also that in 1927 the headmistress of the Girls' School noted that of the 250 candidates presented for examination, 130

TABLE XVI

Numbers of Admissions to Ealing County Secondary
Schools in Relation to Numbers of Candidates, 1924-1934

<i>Date</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Nos. of Candidates</i>	<i>No. of Places available at time of Entrance Examination</i>
23:5:24	Boys	219	92
29:5:24	Boys	195	94
17:7:26	Girls	163	93
19:5:27	Girls	250	90
7:7:27	Boys	233	87
17:5:28	Girls	230	?
27:5:31	Girls	260	90
8:7:33	Boys	272	92
7:6:34	Boys	276	90

Source: Headteachers' Report delivered to H.E.C. on date given.

reached an acceptable standard but there was room for only 90. In all the headteachers' reports this is the only such comment but it is sufficient to suggest that in fact there were students excluded from the Ealing secondary schools who were judged on the criteria of the time as being able to benefit from the education given there.

What happened in Ealing to those whose aspirations were disappointed? Some were catered for within the elementary system. In 1928 the Ealing Education Committee General Purposes Sub-Committee discussed the Hadow Report. The sub-

committee's recommendations did not rival the boldness of those of the earlier 1921 Advisory Committee but they were the basis of the eventual evolution of the 'modern' schools in the borough. The 1928 sub-committee agreed with the Hadow Report that there should be diversity of type in secondary schools. There should, they asserted, be four types - the existing 'normal or academic' type which would become Grammar Schools for students from 11-16 years old or 11-18 years, technical schools as Junior Technical or Trade Schools for students aged 13-16 or 13-18, Central Schools for students 11-16 and Senior Elementary Schools for 11-14 year olds, which should be increased to 15 years on the raising of the school leaving age. This 'secondary' education should equip 'the adolescent child for life by supplying him with a 3 or 4 year course of education of a secondary nature, complete in itself, so far as it goes, and commensurate with his or her abilities and aptitudes'.⁵⁹ The sub-committee however determined against the advice of the 1921 Advisory body concerning co-education. They claimed that 'it is generally agreed that boys and girls should preferably be separated in all kinds of secondary schools'.⁶⁰

The political conservatism of Ealing militated against dramatic educational changes. It was considered that a quick introduction of the recommendations 'would amount to an educational revolution which would retard the progress of the present generation of pupils and would antagonise their

59 E. Ed. Cttee. Gen. Purposes S/C. January 1928.

60 E. Ed. Cttee. Gen. Purposes S/C. January 1928.

parents and the ratepayers generally'.⁶¹ However the new senior departments were decided upon. In addition to the already existing Central Boys' and Girls' Schools with 320 places each, Northfields Senior Boys' and Girls' would accommodate 320 in each department, Drayton Senior Boys' and Girls' 240 in each, St. Ann's Senior Boys' and Girls' 240 each, Grange Senior Mixed, decided upon in spite of the caution expressed regarding co-education, would have accommodation for 320 pupils in total and Oaklands Road Senior Mixed department room for 280. In total there was accommodation for 2,840 students in senior elementary and central school education in the borough. It was claimed in 1951 that the reorganisation suggested by Hadow was complete in the Borough by 1937.⁶²

In 1937 the Central School became the Modern School. The school had operated on a selective basis since 1923 and many of those pupils who had failed to gain places at one of the secondary schools would have gone to the Central School. It is likely also that once it had become established some parents would have considered the education it offered with its more obvious commercial bias as preferable. Professor Batho remembers that this was certainly the case by the late 1930s. There were parents who considered the County Schools as places where the major concern was to produce future university students. In commercial Ealing such a design was not always considered worthwhile. The Central

61 E. Ed. Cttee. Gen. Purposes S/C. January 1928.

62 Scouse, p.68.

School was recognised by the community as a valuable asset. That this was so is evident from the outcry surrounding the reorganisation in 1937 which made it necessary to halt admissions for that year. By this time the Central School was overcrowded. Some classes numbered 46 pupils and the Board of Education limit was 40. 'Provision for the commercial education that the school was supposed to give was inadequate'.⁶³ There was no hall, no provision for P.T. and the midday meal for 240 was prepared in 'a tiny cupboard of a place, the size of an ink cupboard'.⁶⁴ The improvements, after the completion of which the school would be known as the Modern School, were to include a new hall, a gymnasium, cooking facilities, science laboratories, domestic science rooms, metalwork and woodwork rooms. The school would be mixed but not co-educational. In order to effect the improvements no new pupils were to be admitted in September 1937. Parents were angry at the denial of opportunity to their children who had that year already taken the entrance exam. The Boston Manor Ratepayers' Association meeting at Bordeston School, Hanwell on Thursday 24th June 1937 urged the Council to 'appreciate the position of the parents concerned and to take some action which will at least ensure no diminution in the number of Central School scholars'.⁶⁵ Mr. J. Compton, Ealing's new Director of Education pointed out that the Central School was an elementary school and the Education Authority was under no obligation to provide such

63 M.C.T. 26:6:37, p.17.

64 M.C.T. 26:6:37, p.17.

65 M.C.T. 26:6:37, p.17.

a school. 'It was only fair to say,' Compton continued, 'that the Ealing Education Committee had been at least as generous as education authorities elsewhere'.

But it is clear that by this time the Central School was not considered by parents in Ealing to be an elementary school and it is equally clear that, certainly when it was reformed as a Modern School after 1937, the experience of the pupils was more akin to the experience of their counterparts in the secondary schools than to those in the elementary schools. Certainly, from 1930 maintenance allowances were payable to pupils at the Central School who remained after the age of 14 years and there were travelling expenses for those who went there from Greenford and Northolt and whose parents' income was below the level for maintenance allowances.⁶⁶ The payment of such maintenance allowances to children aged between 14 and 15 at the school continued despite the provisions of a 1936 Act of Parliament which made the grant from the Board of Education payable only at the end of the term in which pupils reached their fifteenth birthday.⁶⁷

Other avenues open to elementary school pupils wishing to continue their education were the Ealing Technical Institute and the Art School, both of which had thriving junior departments by the end of the 1930s and whose development is to be discussed later.

66 E. Ed. Cttee. 1936. *Various References.*

67 E. Ed. Cttee. 1936. *Various References.*

The educational policy practised by Middlesex and effective in Ealing between 1926 and 1939 was designed to increase opportunity and to allow apparent ability, as measured by the selection tests taken at the age of 11, to profit. There was a commitment on the part of the county and borough authorities to the attempt to identify those children who might profit substantially from the education available in the maintained secondary schools in the county as there was to the progressive notion that inability to pay school fees should be no obstacle to selected pupils continuing their education at secondary school. It is clear from the enquiries received by the county in 1932 concerning its special place scheme that the Middlesex policy was regarded as successful by other authorities in the country. Middlesex provided a lead which others were eager to follow. It is equally clear from reading the Middlesex County Council publication, Primary and Secondary Education in Middlesex 1900-1965 that in 1965, a time when people were much concerned with the expansion of educational opportunities, the education committee arrangements for the inter-war period were still regarded as being successful and progressive in their time.

A more efficient system of elementary education ensured a greater demand for secondary education. The idealism of Sir Benjamin Gott, whose policies were continued by Henry Walton, secretaries to the county education committee, ensured the application of the imaginative policy designed to meet this demand. However, it was a fact that in Middlesex and in Ealing opportunities to attend a county secondary school remained insufficient in the face of demand for places

and inadequate to cater for all those regarded as able to profit from attending a secondary school. This insufficiency of places encouraged the development of other types of school which, as they were thought of in this period, are perhaps best described as quasi-secondary. Though they remained administratively and legally within the elementary sector, senior departments of elementary schools and central and modern schools were beginning to be considered by the people, and this is noticeably true of Ealing, as other types of secondary school. In many cases the curriculum justified such an impression. These schools therefore also played their part in the story of increased opportunity to take part in an education extended beyond the basic elementary stage which characterised the inter-war years. The chances for elementary school pupils to continue their education *had* increased. By the late 1930s in Middlesex and in Ealing the by now varied institutions in which it was possible to continue education meant that authorities, teachers, parents and no doubt many pupils were beginning to consider a new problem - what direction should secondary education take and which type of secondary education was most appropriate for which pupil?

CHAPTER VI

THE EALING COUNTY SCHOOLS, 1918-1939.AN APPROPRIATE EDUCATION?

No two secondary schools in England are wholly alike. Some similarity however is often apparent and is necessary to ensure some measure of parity. Common characteristics of schools are achieved through a variety of influences, in the main educational, social and economic, and sometimes political. The specific factors influencing the characteristics and nature of all the maintained secondary schools in England in the first half of the 20th century were the Regulations for Secondary Schools, the pressures exerted by the examinations system and the changing economic and political circumstances in society.

The Regulations which were to have most obvious effect on the nature of the first maintained secondary schools were those issued in 1904 and which have been the subject of debate ever since. Three men shared the responsibility for their formulation: Robert Morant, Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education since 1903; J.W. Headlam, classical and historical scholar and J.W. Mackail, Professor of Ancient Literature at the Royal Academy. Overall responsibility rested with Morant, ex-public school pupil and former tutor to the Crown Prince of Siam. J. Duckworth regarded this triumvirate as being responsible for 'the reinforcement of classical training in the new secondary schools of the 20th Century' which 'led to them becoming pale imitations of the

entrenched public and endowed grammar schools'.¹ This charge was levelled at many of the County Secondary Schools throughout the period up until the 1944 Act and indeed is still levelled at some existing Grammar Schools in the 1980s. In fact the Regulations required a broader education than that which had been given up to then and which had largely evolved as a response to the availability of grants from the Science and Art Department which encouraged a scientific bias. The Prefatory Memorandum to the 1904 Regulations insisted that

*'The instruction must be general, i.e. must be such as giving a reasonable degree of exercise and development to the whole of the faculties and does not confine this development to a particular channel, whether that of pure and applied science, of literary and linguistic study, or of that kind of acquirement which is directed simply at fitting a boy or girl to enter business in a subordinate capacity with some previous knowledge of what he or she will be set to do.'*²

Room within the curriculum had to be found for English Language and Literature, Geography and History. At least one language other than English had to be taught and one of these other languages was to be Latin. Mathematics and practical and theoretical science were to be included in the curriculum together with P.T. and 'Manual Work' for boys. The immediate impression one gets from reading the Regulations and also the subsequent Regulations of 1907, 1909-10, 1918 and 1921 is not one of narrowness or a design to restrict. This is not to

1 J. Duckworth, 'The Board of Education and the Establishment of the Curriculum in the New Secondary Schools of the Twentieth Century', Hist. of Ed. Soc. Bulletin, No. 16, Autumn 1975, p.41.

2 H. of C. Papers. Regulations 1904-5. Cd. 2128 lxxv 533.

deny the influence of the public school or the classical background of the authors. Even the 1918 Regulations required that if Latin was to be excluded from the curriculum then the Board of Education must first be satisfied that the omission was for 'the educational advantage of the school'.³ But their influence did not pervade the Regulations to the claustrophobic level that has often been suggested. The 1907 Regulations continued the trend towards elasticity. P.T. and organised games were afforded importance within the curriculum, Practical Housewifery could be substituted in place of Science for girls, the Board of Education was prepared to increase grants to schools where equipment was needed thus allowing for more practical instruction. Local influence on the schools was assured by the requirement that the governing body should contain a majority of representatives from the local community.⁴ The Board of Education Report of 1912-1913 and the Board's Memorandum on the Curricula of Secondary Schools 1913, Circular 826, introduced new initiatives. The curriculums of secondary schools had now to satisfy the requirements of pupils who left before 16 years of age as well as those who remained until 16. Schools could evolve a curriculum specifically related to local requirements and the Board stated that it was prepared to approve schemes of instruction which varied considerably from that of the 'normal' secondary school although they must not encroach on the area of the technical school.

3 H. of C. Papers. Regulations 1918, Cd. 9076 xix 163.

4 H. of C. Papers. Regulations 1907-8, lxii 609.

The Regulations which came to have a major bearing on the Ealing County schools, after the vicissitudes of the First World War, were those of 1918. To be recognised as a secondary school within the scope of the Regulations a school must 'offer to each of its pupils a progressive course of general education ... of a kind and amount suitable for pupils of an age range at least as wide as from 12 to 17'. It was necessary also that an 'adequate number of pupils must remain at least four years in the school and an adequate proportion up to and beyond the age of 16'.⁵ A more definite encouragement to the development of sixth forms is implicit in this statement. Drawing had to be on the timetable now, Science had to include practical work. The need for adequate arrangements for games was reiterated and the girls' curriculum was required to provide practical instruction in domestic subjects, Needlework, Cookery, Laundry Work, Housekeeping and Household Hygiene. A charge of sexism against the Regulations would definitely hold! The advanced work which the Regulations urged, and for which the Board of Education had allowed increased grants since 1917, was to be organised in three sections: 1) Science and Mathematics, 2) Classics, and 3) Modern Humanistic Studies. It was important, the Regulations urged, that whichever course was chosen by pupils, they should be afforded some awareness of what was to be learnt from the others. The Regulations of 1921 repeated much of the 1918 requirements.

5 *H. of C. Papers. Regulations 1918. Cd. 9076 xix 163, p.13.*

The demands of the examination system exerted an important influence on the secondary school curriculum although again there is evidence of opportunity for freedom and flexibility which was not taken up by the majority of schools. The examination system was overhauled in 1917. Standardisation of the system was born out of the necessity to maintain an acceptable national standard of attainment in education which was measurable and recognisable. After three years of negotiations the various examining bodies agreed to modify their examinations. The result was the First School Certificate Examination and the Second School Certificate Examination, the latter soon to be known as the Higher School Certificate. To achieve a pass at First School Certificate pupils were required to offer five subjects, at least one coming from each of three groups which were:

- 1) English, 2) Languages, 3) Science and Mathematics.

Candidates had to be not less than 15 years old. The Higher School Certificate allowed more specialisation in advanced courses like those encouraged by the 1918 Regulations and was to be the culmination of a two year course. By the late 1930s practical subjects such as Woodwork and Handicraft, together with Commercial Subjects and Technical Drawing were examinable at First School Certificate alongside the more traditional and academic subjects. That the Regulations and in particular the examinations exerted a profound influence on the work done in the secondary schools is not in doubt. But they did allow for far more freedom than was taken. Another effective influence on the curriculum, and a force often exerting a restrictive influence was, as Olive Banks

pointed out, the 'social and occupational structure' of society. 'The higher prestige,' she continued, 'of the so-called black coated occupations, the apprenticeship rules ... the attitude of industrialists to higher education, all deflect school leavers to professional or clerical employment and schools to an academic curriculum'.⁶ This was undoubtedly a major factor in shaping the Ealing County Secondary Schools.

The economy affected schools throughout the country in so far as it restricted building and curtailed the provision of equipment, both of which factors had repercussions for the curriculum. The overt effect of political concerns became more apparent in the 1930s. For instance, the Spens Report, published in 1938, regarded it as an important task of the secondary school to equip pupils to take their place in a democracy and this requirement should be seen against the background of the rise of Fascism in Europe. Professor Simon saw a more covert and sinister political intent in the direction which the secondary schools took between 1902 and 1944, maintaining that their quasi-public school nature merely served to secure the survival of class differences in society.

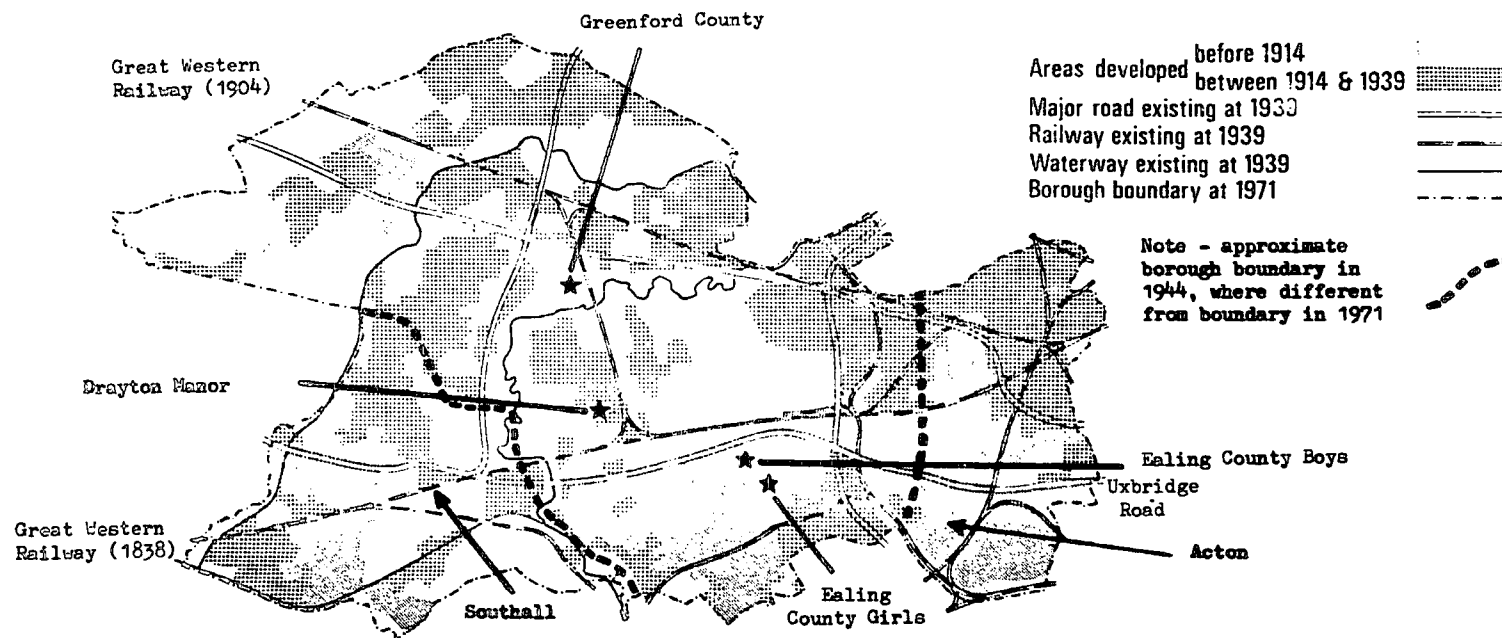
In his book Education as History published in 1983, Harold Silver makes the point that in investigating the history of education in England it is not enough, if one really wants to discover what was actually going on in the schools, to examine the system that pertained or to describe

6 Olive Banks, 'Morant and the Secondary School Regulations of 1904', B.J.Ed.Studies, 1954, Vol. III, No. 1, November p.40-41.

Illustration VI

Map showing situation of Ealing County
Secondary Schools 1913-1944

Based on Emery, Fig. 17



the administrative machinery within which the schools worked. Rather it is necessary to look specifically at the individual schools. Only then can one achieve some sense of the experiences of the staff and pupils in the schools. In this context, what was life in the Ealing County Secondary schools like? It is proposed to look particularly closely at the Ealing County Boys' School and the Ealing County Girls' School. This will give some impression of the experiences of boys and girls. These were also the first two maintained secondary schools in the borough and they did set an example to Drayton Manor and to Greenford County School. The particular factors determining the quality of life and education in Ealing's schools were the staff, the curriculum, the premises and the ambitions of the pupils or the ambitions of the parents for the pupils. An indication of the success or otherwise of a school may be gained from some study of the level of involvement of the students and staff in various aspects of school life, from a consideration of the degree of affection and respect accorded to the school from within the community it served and by ascertaining to what extent the school adequately prepared its pupils for their future lives.

The headteacher is a major formative influence on a secondary school. He or she it is who must ensure that the direction the school takes is commensurate with its environment and with the requirements of its pupils while at the same time it must continue to satisfy the demands and scrutinies of officially appointed inspectors. He or she must consider the curriculum, make appropriate appointments, manage the team of staff, set up an organisation to bring the best out of the

pupils and maintain as much as possible a personal contact with as many people at the school as time will allow. Between 1913 and 1930 a pupil at Ealing County Boys' School would have had as his headmaster Mr. Lewis Marsh; from 1930 to 1941 it would have been Mr. W.J. Dudman.

Mr. Marsh was academically well qualified. He graduated from Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1902 with an honours degree in the Mediaeval and Modern Languages Tripos and in 1906 he gained his M.A. He was appointed headmaster in 1913, being one of 100 applicants for the post. To him must go the credit for what the school had become by 1930. He was an efficient organiser of men and an equally effective mobiliser of resources who quickly earned the respect of the community and the pupils he served. His staff ascribed his success to his 'genius for organisation. To Mr. Marsh's foresight and competence the school's many sided efficiency is due'.⁷ Indeed it seems that by 1920 the school's efficiency was attracting attention. Mr. Marsh reported at a meeting of the Higher Education Committee,

*'I think that the Governors will be interested to know that applications to visit the school are not infrequent from foreign schoolmasters and from those in this country in order that they may study our organisation and teaching methods.'*⁸

Mr. Marsh's personality profoundly influenced his school. Tragically, he died in the summer of 1930 whilst swimming during a holiday. On the occasion of the headmaster's death, Councillor Fuller observed that

7 *M.C.T.* 16:8:30, p.3.

8 *H.E.C.* 15:10:20.

*'It is not an easy job to build up the corporate life of a new school; on the contrary it is a task that calls not only for scholarship, but for great human qualities of sympathy, tact and common-sense and the fine record and present position of the school is proof that its headmaster possessed those qualities in an unusual degree.'*⁹

Mr. Marsh's successor was Mr. W.J. Dudman. Mr. Dudman was one of Lewis Marsh's first appointments in November 1913 when he became the senior Geography teacher. He held two degrees - a B.Sc. and a B.Sc.(Econ.). He maintained the professional standards of his predecessor. An inspector who visited the school from the 15th to the 18th November 1932 found that Mr. Dudman had

*'shown himself a worthy successor to his late chief. He has a thorough knowledge of his school, both boys and staff, and the whole conduct of the school, in quiet orderliness and efficiency, is not a little due to the firm and tactful control at the head.'*¹⁰

Mr. Dudman also died in tragic circumstances. He and his wife were both killed in an air raid in 1940.

Though interviews for teaching posts in the school were conducted by an interviewing panel consisting of school governors and sometimes members of the Committee for Higher Education, it appears that the recommendations of the headmaster were generally acted upon. Both headmasters at the County Boys' School took great care over the appointment of their staff. In 1913 Mr. Marsh was enthusiastic about the future prospects of his school, aware that he had gathered around him 'a little body of assistant masters in whom I

9 M.C.T. 16:8:30, p.3.

10 H.E.C. 9:3:33.

hope, and I believe, I can place entire trust and confidence'.¹¹ By 1918 this 'little body' of masters numbered 17 full-time staff. In 1930 there were 23 permanent and one temporary member of staff and in 1931, 24 permanent staff. For the period 1913 to 1939, 41 full-time teaching appointments are noted in the minutes of the C.H.E. or the H.E.C. 34 of those appointed were university graduates, some holding first class honours degrees. There was one member of staff, other than the head, who held an M.A. and one who was an Associate of the Royal College of Arts. There was also Mr. A. Brooker, an international Association Football player who was appointed in 1919. The majority of the non-graduates were Drill or P.T. instructors but not all P.T. instructors were non-graduates. Every consideration was given to the appropriateness of the teachers to the school. This fact is illustrated in the care taken over the appointment of a replacement for Mr. Dudman when he was elevated to the headship in 1930. In January 1931 Mr. K.E. Williams was appointed senior Geography teacher. He had already worked temporarily at the school for one term and had had three years previous experience receiving a good reference from Keswick School. But his appointment was still subject to a probationary period which was to end on the 31st July 1931.¹² Also, when in 1934 it became necessary to find a new P.T. teacher, Mr. Dudman was given permission to travel to visit the training college at Sheffield and make a recommendation from the students he saw there.¹³

11 C.H.E. 22:10:13.

12 H.E.C. 11:12:30.

13 H.E.C. 3:11:34.

However, the staff had not been trained as teachers. There is, in fact, only one definite mention of a member of staff having a qualification in education and that was P.T. instructor Mr. A.L. Mackay, B.A., Dip.Ed. There was no lack of teaching power though. Teaching ability and the capacity to get on well with the pupils was a factor in deciding promotion. The competence of the staff was very much a concern of both Mr. Marsh and Mr. Dudman and the competence of the staff at the County Boys' School was high. The H.M.I. responsible for the 1932 inspection of the school remarked of the staff that 'As a body of teachers they are particularly strong and a large proportion of them are teachers of more than usual merit'.¹⁴ An old boy of the school who went there in 1923 remembers a staff of enormous 'character and energy'. Mr. A.L. Mathers, appointed history master in 1933 also has clear memories of his colleagues. He also testifies to their energy and competence. Speaking of the staff already established at the school by the time he was appointed, he says

'It was these older men who by their high ideals, unrelenting energy and devotion to their work made the reputation that the school enjoyed for many years. They were devoted schoolmasters who gave without stint to those whom they taught.'

He continues

'The staff set an example. In the staffroom there developed an atmosphere in which self-seeking or ungentlemanly conduct was frowned upon.'

and concludes,

'The men of 1919 were the backbone of the staff, not only teaching their subjects to their pupils, but also the art and graces of school mastership to young men who joined the staff.'

The staff certainly had an impact on the school. They gave it its immense vigour via a plethora of extra-curricular activities. They also contributed to its academic direction. The graduate secondary school teachers of the 1920s and the 1930s could be expected to be faithful to the kind of education which they themselves had experienced and in which they had been successful. Thus the curriculum of the secondary schools remained to a large extent moulded by the 1904 Regulations with the intention of giving able students every chance of proceeding to the universities. The observation of R.D. Bramwell is appropriate:

*'Always the conservative is a strong force which ensures that much of what one generation does in school, the next will do also.'*¹⁵

Ealing County Boys' School had a very professional and capable staff, able to give that type of education very well indeed. They were a loyal staff too, often staying for a good many years providing an important element of continuity. Not including the post of headmaster, of the teachers in the school in 1919, 17 were still there in 1925 and 14 still there in 1932.

In order to discover more of the kind of school that the County Boys' was and the type of education it provided,

15 R.D. Bramwell, 'Curriculum Determinants: an Historical Perspective', *Hist. of Ed. Soc. Bulletin*, No. 12, Autumn 1973, p.40.

with a glimpse of the opportunities this education brought it is an instructive exercise to recreate some of the experiences a pupil aged from 11 to 18 years would have had at the school. It is most informative to attempt this for the period 1928 to 1935 since these years cover the tenure of both the headmasters of the inter-war period and are a time by which it is maybe fair to judge the school as it had by now become well established. The chief sources of information have been the headmasters' reports during the period which were delivered to the Higher Education Committee quarterly and the H.M.I. inspection report for the inspection carried out between the 15th and 18th November 1932. All survive in the minutes of the Ealing Higher Education Committee available in the borough reference library. The recollections of some ex-pupils from the school in the 1920s have also been most helpful.

The first year pupil at the Ealing County Boys' School in September 1928 would have been one of approximately 90 admissions. He would most probably have spent at least two years of his previous education in a public elementary school, as 87.2% of that year's intake did.¹⁶ He would have been from a middle or lower middle class background, his father maybe employed in public administration, in the City, in transport or maybe a skilled artisan. He may have paid full or partial fees for his son or no fees at all. In 1928 there was perhaps a more than even chance that he came from the

lower orders of the middle classes of that time and paid no fees at all for the whole school was inspected in 1932 and it was discovered that 65% of the pupils were receiving their education free.¹⁷ A pupil would, however, have reached the required standard in the entrance examination taken the previous term. His parents were required to sign a form agreeing to keep him at school until he was 16 or at least for a period of 3 years, a practice introduced by the headmaster in 1916 to try and ensure that places at the school were not wasted.¹⁸ They were also required to provide him with his sportswear - football boots, shirt and shorts, cricket flannels and white sweater. The eleven year old first year would have appeared in front of the school excited, perhaps trembling a little, in his pristine uniform, which included blazer and cap.

The building which he faced was a still modern structure. It was the opinion of an earlier visiting H.M.I. that 'It has the pleasing lines now familiar in the Middlesex Schools and is well planned'.¹⁹ Inside he would no doubt have been shepherded into the main hall for an introductory talk from Mr. Marsh. The size of the hall may have impressed him for it was built to seat 500. It may have been in here that he was allocated to a form group. In September 1928 there were three first year forms. The 1932 inspection counted 17 forms for 485 students and that included four fifth forms and a sixth

17 H.E.C. 9:3:32.

18 C.H.E. 20:10:16.

19 C.H.E. 21:5:15.

form, apparently counted as one.²⁰ He would therefore have been in a class of about thirty boys. In 1922 the Middlesex Education Committee had in fact demanded that the school ensure that classes were filled to the maximum 35 and urged, in the cause of economy, the loss of one member of staff.²¹ The school dutifully obliged by dispensing with the services of Mr. G.H. Chase.²² After being assigned to a form, perhaps a tour of the school led by his form master. The 13 classrooms, Geography room, Art room, Physics laboratory, Chemistry laboratory and library would have been full. Any impression of spaciousness the new first year may have got whilst in the hall would now be dispelled, for the school was overcrowded. Indeed the top floor was used during the day by the Ealing Technical Institute and School of Art. Such had been the case since 1913 and so it continued until January 1929. As early as 1917 Mr. Marsh had been aware of the deficiencies of accommodation. The roll of 361 on the 19th October 1917 was already 'taxing the resources of the accommodation of the school to the utmost'.²³ In 1919 the roll had risen to 400 partly because of the problems the older boys experienced in getting employment and there were three classes without proper rooms. It was necessary for them to use the rooms of other classes who were engaged in drill or singing, or they had to use the hall.²⁴ In 1924 the Head had been forced to hire a

20 H.E.C. 9:3:32.

21 H.E.C. 21:2:21.

22 H.E.C. 10:2:22.

23 C.H.E. 19:10:17.

24 H.E.C. 17:10:19.

classroom from the Wesleyan School to accommodate a newly created fifth form.²⁵ The Ealing Education Committee had previously been prodding the County to improve facilities and erect new buildings for the Technical Institute and Art School. They appear to have been given short shrift from the County who found their suggested site unsuitable. Mr. Marsh's decision to rent the Wesleyan School room immediately afterwards may well have been partly designed to add weight to Ealing's demand for more accommodation by accentuating the shortage. By 1925 with the roll now at 449 there were over 100 students with no classroom of their own.²⁶ There is no reason to suppose this problem had eased any by September 1928. A new Chemistry laboratory was built by then, but still waited for its equipment.²⁷

The first year pupil in September 1928 would have been put into one of the five houses all named after eminent men in Ealing's history - Walpole, Nelson, Perceval, Huxley and Fielding. The house-system had been instituted by the headmaster on the opening of the school. It was borrowed from the public school tradition and it still exists in much the same form and with much the same intentions in many schools today. The house system was, in Mr. Marsh's words, aimed at 'fostering a corporate spirit among the boys, by encouraging them, instead of striving for prizes and trophies for them-

25 H.E.C. 17:10:24.

26 H.E.C. 25:9:25.

27 H.E.C. 18:10:28.

selves to work for the honour of their corporate body, the House'.²⁸ Trophies had been presented to the school for which house teams could compete. In 1914 Mr. B.C. Pearce had presented a trophy for football, Alderman H.C. Green for athletics, Mr. W.G. Watts for boxing and Mr. A. Greig for swimming. In 1917 Councillor Beaumont Shepherd presented a cup for the winner of the overall school house competition. Alderman G.C. Farr presented a trophy in 1921 for the house awarded most points in the year which indicates that the school operated a house points system applicable to work as well as sport, a point verified by ex-pupil Alan Wylie.

And so to lessons. There was a system of setting which allowed for modification at successive stages. Mr. Wylie remembers that the first five years were divided into three classes - usually A, B and C. Boys stayed in the appropriate class for all lessons in each school year. Any modification of the setting was dependent upon the individual's performance. In English our pupil, in his first year, would have been given, along with the rest of his form a prose text for close study and comprehension. He would have learnt grammar, would have read aloud and undertaken composition work. The boys were also encouraged to compile a form library. In History he would have come across a teacher who was a renowned storyteller, Mr. W.D. Saville. He treated the subject informally and students were rarely asked to produce any written work or even to offer many oral answers. History did

not feature very large in the upper parts of the school and this fact together with the unorthodox teaching prompted the H.M.Is in 1932 to suggest a complementary appointment.²⁹

Mr. A.L. Mathers B.A. was duly appointed to the staff to teach History in 1933. Geography lessons would have taken place in the Geography room although this was somewhat under-equipped, lacking even a globe, although it did house a lantern for slides. Everyone began French in year one and had at least five periods a week. French lessons happened in 'crowded rooms, without maps, pictures, illustrations or any of the usual apparatus'.³⁰ Despite these bustling rooms it does seem that the subject was taught with some success. The H.M.I. reported in 1932 that in French lessons 'the absence of any sense of weariness even at the end of a long day is a credit to all concerned'. French was taught by the 'Direct Method'.³¹ There was question and answer, learning and dictation. Our pupil's Mathematics lessons would have been particularly well taught, although the only person in the Maths department with an Honours degree in the subject was the Head of the Department. In 1932 the inspectors were able to comment on the past year's work of the department that 'the achievement of the School in Maths is first rate and reflects the greatest credit on Masters and Boys'.³² The first year Science course that he would have been involved

29 H.E.C. 18:11:32 and 9:3:33.

30 H.E.C. 9:3:33.

31 H.E.C. 9:3:33.

32 H.E.C. 9:3:33.

in was the beginning of a five year course leading to School Certificate. Physics began in the first year and he would have taken part in simple practical work albeit in a crowded laboratory which could comfortably accommodate only twenty pupils. The Art room was similarly congested but here the boys would have encountered a particularly enthusiastic teacher, Mr. J.A. Hancox. If they liked their art lessons they could come back for more after school as Mr. Hancox held voluntary classes after school every day, sometimes remaining for two hours. Our pupil may, however, have come away with perhaps a false impression of his achievement in the subject as Mr. Hancox had a tendency to be over corrective and often ended up doing most of the student's drawing himself.³³ In the Woodwork room he would have been able to exercise his practical inclinations. He would, however, in his first year have been given little choice as to what he made. He may have noticed, in the too small workshop, a small number of 5th year boys doing Woodwork instead of language lessons. For P.T. the hall was used as there was no gymnasium with any fixed apparatus. With luck he would get one games lesson per week, the five acre schoolfield being too far away to permit regular games, particularly in inclement weather. His games lessons may well have been taken by the Headmaster who often involved himself in junior games. Of his experience of Music little is known. His Majesty's Inspectors did not examine the Music department! At lunch time, the first year pupil could have stayed for dinner, have taken sandwiches, or gone home. Hot dinners

had been available since February 1914 when a hot meal of meat with two vegetables was provided in the school hall for a cost of eightpence. Students who brought their own meals contributed a halfpenny a day for the provision of table linen and cutlery.³⁴ By 1928 the headmaster reported that 'large numbers stayed to dinner'. 70 pupils were having dinners provided by the school and 55 brought their own food.³⁵

It is likely that, during the first term in autumn 1928, the first year pupil's parents would have attended the annual 'Conversazione' of the school. Here, after buying a copy of the school magazine which had been published since 1913, they would have been told of the successful school trips that had taken place to the Continent and to Normandy during the previous summer holiday. Such trips had been organised at least since 1924 when a party of 50 boys and Old Boys, with staff, spent two weeks in Switzerland in the summer for the all inclusive cost of £8.00.³⁶ They would have joined in the congratulations for the school swimming team which had once again won the London and Middlesex Cup. The examination successes of the school in the previous summer's term would have been noted. 45 candidates had sat for the General School Certificate examination, 42 of whom passed and 23 of whom reached University of London Matriculation standard. There were also six successes in the Higher Certificate exams of

34 C.H.E. 6:2:14.

35 H.E.C. 18:10:28.

36 H.E.C. 18:7:24.

the University of London, 2 in Arts and 4 in Science. Five candidates succeeded in the University of London B.Sc. Intermediate exams and one major science scholarship was awarded, tenable at Reading University and worth £80 per annum for three years. Two students had also succeeded in the London County Council Clerkships exam.³⁷

And so to the second year - September 1929. Adequately and properly acquainted with his new school, our pupil may by now have decided, or been persuaded, to broaden his education beyond the curriculum. He might have joined one or more of the sixteen societies open to him. There was a cricket club, football, athletics and swimming clubs; he may have belonged to the debating society, chess club, photographic society, chemistry club, choral society, art society, sketching club, woodwork society, goal-ball club, boys' library, English book club, French book club, boxing club, school magazine or dramatic society. The presence of the Art School and Technical Institute was no longer a problem, but even with the use of the top floor the school was still overcrowded and there remained one floating class. In his studies he continued with English, History, Geography, Maths, Art and Woodwork, where if he had proved himself competent he would have enjoyed more latitude in what he could make. His study of languages would have continued with French but had he been in one of the two top second year forms he would have begun to learn Latin also. In Science, Physics would now have been complemented by Chemistry and the new laboratory

was at this stage fully equipped. Maybe he enjoyed the hockey teams' 'successful tour of Germany during the Easter holidays',³⁸ or perhaps looked forward to the planned school trip to France to take place in the summer of 1930. Had he been a keen sports player he would no doubt have read avidly during the summer term of the sporting success of a rather famous old boy. The following October the headmaster announced in his annual report that 'F.J. Perry reached the fourth round of the Men's singles at the All England Tennis Championships at Wimbledon'.³⁹

The third year, September 1930, began with a sense of tragedy. Mr. Marsh had died during the summer holidays, still a young man of just fifty. The new headmaster Mr. Dudman was already well known to the boys. Mr. Williams took over his post as Senior Geography teacher, although he was still required to prove his competence in the job. All his previous lessons would have continued for our pupil as would his extra-curricular activities and house competitions. He could now have begun German if he had neither started Latin in the second year nor yet shown an aptitude for it. In his third year he must have taken either German or Latin in addition to French. This would be the last year in which he could enjoy Woodwork or Art and the time allotted to Woodwork in the third year was already considered insufficient.⁴⁰ In the course of the year he may have participated in the

38 H.E.C. 8:5:30.

39 H.E.C. 3:10:30.

40 H.E.C. 9:3:33.

school visits to the Persian Art exhibition and the British Industries Fair and may have taken part in one of the four experiments with the showing of sound films which had been conducted in the school during the first half of 1931.

Emerging into the fourth year in September 1931, he would at some stage in that year have reached the age of 15. At the beginning of 1931 the school was becoming top heavy due to the difficulties the older boys encountered in finding employment in time of economic recession. Mr. Dudman was aware of 'practically one quarter of the whole school being in the fifth and sixth forms'.⁴¹ There were more older boys in the school than ever before and the accommodation was severely strained by the roll of 480. It is likely that at the beginning of the fourth year our pupil and his parents may have been encouraged to consider his future. Whether to leave and enter a business occupation or a clerical occupation at the end of the fourth year, whether to remain to take General School Certificate and Matriculation in the fifth year, whether to contemplate Higher School Certificate and further education? All were possible, depending upon his abilities and the inclination of himself and his parents. Spurred by the seriousness of the economic situation in 1931 the school had by now begun to organise some careers work. A careers bureau had been set up in the charge of Mr. Tew. The bureau had collected a good deal of information about careers open to boys from public secondary schools and had assembled it in one place.

41 H.E.C. 8:10:31.

Our pupil would have read some of this material in the school magazine and may have attended a careers lecture along with his parents. As early as 1915 Mr. Marsh had been able to describe how 'I am bringing the school into touch with employers of various types and I was able to place in business a number of boys who left the school at Christmas'.⁴² By 1931 apparently strong links had been formed with the Old Boys' Association and contacts were used in order to find work for the pupils. This policy certainly persisted until the 1950s when an old boy of the school recalls that in collaboration with Mr. Tew, still known as 'careers master' then, he undertook the task of finding Old Boys who could talk knowledgeably to any boy about the career he was contemplating. As for lessons in the fourth year there was to be no more woodwork or art. The imminence of School Certificate examinations required a greater concentration of effort. However it is interesting to note that in the summer examination of 1932 the head had, for the first time, entered candidates for woodwork and music and commented that 'the results were so successful I intend to extend the experiment in succeeding years'.⁴³ Surprisingly he gives no numerical details, but this action in allowing older boys to return to woodwork and music was no doubt a response to the problems of more pupils and of more pupils of wider ability staying on at school longer. During the year September 1931 to July 1932 a pupil could

42 C.H.E. 19:2:15.

43 H.E.C. 28:10:32.

have represented the school in any one of two hockey teams and four football teams. Success was yet again achieved in swimming and all the previous school clubs and societies still flourished. Some lessons in the school were by now being taken by students from the London Day Training College and such 'were of great assistance to the school'.⁴⁴

September 1932. In the fifth year a degree of specialisation was possible. Whether it was achieved through pupil choice or staff direction is not clear. Our pupil would have found himself in one of four fifth year groups. There was the Classical Fifth whose timetable included Latin and French and the Modern Fifth with French and German. Students in the Modern Fifth took one language only and concentrated on one science, although those who had demonstrated particular aptitude in science could drop Geography in favour of another science subject. There were no History lessons in the fifth year - the situation that prompted the H.M.I. criticism and subsequent appointment of Mr. A.L. Mathers. The chances are high that our pupil would have taken his G.S.C. and Matriculation exams. At the school speech day in November 1928, Mr. Marsh had recognised the changing attitude towards the County Boys' School in the borough. He said

*'15 years ago many parents sent their boys to me, not so much with the idea of getting them educated, as with the desire to be able to say that they had attended a secondary school ... Today there is hardly a boy whose parents would think of removing him away from school until he had taken the G.S.C. and Matriculation.'*⁴⁵

44 H.E.C. 8:10:31.

45 M.C.T. 17:11:28, p.12.

To Mr. Marsh and his staff, and increasingly to the community, the acquisition of the General School Certificate and Matriculation was an important sign that a good education had been attained. London University Matriculation was originally intended as a preliminary qualification for a degree course. By the late 1920s a good performance in School Certificate could gain Matriculation and this was becoming a requirement of an increasing number of employers. Of the intake of around 90 in September 1928, 70 boys presented themselves as candidates for General School Certificate and Matriculation in the summer of 1933. Remembering that 87.2% of that year's intake had been ex-elementary school pupils, it is apparent that a large proportion of students at the Ealing County Boys' School who began their education in the borough's public elementary schools were staying on to take School Certificate exams. Those who stayed on but did not take matriculation could, since 1924, have studied some commercial subjects.⁴⁶ There is, though, little evidence to elicit what exactly went on in this commercial course and there is no indication as to how regularly it was available. Neither the headmaster's or H.M.I.'s reports allude to it in anything other than general terms. Of the 70 candidates who sat the General School Certificate exam in the summer of 1933, 62 passed and 40 matriculated. There were 87 distinctions that year also, three candidates were entered for Woodwork and Music. It is likely therefore that our pupil who began his school career in September 1928 would by 1933

46 H.E.C. 18:7:24.

have passed his G.S.C. and probably matriculated. The positive grasping of opportunities offered, on the part of the ex-elementary school pupils, to extend their education and enhance their employment prospects is a salient feature of the whole period from 1870 until 1944. The trend began with the few scholarship winners at the end of the 19th century and expanded to the much larger numbers of free or special place scholars in the 1930s. The opportunities may have been presented in different ways, but they were taken with similar enthusiasm by larger and larger numbers of young people.

Waiting for the newly successful 16 year old in the summer of 1933 was employment, or the sixth form. In order to get some further flavour of the school and of life there, let us assume that he decided to stay on into the sixth form. He would have been eligible, as would all who stayed on, for a Middlesex Intermediate Scholarship covering all the costs of his continued education for two years up to the age of eighteen, including books. The County also paid the fees required for the Higher School Certificate examination and a maintenance grant in order that loss of earning power for the two years may be compensated. In 1923 this Maintenance grant was worth £18 per annum.⁴⁷ The first sixth formers at the school began their course of study in 1917. They were four boys who had successfully taken their Matriculation exam and who were staying at school in order to pursue a

47 H.E.C. 7:12:23.

course of study leading to the Intermediate B.A. and B.Sc. examination of London University.⁴⁸ In 1919 there was a sixth form of 16 boys all of whom had passed the General School Certificate.⁴⁹ In 1920, 17 boys were awarded Intermediate Scholarships for post-Matriculation work.⁵⁰ There had been sufficient demand for 6th form places to encourage the headmaster in 1919 on the advice of an H.M.I. to contemplate the devising of a two year course in Modern Humanistic Studies for all boys staying on between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years. Both the 1918 Regulations for Secondary Schools, and the increased grants which had become available for advanced work in 1917 were having their effect in Ealing! The syllabus devised by Mr. Marsh has survived in the Higher Education Committee minutes of the 7th December 1923. The course had five main subjects: English, French, History, Geography and Economics. (See Appendix I)

The sixth form of September 1933 was apparently quite large. Exact numbers are not available but there were three groups working on Higher School Certificate lines, as indeed had been the case for some years as described by the visiting H.M.Is in 1932.⁵¹ One group concentrated on Science and Maths, one on Modern Studies, and one on Commercial Studies which included Economics, Economic History, Modern Languages and Geography. Had our pupil joined the Science and Maths group he would have taken his Higher School Certificate

48 C.H.E. 19:10:17.

49 H.E.C. 17:10:19.

50 H.E.C. 16:7:20.

51 H.E.C. 9:3:33.

examination after one year. The subjects had necessarily been stripped bare to their essentials to enable this to happen.⁵² The work in Modern Studies was hampered somewhat by the fact that many boys did not stay on for two years and so preferred the shorter course available in Science and Maths. The visiting H.M.Is in 1932 had suggested that all Higher Certificate courses should be of two years duration with a consequent acceleration class lower down the school, implying a four year First School Certificate course for those students sufficiently able. Had he opted for the Science and Maths course, our pupil may have been one of the five candidates who passed Higher School Certificate in summer 1934, while old boy, F.J. Perry was busy winning Wimbledon for the first time with a straight sets victory. Had he taken one of the other options he may have been one of the seven successful pupils in summer 1935. After that it was possible that he might have been awarded a Senior County Scholarship enabling him to take up a university place.

Examination results were regarded by the school as important. Accordingly, each October, the headmaster reported these results very thoroughly and very consistently. Their presentation in a table is quite revealing. (See Table XVII). The effects of the recessions of the early 1920s and early 1930s is obvious with more pupils remaining to take School Certificate exams because of the poor employment prospects which may have left them without a job. It also

TABLE XVII

Examination Results - Ealing County Boys' School
1916-1939

5th Form

6th Form

Date	G.S.C.			H.S.C.		Inter BSc & BA	
	Cands.	Pass.	Matric.	Cands.	Pass.	Cands.	Pass.
1916	4	4	4				
1917	14	12	12				
1918	15	13	8				
1919	16	16	13				1
1920	28	27	27				3
1921	44	39	22			9	7
1922	53	32	21			3	3
1923	41	29	19				
1924	40	32	28				6
1925	36	32	19	5	4		3
1926	46	30	19		1		3
1927	44	41	23		3		1
1928	45	42	23		6		5
1929	48	48	48		3		8
1930	40	38	26		4		2
1931	60	55	41		3		1
1932	62	61	36	13	9		
1933	70	62	40	8	4		1
1934	66	63	46	10	5		
1935	76	70	44	9	7		
1936	79	67	47	4	4		
1937	76	61	43	10	6		1
1938	85	72	45	8	8		
1939	66	62	44		6		3

Source: Headmaster's Report, October of year stated.

appears that by the 1930s a broader ability range was taking the G.S.C. examination as there are then more Matriculation failures.

What picture emerges of the Ealing County Boys' School? It was a school through which it was possible for a boy from an elementary school background to pass on to university. In 1925 it was reported that E.J. Cooper had gained a second class honours in the second part of the Modern Language Tripos at Cambridge University. He had also been captain of the first football XI at Emmanuel College. Mr. Marsh explained that

*'The school takes some pride in the fact that it has thus taken a boy from an elementary school and enabled him to proceed to a Cambridge College, there to take a place in the front rank both at work and games, in competition with boys from the Old Public Schools of the country.'*⁵³

Whether Mr. Cooper held a free place or was a fee payer is not clear. This, however, is the only reported instance of such an occurrence in the whole period.

Success at G.S.C. did not come to all and indeed not all pupils entered for the examination although by the 1930s a sizeable portion, always over 60%, were remaining at school to enter. Only a small proportion of each year's intake, around 10% and sometimes, as in 1936, around 5%, remained to become candidates in the H.S.C. exam. The H.M.I. who reported on the school in November 1932 remarked that in the last three years only 9 ex-pupils had continued their education

on to university and that this was not many for a school of this type and location.⁵⁴ Ealing as a community wanted to fit its sons for business, clerical, administrative and public service occupations. It is clear that the community regarded the education available at the County Boys' School as appropriate preparation for those occupations.

It is equally clear that the staff welcomed the presence of those pupils who regarded school as more than just a passage to a clerical or commercial post. The significance given to those pupils and ex-pupils who succeeded academically is disproportionate to their number and is indicative of the values of the staff. Such academic achievements were considered by the school to be major symbols of its success. In 1934 an Honours Book was instituted to record the university achievements of old scholars.⁵⁵ One wonders, bearing in mind the comments of the inspector in 1932, if this may have been partly to encourage pupils to aspire to such success. A few examples will suffice to give some impression of the academic achievements of some former pupils. In 1923 five ex-pupils obtained degrees, one of whom was G. Temple who had been amongst the school's first ever intake. He gained his degree from London University and by 1924 had presented his thesis for his Ph.D. whilst he was Applied Demonstrator in Mathematics at the Imperial College of Science. In 1943 Dr. Temple was Professor of Mathematics at King's College and was elected

54 H.E.C. 18:11:32.

55 H.E.C. 7:3:34.

a Fellow of the Royal Society. Also in 1923 the school was proud of two scholarship winners, one of whom proceeded to the Imperial College of Science and Technology and one to Queen's College, Oxford. In the same year two former pupils were awarded Diplomas in Education from the University of London, another became a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgery and one was successful in the examination for the Certificate of the Association of Bankers. In 1924 eleven former pupils were awarded degrees, including R.E. Borneman who gained his from London University. On the occasion of Mr. Borneman's death on the 1st November 1983, The Times published an obituary. Roy Borneman became a Queen's Counsel in 1952. 'Soon he was among the foremost leaders of the Revenue Bar'⁵⁶ and his practice often took him before the House of Lords. He was also an accomplished musician, a fact alluded to in The Times' obituary although they fail to mention the fact that in 1927 he composed an overture performed at Hull and conducted by Sir Henry Wood! In 1928 there were three ex-pupils who became Chartered Accountants, three who were awarded degrees at London University and one who gained an M.A. also from London University. A school Old Boys' Association had been established by 1920⁵⁷ and by 1931 had 300 members.⁵⁸ It is still lively in 1985.

Providing the basis for such academic achievement was and remained an important function of the County Boys' School.

56 The Times 9:11:83.

57 H.E.C. 18:1:20.

58 H.E.C. 8:10:31.

It was not, however, the school's function for the majority of its pupils. It is perhaps indicative of the thinking of secondary school teachers of the time that nowhere are there similarly detailed records of employments taken up by pupils who left the school at or before the age of 16.

Such, then, was something of the experience of boys who attended the County Secondary School in Ealing between the wars. What of the girls of the borough? Ealing County Girls' School was opened in September 1925. The headmistress from the date of opening until 1943 was Miss Dorothy L. Beck. 'At the time of her appointment it was said that she was the best candidate the Middlesex Education sub-Committee had ever interviewed'.⁵⁹ Like Mr. Marsh, Miss Beck was academically well qualified. She took two degrees in consecutive years at Girton College, Cambridge - Classics in 1910 and History in 1911. She had considerable experience in the world of education, having been a hostel tutor and a lecturer in History at Leeds Training College and then headmistress at Farrington County School before moving to Ealing. After a long retirement, taken prematurely due to ill-health, Miss Beck died in 1960. The Middlesex County Times recalled her as 'a scholar' and 'a charming and kindly woman with a sympathetic insight into personality'.⁶⁰ She, like Mr. Marsh, gathered around her a staff that was able and dedicated. It is some comment on her example that four of her staff themselves became headmistresses on leaving her school - Miss Crawford at the High

59 M.C.T. 13:11:43, p.2.

60 M.C.T. 6:2:60, p.1.

School, Slough; Miss Sagerman at Sutton-in-Ashfield County School, Nottingham; Miss Gill at Kendal High School and Miss Merriman at Twickenham County School. Her staff were themselves academically impeccable. Of 39 appointments noted in the minutes of the Higher Education Committee between September 1925 and 1939, 31 were university graduates, 10 holding Masters' degrees. Two were graduates of the Royal Academy of Music and the remainder were P.T. or Domestic Science staff. All of Miss Beck's staff were single women. If they married they had to apply to the Ealing Education Committee to retain their posts and permission to do so was unlikely. It must have encouraged all the teachers when the first inspection of the school in June 1928 found that 'the assistant staff form a capable and hardworking team ready to interest themselves in the activities of their charges outside as well as inside the walls of the classroom'.⁶¹ Miss Beck continued to pay due attention to the teaching ability of her staff and in 1931 the probationary period of one teacher was extended until she became more competent.

An attempted study of the Girls' School over the same period as that carried out for the Boys' School, from September 1928 until the summer of 1935, gives a similar insight into its nature. Once again, the main sources are the quarterly reports which the headmistress was required to submit to the Higher Education Committee and which exist in the minutes of that Committee in the Ealing Reference Library, together with the reports of two full school inspections

61 H.E.C. 18:10:28.

which also survive in the H.E.C. minutes. The inspections were carried out between the 12th to 15th June 1928 by the Board of Education, and in December 1932 by the University of London Matriculation and Schools' Examination Council. Unfortunately, information from old-girls of the school or from members of staff who worked there between the wars has not been forthcoming.

A girl aged between 11 and 12 and beginning her career at the school in September 1928 as one of 86 new entrants would have had a one in two chance of being a fee payer. At the school inspection carried out between the 12th to the 15th June 1928, 161 pupils out of 320 paid full fees. 50% paid full fees but 70% came from the elementary schools. It seems therefore that some wealthy parents were sending their daughters to the elementary schools. This may again suggest the 'respectability' that these schools had by now achieved or it may suggest the importance of the legislation of 1902 and 1918 in furthering the cause of girls' education. It is a matter of conjecture whether the daughters of the rich who were attending the public elementary schools would have received any formal education if their parents had to pay for it and if it had not been made legally obligatory. Once the education of such girls was begun it may have seemed sensible to continue it even if it now required the payment of fees, particularly if some capacity for learning had been shown.

What would have been the intentions of parents sending their daughters to Ealing County Girls' School? They may have wished her to remain for five years and take the G.S.C. exam

or for seven years and take the H.S.C. exam before perhaps going on to training college or university. It was, however, more likely that parents wanted the education experienced at the County Girls' School to be a means to a clerical occupation. In the summer of 1929 the school for the first time entered girls for the Royal Society of Arts examination and Pitman's Speed Tests. Miss Beck had instituted a commercial course leading to R.S.A. and Pitman's exams in autumn 1927 in response to the requirements of the community. She explained to the Higher Education Committee that,

*'I find there is a demand for a course of commercial training in the school; if this cannot be taken in the school, I think we shall certainly lose some of our girls at the age of 14 to 16, especially those of moderate ability.'*⁶²

The R.S.A. course remained an important element of the curriculum and gave to the curriculum of the girls' school an obvious diversity which was lacking at the boys'. The Pitman's tests though did not attract any candidates from the school after 1933.

Joining the school in September 1928 the first year girl would have emerged from the same selection procedures as the boys. She would have joined one of the three first year forms and one of the six houses. There was in the school then a predominance of young girls. This was just three years after the opening and the advanced work of the school was yet to blossom. In fact the distribution of girls according to age in the previous July had been as follows:

11 and under 12 = 99

12 and under 13 = 86

13 and under 14 = 72

14 and under 15 = 41

15 and under 16 = 20

16 and under 17 = 6

17 and under 18 = 1⁶³

At this stage the number on roll was only slightly in excess of the accommodation. There were 388 students on roll and accommodation allowed for 383.⁶⁴ The school consisted of 15 classrooms, three for 30 pupils and 12 for 25 pupils and each form had its own room. There was also an Assembly Hall, two laboratories and a Housecraft room. The library though was in a corridor and the playing fields 15 minutes walk away.

A pupil's lessons in year one were the same whatever her future intentions may have been. English included lessons in formal grammar and students were introduced to Shakespeare early. A critical H.M.I. in 1928 maintained that there was rather too much formal grammar. In Maths, work began in the first year on Algebra and Geometry. The H.M.I. was impressed by the methods used and was pleased to note that the students' progress was 'unhampered by the common belief that ordinary girls cannot do elementary mathematics reasonably well'.⁶⁵ Her Science lessons would have taken place in under-equipped laboratories, both situated on the north side of the building

63 H.E.C. 18:10:28.

64 H.E.C. 18:10:28.

65 H.E.C. 18:10:28.

and neither really ideal, therefore, for Biology. History lessons would have begun with the first year of a two year course in European History from the earliest times to the present. Geography lessons were conducted in a non-specialist room and the H.M.I. noted the need for pictures, charts, geological and industrial specimens. Five years later another inspector, this time from the University of London, praised the Geography department because 'there is an entire absence of dictated notes'.⁶⁶ Scripture lessons presented the first part of a two year course on the Life of Christ and in this subject there were plenty of learning homeworks followed by individual or choral recitation in class. The first year pupil may have been encouraged to join the choir by what was essentially a practical music department. In 1928 sight reading and musical dictation were thought to be 'in a backward state'.⁶⁷ Classes in the subject were large, nearly all numbering at least 60 pupils and one comprising over 90. Little wonder, then, that community singing played a big part in music lessons! Her study of a second language began with French. All girls also took Art and Domestic Science, the latter being taught in a large, well-equipped Housecraft room which doubled as a dining room. Between one and three periods a week would be spent in drill and games.

The course to General School Certificate lasted five years for the brighter girls and six years for the slower girls. In English, after the first year, the emphasis was on

66 H.E.C. 7:3:34.

67 H.E.C. 18:10:28.

fiction and a good deal of memory work. The G.S.C. candidate would have pursued a thoroughly devised Maths course and her first year teacher would have accompanied her and her class right through to school certificate, providing that the member of staff remained at the school. Some staff were loyal. Of those there in December 1926, of whom there were ten, eight were still there in November 1929 and seven still in 1932. In Maths, Numerical Trigonometry was introduced into the course in the fourth year and Pure Maths in the fifth. A course in General Elementary Science was taken together with Biology until year four. Science work was given a 'generous allotment of time',⁶⁸ although exactly how many periods is not clear. All girls presenting Science at G.S.C. would offer Biology and some who had chosen in the fourth year to specialise in Chemistry would offer that subject also. At the inspection of December 1933 the University of London inspector commented on Science lessons that 'the absence of dictated notes is a most gratifying feature of the teaching... the girls are expected to make their own observations and deductions and to express them in their own words'.⁶⁹ The History course in European History from earliest times to the present became slightly more specific in the third year. Pupils would now study the Greeks and Romans, in the fourth year European History up to 1815 and in the fifth English Political History 1783-1914. In 1933 the Inspectors were to criticise the course for being too broad but at the same time they found much to praise in the teaching methods employed in

68 H.E.C. 7:3:34.

69 H.E.C. 7:3:34.

History lessons. A few main points were selected by the history mistresses and were made to be of 'living and fruitful interest'. The staff 'appeared to be attacking the topic with the class, approaching it with them and arriving at no hard and fast conclusions or themes'. This method was considered to be 'in itself better training for advanced work in history than books full of notes and facts'.⁷⁰ Geography lessons continued to be well taught and interesting, a fact reflected in the popularity of the subject. Few girls dropped Geography. Many may have found the regular Easter field trips an attractive feature of the course. Scripture continued to First School Certificate with a critical look at the Old Testament and included a consideration of the History of the Jewish Nation before the Christian era prior to embarking on a detailed study of the New Testament. In the languages department Latin was introduced to the top second year group, IIA, and German in IIA and IIB. From year three onwards the 'A' group had to choose between the two languages. French lessons continued for all and there were French sets. Learning in French was assisted from October 1930 by the appointment of a French Assistante. The headmistress had endeavoured to engage a French Assistante the previous year but no applicants were forthcoming. One Mlle. Milet had the distinction of being Ealing County Girls' School's first French Assistante and Miss Beck attributed to her the fact that the standard of oral French, particularly in the more able forms, improved

considerably over the year, adding that 'The chief benefit gained by her visit was an improved understanding of the French point of view'.⁷¹ All students continued with their Art lessons up to the end of the fourth year, after which stage pupils were selected to continue. They would have all learnt Design, Nature Studies, drawing from memory, imaginative exercises, figure drawing and perspective. The girls also had the opportunity to attempt bookbinding and to produce large wall displays for play productions. The Domestic Science course, after beginning with needlework in the first year continued with Needlework and Housewifery in the second and Cookery for all in year three. In years four and five only a few girls who were excused from General Subjects took Cookery and Needlework. Needlework was offered by eight girls at G.S.C. level for the first time in the summer of 1932.

The girl who joined the County Girls' School in September 1928 would, had she remained to the end of the fifth year, have been one of the 33 girls who took the G.S.C. exam or one of the 23 girls who took R.S.A. exams in the summer of 1933. It is not certain how many were double entered. How likely was it that she would have remained at school that long in 1933? The following figures are taken from the University of London inspection in December 1933 (see Table XVIII). The girls were beginning to stay at the school for longer. Work in the upper forms was developing. In 1931, Miss Beck had taken some pleasure over the fact that there were 'a number of girls who wish to stay on after the age of 16. I expect

71 H.E.C. 28:10:32.

TABLE XVIII

Ages of Pupils at Ealing County Girls' School,
December 1933

Class		No. of Students	Average Age		
VI	Higher	8	17.3	} VI	
VI	Inter Arts	7	} 17.4		} 29
VI	Inter Science	3			
VI	Commerce	11	17	} V	
V	Commerce	10	16.1		} 50
V	French	25	15.11		
V	German	15	15.10		
IV		70	14.2		
III		97	13.9		
II		89	12.9		
I		97	11.9		

Source: *University of London Matriculation and School Examination Council Report of the Council on the Educational Work of Ealing County School for Girls, Dec. 1933.*
H.E.C. 7:3:34.

next year to have 37 girls in the sixth form'.⁷² In fact the sixth form numbered 39 in 1932 and 30 in 1933 although in the latter year there were in the school 38 girls over 16.⁷³ There had only been 25 over 16 in 1930. The effects of the economic recession must be taken into account when

⁷² H.E.C. 27:5:31.

⁷³ H.E.C. 19:10:33.

attributing causes for this growth. It remained a fact that a large number of girls were still leaving before they were 16, but as with the Boys' School these did not excite the remarks of the head. The following list of examination candidates and successes gives some indication of the growth in the number of pupils who were staying longer.

TABLE XIX

Examination Results: Ealing County Girls' School
1928-1938

Date	G.S.C.			H.S.C.		Inter BSc & BA		RSA Group Cert		Pitman's	
	Cands.	Pass.	Matric.	Cands.	Pass.	Cands.	Pass.	Cands.	Pass.	Cands.	Pass.
1928	14	12	8								
1929	13	12	5					16	?	9	7
1930	29	26	15			3	1	82	78		
1931	46	38	?	1	1	1	0	12	4		
1932	53	48	24	4	4	-	-	32	?	11	?
1933	33	29	18	3	1	2	1	23	15	19	?
1934	33	30	14	5	2	3	2	21	11		
1935	34	34	15	2	2	2	1	16	9		
1936	37	31	17	4	4	-	-	17	7		
1937	37	34	19	0	0	1	0	28	18		
1938	53	45	23	5	2	-	-	20	14		

Source: *Headmistress's Report to H.E.C. October of year stated.*

The effect of the depression years is obvious. The table is a guide to the increasing length of school life, to the ambitions of the students or the ambitions of their parents for them and to successful teaching. It also indicates a certain versatility on the part of the girls' school when it came to entering fifth form students for exams. As

well as the R.S.A. exams in Commercial Subjects which had become an important feature of the school by the mid 1930s in 1930 seven students entered and passed Associated Board of the Royal Academy of Music exams, in 1931 there were nine candidates for various exams of the Associated Board of the Royal Academy and the Royal College of Music all of whom were successful, and one successful candidate for the General Department, Clerical Class of the Civil Service. There were six more music candidates in 1932 and also in that year five girls who took a Writing Assistants Test and one who sat for Oxford School Certificate. Specific information as to the nature of the sixth form work is not available. A normal two year course leading to Higher School Certificate is likely.

As with the Boys' School the G.S.C. exam to a large extent, as it gained currency in the country and in the local community, did shape the curriculum. Miss Beck admitted that this was so in her school's case when in an interview given to the Middlesex County Times in 1932 she posed the question 'But do we provide for manual work in our timetables?' and answered 'We do so very little for the reason that manual work is not in the examination curriculum'.⁷⁴ She continued to suggest that children who required manual instruction would be better off at a senior elementary school. Nonetheless the school's examination entries do suggest more versatility than the Boys' School. That an education at Ealing County Girls'

74 M.C.T. 16:1:32, p.1.

School was seen by many girls and their parents to be an important stepping stone to a commercial occupation is undoubted. Miss Beck recognised and bemoaned this fact. Her 1932 interview with the Middlesex County Times was headed 'Too Many Clerks'. She explained that she had tried to persuade a speaker on careers to urge for girls 'to hunt lions, fly the Atlantic or do anything except crowd into safe office jobs'.⁷⁵ As a more immediately realistic suggestion she urged her girls to take jobs in laundry work, shipwork, to pursue careers in Nursing and Public Health. There were girls who went to University and to Training College and in 1936 eleven joined the Civil Service. Just as in the case of the Boys' School, these successes were regarded as most important and Old Girls' academic achievements were enjoyed by the staff and similarly reported to the Higher Education Committee each October. In 1934, of those who left the previous July, eleven had begun a college course, four were working for degrees, one was enrolled on a Domestic Science course and seven were taking two year Teacher Training courses. By October 1936 Miss Beck could proudly report that seven of her Old Girls had been awarded Honours degrees by London University, another had won a £10 prize at Cambridge for her performance in the Mathematics Tripos Part I and another Old Girl had won the Gladstone prize at Cambridge for work in Economics. There were no details of what happened to those who left at or before the age of 16.

75 M.C.T. 16:1:32, p.1.

Outside the curriculum the girl who joined the school in 1928 would have been able to indulge in a wide range of pursuits. She would also have noticed the school becoming increasingly overcrowded. Built originally to accommodate 383 students, the Girls' School had a roll of 433 in 1933 and 490 in 1935. In 1936, in her quarterly report to the H.E.C., Miss Beck complained about the inadequate accommodation. 'I feel,' she said, 'I should once more ask the Governors to impress on the County that the lack of accommodation of all kinds is detrimental both to the work and the tone of the school'.⁷⁶ She repeated these complaints in 1937. The County Education Committee had replied to the Governors in October 1936 explaining that 'in view of the large number of items to be dealt with for the whole county it is unlikely that work at this school could be one of the first to be carried out'.⁷⁷ Middlesex was preoccupied at this time with providing secondary schools for developing regions in the county that did not have them. Plans, for instance, were already in hand for the new Greenford County School in the north of Ealing.

Girls at the school could take part in the activities of clubs such as the Drama Society, the Orchestra, the Choral and Folk Dancing Society, the Thespian Society, the Gardening Club or the Arts and Crafts Club. They could write articles for the School Magazine, could represent the school at Netball, Lacrosse, Tennis, Rounders or Swimming and take part in school

⁷⁶ H.E.C. 6:3:36.

⁷⁷ H.E.C. 23:10:36.

productions. There were school trips to such places as the Lyons and Company factory, the Kraft Cheese Company, the Port of London Docks, H.M.V. Gramophone factory and Maypole Dairy Company. Every other weekend in the late 1920s there was a Camping Circle which enabled eight girls to spend a weekend camp with two or three members of staff in the grounds of a cottage belonging to the Housecraft Mistress and during the Easter holiday of 1931 there was a trip to Paris and Rouen, an excursion repeated often throughout the 1930s. Lunchtime at school was an opportunity for friendship and socialising. Dinners had been available at the school from April 1926 and girls were encouraged to bring their own packed lunches if they wished to. In 1926 at the Girls' School, five dinners cost 4s. 6d., one cost 1s. 1d. The Girls' parents attended many parents' conferences which were arranged by the Headmistress. In 1932, 240 parents attended the parents' evening arranged for years one to four,⁷⁸ and in 1934, 480 attended a similar function.⁷⁹ Parents were also at liberty, after 1932, to come to the school with their daughters and visit Miss Merriman, who on the strength of her B.Sc. Commerce degree, was available for consultation concerning careers every Wednesday from 3.20 p.m. to 4.30 p.m.⁸⁰ On leaving the school many girls joined the Old Girls' Association. The essential vigour of the school is obvious.

The first two County Secondary Schools in Ealing were situated in the area of the original borough as it had been

78 H.E.C. 9:6:32.

79 H.E.C. 3:11:34.

80 H.E.C. 3:3:32.

before the expansion of 1926 and 1928. Two new County Schools were also provided for the acquired areas. Drayton Manor County School opened on Monday 3rd November 1930 and catered for pupils from Hanwell. The Headmaster was Mr. Sewell Allenby. He held two degrees, a B.A. and a B.Sc. and was a 'trained psychologist',⁸¹ a fact which encouraged him to carry out I.Q. tests on each new year's intake of students. Mr. Allenby was an R.A.F. veteran of the Somme and after his appointment at Drayton Manor, played an active roll in Church and public life in Ealing. It was the opinion of Councillor Brooks that Mr. Allenby 'understood young people and wanted their happiness'.⁸² His staff were of similar background and were equal in quality to those at the Boys' and Girls' County Schools. Of the 33 full time staff appointed between July 1930 and 1939, 26 were graduates, 5 of whom held Masters degrees. In 1938 Mr. J.A. Harrison of the school staff was awarded a Ph.D. for research on plant physiology. The non-graduates were all either Domestic Science or P.T. staff. Of the staff appointed in this period 14 were men and 19 were women. The school followed very closely the pattern set by the Boys' and Girls' Schools in the Borough except for the fact that it was co-educational. The recollection of Miss M. Redman, the school's first deputy headmistress, confirms this fact. Boys and Girls were taught together in all years except for the third where the segregation was in order to give the staff an opportunity to teach single sex classes.

81. M.C.T. 24:5:30, p.1.

82. M.C.T. 27:7:46, p.1.

The general experience of the pupils at Drayton Manor was also akin to that of their counterparts at the established schools. On joining the school they would have been placed into one of the three first year forms and one of the four houses. They would have worked for conduct points. They had the opportunity to take part in school trips, such as that which went to Switzerland at Easter 1937 with 58 pupils and 10 staff, school productions, to contribute to the school magazine, to join one or more of the many societies and sports teams. They would have taken home invitations to their parents to attend parents' evenings and speech days or to visit school with their children to consult the material which had been collected together to form a careers library.

The curriculum also bore a close resemblance to the Boys' and Girls' Schools. A second foreign language was begun in year two, either German or Latin. General Science was taught to the 'C' forms to School Certificate level while the 'A' and 'B' forms took Chemistry and Physics or Biology. All pupils took English, Maths, French and one Science plus three subjects from Latin or German, History, Geography and Art. An oft reiterated comment was applied by H.M.Is also to Drayton Manor - 'Generally speaking the subjects Music, Arts and Crafts, Domestic subjects and P.T. do not play as great a part in the Upper Forms as might be expected in a broad education'.⁸³ Two forms out of three in each year followed the full academic curriculum. There was criticism of the lack of manual instruction and domestic subjects even in the third

83 H.E.C. 5:6:36.

year.⁸⁴ The fact that the curriculum as taught may have been inappropriate to many of the pupils was stated more overtly than in the case of the other two existing secondary schools by the H.M.I. who suggested in 1935 that it should be 'a matter for consideration whether with the type of pupil coming into the school too large a proportion are attempting the full academic curriculum'.⁸⁵ Hanwell and the catchment area of Drayton Manor occupied a lower position in the social scale than the area of the original Borough. A further indication of the social class of the pupils of the school is the fact that in 1935 only 52 of the pupils attended as full fee payers, while 85 were partially exempt and 331 totally exempt from fees.⁸⁶ Mr. Allenby himself expressed doubts as to the ability of his first group of pupils who entered the school in 1930 and who were the products of the competitive selection exam. During early 1931 he had carried out one of his I.Q. tests and described the results:

*'Taking a lenient view in all doubtful cases the results show that at least 25% of the pupils in this school have intelligence which is below the normal. There are six cases where the I.Q. is very low indeed. 33% of the pupils are a year or more above the normal.'*⁸⁷

After these pupils had completed their course the headmaster commented that 'The teaching staff is not likely again either to be called upon to make such strenuous efforts as were made for these pupils, or to be rewarded with such modest results'.⁸⁸

84 H.E.C. 17:10:35.

85 H.E.C. 5:6:36.

86 H.E.C. 5:6:36.

87 H.E.C. 5:3:31.

88 H.E.C. 17:10:35.

Miss M. Scott, a pupil of the school in the 1930s, recalled a reluctance on the part of many parents 'to send their children to the first *co-educational* maintained secondary school in Ealing'. The H.M.Is in 1935 suggested that Handicraft should be an alternative for *all* boys in the school. In the case of the girls a more significant contribution appears to have been made to physical and hygiene education and for both sexes P.T. was recognised as 'an integral part of the curriculum'⁸⁹ although the boys struggled without a gymnasium.

In the early years of the school's life there was concern because too many of the pupils selected to attend were leaving early and therefore were not, in the opinion of the staff, receiving the full benefits of a secondary education. Mr. Allenby suggested they were leaving because of economic considerations which demanded employment. The Maintenance Grant which was payable after the age of 14 could not compare with a salary. The school examination results indicate that this situation changed as more students stayed to take their G.S.C. exams in the late 1930s. (See Table XX).

There were few entries in 1934 because students had only four years in which to complete the G.S.C. course.

Built in 1930 the school did suffer from the period of economic stringency of the early 1930s. Funds had not proved sufficient to equip a growing school adequately. There was no gymnasium and no library. Textbooks and atlases were in

89 H.E.C. 5:6:36.

TABLE XX

Drayton Manor County Secondary School,
Examination Results, 1934-1939

Date	G.S.C.			H.S.C.	
	Cands.	Pass.	Matric.	Cands.	Pass.
Nov. 1934	18	16	6		
Summer 1935	36	28	6		
" 1936	58	41	19	1	1
" 1937	57	51	35		
" 1938	53	45	30	4	2
" 1939	67	56	33	4	3

Source: *Headmaster's Report to H.E.C. November 1934, and October 1935-1939*

short supply. These deficiencies were so serious that after the inspection of the 22nd to 25th October 1935 the H.M.Is suggested that a 'Special Grant' should be made available to remedy the situation.⁹⁰ In fact in 1938 the headmaster was still campaigning for his gymnasium.⁹¹

The fourth maintained secondary school in Ealing, Greenford County Secondary School opened in autumn 1939. The difficulties faced by any growing school were compounded in the case of Greenford County by those posed by the Second World War. The school will be dealt with in Chapter VIII.

Retrospective criticism of the Ealing County Schools is easy when they are looked at from the vantage point of the 1980s. It is simple to condemn them for their lack of egal-

⁹⁰ H.E.C. 5:6:36.

⁹¹ H.E.C. -:12:38.

itarianism, for their narrow curriculum, for their employment of teachers who were 'moulders of character'.⁹² But any fair historical assessment of their importance must place them in their context and any judgement of them should also take into account the circumstances out of which they grew and the conditions which prevailed before them.

Before the County Secondary Schools appeared there was little chance of a boy or girl in Ealing receiving a secondary education unless their parents could afford to pay secondary school fees. The opening of the schools, together with the Middlesex policy concerning the payment of fees and some maintenance allowances did extend opportunity.

The schools bristled with vigour. Any school is more than just the product of its curriculum or its staff. The community of a school generates its own energy. Even a perfunctory reading of the Ealing Higher Education Committee minutes, the Headteachers' reports and the Inspection reports reveals clearly that the Ealing County Secondary Schools were lively places where the majority of pupils could extend their experiences outside as well as inside the curriculum and where social values and skills were taught in the course of daily life. There was some discrepancy between what the teachers and headteachers saw as being the purposes of the school and what the parents and children saw as the reasons for attending. The staff valued the experiences that they themselves had encountered. There was much pleasure over successful pupils who went on to university or a profession. But many parents

and children saw the secondary schools as stepping stones to a commercial or clerical occupation. Public administration was expanding, particularly in London, and Ealing was close to London. It does seem that many parents and pupils regarded themselves already as being primarily industrial or economic units. Attendance at a secondary school and possession of General School Certificate gave them more currency as such and increased their market value as employees. The teachers were aware of this. Miss Beck would no doubt have been as surprised as anyone had any of her girls hunted lions or flown the Atlantic!

What is apparent from a scrutiny of the Ealing County Secondary Schools between the wars is the fact that the academic curriculum was still regarded by most parents and employers as a suitable preparation for many jobs. At the same time some educationalists and teachers were beginning to question this assumption. Indeed the experiences of Drayton Manor School, particularly in its earlier years, suggested that the academic curriculum may not be as universally appropriate for secondary school pupils as it had hitherto been regarded. This was recognised by the visiting H.M.I. in 1935. Miss Beck was aware of the same situation and accordingly introduced her commercial course. Even at the boys' school it was considered sensible sometimes to withdraw some pupils in the upper forms from the normal timetable and allow them to persist with woodwork. How grudgingly these adjustments were made must remain conjecture as must the assumptions of the academic staff about such pupils. Some

experimentation in curriculum occurred but one wonders how much would have been tolerated by parents. As late as 1962 on the occasion of my own transfer at the age of 13 to a grammar school, a parental comment makes a pertinent point. On being shown a list of lessons for the first term the judgement quickly came back that this was 'at last a proper timetable'.

The importance of the County Schools, including those in Ealing, is that they made apparent, to educationalists first, the fact that adolescence, sometimes influenced by social and economic factors, can and will develop in an enormous variety of directions. The experiences of these schools engendered discussion of adolescent education. There was a period of intense investigation into the curriculum and teaching methods of the maintained secondary schools as there was of other educational institutions catering for 11 to 18 year olds. Such investigation produced the Spens Report, published in 1938, which first gave official public airing to the idea that education should be child-centred rather than subject-centred. The first step was taken on the road to catering within secondary schools for the individual rather than the group.

The experience of the county secondary schools was one from which the English secondary system would and did learn and grow. It did not and has not grown to perfection, but rather to a continual series of experiments which may or may not be judged as progress. The Ealing County Schools represented one attempt at presenting education to 11 to 18 year

olds in a way which was considered at the time to be appropriate. Other institutions in the borough wrestled with the same problem and this was notably true in the case of the Ealing Technical Institute and School of Art.

CHAPTER VII

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN EALING 1918-1939.FILLING A VOID?

The role required of technical education in England and Wales between the wars was a matter which occasioned much debate. The ages of the students in the technical institutes and colleges and the nature of many of the courses offered pre-empted its inclusion, either administratively or in people's minds, with the elementary system. It was the opinion of the Hadow Committee that technical schools ought not to become part of the secondary system.¹ R.H. Tawney, on the other hand, writing in his pamphlet, 'Secondary Education For All', published in 1922, did believe that 'technical education could satisfy the requirements of a good secondary education'.² On a national level the technical college remained officially outside the secondary system and Professor Simon, in his book Education and the Labour Movement, attributed this early separation to what he considered to be the established Conservative design to preserve secondary education as education for the elite. This view found support from A.J. Peters who, in an article in the British Journal of Educational Studies, argued that technical education was for the training of artisans, a specific social group.³

1 Hadow, p.64-6.

2 J.R. Brookes, '"Secondary Education For All" Reconsidered', D.R.R., Spring 1977, Vol. 8, No. 38, p.7.

3 A.J. Peters, 'The Changing Idea of Technical Education', B.J. of Ed. Studies, Vol. XI, Nov. 1962-May 1963, pp. 142-165.

Whether by plot or evolution, or by a combination of the two, technical institutes and evening classes grew considerably in number during the inter-war years. Bearing in mind the fact that many students of secondary school age went to such institutes and classes and that in some cases 'school' subjects were offered there, a comparison with the secondary schools is valid. The need for an assessment of the developments in technical education between the wars becomes more urgent when it is realised that by 1944 the Junior Technical Schools had grown in such a way and to such an extent that in some cases they were considered ready to take their place in the newly defined and constructed secondary system as one type of secondary school.

The Junior Technical Schools came into being in 1905 when the Board of Education announced the availability of grants for day technical classes which were to be held for pupils who had left elementary schools. The principle that Junior Technical Schools should to some extent continue the work begun by the elementary schools was established at the beginning. The Board of Education Regulations for Junior Technical Schools published in 1913 insisted not only that practical teaching be included in the timetable but also that all such schools should provide for the continuance of the moral, intellectual and physical education given in public elementary schools.⁴ By 1929 there were 108 recognised Junior Technical Schools with approximately 18,000 pupils.⁵

4 Regulations for Junior Technical Schools, 1913, p.4.

5 G.L.R.O. MCC/E Ed. in Middx. 1929-33. A Report of the Secretary to the Middlesex Education Committee, 1933, p.15.

In Middlesex, by 1929, there were various types of technical education available catering for a variety of requirements. Technical institutes in the county offered opportunities for research to advanced students. Full-time senior day courses lasting from two to five years were available for students who left secondary schools at the age of 17 and who wished to move into industry or commerce. There were part-time senior day courses for students over 16 who were released by their employers while students of all ages over 16 attended senior evening courses. The junior courses fell into three categories. There were junior evening courses for those who had had elementary education only. Full-time junior day courses were established in Technical, Commercial and Art Schools for students of 11+ or 13+ involving them until they reached the age of 16 when they were likely to find jobs in industry or commerce. Finally there were part-time junior day courses for employees aged between 14 and 16 who were released from their work for one or two full days per week.

It was in 1902 that Borough Engineer, Charles Jones, had described Ealing as lacking a technical atmosphere. Yet, by 1939, Ealing had a Technical College and an Art School which it claimed were second to none in the county. Reporting in 1937 on the progress of the Technical College, the Middlesex County Times explained

'The growth of the college has been one of the striking features in the development of Ealing during the last ten years but its significance overflows the borough boundaries for the facilities provided are appreciated in many adjoining

*districts. The college is in a very real sense a county institution.'*⁶

Since 1913 the Technical Institute and Art School were under the auspices of the Committee for Higher Education in Ealing, and from 1919 under the care of the Higher Education Committee. Their welfare was in the hands of the same committee members who were responsible for the developing secondary schools in the borough. These members brought to the cause of technical education the same enthusiasm and consistent consideration with which they had approached the questions of secondary education. Reports of the growth and development of the Ealing Technical Institute and School of Art exist in the quarterly minutes of the C.H.E. and the H.E.C. Both the Institute and the Art School occupied the top floor of the Boys' School between 1913 and 1929 after which date they moved to new premises, much to the delight of the headmaster of the County Boys' School, Mr. Lewis Marsh. Until 1920 the School of Art was in effect an Art Class within the Institute. In 1920 the class was recognised as an Art School and became eligible for grant as such.

The 1920s and 1930s were a period of expansion for technical education in Ealing. There were two main reasons for this. First, in 1922, a particularly vigorous principal of the Art School was appointed. Mr. C.F. Trangmar took up the post having previously been the Head of the School of Art in Salisbury. A graduate of the Brighton

School of Art and the Royal Academy of Art, his work was described as 'outstanding'. He himself exhibited at the Royal Academy and many other leading London exhibitions and he was accomplished in painting, engraving, sculpture, silversmithing and jewellery work.⁷ From the time of his appointment he was the man responsible for the Art School and the Technical Institute. His reports each quarter year are a testimony to his enormous energy and to his devotion to the Institute. The clarity of his mind, his organisational ability and managerial skills are laid bare in the catalogue of his achievements as they are presented in the minutes of the Higher Education Committee. In 1937 the Technical Institute gained status as a College of Further Education and was known henceforth as Ealing Technical College. Mr. Trangmar was the first Principal of the College and he remained in the post until his retirement in December 1955. During his time at the Institute, its work came to be held in great regard by the community. The second reason explaining the growth of technical education in Ealing in the 1920s and 1930s was the rapid industrialisation and growth of the borough in that period. This development produced its own demand for technical education and created an environment in Ealing that Charles Jones would not have recognised.

In its responsiveness to the economic environment in Ealing and other areas nearby in which Ealing residents worked and to the requirements of its clients, the Technical Institute could lay a fair claim for consideration as the first essentially student-orientated post elementary estab-

lishment in the borough. By its nature the Technical Institute and School of Art had to design and teach courses to meet consumer demand. It stood or fell according to how successfully it satisfied such demand. Students who attended the Institute belonged to one of three branches. They studied at the Technical Institute, the Art School or one of the Evening Intermediate Schools. The development of all three branches can be traced through a presentation of the figures showing the numbers of students attending, which are thoroughly recorded for the period 1926 to 1938 and by a consideration of the courses available.

TABLE XXI

Numbers of Students attending Ealing
Technical Institute and Associated Classes 1926-1938

<i>Date</i>	<i>Art School</i>	<i>Technical Institute</i>	<i>Evening Intermediate School</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Notes</i>
July 1926	340	347	179	866	
Oct. 1928	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1,134	
" 1929	388	579	400	1,367	Greenford EIS opens
" 1930	522	616	410	1,548	
" 1931	672	879	554	2,105	
" 1932	593	935	535	2,063	
" 1933	474	971	359	1,804	
" 1934	553	1,023	493	2,069	
" 1935	562	1,304	636	2,502	Perivale EIS opens
" 1936	534	1,201	797	2,532	Woodend EIS opens
" 1937	587	1,514	954	3,055	
" 1938	n.a.	2,032	n.a.	1,147	3,179

Key: n.a. = not available
 EIS = Evening Intermediate School

Source: *Principal's Reports submitted to H.E.C.*
 in month shown.

The steady growth is obvious. The drop in numbers attending between 1931 and 1933 is explained by the difficulties many people encountered during that time of economic recession in raising the necessary fees. The particularly noticeable increase in the number of students enrolled for courses between 1934 and 1935 accompanied the opening of the new Evening Intermediate School in the rapidly developing area of Perivale. The figures include students of all ages. The Evening Intermediate Schools were provided specifically to bridge the gap between leaving elementary school at 14 and entering the Technical Institute at 16. No further details of the actual ages of the students at the Evening Intermediate Schools are available.

Fees were payable in all departments although measures were taken to encourage ex-elementary school pupils of some proven ability but with little financial means to consider continuing their education. In May 1917 the Ealing Education Committee approved a recommendation from the Committee for Higher Education to provide four free scholarships to the Art School in order to afford some means 'for boys and girls who possess special aptitude for Drawing to join the Art School on completing their elementary school course'.⁸ In 1918 there were 16 candidates presenting themselves for those four scholarships⁹ and in 1920 there were 31 candidates.¹⁰ By 1921, 22 free place scholarships were awarded to full-time students at the Technical Institute¹¹ and by 1926 nine

8 C.H.E. 19:2:17.

9 C.H.E. 20:9:18.

10 H.E.C. 16:7:20.

11 H.E.C. 6:5:21.

students at the Art School were in receipt of free place scholarships and four also benefited from maintenance grants.¹² In 1921 a letter from the Middlesex Education Committee to the Higher Education Committee in Ealing explained that students could now be admitted to Evening Intermediate School classes without payment providing that they enrolled at the earliest opportunity after leaving their day elementary school.¹³ The same brief allowed the local Higher Education Committee to recommend remission of fees and it is significant that this step was taken in time of high unemployment. Fees at the Ealing Evening Schools in 1921 were two shillings per session per subject.¹⁴ The cost to the consumer of Technical Institute and Art School education was constantly under revision and a letter written to the Middlesex Education Committee in 1922 by Mr. Edwin Gamble testifies that in some cases the permitted amount of remission remained insufficient. Mr. Gamble described his problem very clearly. He wrote

'I regret to inform you that I am unable to continue my attendance at the Ealing Art School. The Grant of £30 has been expended and apart from that I have had to depend upon my earnings as an agricultural worker. The amount I earn by working two and a half days per week on the land while attending the School does not cover my board and lodging by 6s. a week. The rate of agricultural pay has been dropped greatly in excess of the present standard of living and now stands at 8½d. per hour. I have been unable to obtain a situation up till now even as improver, my training still being incomplete. Would it be possible for the Middlesex Education Committee to

12 H.E.C. 19:7:26.

13 H.E.C. 21:12:21.

14 H.E.C. 21:12:21.

*supplement the allowance? Otherwise I shall be compelled to give up Art and remain an agricultural labourer.'*¹⁵

Mr. Gamble lived at 1, Dowden Villas, Horlington, Middlesex. Unfortunately there is no record of the success or otherwise of his plea.

The developments in senior technical institute and art school education in the borough between 1919 and 1939 which are of particular relevance in a history of secondary education in that period were in the management of the curriculum by the authority and the staff and in the use of the curriculum by the students. A review of the courses available also provides an ample demonstration of the versatility of the Ealing Technical Institute. By 1924 courses being taught at the institute included elementary, intermediate and advanced drawing, a 'fashion life class', painting, modelling and architecture, elementary design, elementary figure composition, book illustration, poster and show card design, fashion design, etching, wood-block cutting and printing, design for manufacture, art handicrafts, leatherwork, stained woodwork, jewellery, lettering and illumination, woven bead work, stencilling, embroidery, weaving, lace-making and the teaching of drawing for elementary school teachers.¹⁶ The aims of the school at this stage were very precisely defined. The report of the inspection of the Art School which was carried out between the 1st and 3rd April 1924 explained that

15 H.E.C. 19:5:22.

16 H.E.C. 17:10:24.

*'The chief aims of the school are to provide suitable instruction in art and craft for i) those either engaged in or desiring to follow an artistic trade or profession and ii) those who wish to study art as a cultural branch of education.'*¹⁷

Local industries upon which art had a bearing included process block making, photographic retouching, painting and decorating, cabinet making and millinery and dress-wear. The students subscribed to those specific aims. In 1924, 130 out of 238 were taking single subject courses, a fact which caused the inspectors some regret. In fact in 1916 H.M.I. J. Lattimer had inspected the Art School and found that all seven full-time students had definite plans concerning employment and were attending courses at the school which would directly benefit them in pursuit of such particular employment. Eight out of 73 part-time students were doing the same.¹⁸

By 1928 there had been significant shifts of emphasis. Anticipating the move to new premises which was planned for the following year, Mr. Trangmar took the opportunity to reassess the work of the Technical Institute and Art School. In June 1928 he submitted to a meeting of the Higher Education Committee proposals for improvements. He shared the concern of the inspectors who had reported in 1924. The Art School, he agreed, was being used for too specific a purpose by most of the students. He explained that 'A weakness at present felt is a lack of sufficient co-ordination between the individual subjects'.¹⁹ He was notably

17 H.E.C. 17:10:24.

18 C.H.E. 16:6:16.

19 H.E.C. 15:6:28.

concerned with the younger students at the school and envisaged the development of a Junior Craft School which would 'provide full time education for boys and girls from 13 to 15 or 16 years of age who will be likely to enter upon industrial occupations'. The curriculum of the school was to be designed 'to give the children not so much a vocational but rather on general educational grounds, the kind of preliminary training which will lead to a general aptitude in handling tools and an appreciation of the factors that are important in the producing trades that they will be entering'.²⁰ The prospect of a wider brief for the Art School was broached. So it was with the Technical Institute. Mr. Trangmar outlined changes that were to be introduced 'With the object of providing further education in its best sense and giving that which will enable the student to rise eventually to a position of responsibility rather than to offer training in the particular work in which he is employed at the moment'.²¹ The principal's distinction between 'education' and 'training' is worthy of note. The cause of education was to be furthered by the grouping of subjects to constitute five major courses. The Commercial Department was to offer a full grouped course of three stages. There were to be classes in English, Commercial Arithmetic and Business Economics and Commerce. There were also, in this department, to be minor courses for shorthand typists and clerks and in the summer term a class in Company Law was to be added to the

20 H.E.C. 15:6:28.

21 H.E.C. 15:6:28.

Accounting course. Students in the Modern Languages Department were to take English as well as a second language. Advanced stages were to be added to the existing elementary and intermediate classes in German and there were to be new classes in elementary and advanced Italian. In the already existing Technical Course, Maths, with particular reference to builders' calculations, and either Geometry or Carpentry were to be added to the then present course in Building Construction. The fourth major course was Science and here a class in General Science was added similar to the existing one in Electricity and classes were to cover work up to Matriculation standard. Finally, a Matriculation Course was planned with lessons in French, German, Italian, Electricity and Heat, Light and Sound, English, Maths and 'probably' History and Geography. Fees were revised to encourage students to take grouped courses. For single subjects fees were fixed at five shillings a session. The Commercial Course was to cost 15 shillings a session, the Building Construction Course 12/6d. per session and the Matriculation Course £1.10s.0d. a session. Mr. Trangmar does not include figures for the cost of the Science or Modern Languages Courses.²²

Certainly the vocational bias remained but it was, by 1928, policy to encourage more students to continue a more extensive education past the elementary stage. The importance of continuing education in Mathematics and English was asserted as was the insufficiency and undesirability of a

purely vocational education. It was becoming increasingly possible for students to avail themselves of a quasi-secondary education via the Technical Institute and the Art School. Undoubtedly many people continued to study single subjects and innovation and initiative in catering for these people continued also. Economic History and Geography were offered at the Technical Institute in 1932. In 1933 Statistics, Statistical Method, Salesmanship and Store Management, Legal Regulations and Methods of Business appeared for the first time in the curriculum of the Technical Institute. In 1935 new courses in Advertising and Salesmanship, English for Foreigners, Elocution, Esperanto, Deportment and a course for stammerers were added and it was by now possible to take examinations organised by the Royal Society for Arts, the National Union of Teachers, the London Chamber of Commerce, the Institute of Certificated Grocers and the City and Guilds of London Institute. It is also apparent that more people were taking their studies in earnest and more were taking the grouped courses with the more general education they offered. Mr. Trangmar delightedly pointed out in his October reports to the Higher Education Committee that the number of student hours increased at a greater rate than the number of students, thus proving the point. He remarked to this effect in October 1935.²³ In 1936 in the senior departments of the Technical Institute and Art School, 1,670 students accumulated 112,923 hours of study.²⁴ In 1937, 1,867 students accounted for 123,329 student hours.²⁵

23 H.E.C. 17:10:35.

24 H.E.C. 22:9:36.

25 H.E.C. 22:10:37.

The only extant analysis of who these students were survives in the July 1930 H.M.I. Report. There is presented a table describing the occupations of the students in the senior departments at that time. It is reproduced below.

TABLE XXII

Occupations of Students attending Ealing
Technical Institute and Art School
Senior Departments, 1930

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Female</i>
Clerks	140	Clerks	130
Commercial Travellers	2	Shorthand Typists	76
Salesmen	1	Domestic Servants	4
Teachers	3	Teachers	24
Engineers	7	Milliners	2
Carpenters & Joiners	14	Telephonists	12
Electricians	8	Saleswomen	14
Shop Assistants	7	Miscellaneous	95
Miscellaneous & Unknown	48		

Source: *H.M.I. Report on Ealing Technical Institute, July 1930, in H.E.C. 30:7:30.*

There is nothing surprising given Ealing's economic environment, in the preponderance of clerks. There were also at the time 78 students of secondary school age between 13 and 18 years, comprising of 40 males and 38 females.²⁶

There is a wealth of evidence testifying to the successful teaching at the Institute. The examination results

²⁶ *H.E.C. 30:7:30.*

detailed in the Principal's report each October speak for themselves. In 1930 for instance, at the Technical Institute 100 students gained passes in the R.S.A. examinations, 61 in the N.U.T. examinations, and seven in those conducted by the London Chamber of Commerce. At the Evening Intermediate Schools in the same year there were 48 successes in R.S.A. examinations, 41 in N.U.T. examinations and four in the examinations of the London Chamber of Commerce.²⁷ Such achievement was usual. In the summer of 1932, 97 students gained passes in R.S.A. exams, 54 in N.U.T. exams, nine succeeded in those held by the Institute of Certificated Grocers, eight in those held by the London Chamber of Commerce and there was one success in the City and Guilds of London Institute exams. At the Ealing branch of the Evening Intermediate Schools that year there were 105 successes at R.S.A., which represented a pass rate of 72.4%.²⁸ The Hanwell and Greenford branches of the Evening Intermediate Schools never matched the Ealing branch in terms of numerical examination success. This fact did cause Mr. Trangmar considerable concern throughout the 1930s. In 1935 the Senior department of the Technical Institute numbered amongst its achievements, 106 successful candidates in R.S.A. exams, 12 in N.U.T. exams, 16 in London Chamber of Commerce exams, six in the Institute of Certificated Grocers and one in Intermediate Bachelor of Commerce in the University of London exam.²⁹ One particularly outstanding

27 H.E.C. 2:10:30.

28 H.E.C. 28:10:32.

29 H.E.C. 17:10:35.

achievement gained the congratulations of the County Committee. In 1935 Mr. R. Tillbrook, a student at the Institute, had his first exhibition at the Coolings Gallery, New Bond Street. Mr. Tillbrook was an omnibus conductor.³⁰

On the 30th November 1936 the Inspectors who had visited the Technical Institute earlier that year conferred with the Governors. All four inspectors, Mr. M.S. Briggs, Mr. W. Elliott, Mr. G.F. Quarmby and Mr. E.M.O.R. Dickey, made reference to the success of the Institute. Mr. Dickey went so far as to suggest that the Institute was 'too successful' and that this was giving rise to problems created by employers' consequently excessive demands.³¹ The staff were praised for creating an 'unusually pleasant spirit and happy atmosphere at the Institute'. Of the Art School, Mr. Quarmby remarked that 'There is a young pleasant atmosphere about the school which is most unusual'. He made specific mention of the model making specialist whom he considered to be 'probably the best man in the country for that subject'.³² In fact in 1935 the Art School had been selected by the Board of Education to produce work for display in metalwork and modelmaking at an exhibition in Oxford.³³ Efficiency and initiative quickly became established as the trademarks of the work at the Institute. Mr. Trangmar's finger was never far from the pulse of modern educational developments or from the requirements of the

30 H.E.C. 17:10:35.

31 H.E.C. 23:10:36.

32 H.E.C. 23:10:36.

33 H.E.C. 17:10:35.

community which his Institute served. In 1934 a 'cinematographic camera' was purchased to be used in connection with various branches of study. The total cost of the camera and 'other apparatus' was £15.16s.6d.! Not content with using professionally produced films to supplement lessons on travel, geography, methods of production and art, Mr. Trangmar determined that the students should produce their own. By 1934 the complete processing of films was carried on at the Institute and the Principal explained that 'We have already made a start on the production of several films of animal study'³⁴ for use particularly with students attempting the Board of Education Drawing examination. By December 1935 he was planning a three year course at the Art School for boys who might eventually go into the department of the Art Director of Gainsborough Film Studios or into posts with the Gaumont British Corporation. Of all places in England in the 1930s Ealing must have been the most appropriate for such a development.³⁵

From out of this immense versatility and vigour developed, in the 1930s, the junior departments of Ealing Technical Institute and Art School. It is the junior departments that are of particular relevance to the history of the development of secondary education up to 1944. Mr. Trangmar's ambitions regarding a junior department which he had expressed in his 1928 proposals to the Higher Education

34 H.E.C. 7:6:34.

35 H.E.C. 9:12:35.

Committee were acted upon. From the beginning of the 1929-1930 session the junior course of the Art School was recognised as a Junior Department by the Board of Education. At the time there were 32 full-time students and free place scholarships were to obtain in appropriate cases.³⁶ Students were between the ages of 14 and 16. There was, certainly, a specific purpose to the courses offered in the department. On leaving many students found employment in draughtsmanship and design and some progressed to study in the senior art department:-

TABLE XXIII

Employment on Leaving of Junior Art Department
Full-time Students, 1929-1937

Date	To Senior Department	Local Firms (Jobs unspecified)	Draughtsmanship or Design	To Other Schools	Commercial Design	Salesmanship	Dancing	Lampshade Design
1929	7	7	3	2	-	-	-	-
1931	14	7	-	6	-	-	-	-
1932	5	10	-	6	-	1	-	-
1933	6	2	5	6	-	-	-	-
1936	-	-	6	1	12	-	-	-
1937	-	-	-	-	6	-	1	1

Source: *Principal's Reports to H.E.C. in October of the year stated.*

Efforts were made to ensure the more efficient prosecution of this purpose. In 1932 a scheme was put into action in co-operation with Sanderson and Sons of Perivale training boys for eventual employment there. Such official involvement of interested bodies in the work of all the departments of the institute was further encouraged in 1934 when arrangements were made by the Ealing Higher Education Committee to set up Advisory Committees to promote such liaison. This was done in response to a letter from the Middlesex Education Committee Technical Education sub-Committee dated 26th June 1933. In each case the Committee was to consist of two members of the governing body, two representatives of the employers and two members nominated from the Chamber of Trade, Chamber of Commerce or Ealing Grocers' Association.³⁷

However, of equal importance with the specific purposes of the department was the commitment to afford a measure of broader education to the students. Since at least 1926 all students under 16 years of age entering the Art School took classes in 'general education'.³⁸ What is important is that young people between the ages of 14 and 16 were organised under the auspices of the Technical Institute as a *separate department* for full-time day attendance and received instruction which, while yet specific in bias, afforded the opportunity to the students to extend the more general education which they had received in the elementary schools. Such a department, as conceived, must be considered at least an

37 H.E.C. 7:3:34.

38 H.E.C. 19:7:26.

approximation to the secondary schools, much as the Central Schools were. In experience also there was such an approximation. Unfortunately details of the curriculum and timetable are scant. The H.M.I. Report on the Technical Institute carried out in July 1930 makes no reference to any of the departments of the Art School. The Report of the H.M.I. inspection in 1936 has yet to be traced. The Public Records Office holds the files for Ealing Art School under the reference ED 83/78 but this contains only inspections for 1915 and 1924. The files for the Technical Institute 1918-1935 and 1937-1939 are available in the Public Records Office, references ED 90/175 and ED 90/451, but the 1936 inspection is missing from these also. No detailed transcript has survived in the H.E.C. minutes. It is however certain that English and some form of Mathematics or Arithmetic were taught as Mr. Trangmar considered these subjects so important that he ensured their place in some of the new grouped courses for the senior departments which he instituted in 1928. The extra curricular activities of the Junior Art Department were also strikingly similar to many of those undertaken in the same period, the 1930s, by the secondary schools. In 1931 visits were organised to museums, galleries and buildings of interest.³⁹ The Principal is not specific about which museums, galleries or buildings were visited. By this date the department had a complement of 57 pupils and this enabled the introduction of organised games. Netball, cricket and football teams were begun and matches were played against 'other schools and departments'.⁴⁰

39 H.E.C. 8:10:31.

40 H.E.C. 8:10:31.

The other junior department of particular relevance to developments in secondary education was the Junior Course in Salesmanship for Retail Distribution which was held at the Technical Institute since 1930. Initially referred to as a Day Commercial Course the curriculum was designed 'largely with the object of meeting the requirements of girls who hope to enter the service of a retail firm which has taken an active interest in the scheme'.⁴¹ The firm in question was United Dairies. As the Junior Art Department had done, so the Course in Salesmanship for Retail Distribution adequately fulfilled its specific purpose, and similarly, its success was noted by the Inspectors who explained to the Governors at the conference in November 1936 that 'the School is unique and the Board are very interested in its object of preparing for retail selling as compared with the usual object of a commercial school to prepare for office work'. Sanction was given for further experiment 'without first approaching the Board'.⁴² The department's success in preparing its students for their chosen careers can be tabulated (see overleaf). Once established the course also attracted boys although girls were always in a substantial majority.

It was a matter of some significance that the course was also designed to provide for 'the continuance of the girls' general education'.⁴³ Instruction was given in Shop Accounts, Book-Keeping and Salesmanship, including practical

41 H.E.C. 30:7:30.

42 H.E.C. 23:10:36.

43 H.E.C. 30:7:30.

TABLE XXIV

Occupations on Leaving of Full-time Students
attending the Junior Course in Salesmanship for
Retail Distribution, 1932-1937

Date	West End Stores	Local Stores	Unspec- ified Salesman- ship	Unspec- ified Clerical	United Dairies	Other Schools	Stores in other unspec- ified areas
1932	-	-	16	8	-	-	-
1933	-	-	24		-	7	-
1934	-	-	-	-	15	-	-
1935	22	27	-	-	8	-	-
1936	23	33 (incl. clerical)	-	19	4	7	2
1937	19	32 (incl. clerical)	-	13	7	2	-

Source: Principal's Report to H.E.C. in October of the year stated.

lessons in Window Dressing, and also in English, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Cookery, Needlework, Dressmaking, Home Upholstery, Embroidery and Physical Exercises. English lessons included work on the composition of phrases and sentences, spelling, vocabulary, essay writing, precis writing and letter writing and a consideration of the literature of 'English authors from Shakespeare to the present day'. Arithmetic included work on fractions, averages and weights and measures. History was mainly concerned with the history of the British Empire, its growth and some of its struggles and Geography too focused in on Britain. There was, here, to be consideration of trade centres, trade routes, industry and markets with special reference to the British Isles.⁴⁴ The inclusion of periods of store practice

foreshadowed the idea of work experience as used in the schools of the 1970s and 1980s. By 1935 the participating stores included Harrods, Messrs. Eldred Sayers and Son, Burnsidess (Ealing) Ltd., H.S. Timpson and Lovetts, mostly tailors and outfitters.⁴⁵ By the following year additions to the list were Daniel Neal and Son, John Sanders Ltd., J.C. Hammond, Abernethie and Son, Ashley Russell Ltd. and Rockwell Ltd.⁴⁶ Special assistance was often given by students at sales and other rush periods. Students on the course were required to attend full-time for 28 hours a week and in 1930, 22 girls were on roll, three of whom were aged under 14, 17 of whom were aged between 14 and 15 and two over 15.⁴⁷ Free places were available. For extra-curricula activities students on the Junior Course in Salesmanship for Retail Distribution joined with those from the Junior Art Department. In 1931 they combined in the visits to the museums and art galleries. Sports teams were also organised and the first sports meeting for the junior departments was held at the Drayton Green Track in June 1936.⁴⁸ The lack of playing fields for the use of the junior departments was a matter for concern to the visiting H.M.Is in 1936. Mr. M.S. Briggs remarked that the 'greatest deficiency is inadequate playing fields and a covered playground'.⁴⁹ He might have been writing about a secondary school, such was the concern of his comments! The Technical Institute

45 H.E.C. 17:10:35.

46 H.E.C. 27:10:36.

47 H.E.C. 30:7:30.

48 H.E.C. 22:9:36.

49 H.E.C. 23:10:36.

assumed possession of the old playing fields of the Boys' County School in the summer of 1937.⁵⁰ By 1936 the Junior course in Salesmanship had attracted sufficient students to warrant the appointment of a Responsible Teacher, Mr. F. Keggin and because of the number of girls, which by then was 184, who attended full-time, Miss A. O'Connell was appointed responsible mistress. Mr. Keggin's impact was apparent immediately. Mr. Elliott H.M.I. noted of Mr. Keggin that 'He is undoubtedly a very able man and largely due to his initiative the Day School of Salesmanship is in a flourishing state'.⁵¹

The inclusion of the work of the Junior Departments of the Technical Institute in Ealing in a study of secondary education in the borough requires some defence. First, as part of a vigorous institution in the Borough they demand attention to complete the educational picture in the inter-war period. The junior departments catered for young people of the same age as those who attended secondary schools and for whom attendance after 1944 was to become compulsory. The course in Salesmanship for Retail Distribution in particular accommodated an increasing number of such students. The numbers attending the Junior Art Department rose to a peak in the mid 1930s but fell away a little thereafter. Mr. Trangmar, uncharacteristically, attempted no explanation for this in his reports to the Higher Education Committee. In 1936 the entrance examination was applied to the Junior Departments of the Institute and the Art School and this

50 H.E.C. 7:6:37.

51 H.E.C. 23:10:36.

may have had a bearing on falling numbers. The development of the departments in terms of numbers of students is as follows.

TABLE XXV

Numbers on Roll in the Junior Art Department
and Junior Course in Salesmanship for Retail
Distribution 1928-1939 with nos. of free
places where known

<i>Date</i>	<i>Junior Art Department</i>	<i>Junior Course in Salesmanship for Retail Distribution</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1928	26		
1929	32		
1931	57 (24 F.P.)	51	
1932	41 (24 F.P.)	60 (32 F.P.)	
1933	64 (27 F.P.)	126	
1934	66 (46 F.P.)	149	
1935	67 (41 F.P.)	174	
1936	65	200	Entrance exam. applied to junior depts
1937	52	182	
1939	47	196	

Key: F.P. = Free Places

Source: Principal's report to H.E.C. in October of the year stated.

Secondly, the junior departments demand consideration because the concerns of the staff and the institution as reflected in the curriculum and other activities of the

departments were becoming more approximate to the concerns of secondary school staffs. The attempts to ensure a continuation of a general education for students of this age were the order of the day. This involved taking the teaching of Arithmetic and English, the basics of elementary and primary education, to a more advanced level and the inclusion in the curriculum of subjects such as History, Geography and French. The tasks of the junior departments became more similar to those of the secondary schools. The organisation of sports teams suggests a corporate life, although in 1936 Mr. Binns, secretary of the Borough Education Committee, criticised the junior technical schools because 'they still have much to learn regarding social training and the development of community sense'. He did agree, however, that in England junior technical schools 'rightly give a more general education than the vocational continental schools'.⁵² Writing in 1947 Professor Barnard had recognised such developments throughout the country. 'In all types of technical school,' he wrote, there was 'a strong backing of general education and in some of them even a foreign language was taught'.⁵³

The third justification for the survey of technical education is found in Mr. Binns' report 'Higher Education in Greenford and Northolt' which was submitted to the Ealing Higher Education Committee in June 1936. In it he firmly advocated the establishment of junior commercial and junior technical schools in the developing northern areas of Ealing as a real alternative to secondary schools. Because of their

52 H.E.C. 5:6:36.

53 Barnard, p.272.

increasingly apparent commitment to achieving more for their students than just preparing them for a particular employment he considered them the most appropriate form of post elementary education for one quarter of all 13-16 year olds likely to live in Greenford and Northolt.⁵⁴

Fourth, teachers in the junior departments were beginning to regard themselves very much as part of a professional body of educators sharing close links with their counterparts in secondary schools. They had been salaried on Burnham Scale since 1921 and by the 1930s, in Ealing, were beginning to reject the notion, expressed by the Burnham Committee, that a proportion of staff should have had previous industrial experience. In 1934 Mr. Trangmar reported the resistance of his Responsible Teachers to the appointment of staff from industrial and commercial backgrounds because they considered that the discipline and teaching methods of such appointees were not up to scratch.⁵⁵ Between 1933 and 1937 six full-time staff appointments are noted in the H.E.C. minutes. Four of these were graduates and one of the other two was Mr. T. Bayley A.R.C.A. and R.B.A. It is however not clear which of these staff had duties in the junior departments. The trend to provide technical school teachers who had a broader educative commitment and a greater degree of teaching proficiency was to be furthered by the McNair Report on the appointment and training of teachers published in 1944 which stipulated that 'area training authorities should report at frequent intervals to the Board of Education, so that system-

54 H.E.C. 5:6:36.

55 H.E.C. 7:3:34.

atic courses of training for technical teachers may be provided and recognised'.⁵⁶

The fifth reason is that the Junior Art Department and Junior School of Salesmanship for Retail Distribution came to be regarded by the Middlesex County Council Education Committee quite definitely, to all intents and purposes, as if they were secondary schools. From their inception they were able to offer free places to students. From 1936 aspiring future students had first to succeed in an entrance examination.⁵⁷ It is not clear if this was the same examination as that applied to the secondary schools of the borough. There were always more candidates than places. In 1936, for example, 202 candidates attempted the examination for admission to the Junior School of Salesmanship for Retail Distribution and 89 were admitted. In the same year 51 attempted to gain enrolment at the Junior Art Department and 26 were admitted.⁵⁸ This pattern continued throughout the war years. Policy applied to secondary schools and extended to the junior technical and art departments included the school medical service. In 1935 arrangements were made to organise the medical examination of students attending the junior departments in Ealing.⁵⁹ On the outbreak of World War Two the junior departments were again treated in identical fashion to the secondary schools in evacuable areas and were both evacuated to Aylesbury. By 1942 the Middlesex Education Committee finally expressed a policy towards the junior

⁵⁶ Barnard, p.272.

⁵⁷ H.E.C. 22:9:36.

⁵⁸ H.E.C. 22:9:36.

⁵⁹ H.E.C. 17:10:35.

departments. The County Committee required the opening of an additional form in the Junior Art Department explaining that this would be fully 'in accordance with the Middlesex policy of expansion of Junior Technical Schools'.⁶⁰

In summary it is valid to suggest that the experience of a full-time student in the junior departments of the Ealing Technical Institute and Art School, certainly by 1936, was in many ways very closely akin to that of the secondary school student. Although entering the department two years later than their secondary school counterpart he or she would have passed an entrance examination, would have been taught by an increasingly academic body of teachers, would have continued his or her general education and taken part in school sports and visits. The Spens Report published in 1938 urged that Technical Schools become part of a recast secondary system as by this time they were effectively teaching everything 'necessary to enable an individual to take his place as a citizen of a democracy'.⁶¹ Perhaps the developments evident in the Ealing junior technical and art departments are some proof of the Spens Committee assertion that 'the emphasis in educational theory has shifted from the subject to the child'.⁶²

The Ealing junior departments were not a unique development, but nor were such endeavours commonplace. Professor Barnard discovered that in 1937 there were in England and Wales only 220 junior technical schools of various kinds and

60 H.E.C. 21:10:42.

61 Spens, p.174.

62 Spens, p.143.

only 41 junior art departments in schools of art.⁶³ Harold Silver explains that the development of technical education between the wars was haphazard. There was no consistent legislative approach and often little or no awareness of the need for a technical school. He quotes an H.M.I. who wrote in 1933 deprecating the inadequate efforts of many local authorities regarding the provision of technical education. The H.M.I. expressed the hope that 'they will either co-operate voluntarily and fully for the improvement of technical education or that they will welcome legislation defining their several functions in a single scheme'.⁶⁴ Without doubt the growth and development of the junior departments in Ealing between 1930 and 1939 was due primarily to Mr. Trangmar. It is difficult to overestimate his energetic efforts or his remarkable versatility. It must also be said that the Higher Education Committee were as sympathetic to and as supportive of his requests as they were to those of the head teachers of the secondary schools. In 1934 the H.E.C. pressed a firm request to the Middlesex Education Committee for additional staff to be appointed to the junior departments.⁶⁵ This in an economic climate which had produced the Board of Education Circular 1428 issued on 22nd May 1933 urging economy in the employment of teachers in secondary schools. The County Committee recognised the requirements of the now rapidly growing borough and, to their credit, approved the appointments. Mr. Trangmar continued as Principal until Christmas 1955 when he retired.

63 *Barnard*, p.273.

64 *L. & S*, p.408.

65 *H.E.C.* 7:3:34.

In 1939 he could take pleasure in the fact that by now the junior departments within his technical institute and art school were regarded by many people in the borough and by employers as an adequate alternative to the secondary schools. Between them they were convincing the public, the local authority and the Board of Education of their right to take their place within the secondary system. The 1944 Education Act made it possible for these developments, albeit in a somewhat different form, to officially make a contribution to the new secondary system.

CHAPTER VIII

1939-44: SECONDARY EDUCATION IN EALING DURING
WORLD WAR TWO - A RECIPROCAL CONTRIBUTION

By 1939 developments in the post elementary education of young people up to the age of 18 in England and in Ealing had evolved, stuttering and stammering and largely unplanned, almost into an illicit system. Within the borough the County Schools, the junior departments of the Technical Institute and Art School, the Central and Modern School and the senior departments of the elementary schools all extended, in varying degrees and with irregular effectiveness, the general education of young people beyond the elementary stage as it had been defined by the 1902 Act. There was as yet no legislative or administrative basis for such a system. The Hadow Report had merely been a recommendation which had been effected with variable enthusiasm in different parts of the country. By 1937-8, 63.5% of all pupils over the age of 11 were in senior departments or senior schools.¹ Ealing claimed that the Hadow reorganisation was complete within the borough by 1937.² Writing in the Durham Research Review, in an article entitled 'The Hadow Report', Bernard Doherty claimed that the value of Hadow was to act as a reference point for educationalists. It was not, and was not intended to be, a perpetrator of reform.³ Further consideration of the Hadow proposals and discussion of appropriate curricula came with

1 L. & S., p.393.

2 Scouse, p.68.

3 B. Doherty, 'The Hadow Report', D.R.R., Spring 1977, Vol. VIII, No. 38, pp.1-8.

the Spens Report on Secondary Education in 1938. The Spens Committee based their report on the notion of the individual pupil as a person with a body, mind and a spirit and as a future citizen of democracy. It was their opinion that all young people between the ages of 11 and 15 should receive secondary education. They considered it necessary to pupils' capacities and inclinations and place them accordingly in one of the three types of schools that would comprise the secondary system: the Grammar Schools, the Secondary Modern Schools and the Technical Schools. They urged the adoption throughout the country of a 100% special place scheme 'as soon as national finances render it possible'⁴ in order that no-one should be debarred from attendance because of difficult personal economic circumstances.

The curriculum was to be similar in all three types of school. The core subject was to be English with its emphasis on comprehension and the encouragement of expression. History and Geography were also considered to be vital. Science teaching, said the Committee, should become more vigorous and popularised and less specialist. Space should be found in the curriculum for music and sex education. It was realised that some diversion of aims between the different types of school would occur and it was not thought that such a diversity would be inappropriate. It was envisaged that Grammar Schools would expend more energy preparing students for examinations than the Secondary Modern Schools which would contain a larger body of less able students. Technical

4 *Spens*, p.378.

School education was to be based more on the application of science although this apparently was to be achieved through teaching method rather than by the imposition of a markedly divergent curriculum. However, the Committee were emphatic and insistent that a high degree of similarity should be maintained in the curricula of all secondary schools certainly for pupils up to the age of 13.

It was recognised that the education given in secondary schools should be relevant to the future lives of the students. Individual schools should be given liberty to evolve their own curriculum. Rural schools, it was suggested, should have a rural bias and the timetable in urban schools should contain, in the pupils' final year, some provision for vocational training. Teachers were to play an important part in the evolution and construction of a school's curriculum. Normalising factors would be parents, employers and examinations. The Committee encouraged and urged more creative teaching, with the emphasis on experience and activity rather than the acquisition of knowledge. A school should be, it was agreed, a social unit in which teachers guided their pupils through adolescence as unobtrusively as possible. In such an endeavour extra-curricular activities were as important as lessons in the classroom. Nevertheless, a preservative trend was still apparent. 'The young shall grow up in conformity with the national ethos',⁵ and the 'National tradition in its concrete individuality must be the basis of an effective education'.⁶ This aim,

5 *Spens*, p.147.

6 *Spens*, p.152.

with the importance attached to the liberty of individual schools and the desire to ensure that pupils should be equipped to take their place in a democratic society must be seen against the background of the growth of Fascism in Europe in the 1930s. In Hitler's Germany schools followed a rigid, uniform curriculum. Political indoctrination was established by 1938. The Deputy Heads of German schools were often Physical Education teachers and a satisfactory report in P.E. was a necessary prerequisite to a pupil's success. Thus was the Nazi military machine constructed. The Spens Committee would have been aware of such developments. The German system of education had been an object of interest and study for English educators from before the beginning of the twentieth century. In England, whilst the state was becoming increasingly concerned with education, it would not be allowed complete control of the schools. No doubt with Nazi Germany in mind the Report observed how the state could 'turn the schools and the teachers into mere instruments of its policies, vehicles for the dissemination of the ideas it approves and means for excluding from the minds of the young all ideas of which it disapproves'. The Committee affirmed their faith 'in the English compromise between State regulation and freedom of teachers'.⁷

The Spens Report urged that a new administrative system be adopted to implement the new look education service. The developments in schools which had occurred between the wars and which in the Committee's opinion should be included in

7 *Spens, p.151.*

the new secondary system were at present under the auspices in some cases, such as the County Schools, of Part II authorities and in others, such as the Central Schools, of Part III authorities. In 1902 the principle which had decided the powers of the administrative unit was the size of a region's population. The Spens Committee decided that it should be the ability to supply adequately the correct measure and the necessary different types of educational institution that should define the powers of an administrative unit. A larger unit was considered practicable with the devolution of powers to smaller units as a positive way of retaining the involvement of the local community. The Committee recommended the referral of the problem to a Departmental or inter-Departmental Committee.

Spens was a bold attempt to identify the best of the inter-war developments and urge their nationwide acceptance and implementation. Indeed many school students in the 1950s and 1960s experienced the kind of education in the kinds of schools which the Report advocated. But at the end of the 1930s its immediate application was thwarted.

1st September 1939 was the date set for the raising of the school leaving age to 15. The imminence of hostilities caused the plan to be abandoned. The dislocation of society and everyday life caused by the impact of Total War upon Britain was quickly obvious. Blackouts, rationing, the loss of men to the services and consequent redirection of women's energies, the gearing of industry to munitions and the more apparent presence of death and bereavement all made their

mark. The educational service was disrupted. But what is remarkable about the education service, certainly in the case of the Ealing secondary schools, during World War Two is not the amount of disruption, but the extent to which the schools continued to discharge, and in some cases actually extended, their normal duties.

For evacuation purposes the country was divided into three types of area. Evacuated areas were those from which children, pregnant mothers and some handicapped people were evacuated; Reception Areas were those which received evacuated groups and neutral areas were those where it was considered that the danger from enemy action would not be sufficient to warrant evacuation and where no evacuated groups were, in the first instance at least, to be billeted. Some neutral areas did in fact receive attached children from nearby evacuated areas. Between September 1939 and December 1940 pupils were evacuated from 123 towns and villages in England and Wales.⁸ Most of the pupils went to Devon and Wales. In September 1939 only Ealing Borough and Hanwell south of the Great Western Railway line was designated an evacuation area. In that month 3,011 children were evacuated and another 163 followed the original group between November 1939 and February 1940.⁹ On Thursday 13th June 1940 between 800 and 900 more children from Little Ealing, Grange, Christ Church, Northfields, Lammas and St. Saviours Schools were evacuated. Carrying their gas mask, satchel of food,

8 M.C.T. 7:12:40, p.1.

9 M.C.T. 7:12:40, p.1.

playing and singing, they were seen off by Ealing's Director of Education, Joseph Compton. It was perhaps something of an understatement when the Middlesex County Times reporter suggested that, 'It looked as if the 35 teachers and the other helpers going with them were in for a lively time'.¹⁰ The next day another 500 went but it was considered that the total was still 'not a quarter of the four thousand who should have gone'.¹¹ It was written that they went to 'a Somerset Coast town'. In October 1940 the evacuation area was extended and now included North Ealing, North Hanwell, Greenford and Northolt. Another 4,152 children were sent to the Home Counties, the west of England and South Wales.¹² Evacuation entailed enormous problems of organisation, created potentially serious emotional problems for divided families, produced heroic responses from staff and pupils alike, saw much kindness from host areas and engendered a stoic determination to continue normally as much as possible. As social units the schools played their very considerable part in the war effort. There were instances of skilful improvisation, long periods of fastidious application and moments of great tragedy. Individual resourcefulness was of paramount importance.

Despite Mr. Dudman's expressed fears over the inadequacy of the planned arrangements, Ealing County Boys' School was evacuated on the 3rd September 1939 to Aylesbury. The school was to share accommodation with Aylesbury Grammar

10 M.C.T. 15:6:40, p.5.

11 M.C.T. 15:6:40, p.5.

12 M.C.T. 7:12:40, p.1.

School and was also allowed use of the Methodist Hall near to the Grammar School site. The Boys' School building was requisitioned by H.M. Government but was subsequently vacated after one month. The Girls' School was evacuated on the same day, initially to Aylesbury and from there to High Wycombe. Accommodation was shared with Wycombe High School and the British Legion Hall and sports pavilion were also made available for the school's use. In Ealing the Girls' School building was also requisitioned by the government. Drayton Manor School was not evacuated in 1939 but continued to work on a part-time tutorial basis until the completion of protective measures. Headmaster, Mr. Allenby, explained that the war 'interfered seriously with the work of the school',¹³ but the situation, he continued, was rescued by the cheerful determination of the staff. Sandbags became part of the school furniture, school hours were shortened to finish at 3.30 p.m. to allow the cleaning of the school before blackout. The senior science master rigged up lighting in the school shelters so that it was possible to continue working in them during air raids.¹⁴ A healthy and energetic spirit helped the school continue until it was evacuated to Torquay in October 1940 although complete transference of the school was never achieved. In Torquay the evacuated portion of Drayton Manor used the premises of Audley Park Girls' School.

Greenford County School had the most difficult of beginnings. Due to the war the opening was delayed until 2nd

13 H.E.C. 2:12:39.

14 H.E.C. 21:12:39.

Illustration VII

'Making the school trenches'

*A Lino-cut prepared by a pupil of
Drayton Manor County School for the
school magazine, 'The Phoenix',
May 1940*



October and then the school operated on a voluntary basis. 92% of the original intending pupils were present.¹⁵ The headmaster, whose unenviable task it was to give the new school its direction in its formative years in most difficult circumstances, was Mr. J.W. Withrington. In common with the other headteachers in the Ealing County Schools he had, by the time of his appointment, proved himself to be a most energetic man, obtaining a first class Honours degree in Mathematics from Manchester University in 1935, an M.Sc. by research in Mathematics in 1928 after which, under the guidance of London University Institute of Education, he gained an M.A. by research in Education. The five staff with which the school opened were likewise of similar quality to those at the already established County Schools in the borough. The three full-time women and two full-time men all possessed honours degrees. The curriculum was typical and plans for more extensive practical work had, in the face of war time austerities, to be postponed. 'No subject has been omitted from the school curriculum,' explained Mr. Withrington, but 'plans that I had laid for giving rather more attention to handicraft than is usual in secondary schools have not matured owing to shortage of time, staff and materials'.¹⁶ In 1941 there were some gaps in the full secondary school curriculum. At a meeting of the H.E.C. on 26th March 1941 the headmaster reported that there was no handicraft for boys at Torquay and no cookery for girls. At Greenford there was no music and no woodwork.

15 H.E.C. 21:12:39.

16 H.E.C. 21:12:39.

Evacuation to Torquay took place on the same day as it did for Drayton Manor, 22nd October 1940 and similarly was never complete. The Greenford County students shared the premises of Audley Park Girls' School together with Drayton Manor pupils and from here the headmasters of the two Ealing schools were to submit joint reports. In all cases, in the interests of continuity, each school was encouraged to preserve its own identity. That Greenford County succeeded in doing so is suggested by the fact that the Old Scholars' Association quickly emerged and held its inaugural meeting on the 25th October 1944.

In Circular 1483, issued on the 11th November 1939, the Board of Education allowed some schools in the evacuated areas to reopen to accommodate those children who, for one reason or another, had not been in the evacuation parties. By December 1940 the Middlesex Education Committee had reopened some schools and had expressed its intention to reopen all as soon as possible. When schools were adequately protected compulsory attendance would be enforced again. The reopening of schools in the evacuation areas was in fact to create problems for the authorities and the schools themselves as it contributed to the tendency of some evacuated pupils to drift back to their home areas. The fact that such students were readily accepted into the reopened portions of the schools was criticised by the headteachers. A review of the roll figures for the four County secondary schools between 1940 and 1944 demonstrates the problem.

TABLE XXVI

Numbers on Roll at Ealing County Secondary
Schools, 1940-44

i) Ealing Boys

<i>Date</i>	<i>At Aylesbury</i>	<i>At Ealing</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Notes</i>
14: 3:40	204	20	224	School opened for un-attached boys and girls
3: 7:40	200	58	258	
12:12:40	150	139	289	Home portion officially reopened
26: 3:41	138	149	287	
12:12:41	102	223	325	
10: 7:42	83 (including 57 Middx boys not from Ealing)	240	328	
21:10:42	-	392	392	Remaining Middx students transferred to Aylesbury G.S.
23: 9:43	-	453	453	
25:10:44	-	469	469	

Some Ealing County Boys attended Drayton Manor. In September 1939, there were 94 former Ealing Boys pupils at Drayton Manor and in July 1940 there were 55. On the 12th December 1939 there were 18 boys enrolled with Ealing Boys' School, but attending Greenford County.

In September 1939, 31 Ealing Girls' School pupils attended Drayton Manor and in July 1940, 25 did so. On the 12th December 1939 there were 15 girls enrolled at Ealing County Girls' School attending Greenford County.

ii) Ealing Girls

Date	At High Wycombe	At Ealing	Total	Notes
12:12:40	235	174	309	Home premises officially re-opened
26: 3:41	230	159	389	
26: 6:41	218	172	390	
12:12:41	188	278	466	
10: 7:42	142	289	431	Evacuated portion closed
21:10:42	-	402	402	66 remaining Hildx pupils transferred to Wycombe G.S.
23: 9:43	-	432	432	
25:10:44	-	466	466	

iii) Drayton Manor

Date	At Torquay			At Ealing			Total	Notes
12:12:40	B	G	Total	B	G	Total		
12:12:40	78	72	150	166	150	316	466	
26: 3:41	78	62	140	157	144	301	441	
31: 3:42	42	28	70	222	198	420	490	
21:10:42	na	na	44	na	na	512	556	
17: 6:43	na	na	41	na	na	483	524	H.M. noted that number on roll greatly in excess of accommodation
1: 6:44				270	301	571	571	

iv) Greenford County

Date	At Torquay			At Ealing			Total	Notes
	B	G	Total	B	G	Total		
14: 3:40	-	-	-	116	102	218	218	
12:12:40	-	-	-	144	157	301	301	
26: 6:41	49	64	113	105	71	176	289	
12:12:41	84	67	151	187	152	339	490	
10: 7:42	12	13	25	194	168	362	387	
21:10:42	7	9	16	252	216	468	489	
17: 6:43	7	6	13	244	200	444	457	Evacuated portion closed
23: 9:43	-	-	-	283	230	513	513	
1: 6:44	-	-	-	266	213	479	479	

Source: *Headteachers' Report to H.E.C. on date given.*

The disruption is immediately apparent. The evacuated parties had mixed luck with their hosts in the reception areas. Both the Boys' and Girls' schools reported some difficulties with billeting and Mr. Dudman explained that 'Billeting difficulties were responsible for the return of some boys', but in general he had abundant praise for his pupils' hosts. 'Many of them,' he reported, 'have served the boys royally and it is moving to see the care and thoughtfulness and money expended on our boys by householders with humble means but generous hearts'. The staff worked hard under trying conditions. 'Only a very few of us,' explained Mr. Dudman, 'have any privacy or opportunity of doing any work in private'.¹⁷ Billeting was to be more of a problem after the second evacuation necessitated by the onset of enemy action in autumn 1940.¹⁸

¹⁷ H.E.C. 21:12:39.

¹⁸ H.E.C. 12:12:40.

Miss Beck, who remained in Ealing until March 1941 to take care of the unattached boys and girls who were not evacuated, was convinced that during the evacuation of the Girls' School 'the untiring efforts of the staff made this transition period one which most of the girls enjoyed'.¹⁹ She was aware, however, that some of the billeting after the second evacuation was unsatisfactory.²⁰ Regarding the evacuated Drayton Manor pupils, Mr. Allenby saw much evidence of 'the general care' shown to the boys in their billets and he noted that they were 'benefiting greatly by the freedom from disturbance at night'.²¹ Greenford County also experienced some billeting problems but Mr. Withrington did not consider them to be serious.²² One girl had been suspended for returning to Greenford and inciting others to do so but was later readmitted on a promise of good behaviour.²³

For those who remained in Ealing the blitz brought problems, not the least being increased anxiety. In December 1940, W.S. Clarke, acting headmaster of the Boys' School, explained that a few bombs had fallen in and around Ealing but he was pleased to note that none of the boys suffered. Reference has already been made to the resilience of Drayton Manor. Certainly it seems that the newly industrialised north of the borough suffered most. The enemy had done their homework. Mr. Withrington vividly describes the problems presented to the home portion of Greenford County School and

19 H.E.C. 21:12:39.

20 H.E.C. 12:12:40.

21 H.E.C. 12:12:40.

22 H.E.C. 26:3:41.

23 H.E.C. 12:12:40.

the attempts to overcome them. His report to the Higher Education Committee in December 1940 concerning the effects of enemy action is worthy of quotation in full.

*'Owing to enemy activity in the air working conditions were very difficult for the first half of the term. Work was carried on as far as possible in shelters and a considerable amount was done in the indoor shelters. The County authorities sent an instruction that school should begin at 10.30 a.m. in an "alert" was in being between the hours of midnight and 6 a.m. Authority was obtained to vary the hours of opening the school if local circumstances justified it. The school was opened at 9.50 a.m. and closed at 4.15 p.m. The dinner interval was shortened to one hour and 98% of the parents were persuaded to allow their children to remain at school for the dinner interval. I should like to record my gratitude to the teaching and kitchen staff for the way they carried on under trying circumstances - not the least of which involved preparing 150 hot dinners daily and serving them more often than not in shelters, the staff taking their dinners as and when they could in the short time available. For the second half of the term the school hours have been 9.20 a.m. to 3.45 p.m. with the same arrangements as to the dinner interval. The slackening of the day time raiding has allowed a full timetable to be worked to the evident relief of the pupils ... Many bombs have fallen close to the school premises including two in the playing field but only a few panes of glass have been broken. On Monday 30th September a very severe raid took place in the dinner interval. Several children lost their homes but no parents or children were injured. I regret to say that a girl, Kathleen Barret, lost her life when the S.S. Benares went down.'*²⁴

The S.S. Benares was being used to evacuate some children to Canada when it was sunk.

The evidence relating to the Ealing secondary schools during the Second World War is far more emphatic in its proof of the persistent efforts of the schools to continue life as normally as possible than it is of their inability

to do so due to the disruption caused by the hostilities. The constant pursuit of normality in that anxious time was an important contribution to the war effort. Education continued, ambitions were still fostered, guidance was given as carefully as before. Learning was still an important human activity. The headteachers' reports for the wartime period were still preoccupied with the usual activities of their schools as they were before the outbreak of war. Thus it is that examination results and the achievements of former pupils continue to be given prominence.

TABLE XXVII

Examination Results of the Ealing
Secondary Schools, 1939-1944

Date	Ealing Boys			Ealing Girls			Drayton Manor			Greenford Cty.		
	GSC	MAT	HSC	GSC	MAT	HSC	GSC	MAT	HSC	GSC	MAT	HSC
1939	62	44	6	60	37	4	56	33	3			
1940	35	27	4	33	19	4	66	41	7			
1941	34	26	-	31	15	-	23	24	7			
1942	40	33	-	49	20	-	58	37	3			
1943	37	24	-	29	12	4	62	40	11	39	24	5
1944	42	37	11	36	25	3	65	47	8	58	29	-

Key: GSC = General School Certificate
MAT = Matriculation
HSC = Higher School Certificate

Source: Headteacher's Report to H.E.C., varying dates in year stated.

Some dislocation must be acknowledged. Fewer pupils stayed to attempt their General School Certificate examinations than had done so in the 1930s. There was no sixth form work at the Boys' School certainly in 1941 and 1942 and a lower sixth did not emerge again until 1943. Simil-

arly the Girls' School had no sixth form in 1940, a fact lamented by Miss Beck. 'Unfortunately,' she told the Higher Education Committee in March 1940, 'the lower sixth form has faded away entirely'.²⁵ Drayton Manor on the other hand, a school less completely evacuated than either the Boys' or Girls' Schools, maintained its sixth form throughout the war. There is some indication of the disruptive effects of the October 1940 evacuation on the work of some of the Drayton Manor pupils for in the 1941 G.S.C. examinations there were 58 candidates, just below par, and yet only 23 passed. In both the Boys' and Girls' Schools there were fewer candidates. Once again the figures suggest that Greenford County should be applauded for starting so well in difficult circumstances.

The successes of some former pupils were still recorded fastidiously. On 20th March 1941 the acting Headmaster of Ealing Boys announced that P.M. Bramley, Senior Prefect, had been elected to an open exhibition in Modern Languages at Queen's College, Oxford. Due to the demise of sixth form work it was not until June 1944 that the next scholarship winner could be acclaimed. On this occasion L.W. Hebblewhite gained a major scholarship in English at Downing College, Cambridge and J.G. Davies was elected a Chorister at Chapel Royal. In December 1939 Miss Beck reported that two pupils who had left the Girls' School in July that year had progressed to University, one to a training college and one to Brighton Municipal College. In March 1940 she added that one ex-pupil had begun attending the London University Institute of Education to follow a four year course, one was a

student at Goldsmiths' College, and two at Bedford College. In August 1943 one girl gained an exhibition at Trinity College of Music for three years to read for a Bachelor of Music degree. It was in December 1939 that Mr. Allenby claimed the first scholarship success for Drayton Manor School when a pupil, G.P.M. Pridu, won the Hume-Lloyd Exhibition for economics, worth £30 p.a. tenable at London University College. In October 1941 Mr. Allenby noted that a former pupil, Eric Andrews, was ordained deacon at Liverpool and in the same year four pupils proceeded to University. In September 1943, of the sixth formers who left the previous July, two boys were awarded state bursaries to University, two girls to Teacher Training College and another two girls won places at Bedford College. In October 1944 four pupils succeeded in gaining University places, two began 'short' University courses, one embarked on an engineering cadetship and one began attending the Lister Institute. Greenford County School had less time and opportunity to establish itself but in September 1943 Mr. Withrington announced that one boy, Norman Burgess, was awarded a scholarship for three years in General Musicianship and Trumpet and one other boy, Robert Smith, was accepted as a Chorister at the Choir of St. Margaret's, Westminster. Of those who left in July 1944, two girls gained music scholarships at Trinity College of Music.

All the schools did experience some difficulty maintaining a full range of extra-curricular activities in shared premises and in adverse circumstances. Blackout regulations inhibited after-school societies and events. Nonetheless in

March 1940, 70 girls from the Girls' School and in the Company of Guides were meeting on Friday evenings, and on 5th March between three and four hundred parents attended a parents' conference.²⁶ School productions were still proudly announced. In the long summer evenings of 1942 the Ealing Boys' School staged 'The Merchant of Venice' and raised £41.00 for the Red Cross. They followed this with 'Macbeth' in the Spring of 1943. In December 1942 Drayton Manor School put on 'She Stoops to Conquer', performances taking place in the afternoon and in December 1943 Greenford County performed 'Pygmalion', also in the afternoons. In January 1943 the Girls' School and Drayton Manor combined to enjoy a visit to the Westminster Theatre to see 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', the play running from 12.30 p.m. to 3.00 p.m. At Drayton Manor Sports Days continued to be held annually although they were less of a social event than they had been in peacetime.

The persistence, on the part of the schools, to continue to function as fully as possible is evident. This determination is of greater significance in the war years than the disruption of school life. Certainly in Ealing, the secondary schools contributed effectively to the community's war effort. There were also occasions of more specific contribution to the national effort. Summer and harvest camps became popular and important ways of aiding the country's agricultural efficiency. From 1940 onwards the Boys' School went to Little Kimble. Their potential

was heralded in their first year, when, in ten days, they harvested 16 tons of potatoes.²⁷ Drayton Manor pupils attended harvest camps at Burford in Oxfordshire and some also went to Gloucestershire. Greenford County pupils worked in camps in Bromsgrove, Worcestershire and the Girls' School was represented in Woking and in Gloucestershire. In 1941 an Air Training Corps was formed at Ealing Boys' School, the senior squad of which cultivated two allotments and collected salvage. Salvage contributions were, in fact, forthcoming from all the Ealing schools. Straightforward financial contributions raised by the efforts of the schools played their part also. The Boys' School raised £497 for War Weapons Week in 1941, £2,008 for the Wings for Victory Week in 1943 and £2,060 17s. 0d. in Salute the Soldier Week, 1944. The Girls' School contributed £1,025 12s. 0d. in War Weapons Week and £1,426 in Wings for Victory Week. Greenford County collected £1,512 in Wings for Victory Week and £876 in Salute the Soldier Week. There are no details available relating to Drayton Manor School.

There were occasions on which the Ealing secondary schools made the ultimate contribution in terms of the lives of staff and pupils. In May 1940 the age of reservation for schoolmasters was raised from 25 to 30. The minutes of the Higher Education Committee reveal that by December 1940 three masters from Drayton Manor School had joined the armed forces and by February 1944 three masters from Ealing Boys' School had lost their lives in service.²⁸ In 1930 the Boys'

27 H.E.C. 12:12:40.

28 H.E.C. 9:2:44.

School had lost its then headmaster, Mr. Marsh, in tragic circumstances. The school suffered similarly in 1940 when on the night of the 25th/26th September both Mr. Dudman and his wife were killed in an air raid. That his death was acknowledged in fewer column inches than Mr. Marsh's was due to the fact that such tragedies were more commonplace in wartime. Mr. Dudman was succeeded by Mr. W.S. Clarke who had been a member of the staff since 1914. He now became acting headmaster. Miss Beck was forced to resign her post as head of the Girls' School effective from the 31st December 1943. Ill health had plagued her for some time and the extra tensions imposed in living in a society at war must have exacerbated her condition. The new headmistress was Miss M. McNab. The only reference in all the wartime minutes to ex-students in the services is found in January 1943 when Mr. Clarke reported with regret that 'as far as we know at present some 20 Old Boys of the school have lost their lives in the present war'.²⁹

The determined efforts to continue functioning fully placed extra demands on the energies of staff. The supervision of summer camps, the organisation of Christmas entertainments which took place in 1940 in the reception areas all were an extra burden on teachers at a time when they must have harboured considerable personal worries of their own. They were required to be more flexible and there was interchange of staff between Drayton Manor and Greenford County Schools and between the Boys' and Girls' Schools. A

number of temporary appointments were made to replace displaced staff or those conscripted. Most such appointments were of married women. Their efforts warrant even more appreciation when it is conceded that in fact the schools did more than just strive to work as fully as possible, and in some cases extended their contribution to society. Miss Beck described her staff in 1940 as being 'most ready to sacrifice themselves as they look on evacuation in the light of social work'.³⁰ The connections between education and social welfare had been forged early in the twentieth century. Ever since the medical reports on the examinations of potential soldiers for the Boer War some alliance between the health services and education was assured. The concern with the health of the nation which had produced school medical inspection produced the 1906 Education (Provision of Meals) Act and there was escalation in the provisions for feeding young people at school. The Second World War gave a considerable boost to this service. By 1941 there was a County Meals Service operating in Middlesex. This had developed out of the need to feed large numbers of school pupils in a time of rationing. The County dinner service came into operation in Ealing Boys' School on Monday 6th October 1941 with 66 pupils taking dinner at the Ealing section of the school.³¹ By October 1942, 140 meals were supplied daily³² and by February 1944, 335 were supplied daily.³³ The Ealing section of the Girls' School was prov-

30 H.E.C. 14:3:40.

31 H.E.C. 18:10:41.

32 H.E.C. 21:10:42.

33 H.E.C. 9:2:44.

iding between 160 and 170 dinners daily in 1941³⁴ and 200 by 1942.³⁵ Greenford County School was included in the dinner scheme in the winter of 1941 and by December of that year 190 pupils were paying 2s. 6d. for five dinners a week.³⁶ Figures for Drayton Manor are not available. Medical inspection was restored to the Girls' School in 1940 and the Boys' School in 1941.

In the history of English education in the twentieth century it has been the function of wars to concentrate the national mind wonderfully on questions of welfare and education. The Great War of 1914-18 distilled determination and ideas to produce the 1918 Education Act. The 1944 Education Act was conceived out of the rigours of the Second World War. The assault on educational problems represented by the Act was part of a wider confrontation with social problems. There was a good deal of public discussion of such matters. The edition of Picture Post dated 4th January 1941 is devoted entirely to a consideration of what life in Britain ought to be like in the advent of peace. The theme of the publication was 'A Plan for Britain'. An article written by Julian Huxley, entitled 'Health for All', called for a free health service.³⁷ A.D.K. Owen urged the adoption of a sufficient system of social security.³⁸ Thomas Balogh sought an end to the evils of unemployment and contributed

34 H.E.C. 15:10:41.

35 H.E.C. 31:3:42.

36 H.E.C. 12:12:41.

37 P. Post 4:1:41, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp.32-35.

38 P. Post 4:1:41, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp.14-15.

an article entitled 'Work for All'.³⁹ The question of Education was tackled by A.D. Lindsay. In 'A Plan for Education', he concluded that the same kind of education was necessary for all up to the age of 13, that a child's future education should be decided at that age and advocated some kind of 'educative control' for all up to the age of 18.⁴⁰ Such concerns resulted in the Beveridge Report published on 1st December 1942. The Report embodied a planned approach to life in Britain after the war and laid the foundations of the modern welfare state. It no doubt also served the more immediate political purpose of mustering forces in a time of national crisis. Beveridge himself explained, 'The purpose of victory is to live into a better world than the old world ... Each individual citizen is more likely to concentrate upon his war efforts if he feels that his government will be ready in time with plans for the better world'.⁴¹

The national press carried frequent newspaper articles on Education. Letters to The Times on the subject were received from such as the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Times Educational Supplement published a large volume of material on the future of Education in England and Wales; the edition of 5th October 1940 is worthy of particular attention in this respect. The Christian Newsletters of the war years were a prominent platform for the discussion of such issues and included letters from eminencies like T.S. Eliot. Books

39 P. Post 4:1:41, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp.10-13.

40 P. Post 4:1:41, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp.27-31.

41 Quoted in Calder, p.612.

were published on the subject. Fred Clarke's Education and Social Change came out in 1940, Francis Williams' Democracies Last Battle in 1941, F.H. Spencer's Education for the People also in 1941, H.C. Dent's A New Order in English Education in 1942 and Karl Mannheim's Diagnosis of Our Time in 1943. The First Interim Report of the Educational Sub-Committee on Post-War Problems set up by the Conservative and Unionist Party was available in 1941 and the Council for Educational Advance under the chairmanship of Professor R.H. Tawney reported in November 1942.

Three major educational reports issued from the war years. In 1943 the Norwood Report on secondary school curricula and examinations was published. The McNair Report on the Supply, Recruitment and Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders which advocated dramatic increases in expenditure on teacher training was published in 1944 as was the Fleming Report on public schools which urged the formation of a relationship between the public and private sectors in education. The forces for educational change were mustered. This thought, this energetic probing of ideas and the investigation of solutions found expression as potential policy in the 1943 Board of Education White Paper on Educational Reconstruction. The Paper followed the issuing in June 1941 of a Green Book as a basis for discussion of educational matters to interested bodies. There had been considerable agreement over projected reforms.⁴²

The wartime urgency was reflected in the prefacing quotation: 'Upon the education of the people of this country

the fate of this country depends'.⁴³ The Government's intent was firmly stated: 'The Government's purpose in putting forward the reforms described in this Paper is to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life; to ensure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are'.⁴⁴ There was broad criticism of what were seen to be shortcomings. The entrance examination for secondary schools carried out at 11 came under particular attack. The Paper expressed the view that 'there is nothing to be said in favour of a system which subjects children at the age of 11 to the strain of a competitive examination in which, not only their future schooling, but their future careers may depend'.⁴⁵ The authors of the Paper were determined that 'the choice of one type of secondary education rather than another for a particular pupil will not be finally determined at the age of 11 but will be subject to review as the child's special gifts and capacities develop'.⁴⁶ Diversity of types of school was encouraged and it was recognised that if a too early classification of pupils was to be avoided parity of status between schools must be assured. The Paper recommended opportunity for transfer from one type of school to another 'at the age of 13 or even later'⁴⁷, but

43 Ed. Rec. p.3.

44 Ed. Rec. p.3.

45 Ed. Rec. p.6.

46 Ed. Rec. p.9.

47 Ed. Rec. p.9.

it was realised that there were existing problems which would hinder the practise of such a provision. 'Under present conditions,' the Paper stated, 'the secondary school enjoys a prestige in the eyes of parents and the general public which completely overshadows all other types of school for children over 11'.⁴⁸ Thus the new secondary education was to be 'of diversified types but of equal standing'.⁴⁹ Plans were also put forward in the White Paper for an extensive system of nursery education, at least part-time compulsory education up until the age of 18 and the expansion of adult education services. The most encouraging phrase in the whole Paper for education-
alists must have been the assertion, as a matter of policy at last, that 'the child is the centre of education'.⁵⁰

The ideas embodied in the White Paper had not emerged as a result of the war. The war rather was the occasion of the crystallisation of twenty years of thought and experience. The war accelerated the implementation of ideas. It must remain conjecture as to whether or not the recommendations of the Spens Report would have been followed by the Local Authorities. If the reaction to Hadow is used as a guide, it must be realised that in 1937-8 upward of 35% of children over the age of 11 were still not in senior schools or departments as suggested by the Hadow Committee.⁵¹ It would have been unusual if the Spens Committee suggestions had been speedily carried out. The White Paper recognised

48 Ed. Rec. p.9.

49 Ed. Rec. p.3.

50 Ed. Rec. p.9.

51 L & S, p.393.

the developments in post-elementary education in the inter-war years and served notice that the Government sought to give these developments a legislative basis. They were to be the springboard for a leap forward. In its assessment of the secondary system as it was in 1943, the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction in fact gave a very accurate description of the situation as it was in Ealing. The County Secondary Schools, the Modern School, the Senior Departments of the elementary schools and the Junior Departments within the Technical College and Art School were all well established by this time. The problem associated with establishing parity between the different types of post-elementary school was already familiar to the people of Ealing. In December 1938 the Middlesex County Times urged that technical schools should be put on the same footing socially and educationally as secondary schools. It was acknowledged that this would break with tradition: 'It will run counter to a certain amount of snobbishness ... and will mean persuading people that literature is not a superior mode of expression to drawing and handicrafts'.⁵²

The issue of the suitability or otherwise of the entrance examination had also been prominent in the borough. There is evidence of a growing awareness in Ealing of the unsatisfactory nature of the selection process as it was carried out at 11+ and this awareness was apparent before the passing of the 1944 Act. New arrangements were made for the examination to be held deciding admission for September

1944. All pupils aged between 11 and 12 on 1st August 1944 were to be eligible although a quota system required the heads of the elementary schools to submit only one-third of the pupils in the correct age range. More could be admitted to the examination if the parents insisted and if the head-teacher thought them suitable. This measure was an acknowledgement of the inappropriateness of the previous system, which involved a common exam for all 11-12 year olds, to the selection of pupils for a particular type of post-elementary education. Criticisms of the selection procedure at the age of 11 had been raised by Miss Beck as early as 1937.⁵³ In fact in 1944, 737 local pupils out of 2,175 in the age range were entered for the examination, 88 at the parents' insistence and 21 from private schools. 481 of these pupils were admitted to secondary schools in Ealing, 68 were referred elsewhere in Middlesex and 120 were admitted to the Modern School on the strength of their performance in the exam.⁵⁴

Concern over the likely shortage of teachers after the war led the Board of Education to conclude in 1944, somewhat pragmatically, that there were indeed a considerable number of pupils who had been excluded from the secondary system by the competitive examination and who in fact might benefit from it. Local Education Authorities received an administrative memo from the Board dated the 11th July 1944 in which they were reminded that Circular 1654 had requested Local Authorities to make provision for the continued education up to the age of 18 of 13, 14 or 15 year olds from elementary

53 H.E.C. 7:6:37.

54 H.E.C. 25:10:44.

or senior elementary schools 'in the hope that some of them if they ultimately wished to become teachers would prove to be of the quality which would justify their admission at a later date to a course of training for the profession'.⁵⁵ Authorities were urged not to let School Certificate considerations or examinations hamper the progress of these pupils. The heads of the senior departments in Ealing compiled a list of 54 boys and 74 girls whom they regarded as suitable. After interviews with the headteachers of the secondary schools, two heads of senior schools and their own headteacher, 61 of these students were recommended for transfer and 47 of their parents were willing to allow them to continue their education definitely up to the age of 16 and possibly until 18. 28 of these pupils went to Ealing County Girls' School. The 25 of them who were in the 13 to 14 year age range were grouped together in a new form in October 1944. Miss McNab noted that 'they have settled down well and are making promising progress'.⁵⁶ The inefficiency of the entrance procedure is further demonstrated for those discarded by the examination were doing well at the secondary school! 15 pupils went to Drayton Manor where a floating form for the 14 13 to 14 year olds was created, three went to Greenford County and one to Ealing Boys'. In all cases fees could be redeemed according to income and all pupils were eligible now for outfit and travel allowances and free dinners.⁵⁷

55 H.E.C. 25:10:44.

56 H.E.C. 25:10:44.

57 H.E.C. 25:10:44.

The 1944 Education Act gained Royal Assent on 3rd August 1944. In those sections concerned with secondary education the Act affirmed many of the ideas which had been expressed in the White Paper. Education from 5 to 15 years was to be a progressive process organised into primary, secondary and further stages and it became the duty of all Local Education Authorities to ensure adequate provision of all three stages. The secondary stage was to be compulsory for all children up to 15 years of age and local authorities could insist on attendance until 16 if they saw fit to do so. Secondary education was to be free to all, in schools maintained by local authorities. An increasing number of women teachers in secondary schools was assured as the Act prevented the dismissal of women teachers solely on the grounds that they were married. There was no specific insistence in the legislation on the adoption of the tripartite or any other system. But in Ealing the foundations of a tripartite system already existed. By 1945 the four existing County Schools had become Grammar Schools and the Modern School also became a Secondary Grammar named Walpole Grammar School. Reorganisation brought, in addition to the five Grammar Schools, the establishment, by 1947, of 13 Secondary Moderns, evolved in the main from the senior departments of the primary schools, one Junior Technical School (Art) and one Junior Technical School (Commerce). This secondary system was fed by 40 Primary Schools. In all, by 1947, about 20,000 children were accommodated in 59 schools.⁵⁸ The Act allowed the private schools to continue much as before and there were still 26

58 Ealing Year Book 1947, unnumbered pages.

private schools in Ealing in 1949. Mr. P.W.J. Westerman, headmaster of Ealing College, praised the Act and expressed the view that Independent Schools still had an important role to play.⁵⁹

There had been much discussion in the borough of the proposed measures whilst the Act was still a Bill. The educational provisions of the Bill found favour with the majority of the interested parties in Ealing. On Saturday 8th January 1944 the Ealing Association of the National Union of Teachers met. Mr. F.R.G. Henderson, President of the London Teachers' Association and a member of the executive of the N.U.T., 'spoke of the great advance forward that this Bill marks in educational reform'.⁶⁰ He had special praise for the proposals concerning nursery education, the distinct division into Primary and Secondary sectors and for the idea of a uniform leaving age, a factor he considered to be of paramount importance if opportunity was to be equalised. The Middlesex County Times also reported a meeting of the National Council of Women held at Blue Triangle Hall on the 14th January 1944. The women expressed their support for the Bill and mentioned specifically the benefits they thought would result from the powers of compulsion to be afforded to the new Ministry of Education and which replaced the powers of advice of the old Board of Education.⁶¹ On the 25th January 1944 a local teachers' meeting took place to explain the Bill to parents. The

59 M.C.T. 7:4:45, p.3.

60 M.C.T. 15:1:44, p.2.

61 M.C.T. 15:1:44, p.2.

meeting passed a resolution in favour of the Bill.⁶² In February 'a large meeting at North Ealing School' was called by the N.U.T. In the chair was Miss Baytop, President of the Ealing Branch of the N.U.T., headmistress of an Ealing school and chairwoman of a P.T.A. group. A resolution supporting the Bill was carried: 'Petition forms, addressed to M.Ps, urging wholehearted support for the Bill were circulated and signed by every member of the audience'.⁶³ Only the Catholic community in Ealing regarded the Bill as a retrograde step. The Bill allowed only a 50% grant for the building of new schools and this was considered by the Catholics as being insufficient. If new schools were not built then the existing ones, considered to be sub-standard, would be taken over by the state. Many Catholics regarded the Education Bill as a dictatorial measure which had been 'introduced into a dying Parliament while parents were away fighting and while Parliament could not give the matter adequate consideration'. They regarded the state as a newcomer in the field of education and protested against those clauses in the Bill which 'by imposing a crushing burden upon us as the only alternative to the loss of our schools, continues in a worse form the penalties that have rested on Catholics since the 1902 Act'.⁶⁴

Discussion of the administrative provisions of the Bill were not so favourable. This study began with some description of the civic pride in Ealing which accompanied the

62 M.C.T. 29:1:44, p.5.

63 M.C.T. 5:2:44, p.1.

64 M.C.T. 12:12:44, p.1.

granting of the Charter of Incorporation in 1901 and with some assessment of the energy with which the borough tried in the next 43 years to provide for its citizens. Those who knew Ealing best spoke with pride of its achievements. Charles Jones in his two books and the various contributors to the Jubilee Pamphlet of 1951 are full of praise for the civic endeavours of the community. Certainly the borough took its responsibilities seriously and placed a very high value on its borough status. It is particularly interesting that the most vigorous response which Ealing, as a borough, made to the proposals of the 1943 White Paper on Educational Reconstruction was to the provisions concerning units of administration. There was a very real concern that the 1944 Education Act would result in a diminution of the power of local government bodies. Ealing objected.

It was the intention of the government to remedy the situation in which, in many parts of the country, a boy or girl would attend an elementary school in the administration of one authority and a secondary or junior technical school administered by a different authority. This was a legacy of the creation of Part II and Part III authorities effected by the 1902 Education Act. The problem that faced the government was to devise a system which permitted efficient administration and which, at the same time, would continue to mobilise local interest and endeavour. Part XI of the White Paper explained that it was the government's plan that in future 'the Local Education Authorities shall be the councils of the counties and county boroughs only'.⁶⁵ To

preserve and stimulate local interest in education, district committees were to be constituted with powers of review and recommendation and with a mandate to assume other functions duly delegated to them by county authorities. In Parliament Mr. Butler was adamant that 'Without a redefinition of authorities we cannot get these reforms launched'.⁶⁶ Speaking in the same debate Mr. Creech-Jones testified to the worries of many local politicians who were concerned about 'the general process of disintegration that is going on over the whole field of local government'.⁶⁷ In mind he must have had the fact that the Fire Service was now a national service and out of the hands of the local authorities. Similarly, smaller boroughs had lost control of the police forces in their areas and agricultural functions of local bodies were shortly to be transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture. Fears were already being voiced as to the future of health services. Mr. Butler acknowledged already the representations of the Part III authorities worried about their demise but took pains to explain that he hoped during the summer 'to achieve a wider local administration in the final plans'.⁶⁸ For 42 years Ealing had enjoyed its powers as a Part III authority responsible for elementary education. Since 1919 the Higher Education Committee had considerable influence at County level concerning secondary education in the borough. It was feared that if the proposals in the White Paper were enacted they would lead to an erosion of

66 *Parl. Debates, H of C. Official Report 29:7:43, Vol. 391, No. 97, p.1842.*

67 *Parl. Debates, H of C. Official Report 29:7:43, Vol. 391, No. 97, p.1854.*

68 *Parl. Debates, H of C. Official Report 29:7:43, Vol. 391, No. 97, p.1843.*

local identity. In the minds of the councillors the issue of the 1944 Education Act was one of the preservation of local government units against a central authority.

The fears of the Part III authorities were widespread. In the summer of 1943 representatives of the non-county boroughs of Lancashire, the West Riding and Cheshire with representatives of the Federation of Part III authorities in those counties adopted a motion welcoming the general proposals of the White Paper but viewed 'with alarm the serious effect that the proposals contained in Part XI of the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction would have on local government as a whole and cannot accept them'.⁶⁹ In an undated copy of the minutes of a meeting of the representatives of the 12 local education authorities within Middlesex which stood to be abolished on the enactment of the Education Bill these misgivings were stated precisely and bluntly: 'A passion for administrative tidiness has never before in this country evoked a proposal so dangerous to educational welfare and progress ... The proposal cuts at the root of good local government'.⁷⁰ The minutes continued to describe the problem:-

'The menace is not only to the educational service. It is the latest and biggest in a series of attacks on the local government system which, if successful, will ultimately bring about its disruption ... If the Middlesex boroughs should lose their statutory powers for education there is little they could hope to retain in the long run as Local Government units and they might

69 *Times Ed.* 7:8:43, p.325.

70 *The Case of the Part III Authorities in Middx.*, p.2.

well begin to prepare themselves to disappear as entities. This of course applies to the whole country, indeed this is the greatest attempt yet to supersede democratic control by a bureaucratic partnership between Whitehall and large local government units. The consequences would be disastrous both to education and the traditional principles of local government.'⁷¹

S.D. Curtis shows a keen understanding of the men and women who were in danger of losing their power. He writes:-

*'Consider the case of a member of such an authority who had worked conscientiously for 20 years or more for the cause of education in his district and who had freely given his time and advice with genuine enthusiasm. He had acquired an accurate and detailed picture of his area and its peculiar problems and possessed first hand knowledge of the schools, the teachers and the different bodies of managers. The abolition of the Part III authorities might mean the end of his usefulness. He may have been chairman of his particular committee, but now, at the best he would only be a member of a much larger Education Committee and would lose the power of determining lines of policy which perhaps he considered to be vital.'*⁷²

The Middlesex County Times suggested, in January 1944, that Ealing was in fact disposed towards compromise but at the same time was eager to ensure that the existing education officers in the borough were not relegated to the position of servants of the County Council. The evidence, however, indicates that Ealing preferred not to compromise but sought to retain powers as fully as possible. The debate was well reported in the local press. In January 1944 County Alderman Rockman was of the impression that the County and Part III authorities were enemies. He talked of 'local kings and queens' and sought a more co-operative attitude.⁷³ There was a body of opinion which believed that

71 *The Case of the Part III Authorities in Middx.*, p.3.

72 *Curtis*, p.381.

73 *M.C.T.* 22:1:44, p.3.

Middlesex 'was a great town' requiring one system.⁷⁴ Sir Frank Sanderson, Ealing's Conservative M.P. since 1931, had so much mail urging the retention of local powers that he had not the time to reply to it all.⁷⁵ It was at the insistence of the Middlesex Part III authorities that amendments were tabled on the afternoon of 29th January 1944 and put forward to the House of Commons concerning provisions within the Bill regarding local control over education. The civic pride of boroughs such as Ealing played its part in shaping the Act as it eventually appeared.

Ealing presented its case for the retention of powers under the Act most thoroughly and rallied its strongest forces to the cause. A document was prepared designed to reveal the anomalies that would occur should the projected reform of administrative units take place. Only 25 out of 83 county boroughs in England and Wales had a population larger than Ealing and only 16 out of the 83 had a larger total rateable value.⁷⁶ Using figures from the Board of Education 'Cost per Child' for the year 1937-8 it was discovered that there were in England 51 county boroughs with an average school attendance below that in the Ealing Part III area. By the terms of the Bill as it stood in early 1944 these county boroughs would retain their powers while Ealing relinquished its own. There were also two such county boroughs in Wales. There were 15 county authorities in England and ten in Wales with an average attendance less

74 M.C.T. 19:2:44, p.5.

75 M.C.T. 29:1:44, p.1.

76 *The Case of the Part III Authorities in Middx., p.1.*

than that in Ealing which was 15,385. Ealing in fact had the largest school population of all Part III authorities in the country. The borough claimed that its administration of elementary education compared favourably with the county administration of secondary education in the area and if the borough should be granted the full powers of an Education Authority under the new act it would be able to support five efficient secondary schools'.⁷⁷ Delegation in Middlesex, it was asserted, had never been satisfactory. There were too many layers of administrative procedure with consequent delays and much wasting of energy. By contrast, in their work the Part III authorities 'are recognised to be energetic, progressive and efficient'.⁷⁸ In fact the efficiency and energy of the Part III authorities was not doubted by the Government. Rather did the Government consider them inappropriate as they were for future developments and for the assurance of the effective working of an education system organised in progressive stages. The Mayor of Ealing, Councillor H.C. Greenwood, made his contribution to the discussion. On July 26th 1943 he wrote to the Middlesex County Times and expressed the hope that Mr. Butler 'will be persuaded to modify his proposal and that Ealing will be given her rights'.⁷⁹

There was some fulfilment of the Mayor's hopes. The 1944 Education Act designated the County Councils and the County Borough Councils as Local Education Authorities.

77 *Ed. Reconstruction. Notes for use at a Conference with M.Ps 22:7:43.*

78 *The Case of the Part III Authorities in Middx., p.1.*

79 *Mayoral letter 26:7:43.*

Functions could be delegated to Divisional Executives. These Divisional Executives would have a mandate to review and recommend to the county education committee but would not have the power to raise a rate or borrow money. The Act also allowed for the assumption of power by Excepted Districts who were similarly allotted the task of review and recommendation. In their case however the borough or urban district council constituted the executive power, although they too were denied the right to raise a rate or borrow money. In order to be designated an Excepted District an area was required to have a population of more than 60,000 on 30th June 1939 or a public elementary school roll of not less than 7,000 on 31st March 1939. Ealing qualified on both counts, with a population of 116,771 at the 1931 Census and an elementary school roll in excess of 15,000 in 1943. An effective local voice in educational affairs was thus retained. Civic responsibility in the field of education was preserved through Excepted District status.

Politicians, educationalists and many other people heralded the 1944 Act as a blueprint for equality and democracy. Writing in 1943 and referring to the Government White Paper, H.C. Dent expressed the opinion that 'in it was offered a framework within which it is possible to create an enlightened and genuinely democratic national system of education'. He went on to explain that 'the framework provided by legislation is, after all, no more than the skeleton; it is our part to clothe it with flesh

and endow it with life'.⁸⁰ Did the Act signal progress or did it signal merely change? In retrospect one must suspect that Professor Dent might not have approved of some of the flesh with which the Act was clothed. Middlesex, like the London County Council, did organise some multilateral schools in which pupils of differing aptitudes, inclinations and abilities were accommodated on one site, being organised into three streams. Such schools had been suggested as a possible way forward by the Spens Committee. The idea found favour with at least one Ealing resident, Mr. C. Osmond of 95, Fowlers Walk whose opinion it was that multilateral schools would 'widen the democratic basis of our educational system'. He thought that they would hasten the erosion of class distinctions and urged people not to be afraid that 'the pupil with less academic ability and less financial backing will lower the present secondary school standards'.⁸¹ In Ealing there was no such experiment. The egalitarian aims of the Act, as seen by many people at the time, foundered on the tripartite system. Equality of opportunity in Education and equality of opportunity as a result of Education depends not only on the machinery and institutions available but also on the people's assessments of the schools. Public regard for County Schools becoming Grammar Schools remained high and while there was in some communities a high regard for the technical schools, all too often secondary modern and technical schools were adjudged poor relations. The eleven plus selection, intended

80 *Dent*, p.226.

81 *M.C.T.* 29:7:44, p.3.

to place children appropriately in the correct type of school, in fact selected them for Grammar Schools on the basis of apparent ability and intelligence. While there was no actual parity of schools in people's minds, to create a successfully selected candidate was to create also an unsuccessful condemned candidate. There were different types of teachers in different schools, different syllabi in spite of the plea that the syllabus should remain similar in all types of school at least until the pupils reached the age of 13. Students at different schools were encouraged in different directions and given different expectations still, in some cases, aligned to the social class from which they came. Transfers did occur but it must be said that pupils at the different types of schools within the tripartite system undoubtedly had different educational experiences and opportunities. The idea of equal but separate was in many cases to prove unworkable. The nature and success of the system in Ealing after 1945 must remain the subject of another study.

Did the administrative provisions of the Act ensure progress? Local involvement in education in Ealing was retained. The educational idealism of some Ealonnians is beyond question. Those who enjoyed a measure of control and influence in the new peace did not think in the same way as those who first sought to control education in Ealing in 1877. Nonetheless it is pertinent to allow County Alderman Rockman a final contentious word. The Alderman spoke at a meeting of the Ealing Labour Party at North Ealing School on Saturday 24th March 1945. He made refer-

ence to the disputes over power between the County and those areas which had achieved excepted district status. 'Quoting from an old document he had turned up, Alderman Rockman said that so long ago as 1877 an Ealing Educational Association was being set up for the purpose of preventing the introduction of a school board in Ealing! The same spirit, he remarked, still prevailed'.⁸² He was, of course, referring to the consistent determination shown throughout on the part of the borough's representatives to maintain a substantial measure of control over the development of the schools in Ealing.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION AND POLITICS IN EALING 1902-44

Peremptory reference has been made throughout this study to the political life of the borough of Ealing in the period 1902-1944. The effect of local politicians on local educational policy through such bodies as, in the late nineteenth century, the Ealing Educational Association and later the Education Committee and Higher Education Committee has been demonstrated. It is appropriate to explore in more detail the place of politics in the development of the education service within Ealing up to 1944.

Various historians have examined the relationship between politics and education at national level. The subject has occasioned much debate. For example, Professor Brian Simon, in his books Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 and The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1940, has argued that the secondary education system as it developed between 1870 and 1944 and which led subsequently to the tripartite secondary system was the result of a Tory conspiracy. The elitism which was a feature of that system was, he contended, the direct result of definite Conservative assumptions and attitudes which formed and effectively shaped national educational legislation and administration. G.A.N. Lowndes, however, whilst not ignoring the part played by predominant Conservative attitudes, suggests otherwise as the title of his book - The Silent Social Revolution - implies. While agreeing with Professor Simon that there was

a demonstrable lack of socialist or egalitarian principles behind the various legislative measures he does nonetheless regard the history of education in the first half of the twentieth century as a history of the expansion of democracy. There was, he explains, certainly not a complete or uniform egalitarianism but there was increasing progress in that direction. His view of the political history of education in the first half of the twentieth century can best be summed up in his remark that 'In matters affecting the times and life of the people all parties are liberal at heart'.¹

The whole tenor of this thesis has stressed the importance of local people and local conditions in the development of the education service. Such developments, it has been argued, were more the result of local pressures and the subsequent response of local authorities than of national legislation. What was the nature of the electorate which the politicians who manned these authorities represented? Was the work of these politicians influenced by political ideologies, assumptions and attitudes? Was it the intention and wishes of the community that this should be the case? Is it possible, perhaps, to discover any relationship between the political outlook of such representatives and their own education?

Much has been made of the essentially middle-class nature of the borough and of its conservatism. Certainly there is ample evidence, some of it already quoted in

1 Lowndes, p.104.

earlier chapters, suggesting that many of the residents in this period looked upon Ealing as a very conservative place. One other pointer to the political complexion of Ealing is the preference of the electors concerning their parliamentary representative. In terms of Parliamentary representation Ealing was Conservative.

The national election results, however, should not be straightforwardly or unquestioningly interpreted as an adequate reflection of the political complexion of Ealing. It is important to be aware of the changing nature of the social entity that was the borough and of the changing nature of the political unit that was the borough. Prior to 1885 Ealing was, for parliamentary purposes, part of the county of Middlesex. The Ealing division of Middlesex which was formed by the Redistribution Act of 1885 included within the parliamentary constituency the parishes of Acton, Chiswick, Ealing, Greenford, Perivale, part of Hanwell between Twyford and Ealing and the parliamentary boroughs of Chelsea, Fulham, Hammersmith, Kensington, St. George Hanover Square, Strand and Westminster. Until 1918 the freeholders of seven west London boroughs exercised their county votes in Ealing.

Lord George Hamilton who represented Ealing in Parliament for the Conservatives from 1868 until 1906 was unopposed in three out of the four elections held between 1885 and 1906. Lord George was son of the first Duke of Abercorn and acted as Under-Secretary for India. He was also twice Lord of the Admiralty. In the election of 1906 he was replaced by Herbert Nield, a barrister and son of Sir Francis Cory Wright

a coal millionaire. Except for the elections of December 1910 and April 1917 he did have to overcome opposition as the political life of the borough seemed to become more animated. In 1906 his Liberal opponent was Arthur Hill Hutton, also a barrister and originally a Durham man. The national Liberal ascendancy was reflected to a degree in Ealing in terms of apparently increased Liberal activity during election campaigns and by an increased vote, although the votes gained were never enough to bring victory. In his political history of the borough Cyril Hankinson describes the considerable political activity in January 1906 when Liberals attended Conservative meetings in order to engender more vigorous debate.² The Liberal candidate in 1910, Maurice Hulbert, had been a leading Ealing Liberal for many years and had been a member of the Ealing Local Board later serving on the first borough council. He was considered by Cyril Hankinson to be 'a true representative of the old school of political controversy'.³ The votes he received in 1910, a total of 8,210, were a record return for the Liberals in Ealing in this period although Hankinson suggests the total may have been boosted by members of the local branch of the Independent Labour Party which had emerged in Ealing by 1910. The I.L.P. in Ealing was neither strong enough nor large enough to contend the January election and its chief spokesman, Tom Norris, urged members to cast their votes for the Liberals.⁴

2 *Hankinson, p.11.*

3 *Hankinson, p.18.*

4 *Hankinson, p.18.*

The general election results for the years 1918 until 1945 may be expected to be a somewhat more accurate representation of the preferences of the Ealing residents for national political parties and therefore may more adequately indicate the political complexion of the borough. During this period Ealing was a Parliamentary borough whose boundaries were confined to the municipal electorate. The Conservatives continued to hold sway. The now Sir Herbert Nield was returned in every election from December 1918 until October 1931. Cyril Hankinson remembers him as one 'who till the end of his days remained a most uncompromising and reactionary Tory'.⁵ Nonetheless he did attract an interesting opponent, more reactionary yet, in November 1922 in the shape of Brigadier-General Lewis Montgomery Hall who stood as an independent Conservative calling for military rule in Westminster. The Ealing electorate did not much care for his suggestion and he lost his deposit. From 1931 until 1945 the borough's Conservative member of Parliament was Sir Frank Sanderson, chairman of the Humber Fishing Company Limited and of Soltaire Limited, and who had previously represented the Darwen division of Lancaster.

Conservative the borough remained but the years from 1918 to 1945 are characterised by the growth, in Ealing, in the numbers of Labour votes. The Liberals entered the Parliamentary contest on only two occasions, in December 1923 and May 1929. At the first election to be held in the new Parliamentary borough, Alfred Hugh Chilton, a signalman on

5 *Hankinson, p.24.*

the Great Western Railway, stood for Labour. He was resoundingly beaten but in 1922 increased the Labour vote by over 2,500 while the Conservative majority was reduced by over 1,700. The Labour candidate in 1929 and 1931 was James William Maycock, a photographer and a member of Richmond Town Council and in 1935 it was Mark Auliff a senior partner in the stationery firm of Auliff, Harris and Company. The Labour Party soon became significant enough in Ealing to draw an attack from Sir Herbert Nield. Cyril Hankinson describes how in the campaign of 1918 Sir Herbert 'denounced the principles of Socialism in no uncompromising terms'.⁶ In the run up to the 1924 election Nield, it seems, used the shadow of the Zinoviev letter to claim a Communist conspiracy⁷ and gained a record majority of 12,000.

It is, though, still necessary to exercise a good deal of caution before regarding even the election results between 1918 and 1945 as an adequate complete reflection of the political complexion of Ealing. The population of Hanwell increased by just over 10,000 between 1901 and 1921, that of Greenford by almost 14,000 between 1911 and 1931 and that of Northolt by nearly 16,000 between 1931 and 1951. Although Hanwell and Greenford were amalgamated into the borough in 1926 and Northolt included in 1928, they did not become part of the Parliamentary borough until 1945. Before 1945 Greenford and Hanwell had been in the Harrow division of Middlesex and Northolt was in the Uxbridge division. In

6 *Hankinson, p.24.*

7 *Hankinson, p.28.*

1945 the Ealing constituency was divided into two. Ealing East returned Sir Frank Sanderson with a much reduced majority of just over 4,000, while Ealing West which comprised the newly acquired areas returned James Hindle Hudson, the borough's first Labour M.P. with a majority of approximately sixteen and a half thousand. The total number of votes cast in the borough for Labour was 37,724 and for the Conservatives 35,796. The Liberals weighed in with 12,635, evenly split between the two constituencies. (See Appendix II).

It may be that in their repeated exclamation of their Conservatism many of the Ealing residents themselves failed to perceive this shift of emphasis or maybe they were just reluctant to admit it. Perhaps some felt that to do so was to invite and promote the decline of Conservatism in the borough. Politically there was a difference between the old borough and the recently acquired areas, but as the election results for 1945 show, a significant number of people living even in the area of the old borough no longer voted Conservative. Had the new areas been included in the parliamentary constituency earlier then Conservative dominance in the 1930s and early 1940s would have been less complete.

Thus some insight into the political ideas, preferences and assumptions of the Ealing public is gained from a survey of the national election results. But it would be wrong to suppose, in the case of Ealing, that the factors which caused the voters to choose particular parliamentary representatives operated also in the choice of local representatives. And it was the local representatives who, given a mandate by the

electorate at local elections to pursue policies thought to be particularly appropriate to Ealing, initiated and guided borough policy, including education, in the first 43 years after incorporation. While the choice of M.P.s represents an important facet of the borough's political consciousness it does not sufficiently describe the political entity that was Ealing. This, together with the fact that the Ealing M.P.s in the twentieth century spent little time involved in local educational matters means that such an indicator cannot be used to explain educational policy in the borough. In fact national politics did not impinge on local political life until the late 1930s and even then the locals grudged the intrusion. What then was the nature of the local political scene?

There was a political vocabulary at the beginning of the century used in the borough which was particular to Ealing. Prospective councillors were labelled as 'progressive', 'moderate', 'independent', or 'radical'. The first three terms applied to different shades of conservative opinion. The progressives were regarded by people living in Ealing in 1902 as those more willing to endorse public expenditure on the borough's future development. A press report of a pre-election meeting held at the Vestry Hall, South Ealing on Thursday 24th October 1901 explained that the progressives were in favour of the electric trams, 'justice and their rights', return tram tickets and more electric lighting.⁸ The moderates on the other hand had a reputation for being more thrifty with the public purse.

8 M.C.T. 26:10:01, p.6.

It was the members of the Burgesses League, 'a strictly non-political organisation established in the interests of efficiency and progress in municipal government' who were referred to as 'radicals'.⁹ The Ealing division of the Liberal and Radical Council, which was comprised in fact of three districts - Ealing, Chiswick and Acton, seems to have been particularly active at this time. In February 1902 the Middlesex County Times made reference to the 'largest Liberal gathering yet held in the division'.¹⁰ There was also a Socialist voice making itself heard in the local political arena. In 1901 Socialists from their 'stronghold' of West Ealing circulated a letter to all candidates in the council election enquiring as to what they proposed to do about the provision of baths, libraries and public amenities in general. The Middlesex County Times noted that 'As usual at election times, the Ealing Socialist Society is to the fore'.¹¹

What of the individuals who were elected? The first Ealing Town Council in fact consisted of thirteen moderates, four progressives and one independent. One of the progressives, Mr. Hubert Brampton, elected to represent Lammas Ward, had been a former Labour member of the Urban District Council. The division of councillors at this time into progressive and moderate camps reflected the public regard of the Ealing residents for the business-like qualities of their representatives. It was the same attitude on the part of the residents that had enabled Montague Nelson to preside for so long over the

9 M.C.T. 28:9:01, p.6.

10 M.C.T. 8:2:02, p.5.

11 M.C.T. 19:10:01, p.7.

Ealing Educational Association. While the acquisition of public amenities was encouraged, flamboyant public spending was not. So it was that Councillor G.C. Farr, one of the most powerful members of the council between 1906 and 1916 and a campaigner for the tramways, public baths and library, was described in retrospect as an 'extravagant councillor'.¹² Councillor Farr's extravagance and progressiveness was not born of any socialist disposition for his method of governing local affairs was remembered as one of 'almost absolute autocracy'.¹³ The issues which were debated in the 1901 local election campaigns were entirely local - the tramways, libraries and baths.¹⁴ So the situation remained until the 1930s and people tended to vote for personalities rather than policies. Business acumen continued to be highly regarded in the borough although councillors were always expected to be more than just good financial managers. Councillor Hutchins made the point in 1919 when he urged the full implementation of Fisher's Education Act in Ealing. The borough, he contended, needed representatives who could ally vision with a business and administrative capacity.¹⁵

By the late 1930s those who lived in Ealing detected a change in the nature of local politics. The elections for the council which were held in 1937 demonstrated the social changes which had occurred in the borough since the acquisition of the new areas in 1926 and 1928. Ealing was a larger community. It was virtually impossible now for candidates in

12 M.C.T. 21:1:22, p.7.

13 M.C.T. 21:1:22, p.7.

14 M.C.T. 9:01-10:01. Various references.

15 M.C.T. 1:11:19, p.1.

the council elections to be known to everyone in their ward. People had begun to vote for policies rather than personalities. On a council now enlarged to 48 councillors Labour had seven representatives. The bulk of the Labour voters lived on the new housing estates in the Hanwell and Greenford wards. The Middlesex County Times specifically attributed the success of Labour in North Hanwell to such voters. The Labour victory was explained as 'obviously the work of the Cuckoo Estate electors'.¹⁶ The newspaper blamed the Labour Party for bringing party politics into the local elections but at the same time acknowledged the validity of this development in Ealing's changed circumstances. The evidence does suggest that party politics and some ideological considerations had indeed intruded into local affairs but it is also clear that it remained incumbent on candidates to tailor their party political proposals to the local situation. There were no longer any councillors describing themselves as 'Independents'. Labour's Councillor Grant used his platform to attack capitalism as an idea.¹⁷ Tom Norris outlined his Labour policy demanding a new county hospital, more adequate feeding of children and observation of the Trade Union codes, but found it necessary vigorously to deny that he was controlled by Labour headquarters and insisted that, if elected, he would remain responsive to the local requirements.¹⁸ Some reactions to Labour's increasingly effective presence in the borough were extreme. Monseigneur Barton Brown urged Roman Catholics not to vote for Labour

16 M.C.T. 6:11:37, p.13.

17 M.C.T. 6:11:37, p.13.

18 M.C.T. 23:10:37, p.13.

in the local elections because, he said, they were 'the anti-God party'.¹⁹

Monseigneur Barton Brown had to face the fact that Labour were in the borough to stay. In 1941 Councillor Cyril David Grant, from Greenford, became Ealing's first Labour mayor. His remark on his elevation to the mayoralty was no doubt a fair assessment of the reaction of many residents, certainly in the old part of the borough. 'Some diehards, not on the council,' he said, 'might think the election of a Labour mayor a symptom of Ealing's decadence'.²⁰ The editor of the Middlesex County Times sought to reassure those readers who were concerned: 'We know that old Conservative Ealing has not yet changed its character very much; it has merely included within its municipal boundaries the recently industrialised district of Greenford and the senior Greenford representative on the Town Council has reached his turn to take the chair'.²¹ In retrospect this may seem an underestimation of the changes which had occurred in the borough by 1941.

Such was the context within which Ealing's local politicians worked. Such was the political context within which Ealing's education system developed. Can any relationship between politics and education in the borough be established? At first sight it seems that Ealing may be used to demonstrate both Professor Simon's theory of a Tory conspiracy and

19 M.C.T. 6:11:37, p.13.

20 M.C.T. 15:11:41, p.5.

21 M.C.T. 15:11:41, p.4.

G.A.N. Lowndes' suggestion of a 'silent social revolution'. Professor Simon would remark upon the elitist 'capacity catching' system of secondary education which developed in Ealing. He would have noticed that in the time of the Ealing Educational Association in the late nineteenth century there was, on that body's behalf, an overt anti-socialist, anti-egalitarian statement. Mr. Lowndes on the other hand would have described the fact that more secondary school places were provided in the borough, that pupils at the Ealing maintained secondary schools were staying at school longer and that the chances of an 11 year old elementary school pupil receiving a secondary education had increased. A more adequate investigation of the relationship between local politics and education may be attempted through closer scrutiny of the local governing body, the Town Council, and its Education Committee at significant periods in the first half of the twentieth century. The years 1902-3, 1919 and 1937 are appropriate. These three years span the period and are representative of the borough in all its apparent political complexions during the period 1902 to 1944. They are also significant years in the history of education, both nationally and locally. In 1902 the Part III authorities assumed their new powers under the 1902 Education Act; in 1919 the localities were preoccupied with the impact of the 1918 Education Act and in 1937 with considering the ideas that were being discussed which were to be published in 1938 in the Spens Report.

Information about the Town Councillors has come primarily from the local Ealing and Middlesex newspapers, but

Kelly's Directories and the Ealing Year Book for 1937 have also been useful. Obituaries and articles written on the occasion of an individual's retirement have proved to be most informative although the quality and quantity of information does vary. Sometimes names are not given in full, dates of service on the council are often imprecise, there is little reference to a councillor's own educational background and there is not always information about a councillor's overt political preferences. The nature of the Middlesex County Times itself changed quite dramatically after 1945. Up until that date the Middlesex County Times was arguably one of the best newspapers in Britain. The quality of its journalism was second to none and the scope of its reporting covered every issue, national and local. After 1945, catering for a different and a wider readership, changing its name to the Middlesex County Times and West Middlesex Gazette, the newspaper became less analytical, less searching and more popular. Regarding annotation in the remainder of this chapter, the various references describing where information can be found are given with the first mention of an individual. They are not necessarily repeated on the subsequent occasions when the person is referred to.

The first Ealing Town Council was constituted in 1902. There were 18 councillors. They were:

For Drayton Ward : George Taylor; Maurice Hulbert;
J.B. Johnson.

For Castlebar 1 Ward : Henry Walter Peal; Henry Kasner;
Joseph Box.

For Castlebar 2 Ward : Arthur T. Tyer; T. Drew Bear;
David Alfred Griffin.

For Lammas Ward : George Charles Farr; Hubert Brampton;
Charles Steel.

For Manor Ward : Henry S. Timpson; Thomas Kanzow
Bowley; Eldred Cubitt Sayers.

For Grange Ward : Frank Adamson; William Hedges;
Henry Charles Green.

The 1902 Education Act came into force in Ealing on 1st April 1903. The Ealing Education Committee assumed its Part III powers allotted to it by the Act but the power to raise a rate remained with the Borough Council. Of those on the first Town Council, nine members served on the first Education Committee. They were the by then Aldermen Peal, Green, Adamson, Box and Griffin, and Councillors Farr, Hedges, Hulbert and Taylor.

The councils as they were elected and the education committees as they were constituted between 1902 and 1919 presided during that time when a more proficient elementary system developed in the borough. They were also responsible for the parsimony identified by H.M.I. Stobart. A continued concern about the rates harnessed public spending, and educational policy did not follow any socialist or egalitarian course. It was in this period also that the County Boys' School opened as the first maintained secondary school in Ealing. This apparent juxtaposition of priorities is explainable by reference to the council and education committee as representative of the people of Ealing.

Of the 18 councillors elected in 1902, 12 are known to have been businessmen for whom it may be expected that financial considerations in matters of local government would be an important issue. Henry Kasner was a partner in a coal merchant's firm²², Joseph Box was described as being involved in business and commerce for 34 years²³, Arthur Tyer had established a newsagents business²⁴, David Griffin headed the estate agents firm J. Griffin and Son²⁵, Hubert Brampton was a building contractor²⁶, and Thomas Bowley was a former Territorial Army officer who became a silver manufacturer.²⁷ Henry Timpson was described as a businessman with a 'sound commercial instinct',²⁸ Henry Green was a director of the Middlesex County Times Printing and Publishing Company²⁹ and George Taylor had established his firm of 'George Taylor and Co.' in Well Street, E.C.³⁰ Charles Steel's connections with the business world were through market gardening³¹, Eldred

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- 22 M.C.T. 20:3:20, p.6.
 23 M.C.T. 3:6:22, p.6.
 24 M.C.T. 12:10:07, p.5.
 M.C.T. 27:3:20, p.7.
 25 M.C.T. 14:7:28, p.10.
 M.C.T. 8:6:35, p.10.
 26 M.C.T. 16:3:46, p.1.
 27 M.C.T. 29:8:25, p.1.
 28 M.C.T. 23:12:05, p.5.
 M.C.T. 16:12:11, p.5.
 M.C.T. 6:5:16, p.1.
 29 M.C.T. 28:10:05, p.2.
 M.C.T. 5:3:21, p.5 & p.7.
 30 M.C.T. 4:4:08, p.5.
 M.C.T. 19:5:17, p.1.
 31 Kelly's Directory 1902.

Cubitt Sayers through his assistance in running, with his father, Western House³², a department store, and Mr. Drew Bear had in fact been decorated in the nineteenth century by the King of the Belgians for his services to the iron and steel industry.³³ Of the other members of the first council two were professionals in the public sector.

J.B. Johnson, who had been headmaster of the St. John's Schools, was to become the first secretary to the local education authority serving as such from 1902 to 1925.³⁴

George Farr was an Anglo-Indian who, previous to coming to Ealing, had spent 33 years in Calcutta being a member of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation involved in trying to mitigate the city's sanitation problems.³⁵ One, Mr.

Maurice Hulbert, was a professional in the private sector. He was an architect and a member of the firm Matthew Rogers and Son of London.³⁶ The occupations of the remaining three councillors, Peal, Adamson and Hedges, is unclear, although it is known that Mr. Peal acted as Commissioner of the Peace for Middlesex and in 1925 was made Sheriff of Middlesex.³⁷

32 M.C.T. 13:11:09, p.6.
M.C.T. 28:6:22, p.3.

33 M.C.T. 3:5:02, p.6.

34 M.C.T. 5:10:07, p.6.

35 M.C.T. 12:10:07, p.5.
M.C.T. 15:3:19, p.7.
M.C.T. 21:1:22, p.7.

36 M.C.T. 23:7:04, p.5.
M.C.T. 27:11:09, p.6.
M.C.T. 20:8:27, p.7.

37 M.C.T. 23:10:37, p.2.
M.C.T. 23:4:38, p.1.

There is overt allusion to the political inclinations of only eight of the members of the first council. Five were Conservatives. Henry Peal was vice-president of the Ealing Conservative and Unionist Club and vice-president of the Ealing Conservative Association, Joseph Box was described in his obituary as a 'Conservative', Arthur Tyer served the local Conservative Association and Primrose League and was described by the writer of his obituary as in politics being 'a convinced Conservative'. Mr. Drew Bear was remembered as a 'strong churchman and Conservative throughout his life' and Henry Timpson had for 30 years been a member of the Ealing Conservative Association. Two members were enthusiastic Liberals and one had a Liberal background. Maurice Hulbert was regarded as the 'leader of the Liberal Party' in Ealing and, as has been described, stood as Liberal candidate for the Parliamentary election of 1910. Eldred Cubitt Sayers was remembered as an 'ardent Liberal' who was an active supporter of the Ealing Liberal and Radical Association and of the Ealing League of Young Liberals. His wife was president of the Ealing Women's Liberal Association. Maurice Hulbert who, in 1922, wrote Mr. Sayers' obituary for the Middlesex County Times, explained that 'As a young man he (Sayers) identified himself with those radical views which a generation or more ago were considered so advanced as to be dangerous and which have since come to be taken as ordinary and harmless'. Henry Green had been a staunch Liberal but apparently lost his interest in national politics after the Home Rule split of 1886. The political persuasion of the remaining councillors

is not clear. It is not difficult to see how a council comprising of Conservatives and Liberals, with a Conservative predominance, would produce a period, in education, of restrained progress. A combination of Conservative concern for the rates and the Liberal desire to correct social ills and injustices would add up to just that.

It is important to remember, however, that between 1902 and 1919 national political allegiances did not hold much sway in local elections in Ealing. Indeed there is evidence to suggest that in one case at least political interest and action in local educational matters were separate activities and issues. On the occasion of Councillor Hulbert's death in 1927 it was written of him that 'of equal interest to him with his political activities was his work for education'. One political force and issue which tended to drive local politicians of all colours in the same direction was the matter of civic pride. The same spirit which brought the improved civic amenities in the form of roads, lighting, public spaces, maternity and child welfare clinics, was applied to the question of education in the borough. It was important that Ealing should be seen to be doing its best. Ealing wanted to do its best. Public amenities provided after the granting of borough status in 1902 were a matter for boast. Given this concern and the legal necessity to improve matters in education after 1902, a measure of educational improvements was assured.

In understanding the relationship between local politics and education in Ealing at the start of the twentieth century

it is essential to recognise in the individuals who represented the people a definite public-spiritedness and an enormous involvement in the life of the borough. Two examples will make the point. Joseph Box was completely immersed in borough life. He was secretary of the old Cottage Hospital in Northfields Lane and Chairman of the Hospital in 1903. He represented Ealing on the Brentford Board of Guardians in 1892 and was chairman of the Infirmary Committee. He was a strong temperance man and founded a Board of Hope for children. He was elected a member of the Ealing Local Board in 1893. Mr. Box was elected to the first Town Council, became an alderman in 1902 and served on the council as such until 1916. During that time he acted as chairman of the Finance Committee, was a member of the Victoria Hall management committee and in 1908 became a member of the Ealing O.A.P. Committee. A member of the old E.E.A. he was also for 11 years a treasurer of St. John's Schools and after his retirement from the Council in 1916 he served as a member of the Ealing Higher Education Committee. A staunch churchman, Mr. Box represented Ealing Deanery on the London Diocesan Council and was chairman of the Ealing Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was also president of West Ealing Social Club for Working Girls, a member of the Ealing Cadets Corps, vice-president of the Ealing Gymnastic Association, a member of the general committee of the Ealing Central Aid Society, vice-president of the Ealing Chamber of Commerce, a trustee of Ealing Charities, a member of the Committee of the Ealing Municipal Electors Association and vice-president of the Ealing Branch of the Navy League. Mr. David Griffin became a member of the Ealing

District Council in 1894 and was elected to the first town council. He was one of the first six aldermen created in Ealing and resigned only in 1930. During World War One he was chairman of the Ealing Military Service Tribunal and a member of the Ealing War Hospitals Workshops. Mr. Griffin was a member of the choir of St. Peter's Church and served on the committee of the Ealing branch of the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection. He was also an Ealing Swimming Club member and sat on the committee of the old Ealing Horticultural Society and the Ealing Choral Society.

These examples are chosen purely at random. Indeed there were men who served on more committees and held more public offices. George Farr, for instance, was even more energetic in this respect than either Griffin or Box. From such men it must be expected that civic pride, a concern to do their best for their community, to see that the residents there were provided with the most appropriate amenities, would be a major driving force in their political lives. More than any political ideology it was this attitude which produced the improving, if yet inadequate, elementary system and the first county secondary school in the borough.

Between 1919 and 1926 the Council and the Education Committee had to consider the 1918 Education Act and in 1921 the Committee published its Draft Report setting out recommendations for the reorganisation of post-eleven education and calling urgently for the building of a girls' secondary school and the extension of the scholarship system. With the Geddes axe hovering, priorities had to be established

and both the county and borough councils remained as responsive as ever to economic considerations. It was in 1921 that H.M.I. Stobart's charge of parsimony was levelled against Ealing. But the girls' school was built and thus the 'capacity catching' ideal was pursued. The number of pupils in receipt of scholarships also increased.

Professor Simon might point to the opening of the central schools, one for boys and one for girls, in 1926 as evidence of a Conservative attempt to deny proper secondary education to a large proportion of the population.³⁸ In Ealing, however, there was a determined insistence that the central school should approximate as much as possible to the secondary schools in staffing and in facilities. The schools were to be as selective as the secondary schools and the same examination was used for the purpose. They were no doubt a substitute for actual maintained secondary schools but a substitute decided upon as a result of circumstance rather than as a weapon in a conspiracy. G.A.N. Lowndes might point to the opening of the girls' school as a sign of a continuing 'silent social revolution' in Ealing. In fact, borough policy followed the pattern set before 1919.

Who were the people responsible for borough policy at this time? There were 23 Councillors in 1919 including five aldermen who had served on the 1902 council. These were Aldermen Farr, Green, Griffin, Peal and Sayers. All except George Farr were businessmen. Alderman Peal was a staunch Conservative. The other, elected, members of the council were:-

38 *Simon II*, pp.120-121.

- For Drayton Ward : David Howell-Jones, William James Schofield, William Edward Marshall.
- For Castlebar Ward : George Gabb, Evan John Morgan, Edward Newson.
- For Mount Park Ward : Frederick Hall Jones, William Hutchings, John Walter Bailey.
- For Lammas Ward : Alfred William Bradford, Arthur Hugh Chilton, Frederick Henry Baker.
- For Manor Ward : John Charles Fuller, Joseph George Eden, John Sidney King.
- For Grange Ward : Frank William Piper, Beaumont Shepherd, Henry Armriding.

Thirteen of these people also served on the Education Committee. They were Aldermen Peal, Farr and Sayers, and Councillors Armriding, Baker, Bradford, Chilton, Fuller, Gabb, Morgan, Newson, Piper and Shepherd. The Higher Education Committee consisted of 12 members appointed by the Ealing Education Committee and six by the Middlesex Education Committee. Alderman Farr was one of the county appointees. Aldermen Green, Peal and Sayers were Ealing appointees as were Councillors Armriding, Chilton, Newson, Piper and Shepherd.

There was certainly on the 1919 Council a broader spectrum of people. Of the 13 members of the 1919 Town Council who were also on the Education Committee, only five could be described as businessmen. Aldermen Peal and Sayers have been dealt with earlier in this chapter. Councillor Frederick Baker moved to Ealing in 1904 and ran a newsagents business³⁹, Alfred Bradford was regarded as 'a pushful young

39 M.C.T. 17:3:56, p.10.

businessman,⁴⁰ and John Fuller was City manager of the Car and General Insurance Company.⁴¹ The others followed various occupations. Henry Armriding had been headmaster of the old British Schools and subsequently of the Waterloo Street School in Hammersmith until his retirement in 1910.⁴² There were two other head teachers on the Education Committee in 1919. Frank Piper was headmaster of St. Clements School, Notting Hill, until he retired in 1923⁴³ and Evan Morgan was for 38 years principal of Castle Hill School an established fee paying school in the borough.⁴⁴ The Great Western Railway was well represented on the Committee. Alfred Chilton had worked as a porter and a signalman until June 1931 when ill health caused him to retire and take up the post of station foreman at Ealing Broadway. Mr. Chilton was in fact to die in a tragic accident at the station.⁴⁵ Edward Newson was employed as a parcels superintendent in the office of the superintendent of the line at Paddington⁴⁶ and George Gabb worked for 46 years on the G.W.R.⁴⁷

There is, once again, a paucity of information about the political inclinations of the members of the 1919 education committees. Alderman Peal remained a Conservative.

40 M.C.T. 30:7:49, p.1.

41 M.C.T. 16:8:41, p.4.

42 M.C.T. 9:12:33, p.2.

43 M.C.T. 20:10:23, p.3.

44 M.C.T. 12:10:29, p.1.

45 M.C.T. 12:9:31, p.11.

46 M.C.T. 18:10:24, p.4.

47 M.C.T. 1:1:44, p.3.

Only one other councillor in 1919 is known to have been overtly Conservative. Edward Newson, parcels superintendent on the Great Western Railway was a member of the Castlebar Ward Committee of the Ealing Conservative Association. Alderman Sayers remained a Liberal and he was joined by two others of similar persuasion. Councillor Bradford was an active Liberal and stood as Parliamentary Liberal candidate in 1923. He was remembered as a 'very individual Radical in a hurry'. Indeed in the 1940s he gave some support to the Labour group on the council but never in fact joined the Labour party. The other Liberal was Councillor Beaumont Shepherd J.P. who was vice-president of Ealing Liberal Association and the old Ealing League of Young Liberals. Two of the councillors who were also on the Education Committee were Labour men. Councillor Chilton was for over ten years chairman of the Ealing Labour Party and on four occasions fought a Parliamentary election, in 1918, 1922, 1923 and 1924. He was also branch secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen for seven years. John Charles Fuller was a member of the Hanwell Labour Party.

On the council as a whole 12 of the 23 members were businessmen and the businessman's care with the purse strings remained effective. Of those not already mentioned Councillor Eden had served in South Africa with the Frontier Police and the Cape Mounted Rifles, returning to run a bakery and confectionary business.⁴⁸ Frederick Hall Jones was the son of the old borough engineer Charles Jones and was an architect⁴⁹,

48 M.C.T. 6:8:32, p.2.

49 M.C.T. 3:12:38, p.1.

David Howell Jones was senior partner in the West Ealing Drapers firm Messrs. Jones and Knights⁵⁰ and John King was prominent in the establishment of the Ealing Gazette and was chairman of King and Hutchings Ltd.⁵¹ Councillor Schofield was a shopkeeper and businessman who 'had played a leading and courageous part in an agitation for shorter working hours for shopkeepers and their staffs'.⁵² Councillor Hutchings, a prime agitator for a proficient elementary education service in Ealing, began working life as a schoolteacher in Devon, before, in 1883, entering the Civil Service. Mr. Hutchings was described as a Liberal and it is known that he was keenly interested in 'active social work'. He was regarded as possessing 'reserves of spiritual force for the realisation of social idealism' and he campaigned for more houses and better social conditions.⁵³

It is always precarious to infer too much from an individual's social background or employment about their political attitudes. For example, Councillor Newson was a G.W.R. worker yet a Conservative, and Councillor Bradford a businessman, director of United Dairies, yet a Liberal who consorted with Labour. It is therefore equally dangerous to expect that because the Ealing Council and Education Committees from 1919 to 1926 were of a broader social basis than earlier ones that they should then take a different

50 M.C.T. 12:11:55, p.3.

51 M.C.T. 27:6:53, p.1.

52 M.C.T. 19:1:24, p.6.

53 M.C.T. 14:4:34, p.13.

direction and pursue different policies. But it is perhaps not without significance that these groups of individuals comprising not only businessmen but also including railway workers, headmasters and public servants were responsible for the initiatives proposed in 1921. It would be a mistake to expect a council such as Ealing's in 1919 to propose an alternative educational policy. Even at national level neither the Liberal nor Labour party offered a viable alternative policy but instead saw progress in secondary education in terms of increased opportunities for pupils through an extended scholarship system which would help to bring more children to grammar schools irrespective of ability to pay fees. This is what happened at this time in Ealing. Though still very much a Conservative borough, there is no evidence of a Tory conspiracy in Ealing concerning education. The social conditions which may have played their part in engendering such a conspiracy elsewhere, if such a conspiracy is detectable elsewhere, were not apparent in Ealing. Neither is there evidence of any great or effective revolutionary zeal. Rather was there a steady progress along a pathway considered at the time to be beneficial to the people. It remained a progress sensible to financial constraints.

First and foremost the Ealing councillors remained servants of the borough. Civic pride continued to play an important role in the formulation of their policies. The borough, in return, held its servants of all political persuasions in great esteem as the tributes to Councillor

Chilton, a Labour man, on his death testify.⁵⁴ Two examples, again chosen at random, illustrate the point that the residents' representatives were people immersed in the life of the community and for whom the welfare of that community was more important than a political ideology. Alfred William Bradford settled in Northfields in 1904 and served as a member of the Town Council for 35 years. During that time he sat on nearly all the council's committees. He was a member of the Brentford Board of Guardians, President of the Ealing Chamber of Commerce, President of the Ealing and Hanwell Allotments Association, President of the Ealing Round Table and the Mayor of Ealing's Christmas Fund. He also served from 1914 to 1918 on the Ealing War Pensions Committee. A sportsman, he was President of Ealing and Hanwell District Cricket Club and of Lammas Bowling Club. Edward Newson served on the council from 1908 until his death in 1924. He was a president of the Works Committee and he served on the Highways, General Purposes, Allotment Gardens and Library Committees. He was also a member of the Education Committee and was a chairman of its finance sub-committee and a governor of the County Boys' School. A chorister and sidesman of St. Stephen's Church, Mr. Newson was a member of the Ealing Rurideaconal Conference and was a former member of the West Middlesex branch of the N.S.P.C.C.

It might be expected that by 1937 time may have taken its toll and expunged the first flush of civic pride. Many individuals who presided over Ealing's affairs in the early

decades after the attainment of borough status were no longer living. After 1926 the borough was larger and included Greenford, Northolt and Hanwell. Could the people there be expected to feel the same about Ealing as those who lived in the old part of the borough? By 1937 it was suggested by some residents that national party politics had intruded into local affairs. The members of the Council of 1937, which may be taken as representative of the councils between 1936 and 1944, were as follows:-

Mayor : F.F. Woodward J.P.

Deputy Mayor : J.J. Lynch J.P.

Aldermen : Alfred William Bradford, John Charles Fuller, Frederick Hall Jones, John Sidney King, John James Lynch, Emily Sophia Taylor J.P., Arthur Edward Cobbin, Charles Rowland Davis, W.J.S. Cox, R.R. Kimmitt O.B.E., Henry Walter Peal J.P., William Thomas White J.P.

Councillors

Drayton Ward : William Morgans, Mrs. E.H. Brooks, Harold Joseph Stowell M.B.E.

Castlebar Ward : William Henry Cato, Willoughby Garner, Thomas Pera May.

Mount Park Ward : Edgar Allen, Francis Edward Harmsworth, John Mansell Lewis.

Grange Ward : John Douglas Knight, Harold Aubrey Merchant, Edward Hall Atkinson.

Manor Ward : Charles William Jackman, George Robert Weeks, Edward Harold Brooks.

Lammas Ward : Donald Whitby Roberts, Herbert Charles Rash, Harold James Leonard Andrews.

Grosvenor Ward : Frederick Frank Woodward, Thomas Edward Fowler, Herbert George Greenwood.

Hanwell South : Tim King, Harold Telfer, William Arthur Scott.

Hanwell North : Charles Hudson, Charles Palmer Savage, Henry Ernest Willis.

Greenford South : Alfred John Eric Chilton, F.T. Westerby, Cyril David Grant.

Greenford North : Sydney Leonard Boulton, Olive Alice Florence Davis, Bernard Harry Rockman.

Northolt : Joseph Raven, S.J. Snook, Benjamin Martin.

Fifteen of these Councillors were members of the 1937 Education Committee. They were Councillors Atkinson, May, Alderman Cobbin, Alderman Fuller, Alderman Mrs. Taylor, Alderman White, Councillor Brooks, Alderman Cox, Councillors Mrs. Davis, Jackman, Kelly, Morgans, Martin, Sayers and Weeks. Eleven were members of the Higher Education Committee. They were Mrs. Brooks and Mr. Rockman who were also County Councillors, Aldermen Fuller, Kimmitt, and Mrs. Taylor, Councillors Atkinson, Brooks, Mrs. Davis, Jackman, Martin, May and Morgans.

It is interesting to compare the councillors returned for the old part of the borough with those returned for areas acquired in 1926. The old borough consisted in 1937 of six wards - Drayton, Castlebar, Mount Park, Lammas, Manor and Grange. Of the 18 Councillors returned by these wards, nine were businessmen. Councillors Stowell⁵⁵, Cato⁵⁶, Garner⁵⁷,

55 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.65.

56 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.67.

57 M.C.T. 11:6:55, p.1.

Allen⁵⁸, Rash⁵⁹, Weeks⁶⁰, Brooks⁶¹, Atkinson⁶² and Jackman.⁶³ Of the others four may be classed as public servants. William Morgans was a former local government hospital official⁶⁴, Francis Harmsworth began work as a Poor Law Officer and became a registrar of births, deaths and marriages⁶⁵ and Thomas Pera May was for 28 years a headmaster. He had in fact trained at St. Mark's Teacher Training College, Chelsea and had taught at the L.C.C. Higher Grade School at Lavender Hill. Between 1903 and 1931 he held three successive posts as headmaster in Ealing starting at St. John's Boys' School, moving on to Drayton Boys' School in 1908 and then in 1919 to Northfields Boys' School.⁶⁶ Harry Andrews was employed on the administrative staff of the London Public Transport Board.⁶⁷ Of the remaining six councillors in the old borough, four were professional people. Donald Roberts was a solicitor⁶⁸, John Knight was the borough electrical engineer⁶⁹, John Lewis was also an engineer⁷⁰ and Harold Merchant was an

58 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.63.

59 M.C.T. 28:11:59, p.14.

60 M.C.T. 7:4:51, p.5.

61 M.C.T. 18:2:50, p.1.

62 M.C.T. 14:2:42, p.1.

63 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.76.

64 M.C.T. 4:12:48, p.4.

65 M.C.T. + W.M.G. 24:4:58, p.1.

66 M.C.T. 15:1:44, p.5.

67 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.63.

68 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.83.

69 M.C.T. 8:3:41, p.4.

70 M.C.T. 15:10:38, p.1.

accountant.⁷¹ Mrs. Brooks was a member of the Brentford Board of Guardians.⁷²

It is noticeable that a wider variety of occupations is found among the councillors in the newly acquired areas of the borough. From the six new wards, Grosvenor, Hanwell South, Hanwell North, Greenford South, Greenford North and Northolt, 18 councillors were returned. Six were businessmen or in business related occupations. Frederick Woodward was a builder and decorator⁷³, William Telfer was an insurance official⁷⁴, William Scott an estate agents' manager⁷⁵, William Savage a blind and tent maker⁷⁶, and Joseph Raven had a business as a general storekeeper.⁷⁷ For Hanwell North, Henry Willis had formerly been in business as a builder but for 20 years had served with the Southall-Norwood Fire Brigade, becoming Chief Officer.⁷⁸ Of the others, four were public servants, including teachers. Thomas Fowler worked in the administrative service of the L.C.C.⁷⁹ Charles Hudson began working life as a pupil teacher in a day school before he joined the Metropolitan Police Force at the age of 20.⁸⁰ Henry Willis, as has been

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- 71 M.C.T. 15:11:47, p.1.
 - 72 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.65.
 - 73 M.C.T. 13:2:43, p.1.
 - 74 M.C.T. 14:6:41, p.5.
 - 75 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.84.
 - 76 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.84.
 - 77 M.C.T. 7:11:36, p.13.
 - 78 M.C.T. 17:1:42, p.5.
 - 79 M.C.T. 28:3:59, p.8.
 - 80 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.84.

noted, was a fire officer and Benjamin Martin trained as a teacher at Cheltenham College and from 1904 until 1934 he was headmaster of Northolt National Schools.⁸¹ Two men, Cyril Grant⁸² and Alfred John Chilton⁸³, son of Alfred Hugh Chilton, were clerks on the Great Western Railway. There were also two Trade Union officers, both returned for Greenford North. They were Sydney Boulton, an officer with the National Union of General and Municipal Workers⁸⁴ and Bernard Rockman.⁸⁵ It is not clear what the occupations of the remaining councillors were. Overall, however, the composition of the 1937 council was twenty people in business or business related occupations, ten who can best be classified as public servants, five in professional occupations, two clerical workers and two trade union officers. Businessmen were still dominant. The relative composition of the councils in terms of occupation may be expressed by graph. Despite the enlargement of the borough and the ever broadening social and economic basis of life in Ealing, the businessmen had not been replaced. Rather they had been supplemented with an increasingly eclectic group of people who did signify the greater social diversity, particularly in the newer areas of the borough. (See Table XXVIII).

Politically the Conservatives on the council were still in the majority. In 1937 there were ten councillors who

81 M.C.T. 12:2:49, p.1.

82 M.C.T. 23:2:57, p.1.

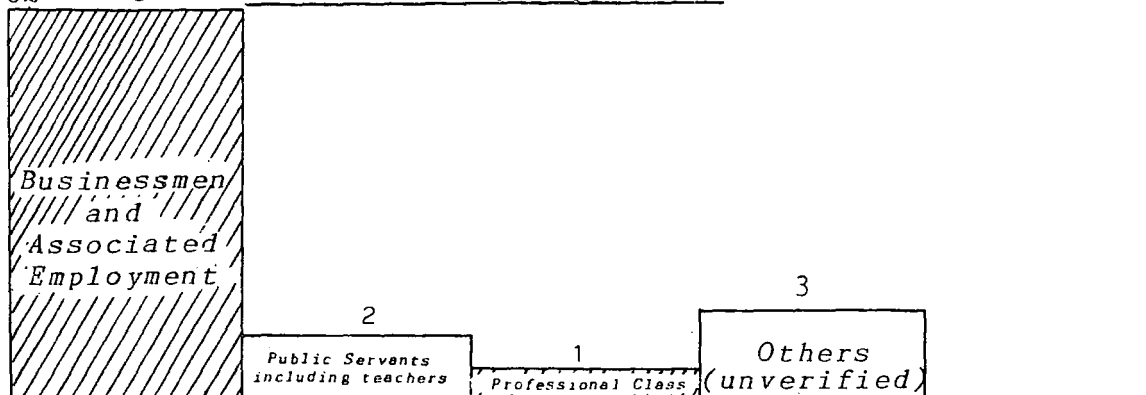
83 M.C.T. 4:11:33, p.6.

84 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.64.

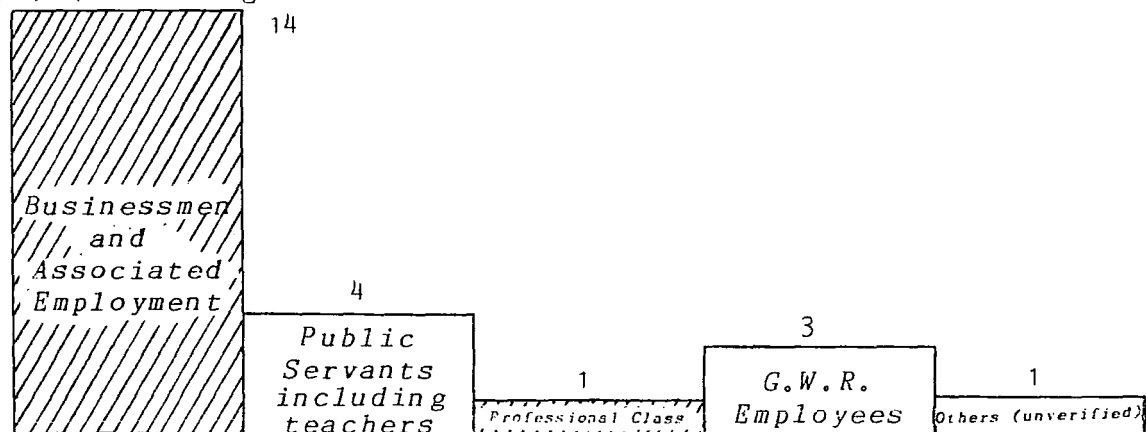
85 M.C.T. 22:1:49, p.4.

TABLE XXVIII.. Classification of Ealing Town

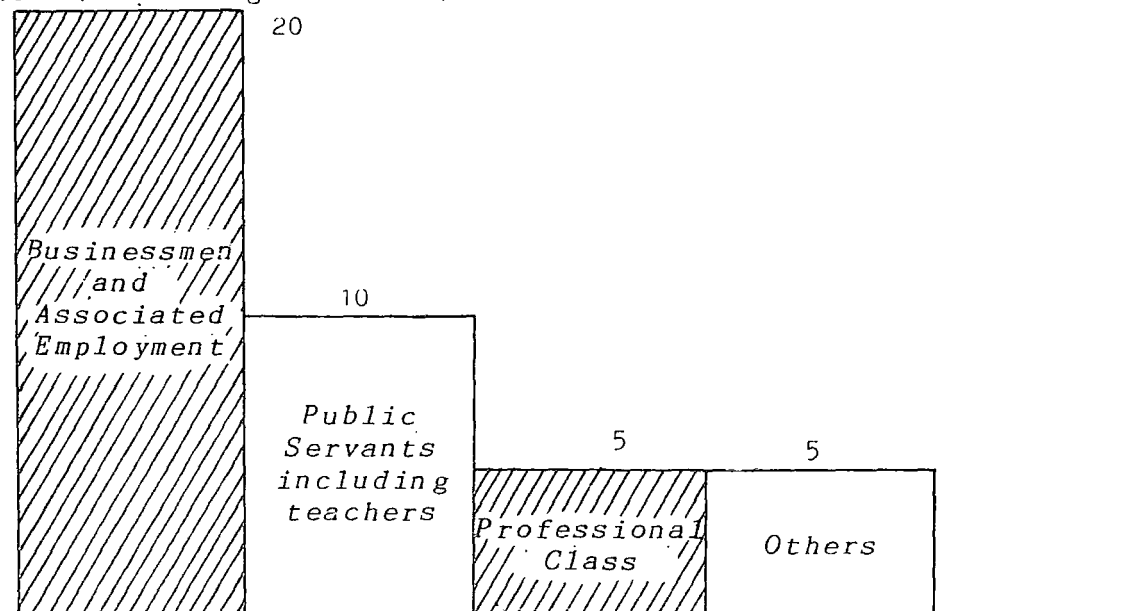
a) 1902 13 Councillors by Employment



b) 1919 (including aldermen)



c) 1937 (including aldermen)



admitted to being Conservative, eight who were Labour and there was Alderman Bradford who may best be described as a lapsed Liberal. Of the selected councillors, eight were Conservative, five of whom came from the wards which comprised the original borough as it was between 1902 and 1926. They were Councillors Stowell, Garner, Allan, Lewis and Merchant. The other three were Councillors Fowler and Greenwood from Grosvenor Ward and Councillor Telfer from Hanwell South. Only one Labour member was returned from the original borough area and that was Councillor Andrews in Lammas Ward. There were a significantly higher number of Labour councillors from the remainder of the borough. Councillor King represented Hanwell South and the other five were all returned for the Greenford wards. Councillors Chilton and Grant represented Greenford South and Councillors Boulton, Rockman and Councillor Mrs. Davis represented Greenford North.

Such was the composition of the councils and committees which presided over the advances of the 1930s including the organisation of the Modern School and the opening of Drayton Manor and Greenford County Secondary Schools. In this period the number of secondary school places increased, but at a rate insufficient to satisfy the increasing demand from the people in the now rapidly growing borough. These were the councillors and committee members who accepted A.L. Binns' report of 1936 in which he stated most definitely that in his opinion the majority of young people did not have the

capacity to benefit from secondary education.⁸⁶ These were the people also who presided when selection procedures were questioned and when the transfer of pupils from senior departments to secondary schools took place.

It is not without significance that, by the 1930s, a large number of councillors had themselves come from the elementary schools. They were, then, concerned with the proficiency of the elementary, or by now primary, system and with questioning the appropriateness of the process by which selection for secondary education took place. Of the 1937 Council 14 members are definitely known to have attended private fee paying schools and 18 had attended elementary schools. Four of the Labour councillors had attended elementary schools - Councillors Andrews, Chilton, Grant and Rockman. Councillor Greenwood, who also went to an elementary school, was a Conservative. Only two of the 1937 Councillors are known to have attended maintained secondary schools. Alfred Chilton was an old boy of Ealing County Boys' School and Councillor Davis had attended Portsmouth Secondary School. There is a sad and complete lack of information about the educational experiences of the councillors of 1919 and 1902, although given their occupations and social backgrounds it is a safe assumption that the majority, if not all, attended private schools. It would be sensible to expect a greater concern with the problems of maintained secondary education, and with the state system of education in general, on the part of those

people who had themselves experienced that system. To establish any direct and effective connection between the politics of the Ealing councillors and their own educational background in the period 1902-1944 requires much more information than is available.

In summary, then, Ealing's Conservatism in choice of Parliamentary representative is apparent, although some caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions from this about the precise political complexion of the borough throughout the period 1902-1944. In local affairs there was a preponderance of businessmen on each of the councils between 1902 and 1944. As the borough grew in area and in population a more varied group of people took part in local politics. It is not adequate to explain educational developments within the borough as a function of its overall party political disposition. It is wrong to regard the local politicians as men and women who merely acted as ciphers for the prosecution of a political ideology. The fact that, in their obituaries and retirement notices, so little mention is made of their political inclination, is in itself significant. To attempt to describe the personalities of these people in terms of a political label is to do them a gross injustice. They were concerned with civic amenities because they took a pride in their community. The attitude and spirit that built the baths and the libraries, that acquired for Ealing its open spaces, that encouraged and established a maternity and child welfare service was the attitude and the spirit that built its schools. The councillors were, as ratepayers, alert to the

offences which over zealous spending might cause to the residents. Such a concern did inhibit their vision. Such a concern explains the inadequacy which remained in educational provision in Ealing.

Councillors of all social backgrounds and of all shades of political opinion embraced together what were considered to be progressive educational ideas of the time. From a socialist and egalitarian point of view it is easy with hindsight to criticise the developments in education as inadequate. They were. But this inadequacy in Ealing was not the result of a political conspiracy any more than the developments which occurred were the result of a revolutionary zeal. The history of education in Ealing between 1902 and 1944 was a distillation of the concern, endeavour, vision and the caution of the personalities who ran borough affairs within the framework of the legislation and the educational thinking of the time. The committee members and councillors considered, of the options which were open to them, what was right, what was most appropriate and what could be afforded.

In matters of education when new departures were contemplated and when it was necessary to evaluate the worth of what was in fact already being done, the members of the education committees and the councillors deferred to the education 'experts':- the head teachers, the teachers, the secretaries to the Education Committee and the County and Borough Directors of Education. The next chapter must therefore concern itself with these people.

CHAPTER X

EALING EDUCATORS

In Ealing between 1902 and 1944 it is possible to identify three kinds of educationalists involved in the development of secondary education. First there were the secretaries to the County Education Committee, secondly there were the secretaries to the Borough Education Committee and thirdly there were the teachers in the various secondary schools, notably the headteachers. All had a professional involvement in education. From these people, rather than from politicians, emanated ideas as to the most appropriate types of secondary school which should be provided in Ealing and from them came ideas which played an important part in shaping the curriculum.

Secondary school provision in Ealing, though watched over and influenced by the Higher Education Committee, was to a great extent the product of the policy of the Middlesex County Council. Between 1902 and 1944 two men were instrumental in shaping this policy - Benjamin Gott who was secretary to the Middlesex Education Committee from 1902 until 1928 and Henry Walton who assumed the post on the 1st January 1929 and still held that post in 1944. Both men spent their lives in the service of education.

Benjamin Gott's contribution to the system that developed in Middlesex was immense. In his ideas is the germ of Middlesex County Council policy regarding secondary education; to his influence can be attributed the attitudes

adopted towards, and the assumptions made about, pupils in secondary schools throughout the county. In his vision^o can be detected the basis of the system which allowed for the practice of his ideas. He was born in Bingley, Yorkshire into a distinguished family and numbered among his brothers Dr. John Gott who was the Bishop of Truro. He was educated at Bradford Grammar School and Caius College, Cambridge. At the time when Robert Morant was being accused of ensuring a continuing bias within English secondary education towards the classics, it is significant that Benjamin Gott was a scientist. Indeed he became a Fellow of the Chemical Society and published papers on chemistry and education. On completing his own education Gott began to work in the service of education. In 1888 he was appointed science master at Wesley College, Sheffield, moving in 1891 to be science master at Cheltenham Grammar School. He became headmaster of Cheltenham School of Science in 1894 and moved to Middlesex in 1898 when he went to the Middlesex Guildhall to organise technical education. He became secretary to the Middlesex Education Committee in 1902. In 1924 he was knighted for his services to the County Education Committee and he retired in December 1928.¹

By the time that he took up the post of Secretary to the Education Committee in Middlesex, Mr. Gott had already demonstrated his own belief in the value of a broader education than that which had been given in many of the public

¹ M.C.T. 20:6:03, p.6.
M.C.T. 22:12:28, p.8.
M.C.T. 5:1:29, p.3.
M.C.T. 4:3:33, p.9.

schools and which many historians of education have regarded as being the model for the curricula of the early English maintained secondary schools. He had been a science teacher; he had been responsible for *technical* education in Middlesex. In 1902 then, perhaps the county could expect something more for its secondary schools than just an image of the public schools and their classical curriculum. Benjamin Gott's own ideas as expressed in the addresses and speeches which he delivered reflect his own educational background as a pupil and as a teacher and assert the value he placed on it. They reveal his belief that secondary schools throughout the county should provide a *broad* education. In an address he gave to the Union of Associations of Heads of Middlesex Schools on Saturday 15th March 1919, he decried the public's willingness, apparent also within many schools, to establish a 'false distinction between intellectual and manual tasks'.² Lewis Marsh, headmaster of Ealing County Boys' School would have heard that address. In 1926 Sir Benjamin spoke to the Ealing Chamber of Commerce and explained that 'if the schools had failed at all in the past it was because the scholars were not sufficiently educated on the industrial and commercial side of life'.³ Had Lewis Marsh not been present on this occasion he would certainly have read Sir Benjamin's speech, as by this time would Miss Beck, headmistress of the County Girls' School. Sir Benjamin went on to suggest that 'the

2 *G.L.R.O. MCC/E. BOX FILE 62C.*

3 *M.C.T. 25:12:26, p.5.*

basis of all education must be general education, similar to that given in our elementary schools'.⁴

His ideas on education, however, went far beyond suggestions for a broader curriculum. He was concerned with the education of the whole person and deprecated a situation which was in fact evident in Ealing in the 1920s and 1930s when secondary education was seen by many parents as simply a means to an end, a route to an occupation, merely the moulding of pupils into such shapes that they became marketable industrial units. Clearly Gott expected his headmasters to see beyond this all too popular view of secondary education. In his address delivered at the Guildhall, Westminster in March 1919 he began:

*'I take it that we are all agreed that the two objectives of our Schools are 1) to teach the children the real aim and value of life and thus to live and 2) to prepare them to earn a livelihood. Neither of these two purposes should be overlooked or allowed to crowd out the other, although the former purpose is surely by far the more important.'*⁵

This viewpoint was reiterated in 1926 in Ealing when he urged the Chamber of Commerce to remember

*'that it was the aim of the directors of education in Middlesex not simply to teach children how to earn their livelihoods but to instruct them in a manner which would make them good citizens and influence them to spend their recreation in the most profitable way.'*⁶

Sir Benjamin Gott was an idealist and he set about constructing the schools and the machinery which he hoped

4 M.C.T. 25:12:26, p.5.

5 G.L.R.O. MCC/E BOX FILE 62C.

6 M.C.T. 25:12:26, p.5.

would put his ideas into practice. He possessed both the personality and the energy to do it. He was involved in and played an important part in engendering local enthusiasm for the building of Acton County School. He attended a joint meeting of the old School Board of Acton and the then Urban District Council held at the home of a member of the County Council, Mr. William King-Baker. The writer of Sir Benjamin's obituary in 1933 remarked that 'it was mainly owing to his encouragement that the scheme was launched'.⁷ Acton was the first school of its kind in Middlesex and by the time of Gott's death there were over 50 such schools with about 20,000 pupils on roll. A personal involvement in the local scene characterised his career. Such an approach was appreciated by and regarded as important by his contemporaries. Speaking on the occasion of Sir Benjamin's retirement in 1928, Alderman Darlington said of him that he 'had made a practice of personally visiting schools and attending meetings of managers' explaining that such energetic activity had enabled him to overcome prejudice and to erect the educational structure which, by that time, they had in Middlesex.⁸

His concern also extended to teaching methods and he was just as eager to alert the headteachers to his views on this issue. In 1919 he told heads that the aim of education should not be

'to instil stereotyped ideas, not to bequeath the dead letter of opinion but to encourage people in the faculty of "thinking for themselves" and to

7 M.C.T. 4:3:33, p.9.

8 M.C.T. 22:12:28, p.8.

form independent opinions based on their own observations and experience.'

He continued, 'I feel most strongly that teachers have been doing too much and pupils too little'.⁹ He called for the building of specialist rooms and for the use of a variety of imaginative teaching aids. He sought the contact between all people involved in pupils' education, the parents, teachers and employers. As he explained to the Ealing Chamber of Commerce, 'If there were any matter on which co-operation was essential it was education'.¹⁰

Sir Benjamin Gott urged the extension of the scholarship system so that no pupil considered able to benefit from secondary education would be prevented from doing so by financial problems. His ideas and policies led eventually to the acceptance of the Middlesex County Council 100% Special Place Scheme in 1932. He recognised the social danger and the potential for divisiveness inherent in a secondary system restricted for the use of children whose parents were able to pay school fees. It was his opinion that such a system would mean that 'the real welfare of children may be overshadowed' and he was fearful that 'an attempt may be made to use our education system to implant class ideas and foster the interests of particular sections of the community rather than the interests of the community as a whole'.¹¹ At this stage, in 1919 he wanted an 'improved and extended scholarship scheme'.

9 G.L.R.O. MCC/E BOX FILE 62C.

10 M.C.T. 25:12:26, p.5.

11 G.L.R.O. MCC/E BOX FILE 62C.

In 1926, in Ealing, he again outlined the need for an improved scholarship system explaining that 'we cannot afford to waste brains from whatever section of the community they come'.¹²

Benjamin Gott had vision, imagination and courage. He did not see the maintained secondary system as a reflection of the public school system. He urged it to be more than that. He prodded it to get in touch with modern ideas. He himself was a member of the first Committee formed by the B.B.C. to advise in the development of broadcasting to schools. He was insistent that ability should not be wasted. His views permeated the system that developed in Middlesex and the schools themselves. The Middlesex County Council Scheme for Education in 1920 had agreed that all grammar schools should do some practical work. The Ealing County secondary schools introduced practical and commercial subjects into their curriculum. In Sir Benjamin Gott the schools had a man who positively encouraged such developments and welcomed the blurring of distinctions between academic and practical subjects which might result. He would have been pleased to note the large number of pupils at the Ealing secondary schools who held free or assisted places and he would have been satisfied with the concern of the Ealing head teachers for the development of the whole individual in their schools. He would have applauded the many occasions when parents and teachers met. He offered ideas, made them available. Certainly in

Ealing many of his ideas were taken up by the head teachers. It was, however, a fact that to many of the public secondary education did remain a means to an end and this utilitarian approach would have disappointed Sir Benjamin. His influence was very great indeed. He created a system and guided it in its first 26 years.

Sir Benjamin Gott was succeeded as secretary to the Middlesex Education Committee by Henry Maurice Walton. Mr. Walton's tasks as secretary were different from Sir Benjamin Gott's. He was not setting up a system. He was rather charged with the task of expanding the existing system and adapting it where and when necessary to new circumstances. Henry Walton did see to it that secondary education in Middlesex in the 1930s and early 1940s continued to develop along lines of which Gott would have approved. Educated at Richmond Grammar School and Durham University, Mr. Walton gained a B.A. degree in 1901 and an M.A. in 1906 and worked for a short time as an assistant master at The Cedars private school in Uxbridge Road in Ealing. He then undertook educational work in Newcastle before moving in 1913 to the Middlesex Education Authority as an administrative assistant. In 1919 he became head of the Higher Education section responsible for the development of the County Grammar Schools and remained in that post until he became secretary to the Education Committee in 1929. One must presume from his long period of service under Sir Benjamin Gott and from the particular posts that he held that he was in agreement with his superior's ideas and priorities.

So it proved. Henry Walton continued the policy of building a system which would cater, through different institutions, for pupils of apparently different aptitudes and inclinations. He presided over the expansion of technical colleges in Middlesex in the 1930s. New technical colleges were built and opened at Hendon, Twickenham, Enfield and Tottenham. Ealing Technical College experienced a period of considerable and sustained growth during Mr. Walton's tenure of office and he was in fact vice-chairman of the college's governing body. During his secretaryship also the first three approved schools were opened in the county, community centres were built and libraries came under the auspices of the county education service. He continued Sir Benjamin's policy of personally meeting as many people in the county concerned with education as it was possible to do. On the occasion of his death in 1952 it was recalled that he had a particularly scrupulous knowledge of the staff who worked in the county's schools.¹³ During the Second World War he visited all the reception areas to which the evacuated Ealing pupils were sent. Mr. Walton was more of an administrator than a creator. It was necessary, in the 1930s, that he should be so, for he had to carry out the massive expansion of the educational system in Middlesex which was required to satisfy the demands created by the great increase in the county's population at this time. It was remarked in his obituary that he 'delivered schools with conveyor belt regularity'.¹⁴

13 M.C.T. 16:8:52, p.5.

14 M.C.T. 16:8:52, p.4.

The writer obviously had an eye for the topical simile!

Mr. Walton's views on the administration of education were particularly significant in 1944 when Ealing fought to retain a high degree of autonomy within the terms of the 1944 Education Act. It was apparent to his contemporaries that Henry Walton believed that education in Middlesex should be under the control of one authority but that there should also be provision for the widest possible delegation of powers. One of these contemporaries recalled in 1952 that 'It was no secret to his friends that he believed that wider delegation would lead to higher efficiency'.¹⁵ No doubt this attitude facilitated the granting of Excepted District status to Ealing in 1944. The belief that he shared with Sir Benjamin Gott, that secondary education should be available to all able to benefit from it, and his conviction, also shared with Sir Benjamin, that different pupils had different aptitudes and inclinations which should be accorded equal worth, also facilitated the adoption of the tripartite system in Middlesex in 1944. It is clear that he saw a place within this new scheme of things for the private schools. They were, for Mr. Walton, a valuable part of the system. He demonstrated this attitude when in 1945 arrangements were made for Middlesex children to enter, at county expense, private schools. Forty boys were admitted to Mill Hill School, of which incidentally, Mr. Walton was a governor. By this time Henry Walton was living in Ealing, at Green Acre. He took his interest in education outside the purely admin-

15 M.C.T. 16:8:52, p.5.

istrative field into the more academic and was treasurer and chairman of the Education Committee of the Research Board for the Correlation of Medical Science and P.E., was a member of the Hispanic Council and chairman of its education committee. Interestingly, he was also a founder member of the Ealing branch of the Historical Association.

The influence of these two county secretaries on secondary education in Ealing is clear. The system that developed was the creation of the dynamic mind of Benjamin Gott. Its smooth working through a difficult period of expansion and its successful emergence from the vicissitudes of war was due in no small measure to the administrative ability of Henry Walton. From the permissive legislation of 1902 these two men nurtured and directed a living education service. Many of Gott's ideas concerning the variety of educational institutions and the importance of a broad general education at secondary level pre-dated Hadow. The insistence on the part of both Gott and Walton on the expansion of the scholarship system revealed a genuine concern to extend opportunity. In retrospect it is easy to criticise both for a naive assumption as to the possibility of parity of status between different types of secondary school. Perhaps they should have detected in public opinion and attitude that such parity was unlikely. It is evident that they genuinely believed in the 1920s and 1930s that it was possible. It is tempting to conclude that the greatest single formative influence on Henry Walton was the mind of Benjamin Gott. It is less easy to determine the influences

on Gott himself. Certainly his own previous educational experience in science and technical education must be accorded some impact. It would be interesting to know what books sat on his bookshelves, who were his confidants at university and in his social life. A biography of Sir Benjamin Gott as an educational idealist at work in the field would make a fascinating study.

What of the Directors of Education for Ealing, the men one rung down on the administrative ladder? How did they respond to ideas from county level, what kind of people were they and how is their influence evident in the borough? The period saw the services of three Directors of Education. J.B. Johnson was the first secretary to the Borough Education Committee appointed to take office in 1902. He remained as such until 1925 when he was succeeded by Mr. A.L. Binns who held the post until 1936 when Mr. J. Compton took over and presided until 1957. All three had different challenges to meet in Ealing. Mr. Johnson was secretary during the initial period of expansion and when the first maintained secondary schools were built and opened. Mr. Binns was involved with the implementation of the Hadow proposals and with solving the problems posed to the borough by the extension of its boundaries in 1926 and 1928 and the subsequent population growth in the acquired areas. Mr. Compton, in turn, had to contemplate the proposals of the Spens Committee and had to tackle the urgent problem of the war and evacuation together with ensuring the implementation of the 1944 Education Act. Mr. Johnson served while Sir Benjamin Gott was secretary to the County Education Committee,

Mr. Binns served during the tenure of both Gott and Walton and Mr. Compton served during the county secretaryship of Mr. Walton. All three men were wholeheartedly dedicated to the cause of education. Two were ex-teachers. Mr. Johnson had trained as a teacher at St. Peter's College, Peterborough. He worked as assistant master at Hatfield Boys' School from 1885 to 1887 and held a similar post at London Road School, Southend from 1889 to 1891 when he moved to Ealing where for 13 years he was headmaster of St. John's Boys' School.¹⁶ Mr. Binns was a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge where he gained a first class honours degree in the Natural Science Tripos. He also gained a B.Sc. degree from London University. At the outbreak of World War One he was employed as a teacher at West Bromwich Municipal Secondary School. After the war he worked until 1921 as science master at King Edward VI School, Birmingham. For four years from 1921 until 1925 he was Director of Education at Barking.¹⁷ When he left Ealing in 1936 he moved on to be Chief Education Officer to the West Riding, one of the largest education authorities in the country outside London. In 1954, while Chief Education Officer for Lancashire, he was knighted for his services to education.¹⁸

Joseph Compton was educated at Liverpool University where he was awarded a B.A. in 1913 and an M.A. in 1914.

16 M.C.T. 2:5:25, p.12.

17 M.C.T. 11:7:36, p.1.

18 M.C.T. 2:1:54, p.1.

Before commencing his duties in Ealing he had worked as Inspector of Schools in Manchester from 1921-25 and was Director of Education for Barking from 1925-1936. He contributed an article in the Yearbook of Education, 1938 on the 'Effect of Reorganisation on the Junior School'.¹⁹ To assert the dedication of these men is not to imply any narrow mindedness. It is tempting in the 1980s to assume that educational administrators are essentially bureaucrats. Certainly in the case of two of the Ealing directors such an assumption is no more appropriate than it would be in the case of Benjamin Gott at county level, Lewis Marsh as headmaster, or Charles Trangmar as principal of Ealing Technical College.

Mr. Binns' single-mindedness in the cause of education is more apparent. Indeed he did insist on doing the job in hand most thoroughly and to the exclusion of all else, a fact illustrated when in 1936 he resigned from the executive committee of the Association of Education Committees because he regarded the problems of Ealing as being too great and in need of his whole attention. He was the first member of the committee ever to do so.²⁰

Mr. Johnson and Mr. Compton on the other hand were vigorous in other areas of life as well. Mr. Johnson was a barrister at law of the Inner Temple and was also a student and actor of Shakespeare. He was a member of the Ealing Branch of the British Empire Shakespeare Society and took

19 Ealing Year Book 1937, p.67.

20 M.C.T. 10:10:36, p.2.

part in many productions. He possessed also a fine tenor voice and entered the Guildhall School of Music taking part in many operas. He became an Associate of the School, gained a diploma for solo singing in 1897 and accompanied a certain Madame Patti on her tours gaining 'golden opinions' in the North of England and Scotland.²¹ He was responsible for initiating, and for 13 years conducting, a series of popular concerts in Ealing and he also prepared many children's operettas. Neither these activities nor his commitment to the St. John's Church detracted from his work as an educator for he still found time to be a member of the executive committee of the Association of Education Committees, a member of the Burnham (Technical) Committee, member of the schemes committee set up by the Board of Education, of the Education and General Purposes Committee of the Central Association for Mental Welfare and of the Visual Instruction sub-committee of the Royal Colonial Institute. In 1911, he visited Canada and the U.S.A. in order to examine the relationship between industry and education.²² He was awarded an M.B.E. for his V.A.D. work.

Mr. Compton also had a talent in the arts. He enjoyed playing golf and billiards but had a particular literary aptitude. He wrote verse, gave readings of it in the borough and won a national reputation as a member of the Arts Council and National Book League. In 1952 he received a C.B.E. for his chairmanship of the Committee of the Arts

21 M.C.T. 2:5:25, p.12.

22 M.C.T. 2:5:25, p.12.
M.C.T. 16:5:25, p.10.

Council of Great Britain during the Festival of Britain.²³ These men were not just administrators, they were more rounded individuals than that. It is perhaps wrong to expect, at a time when educational administration was still a fairly new area of endeavour, that purely career educationalists would yet emerge. Certainly the interests and talents of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Compton were wide and varied. The problems they faced were large scale problems. That they were able to contribute successfully in so many other areas of life is testimony to their energy.

The borough of Ealing has always been quick to praise those whom it considers to have served it well. Accordingly such praise has been heaped onto Messrs. Johnson, Binns and Compton. Is it merited? On the occasion of his death J.B. Johnson was credited with far sighted vision in that he provided for the educational needs of the growing borough. Certainly he was active in securing the erection of permanent school buildings to replace the temporary buildings which had been hastily provided to satisfy the terms of the 1902 Education Act. He also acted as secretary to the Higher Education Committee in Ealing and should take his share of the credit due to that committee for its pursuance of the provision of a boys' and girls' secondary school in the borough. Elementary education though was his direct concern. It is interesting to note that on the accession of Mr. Binns to replace Mr. Johnson in 1925 the Middlesex County Times noted that 'Hitherto every head of every department of every Ealing

elementary school has done pretty much what he or she has pleased'.²⁴ In fairness it must be said that Mr. Johnson was not required to impose any uniformity on the schools. He was a man appointed to the post most probably on the strength of his experience as an autonomous headmaster of one of Ealing's most successful elementary schools which had flourished under the auspices of the Ealing Educational Association. He was required, though, to provide, with the Education Committee, sufficient elementary school places in the borough and this was not done. Although elementary education in Ealing did increase in volume in the first 20 years after incorporation, provision did remain in 1921, as H.M.I. Stobart had said, inadequate. The provision of maintained secondary schools was slow. Mr. Johnson was an Ealing man and like all Ealing men at this time engaged in public service, he was expected to keep a wary eye on the rates. It is worth noting that in 1925, in his obituary, he was remembered as a good businessman.²⁵ Mr. Johnson did not have the dynamism or creative abilities of his superior at the County Education Office, Sir Benjamin Gott, but then few men did. He presided but did not direct.

A.L. Binns was more thorough. The recommendations of the Hadow Report which encouraged the reorganisation of the elementary system and the urgent requirements of the extended borough demanded some kind of dynamic approach. Mr. Binns was the right person to carry out the county education policies of Benjamin Gott and Henry Walton. He was indeed,

24 M.C.T. 4:7:25, p.11.

25 M.C.T. 16:5:25, p.10.

like Gott, a Cambridge scientist. The best guide to Arthur Binns' 'educational' ideas is the document surviving in the minutes of the Ealing Higher Education Committee written by Mr. Binns and entitled 'Higher Education in Greenford and Northolt'. His own wider educational philosophy comes out in this paper directed at a specific problem. It was in this paper that he explained his views on secondary education. Most children, he thought, would not benefit from existing maintained secondary schools. He thought that the borough of Ealing should provide just 14 such school places per 1,000 of the population. He called instead for the establishment of technical and commercial schools. These, he considered, were more appropriate to the needs of the individuals and of the community. He was adamant, however, that technical schools should not provide too vocational an education. Speaking of the existing junior technical schools he explained, 'They are doing excellent work, although some of them have still much to learn regarding social training and the development of community sense'. Comparing the state of technical education in Britain to that in continental Europe, he found the British provision wanting, but again insisted that British technical schools should give a more general education and should include in their curriculum subjects like English, Arithmetic and P.E.²⁶

Mr. Binns' outlook and ideas, reflecting those of the County Education Officers under whom he served, provided the conducive climate in which Mr. Trangmar was so successfully to develop the various departments of the Technical

Institute in Ealing between 1930 and 1939. Binns did promote the efficient reorganisation of the elementary system along Hadow lines, a reorganisation which the borough claimed was completed by 1937.²⁷ He presided over the establishment of elementary schools in the acquired areas of the borough - a substantial task. On the occasion of Mr. Binns' move to the West Riding in 1936, Councillor Weeks pointed out the size of the problem posed by expansion and which Arthur Binns had to overcome. At one stage, explained Councillor Weeks, children were coming to Ealing at the rate of 'one class per month'. In 1925 the number on roll at elementary schools in the borough was 6,399 in 20 departments. In 1936 15,250 children were enrolled in 47 departments.²⁸ Mr. Binns sought, as did Benjamin Gott, the extension of opportunities. He believed firmly that different types of secondary education were appropriate for different pupils. He believed it was possible to select pupils accurately and precisely and so fit each individual to the correct type of school. There is no doubt that he would have considered himself, as he was considered by his contemporaries by the time of his appointment to the West Riding, as a successful Director of Education in Ealing. Under his guidance the prevalent educational ideas of the 1930s, as expressed in reports such as that of the Hadow Committee and as explained by Middlesex education officers and the County Education Committee, prospered in Ealing.

27 *Scouse*, p.68.

28 *M.C.T.* 10:10:36, p.2.

If success is to be measured in terms of the adequate prosecution of accepted policy Mr. Compton also can claim to have succeeded. It was his expressed intention to continue those policies which historically had pertained in Middlesex and Ealing. Speaking at a meeting of the Wood End Parent Teacher Association in September 1938 he said:

*'I believe that if this country continues on that basis, expanding and deepening the process, building good schools, enlarging facilities in the schools and establishing closer contact between parents and teachers, we have hope for the future provided external events do not hamper or interfere with us.'*²⁹

External events did interfere and Mr. Compton must take credit for the extent to which Ealing schools carried on as normally as possible during the disruption of evacuation and for the fact that Greenford County School opened at all in such circumstances.

It was Mr. Compton's task to ensure the successful implementation of the 1944 Education Act. He stood firmly behind its principles. He believed in 'the vital importance of school meals and milk, in order that physically as well as mentally the child should be equipped to profit by a full education'.³⁰ He carefully explained the purposes of the Act to people in Ealing, attending many meetings of parents throughout the borough. Speaking at a meeting of the North Greenford Residents' Association on Friday 1st June 1945 he explained that the Act 'proposed to make available to every boy and girl an education suitable to his or her age, ability

29 M.C.T. 24:9:38, p.14.

30 E.Ed.Cttee. 29:8:44.

and aptitude'.³¹ The knack, he had concluded earlier, was to 'discover at the age of 11 for which kind of secondary school a child was most suited'.³² Everything, from Benjamin Gott's initial ideas on the necessity to broaden the concepts of what constituted a secondary education, through the secretaryship of Henry Walton, to the directorship in Ealing of Binns and Compton had led, almost inexorably it seems in retrospect, to the establishment in Middlesex and Ealing of the tripartite secondary system. One suspects that all of those men would have been pleased with the successful introduction into Ealing after the 1944 Education Act, of the tripartite system there. They all most probably shared the naivety of Compton who inferred too much from his assertion that in law all senior schools in the borough were now on equal footing with what had until 1944 been called officially secondary schools.³³ They were not, in fact, recognised as such by the people.

The development of the maintained secondary schools in Ealing introduced new personalities into borough life in the persons of the head teachers. His or her contribution and performance would be monitored not just by the official bodies whose task it was to do so but also by the public they served. As the educators who were most obviously important to the pupils and parents, they along with their staffs had the responsibility of selling the idea of maintained secondary education to the community. They had to

31 M.C.T. 2:6:45, p.1.

32 E.Ed.Cttee. 29:8:44.

33 M.C.T. 2:6:45, p.1.

convince the customers that their schools worked, that they were appropriate and successful additions to community life. The future of the maintained secondary schools in Ealing and their place in public confidence was largely in the hands of the head teachers.

There can be no question that Ealing was singularly fortunate in the choice of headteachers for its first maintained secondary schools. They were among the best of their kind. They were:-

TABLE XXIX

Headteachers of Ealing Maintained Secondary
Schools, 1913-1944

Ealing County Boys	1913-1930	Mr. L. Marsh
	1930-1940	Mr. W.J. Dudman
	1940-1944	Mr. W.S. Clarke (Acting Head)
Ealing County Girls	1925-1943	Miss D. Beck
	1943-	Miss M. McNab
Drayton Manor County School	1930-	Mr. S. Allenby
Greenford County School	1939-1947	Mr. J. Withrington

Many words accurately describe these people. They were committed to their task, they were responsive to the requirements of their pupils and their communities, they were dynamic and creative at times and most definitely they were caring. Their schools were efficient and well organised, administered and led. In the context of their time and within the community they served they were first class head teachers. For two of

the heads of these secondary schools the task of leading their schools was particularly onerous, for they were pioneers. Mr. Marsh led the first foray into the field of maintained secondary education for boys in the borough and Miss Beck into that of girls. Their schools had to be established within Ealing, with all its successful private schools, as suitable and valuable endeavours.

Particular burden in this respect was put upon Mr. Marsh. That he was considered to be successful is apparent from reading the many tributes to him on the occasion of his untimely death in August 1930. While it is normal to praise, particularly in circumstances of sudden death, there is genuine warmth in the plethora of tributes from colleagues, councillors, parents and pupils for the man who had built up and guided a respected school. The congregation at Mr. Marsh's funeral in St. Mary's Church consisted of old boys, teaching staff from various schools in the borough, councillors and parents. The service was led by the Reverend C.J. Sharp one of the governors of Ealing County School for Boys who was assisted by Mr. Maurice Clark, an ex-pupil. The Reverend Sharp caught the mood of the borough when he said of Mr. Marsh:

*'He was able to guide a great school from its infancy to maturity and to guide it in a great way. He was an example of what a great school-master should be.'*³⁴

Lewis Marsh came from a family already immersed in the pursuit of excellence in education. His father, Mr. J. Marsh,

34 M.C.T. 16:8:30, p.1.

was an inspector with the Board of Education. Lewis Marsh's own early life revealed a high degree of scholastic ability and a high level of dedication to education. He was educated at Wilson's Grammar School, Camberwell and at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he was an exhibitioner. In 1902 he was awarded a B.A. Honours degree in the Mediaeval and Modern Languages Tripos and in 1906 supplemented this with an M.A. His first teaching post, taken up without any prior teacher training, was at the City of London School where he remained from 1903 until his appointment, at the age of 32, to the headmaster's post at Ealing County Boys' School in 1913. Mr. Marsh was one of a hundred applicants. He was totally involved in the world of education and from 1920 until his death he served on the Ealing Education Committee. He also sat on the University Extension Committee. The pressure of his work was great and he felt the responsibility keenly. In 1920 he suffered from a nervous breakdown but happily recovered.³⁵ He was a keen sportsman and took many of the younger boys in his school for games. He died, though, while swimming and the resultant inquest discovered that his death was due to his being 'accidentally drowned, following exhaustion due to valvular disease of the heart'.³⁶

The records of the Higher Education Committee, the Inspectorial Reports and press reports of the school's achievements all bear witness to Mr. Marsh's involvement in school life. He created the ethos in which work in his school

35 *H.E.C.* 21:5:20.

36 *M.C.T.* 16:8:30, p.3.

was carried out. Like the officers at borough and county level under whom he worked, he regarded secondary school education as being more than just a concern to achieve examination success and attain future employment. He shared with Benjamin Gott the belief that the education of the whole pupil was the important task of a school. The County Boys' School set the tone for further endeavours in the maintained secondary sphere. It gave the lead. As such it is pertinent to quote at length from a speech Mr. Marsh delivered at the school speech day in November 1928. He listed the academic successes of the school but went on to say:

*'... I do not want you to go away with the idea that I think our work can be summed up in terms of examination results. Much sound work is done in all our classrooms which is not tested by examination but by the stern realities of life and the success of this work cannot be produced and tabulated on Speech Day. It cannot be shown in figures and letters. It can only be found in the lives of men, and to see that you must look around you and see what is being made of life by the hundreds of young men who have been educated within these walls.'*³⁷

Perhaps an ex-pupil should be allowed a final word on Mr. Marsh. He describes how 'When I went to the school as a boy of 11, I regarded Mr. Marsh with his commanding stature and dignified appearance with a quite wholesome amount of awe'. He continued 'By the time we boys had reached the Upper School our understanding with the 'Head' had ripened into friendship, and whether we were playing cricket or preparing for exams, he was there to encourage or advise us'.³⁸ No

37 M.C.T. 17:11:28, p.12.

38 M.C.T. 16:8:30, p.3.

doubt, such was the experience of a good number of Ealing County Boys' School pupils. Mr. Marsh died leaving a wife and two sons, one of whom had just taken his degree at Cambridge and was to become a schoolmaster and another who was just about to go to Cambridge with the same purpose in mind.

The vitality of Ealing County Girls' School under the headmistresship of Miss Dorothy Beck is equally apparent. The minutes of the meetings of the Ealing Higher Education Committee, the many references to the school, its staff and pupils and their achievements together in the period 1925 to 1944 testify to the respect which both the school and Miss Beck had earned. Like Mr. Marsh, Miss Beck possessed considerable academic ability. She was born in Birmingham and educated at King Edward VI High School for Girls. In 1908 she went to Girton College, Cambridge. Here she was awarded two degrees in consecutive years, in Classics in 1910 and in History in 1911. Before her appointment to the headmistress's post at Ealing County Girls in 1925 she had been a hostel tutor at Leeds Training College though there is no evidence to suggest that Miss Beck herself had undergone any teacher training. She then became headmistress of Farringdon County School for Girls in Berkshire prior to moving to Ealing. When she retired due to spinal trouble in 1943 the Middlesex County Times remembered that 'At the time of her appointment it was said that she was the best candidate the Middlesex Education sub-committee had ever interviewed'.³⁹ From the point of view of her employers

and her pupils' parents, Miss Beck was a most suitable headmistress. She agreed that her type of secondary school was not appropriate for all children. She was no egalitarian and perhaps did not quite share the vision of Benjamin Gott. It seems that she may have misunderstood even the purpose behind the introduction, in 1932, of the Middlesex 100% Special Place Scheme. Miss Beck interpreted this policy as a means of limiting free places rather than, in fact, increasing the number of such places to be made available. In an interview given to the Middlesex County Times in January 1932 she welcomed the decision, as she saw it, to limit free places because as she explained, 'I do think we are getting some children in our schools who are not able to benefit by education beyond a certain point. No amount of training will fit them for mental work ...'. She was realistic and when asked about her school curriculum replied 'But do we provide for manual work in our timetables? We do so very little for the reason that manual work is not in the examination curriculum'.⁴⁰ Children requiring such instruction would, she thought, be better at senior elementary schools. Her eagerness to select pupils at all would have met with the approval of her superiors Mr. Binns and Mr. Walton and her willingness to follow the examination curriculum with the approval of the parents.

She retired after 18 years as headmistress. Less column inches were devoted to Miss Beck's retirement than to Mr. Marsh's death but this should not be seen as an indication

that either she or her school were held in any less esteem than their male counterparts. War ensured that the news emphasis in 1943 was different from what it had been in 1930. She died in 1960 after suffering for many years with disseminated sclerosis and was remembered then as being not just a scholar but also 'a charming and kindly woman with a sympathetic insight into personality'.⁴¹

Both Miss Beck and Mr. Marsh were particularly suitable appointments to ensure that the County Secondary Schools in Ealing would carry out the tasks for which they were intended. Undoubtedly the curriculum was geared towards examinations, towards satisfying what were considered to be the educational requirements of those pupils considered able to benefit from a secondary school education. Both headteachers had admirable academic records themselves and both selected their staff accordingly. While happily implementing county policy, they did not adopt a doctrinaire approach to the education of pupils in their schools. They did not just serve an idea of what a good secondary education should be. They also served their pupils. The curriculum remained academic because teachers, governors, parents and pupils expected and required it so to do. But the headteachers, concerned for the welfare of their pupils, did not leave matters at that. Thus Mr. Marsh expended as much energy on the social environment in which conventional school work took place as he did on the curriculum. The corporate life of the school was, to him, important. Miss Beck introduced

41 M.C.T. 6:2:60, p.1.

commercial courses for her girls and similarly expended much energy on establishing the corporate life of the school. Such developments gained approval from the community and from the borough and county education offices.

Mr. Marsh and Miss Beck epitomise the Ealing headteachers of this period. Their successors were from a similar mould. After Mr. Marsh's death, Mr. W.J. Dudman took over. He held two degrees, a B.Sc. from Reading University and a B.Sc. (Economics) from L.S.E. He had joined the staff of Ealing County Boys when the school opened after teaching in Middleton College, Ireland for one year and at Haverford West Grammar School in South Wales for one term.⁴² The relationship between Mr. Dudman and Mr. Marsh may be likened to that between Benjamin Gott and Henry Walton. In both cases, the experienced understudy, in tune with the ideas of their creative superiors, ascended to take over their position and to continue their policies. Like Mr. Marsh also, Mr. Dudman died in tragic circumstances in an air raid in September 1940. Mrs. Dudman died with him. Mr. W.S. Clarke, another double degree man who held a 'B es L' and a 'B es C' took over. Mr. Clarke could likewise be relied upon to continue the policies begun by Mr. Marsh and followed by Mr. Dudman as he had taught at the school since 1914.

It is perhaps not surprising to find that some later appointees to headships in the borough held teaching qualifications. Their academic quality remained high also. A

42 M.C.T. 28:9:40, p.6.

teaching qualification did not replace academic ability, it supplemented it. Miss Beck's successor was Miss McNab, appointed in 1943 at the age of 34, one of 79 applicants. She had graduated from Perth Academy, Edinburgh University, with a first class honours degree in History and had also trained at Clapham Training College where she was awarded the Cambridge Teachers' Certificate. Her appointment to Ealing County Girls' School was her first to a single sex school. Her previous teaching posts were at Henley Grammar School from 1932-34, Glendale County School, Wood Green from 1934-7 and then at Pinner School from 1937. Here she was senior mistress and head of the History department, but it is apparent too that, in the tradition of her predecessors in the borough, she also saw education as being more than just the imparting of knowledge in the classroom. Announcing her appointment in 1943 the Middlesex County Times thought it important to note that at Pinner School 'All the school's societies, including the debating and musical societies have been inaugurated by her'.⁴³

Some years earlier the new head of Drayton Manor County School was appointed and he too held a teaching qualification from Westminster Training College. Mr. Sewell Allenby also fitted in with the tradition of academically able heads as he also held two degrees, a B.A. and a B.Sc. from London University. He was described as a 'trained psychologist' and immediately stated his intention to introduce I.Q. tests into the school,⁴⁴ something he later did. He was also an

43 M.C.T. 11:12:43, p.1.

44 M.C.T. 24:5:30, p.1.

all round sportsman, competent in all sports with the exceptions of lacrosse and polo. It is, however, once again significant, as a pointer to what was expected by the county and the borough from its headteachers that, at a celebration to mark his retirement in 1946, Mrs. Brooks, a member of the interviewing committee which Mr. Allenby had faced in 1930, remembered that he was chosen 'because his attitude convinced it (i.e. the Committee) that he understood young people and wanted their happiness'.⁴⁵ After his retirement, Mr. Allenby became a town councillor for Drayton Ward in 1946 and a county councillor in 1949. He continued to devote much time to his work as a class leader and circuit steward for Ealing Methodist Church. Eventually the pressure of his endeavours told on him and he died in 1954 aged 74 while recovering from a breakdown attributed to the pressure of his public work.⁴⁶

This assessment of the secondary heads of Ealing between 1913 and 1945 is completed by reference to Mr. J.W. Withrington, the first headmaster of Greenford County School. He had attended Victoria University, Manchester, and obtained a first class honours B.Sc. degree in Mathematics in 1925. He proceeded to the award of an M.Sc. for research in Mathematics in 1928. Between 1933 and 1936 Mr. Withrington pursued an academic interest in education at the London University Institute and obtained an M.A. by research in Education. Prior to his appointment to the headship of Greenford County in 1939 he was Senior Mathematics Master at the Addey and Stanhope

45 M.C.T. 27:7:46, p.1.

46 M.C.T. 24:7:54, p.1.

School, New Cross.⁴⁷ He could not have taken up his first headship at a more difficult time. Nonetheless he worked hard that his school might follow the direction already taken by County Boys and Girls in Drayton Manor.

Any assessment of Ealing's educators would not be complete without some reference to two more individuals whose work, whilst officially outside the maintained secondary sector in the 1930s, contributed immensely to the post elementary education in the borough. Mr. Trangmar at the Ealing School of Art and Technical Institute made few speeches and gave few addresses which received notice in the press. His philosophy is apparent from his actions. His energy made the Ealing Technical Institute one of the most vigorous, responsive and successful in the country. An accomplished artist in his own right, he too believed in the idea of the education of the whole person, as was seen in his policy for the junior departments and in his constant encouragement to students to pursue not just one subject but to follow a combination of courses. In 1937 the Ealing Central Schools became Ealing Modern School, a school which became an integral part of the secondary system in the borough after 1944. The head, appointed in 1937, was Mr. J.H. Fussell and he continued the tradition in Ealing of accomplished head teachers. He was educated at Katherine Lady Berkeley's Grammar School, Wotton under Edge and at the University of Bristol where he gained a B.Sc. degree in Mathematics and Physics. Typically for 1930s appointed head teachers, he

47 E.Ed.Cttee. June 1939.

had a teaching qualification, a Diploma in Education and he supplemented it with an M.A. in Education in 1936. An able musician he had been choirmaster and organist at several Gloucestershire and Bristol churches before moving to Ealing and in 1934 was made a Fellow of the Royal College of Organists.⁴⁸

Such were the educational experts to whom the members of the education committees of Middlesex and Ealing turned for advice and guidance and on whom the pupils and parents depended and such were their ideas. They were not dogmatic individuals as the responsiveness of their performance shows, but they did all serve the doctrine of 'capacity catching' and trusted in the consequent idea of the selectability of pupils. They began from the sound premise that all pupils are different and reached what has proved since to be a less sound conclusion, that pupils of such different abilities and inclination can be best catered for in different types of secondary school. This, combined with an energetic attempt to cater for those young people of secondary school age whom, it was thought, were not appropriate pupils of the maintained secondary schools, led to the evolution of the tripartite system in Middlesex and Ealing. There is no doubt that in playing their part in this evolution, the educators of the county believed that they were extending opportunity.

If their adherence to the 'capacity catching' doctrine produced the system of different types of secondary schools,

the personal influence of the Education officers and head teachers was responsible for the quality of life within these schools. And the quality of life in Ealing's maintained secondary schools was high. Impressive examination results were achieved, the corporate life of the schools was established and pupils were exposed to an enlivening variety of experiences within and without the curriculum. Of all the personalities discussed, two men were outstandingly influential - Benjamin Gott and Lewis Marsh, partly because they were the first of their kind and whatever impact they had would therefore be noticeable, but also because they were high-minded men who each had a vision, filled with optimism, about what kinds of places schools should be. They were energetic, imaginative and practical and in Ealing and Middlesex set the ball rolling. What the work of these men shows is that in the 1920s and 1930s concerned individuals of ideas and with motivation had more influence on the way schools developed than did the permissive legislation of the period.

The tripartite secondary system which evolved from the ideas of such men and women and which became systematised after 1944 led to a divisiveness among schools and staff and within society. One wonders how these people might have reacted to that. Since their time many new issues have confronted educationalists, but also it is not improbable to suspect that there are still questions and problems which confront the educationalists of the 1980s which Benjamin Gott, Lewis Marsh and their contemporaries might just recognise.

CHAPTER XI

IN CONCLUSION: SOME DURABLE ISSUES

Ealing in 1985 is a very different community to Ealing as it was in the period 1902-1944. Since the end of World War Two the borough has continued to grow. In 1981 it had a population estimated to be 300,000¹ as against just over 33,000 in 1901. There has been more amalgamation with surrounding areas and in 1964 Acton and Southall together with Ealing as it was then comprised were incorporated under the London Government Act of 1963 as the London Borough of Ealing. The borough now has an area of 20 square miles as compared with just over 2 square miles before the amalgamation with Greenford and Hanwell in 1926. The Uxbridge Road has retained much of its importance as a thoroughfare and it is probably much busier today than it has ever been before. On 7th March 1985 a modern shopping centre was opened by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II on the south side of Uxbridge Road. Ealing is setting its sights on the twenty first century.

New schools have been required for the increasing population. In 1985 there are 6 nursery schools and 92 primary schools in the borough, 28 of which also hold nursery classes and 10 of which are voluntary aided. There are 16 secondary schools, known as high schools, which are all comprehensives. The 4 county schools which opened between 1913 and 1944 are now part of this comprehensive system. Two of the secondary

1 Official Guide, 1980-81, p.17.

schools are voluntary aided and one is a voluntary special agreement school. There are six day special schools and eight further education institutions. The authority also has one residential special school for senior boys in Surrey. The institutions are different to those which existed before 1944 but many of the issues which are discussed and debated in the staffrooms of the schools, in the borough and in the country as a whole, and in the corridors of the education offices throughout the nation, are the same as those which were confronted by Lewis Marsh, Benjamin Gott and their contemporaries. No national consensus on educational matters exists. Long standing issues are still contentious; dilemmas remain. Given the essentially conservative nature of English education in the first half of the twentieth century this fact should come as no surprise. The developments between 1902 and 1944 happened only slowly. Discussion of the curriculum, of the nature of secondary schools, of selection and scholarships and of the purpose of education must have seemed at the time interminable. The four county secondary schools appeared in Ealing over a period of 27 years. In 1985 the consideration of educational matters involves many people. Educationalists have been joined on the debating platform by politicians, parents and, in some cases, by pupils.

Considerable energy was expended by Benjamin Gott, Henry Walton and the Middlesex Education Committee in the 1920s and 1930s to secure the extension of the scholarship system to allow able pupils to benefit from a secondary school education regardless of their parents' ability to pay fees. In establishing the principle of free and compulsory secondary education

for all the 1944 Education Act removed the problem of providing scholarships to pupils at maintained secondary schools and ensured that all young people aged between 11 and 14 would receive some secondary education. In 1947 the school leaving age was raised to 15 and in 1972 to 16. Education was also free to those who stayed on at school until they were 18. The fact that since 1972 more pupils than ever before have been staying at school longer than before has brought its own problems the nature of which might surprise those who worked in the Ealing county schools. Not all 15 and 16 year olds want to remain at school for as long as the law requires them to do so. The county of Worcestershire, in 1958, was the first local authority to identify what it called 'school phobia'.² The disruptive effects of some older pupils who find themselves having to stay at school against their inclinations have been felt. This fact prompted the National Association of Head Teachers, at the end of May 1985, to discuss a resolution urging that the school leaving age be lowered to 14, allowing those who wished to leave at that age to do so.³ But the problem of the school leaving age requires a more careful solution. The resolution discussed by the N.A.H.T. would not ensure in the 1980s that all young people aged 15-16 years would enjoy similar opportunities in life. The lessons of the inter war years suggest that such equality of opportunity would not be forthcoming to young people encountering substantially different educational experiences. At the centre of the problem is the public conception of education

2 Times Ed. Sp. Supplement 27:9:85, p.42.

3 Daily Express 29:5:85.

and secondary schools and it is this public conception which has preserved the issue of selection and separation into 1985.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s Benjamin Gott frequently expressed his belief in the appropriateness of separate and different types of secondary schools for different types of pupils. After the 1944 Act the tripartite system was implemented in Ealing. In 1947 there were in the borough 13 secondary modern schools, 5 secondary grammar schools, one junior technical school of art and one junior technical school of commerce. The four county secondary schools which had existed before 1944 became grammar schools. The modern school and the senior departments of the primary schools as they were prior to 1944 became the secondary modern schools. The junior departments of the Art School and Technical College became the junior technical schools. In addition 3,500 children from the borough were attending private schools.⁴ The tripartite system, however, became increasingly discredited, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s. Ealing's change to the comprehensive school during the 1960s reflected the national trend. Richmond describes how, between 1960 and 1974, the number of grammar schools in Britain was reduced from 1,284 to 675, the number of secondary modern schools from 3,887 to 1,509 and the number of technical schools from 228 to 35. Between 1950 and 1974 the number of comprehensive schools rose from 10 to 2,273.⁵

There were various reasons for the decline in faith in the three tiered secondary school system. Benjamin Gott's

4 *Ealing Year Book, 1947, unnumbered pages.*

5 *Richmond, pp.94-95.*

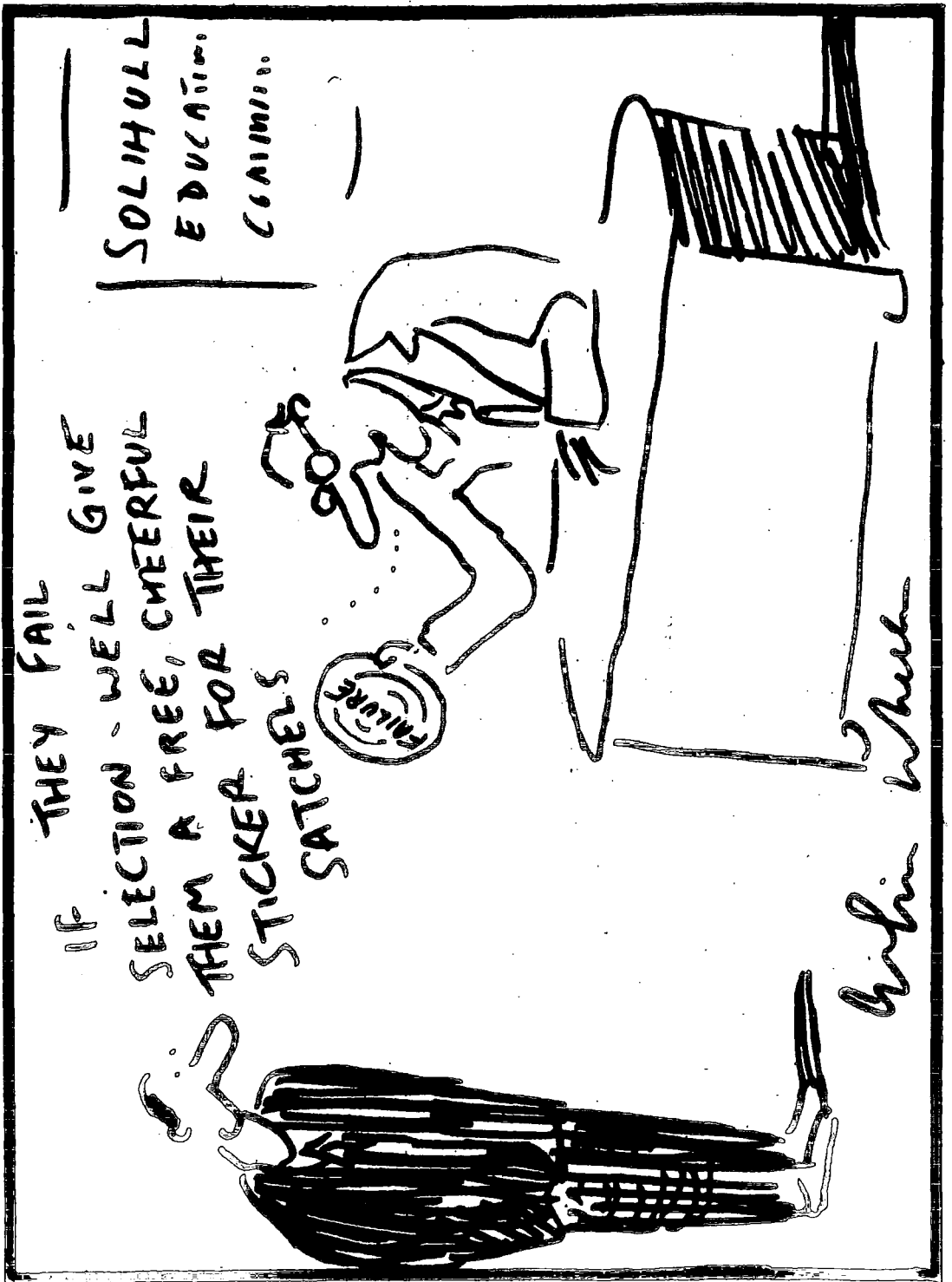
ideal of parity of status between the different types of secondary school was not realised. In the public mind grammar schools remained superior, largely because of ingrained assumptions about the value of their academic curriculum. There developed a very real concern that all pupils should be allowed an optimistic start to their secondary school career and there was a definite dissatisfaction with the fact that 11 year olds who were not selected for grammar schools began their secondary school life labelled, as a consequence, as 'failures'. There was ample evidence of the shortcomings of employed selection procedures. Some of those pupils who had 'failed' at 11 soon showed themselves to have a measurable academic ability equal to some pupils at the grammar school, a fact illustrated by the increasing success of secondary modern pupils in the G.C.E. 'O' level examination which had been designed for the grammar school. Similarly there were those among grammar school pupils who did not live up to their apparent early promise. The efficacy of any kind of selection procedure at age 11 was questioned. There is evidence that already by the late 1930s and the early 1940s some teachers in the Ealing county schools were beginning to show a lack of confidence in the selection procedures.

However, it must not be assumed from the trend towards the comprehensive school that the issue of separatism at secondary school level is finally resolved. There is still no consensus of opinion on the matter. The history of the implementation of the comprehensive idea illustrates the point. In 1965, under a Labour Government, the D.E.S. issued Circular 10/65 requiring all L.E.As to plan to introduce comprehensive

Illustration VIII

The lasting issue of selection.
The dilemma remains.

A cartoon reproduced from The Teacher 2:3:84



secondary schools. In 1970, the then Education Secretary of a Conservative government, Mrs. Thatcher rescinded this requirement with Circular 10/70. The Labour government in 1974 issued Circular 4/74 which returned the position to that which had obtained as a result of Circular 10/65. The Education Act of 1976 required L.E.As once again to produce plans for the reorganisation of their secondary system along comprehensive lines. By the Education Act of 1980 the Conservative government repealed the 1976 Act. By the mid 1980s media treatment has dramatically polarised opinion and the issue now lies firmly in the realm of political ideology. Labour party policy is to champion the comprehensive ideal although there was dissension in the ranks of the party as late as 1963 when Hugh Gaitskell still called for a grammar school education for all. The Conservative party demonstrates considerable enthusiasm for a selective system. Between the two lie politicians of all persuasions.

In 1984, of 97 authorities in England and Wales, 34 still retained grammar schools.⁶ In 1985 there are approximately 2,500 fee paying schools.⁷ Conservative popular newspapers have recently attacked the comprehensive system with some vigour. On 18th April 1985 the Daily Express published an article in which it claimed that Britain was the only country to 'cling to the outmoded comprehensive school system'. Mr. Fred Naylor, a former headmaster and active campaigner for grammar schools in Wiltshire was quoted as explaining that 'the comprehensive school has been discredited in widely different countries such as the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.'. He

6 Sunday Times 11:3:84.

7 Daily Express 18:4:85.

extolled the virtues of specialist schools, citing West Germany's three tiered system as 'outstandingly successful' at producing top mathematicians, scientists and businessmen. He concluded that the reintroduction of selection in Britain would breathe new life into the 'highly successful old technical schools killed off by the comprehensives'. The same newspaper printed on the same day a photograph of sixth form prefects at the threatened Denmark Road High School in Gloucester posing for cameramen with placards which read 'Keep Grammar Schools for Gloucester'. Denmark Road High School was described as a 500 pupil school catering for 'bright girls from all social backgrounds'.⁸

Attention on the issue of selective and separate secondary schools was focussed particularly sharply during 1983 when the West Midlands borough of Solihull announced its intention to reintroduce grammar schools. The move was initiated by local Conservative councillors who also announced their plans to use I.Q. tests in the selection examination.⁹ The Conservative press was quick to applaud. The Daily Mail was impressed by the 'innovation' and concluded that it would be 'very healthy for the educational standards of this nation' if more authorities followed suit. Mr. Bob Dunn, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Education gave his approval to the scheme.¹⁰ The critics of the system were to be found at the other end of the political spectrum. Mr. Fred Jarvis, General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, condemned the plans as 'proposals of an educationally bankrupt council'.

8 Daily Express 18:4:85.

9 B'ham Evening Mail 19:9:83.

10 Daily Mail 16:9:83.

Mr. Giles Radice, Labour's education spokesman in 1983, regarded the plans as 'an orchestrated campaign by government ministers, M.Ps and right wing pressure groups to bring back the grammar school'. Selection, he said, 'is the solution that failed to meet yesterday's problems'.¹¹ Solihull, though most prominent in the public eye, was not the only area in Britain to hold discussions on the future of selective grammar schools. Faced with the problem of falling rolls several authorities have set their energies to preserve their grammar schools. These include the London borough of Redbridge, Reading, Kingston upon Thames and in Kent, Gravesham. When in 1984 some areas proposed to overcome the problem of falling rolls by closing grammar schools the Conservative education secretary Sir Keith Joseph, vetoed the plans. Such was the experience of Bristol, Gloucester, Workington and Whitehaven.¹²

Discussion of separatism and selection in the 1980s has become as political and popular as discussion of the issue of secondary education for all had been in the 1920s and 1930s. Many educationalists feel, with some justification, that public discussion of the problem has been dominated by the politicians. During the last decade there has been little apparent deference to the education 'experts'. Local councillors and secretaries of state have taken little stock of the opinions of H.M.Is, of headteachers or of teachers. Such an approach would have infuriated Messrs. Gott and Marsh and Miss Beck much as it infuriates many educationalists today.

11 The Guardian 10:12:83.

12 Sunday Times 11:3:84.

Sustained by polemic, the question of which type of secondary schools should be provided that all might benefit most substantially will remain. It will do so to a great extent because England is still a class society. Ever since education became an endeavour in England the chances of taking part in it have always been linked with social class. In a selective system would able working class children have the same opportunity of success as middle class children of the same measurable ability? Through the extension of the scholarship system Benjamin Gott tried to ensure that they would in Middlesex in the 1920s and 1930s. If equality of opportunity for children is to be achieved then educators must aim to remove all factors which inhibit the realisation of an individual's educational potential including those factors connected with social class. Such factors do remain effective in a selective system of secondary education and they do so because social class in the 1980s is still largely a function of occupation. In a system of different types of secondary schools, the pupils who attend such schools are accordingly prepared for different occupations. So it is that in an occupation based class conscious society parity of esteem for different schools is prevented. As long as an academic type of secondary education is still held in higher regard than other types such inequality of opportunity will remain. This situation does exist in some parts of England in 1985 including Middlesex. In November 1983 a teacher at a secondary school in Middlesex wrote to The Guardian, 'It is clear that people equate a "good all-round" education with examination success'. He recognised the consequences of this;

'Pupils of secondary modern schools are automatically relegated to a second class position in society'. This had not been Benjamin Gott's intention for the county when he so vigorously promoted the idea of different secondary schools for different 'types' of pupil. It is interesting to note that the planned Solihull scheme foundered in the main because a large section of middle class parents suddenly realised that in a selective system their own children might not be selected! The chances of their being labelled 'failures' at all increased. It is, however, wrong to assume that social class does not remain as a factor affecting success in areas where secondary education is non-selective. Julianne Ford, writing in 1969, demonstrated a relationship between class and performance at comprehensive schools. Such a relationship remained although it appeared numerically less effective than it was in a selective system.¹³

The educator's concern remains with the quality and effectiveness of his or her work. No independent thorough or conclusive evidence as to the relative effectiveness of different types of secondary schools in the 1980s exists. To determine criteria for such a study would be an immense task in itself. In inverse proportion to the amount of hard evidence there is a plethora of propaganda. Most such propaganda centres on the most readily obtainable and easily manageable statistics, usually concerning examination results. Some politicians and members of the public have been quick to draw conclusions about the relative merits of the comprehensive and

13 Equal Opportunity in Education, p.279.

selective systems from evidence which is at best anecdotal and at worst fantastic. By its nature a selective school will have a far greater percentage of pupils entering and passing examinations. Neither Benjamin Gott nor Lewis Marsh would have approved of any assessment of schools based entirely on examination results.

Local Education Authorities are still free to introduce the secondary systems which they consider to be most appropriate for their area. Perhaps, in their deliberations, politicians, parents and other interested parties, should once again begin to take note of the thoughts of educationists on the matter. In 1983, 70 of the country's leading educators met at Salford University to discuss various issues. On the problem of separatism they reached the following conclusion -

*'The system must change to take as its starting point the needs and demands of all individuals. We believe that to offer equal access to schooling and education and training throughout life, existing institutional divisions must be eradicated.'*¹⁴

If the needs and demands of the individual secondary school pupil are to be met then a good deal of thought must be given to devising an appropriate curriculum. The fact that the curricula of the different types of secondary school which existed, and in some parts exist today, within the tripartite system were invested with different emphases lay at the heart of the impact of separatism. In the 1920s and 1930s Benjamin Gott had encouraged the Middlesex secondary schools

to introduce more practical subjects into their timetable. He urged that the barriers between academic and non-academic subjects should be broken down. Since his day there has been much discussion of what should be taught in secondary schools. The Crowther Report of 1959, Half Our Future, the report of the Central Advisory Council for Education published in 1963 and the Bullock Report of 1975, like the Spens Report before them, all concerned themselves with the secondary school curriculum. Since 1980 the Department of Education and Science have published seven reports appraising the curriculum and investigating its relationship with the examination system; in 1980 the H.M.I. produced A View of the Curriculum, in 1981 came The School Curriculum and Curriculum 11-16: A Review of Progress. These publications were followed in 1982 with three volumes exploring The Secondary School Curriculum and Examinations: with special reference to the 14-16 year old age group, and also the Secondary School Curriculum and Examinations, 1982, responding in two publications with the same title to the Second Report of the Education, Science and Arts Committee. Some new impetus was given to such discussion during the 1970s by the fact that many older pupils compelled by law to remain at school until they were 16 demonstrated clearly that they considered many secondary school lessons to be inappropriate and irrelevant to them.

The relationship between the curriculum of the secondary school and examinations remains an important issue and the D.E.S. and H.M.I. are right to pursue a thorough investigation of the matter. The experience of the Ealing County schools between 1913 and 1944 adequately illustrated the fact that in

the 1920s and 1930s examinations at 16+ were a major formative influence on the curriculum. Since the Second World War there have been major changes in the examination structure. In 1951 School Certificate was replaced by the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) examination at Ordinary level and at Advanced level aimed at grammar school pupils. In 1963 the G.C.E. was supplemented with the Certificate of Secondary Education (C.S.E.) exam aimed primarily at secondary modern school pupils. In the 1960s some grammar schools took part in experiments with C.S.E. in order to establish a criterion for establishing parity of attainment between G.C.E. 'O' level grade 6 and C.S.E. grade 1. One effect of the dual system in the comprehensive schools has been to give further encouragement to the implementation there of streaming. The looming spectre of selection has been preserved! A point made at the conference of educationalists at Salford is pertinent: they concluded, when discussing examinations, that 'at present too many secondary schools were places where, partly because of the inadequacies of the existing examination system, failure rather than success was the experience of too many pupils'.¹⁵

Within this system of examination there has been opportunity for schools and teachers to adapt syllabi to their own particular requirements. Mode 3 courses were introduced at C.S.E., devised by teachers in schools for their own pupils and containing an element of continuous assessment. The examination paper in such an examination is set and marked by

15 The Guardian 26:4:83.

the same teachers. A system of moderation involving staff from other schools ensured consistency of standard. By the late 1970s Mode 3 courses could also be set at G.C.E. 'O' level. Since 1983, however, there is evident among many teachers a feeling that examination boards have begun to discourage further development along these lines.

This system of examining is set to change in 1988 by which date the government plans to introduce the General Certificate of Secondary Education (G.C.S.E.) replacing both the G.C.E. and the C.S.E. examinations. A common examination for all at 16+ has been urged by many educators for a long time. However, the introduction of G.C.S.E. is by no means universally popular. In May 1985 the Sunday Times described how the G.C.S.E. proposals had 'been almost unanimously condemned by teacher unions, local authorities and examination boards as unnecessary, backward looking and "educationally undesirable"'.¹⁶ There is concern that the proposals to reward pupils who achieve good grades across a range of subjects with a certificate of distinction will return the situation to that which obtained before 1951 when, in order to succeed at School Certificate, a candidate was required to reach a high level of achievement in several subjects. In order to get a distinction at G.C.S.E. passes in seven subjects will be required, four of which must be Mathematics, English, a science and a modern language.¹⁷ It is, though, unclear at the end of 1985 whether or not G.C.S.E. will be

16 Sunday Times 19:5:85.

17 G.C.S.E.: the national criteria, D.E.S. 1985.

introduced on schedule. There are no funds readily available for resourcing the proposed courses. At a meeting of Gloucestershire headteachers in May 1985, Mr. Peter Chard, president of the Gloucestershire Standing Conference of Secondary Heads expressed a sentiment which struck a chord in the hearts and minds of many teachers faced with the prospect of the new exam - 'It's a bit like asking an industrialist to retool and at the same time maintain full production without any extra investment, in fact, in the case of the schools, with diminishing resources'.¹⁸

It was during the 1930s in Ealing that dissatisfaction with the 11+ examination led to experimentation with other methods of assessing elementary school pupils and led to the introduction into the selection procedure of headmasters' reports. In the 1980s there has been an increasing dissatisfaction with assessment procedures at 16+. New forms of assessing ability within subject areas have not satisfied the critics. The Salford Conference in 1983 explained that 'there needed to be an improved examination system designed to assess all abilities, practical, aesthetic, social achievement and success as well as competence and contributions to others'.¹⁹ Good teachers have been assessing these qualities for years and there is every indication to suppose that those at the Ealing county schools between the wars did so. In 1983 the D.E.S. signalled a new departure in this direction when they published proposals to furnish all school leavers with a

¹⁸ The Guardian 28:5:85.

¹⁹ The Guardian 26:4:83.

personal record of achievement.²⁰ Such a record would contain an assessment of personal qualities and of attainments outside the classroom. Lest recognition of such a field of achievement should be seen as a revolutionary breakthrough, it should be pointed out that such information has always been made available to parents through reports and ad hoc communications and to prospective employers through references. What is new is the hope that the pupils themselves will profit in self-esteem as they are made formally aware that they are not merely examination fodder as far as the school is concerned. Some schools have experimented with pupil profiles where qualities such as persistence, enthusiasm and the ability to form social and working relationships with others have been assessed. The development of such a system has much to commend it, but its development must be undertaken with great care. The profile must apply to and be appropriate to *all* pupils. There remains, also, the problem of the pupil who does not do well. How can any teacher explain to a pupil, or should any teacher ever be required to explain to a pupil, that he or she is a 'failure' in lifeskills?

The success, integrity and usefulness of any assessment procedure depends on the opportunities afforded to pupils at school to demonstrate their abilities and inclinations. If a pupil profiling system is to work it is imperative that all pupils of all abilities at secondary schools should be given

20 Records of Achievement at 16: some examples of current practice. D.E.S. 1985.

the opportunity to involve themselves in as wide a variety of experiences as possible. Such experiences may be afforded within and without the curriculum. In the Ealing county schools between the wars breadth of experience and variety of activity came from the extra-curricular activities. Continuing dissatisfaction with assessment procedures and continuing discussion of the curriculum is symptomatic of the lingering concern of teachers to enable a reconciliation between curriculum and pupil in the secondary school. The tripartite system as it existed in Ealing between 1944 and 1965 represented one such attempt to do this. In the secondary modern schools more time was allocated to the teaching of woodwork and metalwork and gardening was introduced, quickly becoming disparagingly known as 'digging for the less able'. It was thought that such subjects would be interesting and useful to secondary modern school pupils. The Ealing county schools before 1944 catered for the more able. Their curriculum was rigid and there was little innovation beyond Mr. Marsh's sixth form Humanistic Studies course and Miss Beck's Commercial course. When inappropriateness became evident the point of view was always adopted that the pupil was unfit for the curriculum, not that the curriculum was unsuitable for the pupil. The lame attempt of tripartism to give pupils an appropriate education was based on too simplistic a notion concerning 'types' of pupils. Much more versatility is beginning to be demanded of the secondary schools in the 1980s. Such versatility requires innovation and the introduction of new emphases in learning. The Salford Conference explained that 'For a technological and rapidly changing society the curriculum will

need to emphasise skills and attitudes rather more than information'.²¹ Benjamin Gott had made a similar plea in 1919.²² Such suggestions were everyday discussion in university departments of education and in training colleges during the 1960s and 1970s.

One way in which the secondary school curriculum is currently being broadened is in the area of technical and vocational education. In Ealing in the 1930s and 1940s technical and vocational education were the preserve of the technical institute and art school. The appearance of this kind of education in the secondary schools in the 1980s is representative of the continuing attempt of the schools to come to terms with the idea that secondary education should be child centred and not subject centred. Speaking in 1985 and referring to those pupils who stayed at school because of the legal requirement since 1972 to do so, Lord Young, the employment secretary, said 'What we did not give them then and what we are trying to give them now is the right sort of courses to interest them and motivate them'. Speaking of the curriculum he suggested that 'What we need to do is increase the technical and vocational proportion of it'.²³ In the same week in which Lord Young made his point some of Britain's leading businessmen urged that secondary education should become more business oriented.²⁴

21 The Guardian 26:4:83.

22 G.L.R.O. MCC/E BOX FILE 62C.

23 The Guardian 28:5:85.

24 The Teacher 31:5:85.

The Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative Scheme (T.V.E.I.) was launched in 1982 and schools throughout the country are involved in pilot schemes funded for five years. 103 such projects are operating in 1985 in 98 education authorities in England, Scotland and Wales. Only three percent of pupils in the 14-18 year age group are however involved in the courses. Introduced by Lord Young, the scheme has set out to investigate ways of 'inculcating modern technological skills and developing personal qualities like initiative, motivation and problem solving abilities within the secondary school curriculum'.²⁵ It is aimed at recruiting students from the whole ability range. It is not unusual for school today to encourage and allow pupils in the fourth and fifth years to undertake some work experience, sometimes extending to three days a week towards the end of the fifth year. Teachers must work hard to ensure that pupils pursuing different courses and activities afford to each other the parity of esteem that the public has up to now denied them. The starting point for the solution to the problem accentuated by tripartism lies in fostering within the pupils healthy attitudes towards each other's individuality.

Such seemingly unacademic work would have been out of place in the Ealing County secondary schools in Mr. Marsh's day. But it is not only for the 11-16 year age group that changes are occurring. The Ealing teachers enjoyed their growing sixth forms where more specialised courses were followed by more academically able pupils with the aim of equipping them for university. The number of sixth form students con-

25 The Guardian 22:10:85.

tinued to grow in the grammar schools after 1944 and the nature of the sixth form in the 1950s and 1960s remained much the same as it was in the Ealing county schools. It began to be thought that an established and vigorous body of able students aged 16-18 was an essential part of a good school. Sixth form students were often enlisted to help in organising the more junior members of the school and prefect systems flourished. Mr. Marsh's and Miss Beck's staff would most likely feel a little ill at ease in many of the sixth forms in the secondary schools of the 1980s. By 1985 the sixth forms in many schools are under threat from falling rolls. Many schools have to combine 'A' level classes with other schools in order to make the teaching of a subject viable and cost effective. In some areas of the country potential sixth formers are enticed away to a sixth form college. As a result the nature of the sixth form in a modern comprehensive school is significantly different to what it was in the early county secondary schools and the later grammar schools. Today a comprehensive school sixth form is itself comprehensive. There is still a group of students studying for 'A' levels and with university ambitions, but it is common to find in sixth forms a much larger body of students perhaps retaking G.C.E. 'O' levels, C.S.Es or pursuing success in B.Tec. or R.S.A. exams. Undoubtedly changing patterns of employment in the 1980s have played their part in this development.

What is the curriculum for? Beryl Watson, a pupil at Drayton Manor County School in the 1930s, was certain about

the purposes of her school curriculum. It was to equip her to leave and enter 'University, the Civil Service or a similar career'. She 'assumed that having done as well as we could at Drayton Manor we would achieve our choices as a matter of course'. Mr. Alan Wylie, pupil at Ealing County Boys' in the 1920s and 1930s, remembers the important role played by Bill Tew, the careers master. Not many people doubt that the modern secondary school should continue to play its part in equipping pupils for the world of work. The pupils themselves, in 1985, see this as a school's important task. So do teachers. Most secondary schools today have highly developed and competent careers programmes. It is, however, a fact that the working life which most pupils now at school will experience will be very different to the type of working life for which boys and girls at the Ealing County schools were prepared. Writing to parents in the school prospectus in 1984, Mr. Douglas McIlldowie, headmaster of Swanley School, Kent, a fairly typical 1980s comprehensive, explained

'It is fairly certain that many of the young people now studying at Swanley School will spend part of their working lives following occupations which do not yet exist! Nearly all of them will change the nature of their work several times and many of them will move home in order to find or keep their employment'.²⁶

Messrs. Marsh, Allenby, Withrington and Miss Beck were always at pains to point out that secondary education in their schools should always be a more vital endeavour than just

26 Swanley School Prospectus 1984/5, p.2.

preparation for employment. One suspects that Miss Beck's exhortation to her girls to shoot lions and fly the Atlantic was born out of a frustration that not many of them saw beyond the need to prepare for jobs. Mr. Alan Wylie remembers that his days at Ealing County Boys' did much more for him than equip him for his later work. He recalls vividly the sport, the concerts, the visits and the trips, the fellowship and the relationships and the sense of responsibility for others which was imparted to him. He remains appreciative of the wide experiences the school was able to offer him. Similarly in the 1980s many pupils also consider the task of the school to be much wider than merely equipping them for work. In early 1984 New Society magazine received entries in an essay competition in which pupils aged 14-18 years were invited to respond with their ideas as to the purposes of secondary school education. By its nature a competition of this kind attracts entries only from the achievers within the system. The answers are illuminating. Comprehensive schools were praised because they encouraged pupils in '"learning about life"' and '"learning to mix"'. There were also specific suggestions from the pupils. 'They wanted to know about civil rights, how to claim benefits, or how to fill in a tax form' as well as more generally '"how to survive in life"'.²⁷

In its publications on the curriculum since 1977 the Department of Education and Science recognise that the aims of a secondary school should remain wide and not overly specific. In 1979 Her Majesty's Inspectors expressed the view that it

27 New Society 9:2:84.

should remain the school's 'concern to develop the potential of all pupils to enjoy a full personal life and to take an informed and responsible part in the adult world including their part in the economic life of the country'.²⁸ This point has been reinforced by people other than the education 'experts'. Writing in The Times in December 1983, Mr. Mark Goyder, a worker in industry and a trustee of Community Service Volunteers described the hazards of a narrow vision of the purposes of secondary education:

*'Blinkered professionalism is the product of our distorted valuation of knowledge. From secondary schools onwards we treat knowledge as a commodity which is required to pass exams. And exam grades are used as commodities to advance individual careers. We fail to treat knowledge as a bank from which we borrow in order to return more rounded people or a better community.'*²⁹

He makes a plea for community service and outward bound schemes. In the Ealing county schools prior to 1944 community service seems to have become an activity for the pupils during World War Two. There were summer camps in the evacuation areas carrying out work on farms and one old boy of the Boys' School recalls that community service was stressed also in the home areas during the war. In 1985 many secondary schools implement extensive programmes of community action. Pupils may visit the elderly, help with the young in playgroups or work in hospitals. They may undertake to help in any area within their community where a need can be identified. Such undertakings must be entered into with a great deal of responsibility on the part of the pupil. From such experiences they

28 Aspects of Secondary Education. D.E.S. 1979, p.265.

29 The Times 13:12:83.

learn about the world around them and *themselves*. It is now regarded as an important part of the secondary school experience that pupils should learn to enjoy the rewards that the application of their concerns and skills within the community can bring them. Such service is supplemented by courses in social and personal education in which pupils are encouraged to explore and assess relationships together with their own abilities, inclinations and qualities. The pupils are themselves becoming a subject for their own study.

The curriculum has remained a contentious issue precisely because it is so difficult to devise, organise and implement for the benefit of *all* pupils in a school. Educators have criticised curricula for their rigidity and for their flexibility. Both tendencies have at times been regarded as being detrimental to the achievements of pupils. There is a lesson to be learnt from the past. It is that a curriculum which does not take into account the individuality of pupils, their different abilities and inclinations and their various aspirations and ambitions will not succeed. If a curriculum does not succeed in taking as many pupils as possible as far as they want or are able to go, then a school will fail in its responsibilities.

External factors which influenced the development and emphasis of the secondary curriculum in the 1920s and 1930s remain. Schools are still 'subject to increasing, sometimes conflicting pressures'.³⁰ Political, social and economic

30 Aspects of Secondary Education. D.E.S. 1979, p.265.

pressures are effective. No-one would doubt that it is part of the job of a secondary school to contribute to the country's corporate economic and social well-being. In 1938 the Spens Report responded to the Fascist threat in Europe by making it clear that all secondary schools should aim to equip their pupils for democracy.³¹ In the 1980s the threat from the eastern bloc countries, real or imagined, has elicited a similar response. The 'capacity catching' approach to secondary education in the first half of the twentieth century was born out of the need, articulated most eloquently by the Liberals and the Fabians, to serve Britain's industrial future. In 1985 secondary schools are required to serve Britain's technological future. In May 1985 Lord Young expressed his concern that we should have 'better trained, brighter young people if we are to get our economy competitive for the next century'.³²

Two factors are however appearing with more apparent force than before. The first is the role of central government in deciding the curriculum and the second is the role of the public in the same process. The Spens Report made frequent reference to the liberalism of the English secondary education system. Of course the teachers and education officers recognised the pressures at work on their schools but it was *they* who responded to such pressures. Benjamin Gott set up the secondary system in Middlesex and gave it its direction. The heads and teachers in the Ealing schools enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy. The curriculum was the guarded preserve

31 *Spens*, p.174.

32 *The Guardian* 28:5:85.

of headteachers and educators in consultation with the local authority. Local politicians and the public in Ealing respected and deferred to the opinions of the education 'experts'. The formative Codes of Regulation demanded a common core element but these too were devised by educationalists. In the 1980s the possibility of some central political control of the curriculum has become a major issue. The traditional liberalism of the schools appears to be under threat.

Towards the end of 1984 the Sunday Times suggested that the education secretary Sir Keith Joseph was discussing initiatives which 'will give the government more influence than ever over what is taught in schools'.³³ Indeed Sir Keith had several proposals for the new G.C.S.E. examination. The exam would inevitably be a formative influence on school curriculum and any particular emphases would percolate down through the system. The education secretary, for instance, called for social issues to be omitted from the physics syllabus. He urged that history lessons should emphasize 'the shared values which are a distinct feature of British society and culture'.³⁴ This has been regarded by many as a criticism of multi-ethnic based curricula. Sir Keith has expressed his wish that schools should promote 'entrepreneurism' and 'competition' in business studies and has insisted an ensemble playing in music lessons. It was the opinion of Fred Jarvis, general secretary of the N.U.T., that 'it is becoming increasingly clear that what he (Sir Keith) really wants is to dictate

33 Sunday Times 7:10:84.

34 Sunday Times 7:10:84.

what each child in Britain is taught at school'.³⁵ In early 1985 this fear came closer to realisation when in March the outline syllabi of the new examinations were published. All syllabi were now required to conform to the criteria laid down by Sir Keith.

The possibility of central control over the administrative machinery has also become more real. In 1944 Ealing fought hard and successfully to retain local control over the administration of education. At present local authorities still have freedom and autonomy. But for one authority that situation seems set to change. Proposals for the abolition of the Greater London Council have been carried through and will shortly be put into practice. The Inner London Education Authority will remain in existence, although the distribution of seats by nomination from the boroughs will be revised. In future I.L.E.A.'s budget is to be controlled by the education secretary. He will have control of spending and manpower. Inevitably this also implies control over policy. The principle, hitherto sacrosanct, that it should be local authorities rather than central government which controls education spending in their areas is thus challenged. The Guardian newspaper summed up the I.L.E.A. predicament succinctly explaining that 'the balance of power in London's education will have shifted from local to central government'.³⁶

35 Sunday Times 7:10:84.

36 The Guardian 14:11:83.

The Ealing county schools enthusiastically invited the interest of parents and local businessmen and actively sought the co-operation of these people in the education of their children. Since that time public concern with education has continued to grow. In launching the Great Debate in 1976 James Callaghan, Labour Prime Minister, recognised a feeling on the part of many parents that teacher control of the curriculum and of schools in general had until then been too great. The debate sought to encourage public appraisal of the issues confronting education in the late 1970s. During this period H.M.Is were reminded of the need for public accountability. The Chief Education Officer of the West Riding, Sir Alec Clegg, however, considered that too great a preoccupation with public accountability would place constraints upon the schools which would be unhealthy. In 1976 he warned that

*'It looks as if the Inspectorate are going to provide us ever so persuasively and ever so gently with a common core which will tell all teachers what they have to teach and how they have to teach it.'*³⁷

But the trend to such accountability has continued. Through the Queen's speech on the opening of Parliament in November 1985, the Conservative government announced their intention to give parents a greater voice on governing bodies. Teachers today regard the mobilisation of the public in the everyday running of their schools as a double edged sword. The co-operation of the members of a community in the education of their children is welcomed. Interference is not. Lewis Marsh

and his colleagues would have considered interference an affront to their professional judgement and concern. In 1985 an incident occurred which brought to a head the impatience of many teachers with what they regarded as too great a level of interference with their professional task. At Poundswick School in Manchester five boys were expelled for allegedly daubing the walls of the building with obscene graffiti. The local authority over-rode the decision of the headmaster and insisted on the reinstatement of the pupils. For the first time ever headteachers went on strike in protest. At the end of November 1985 the issue remains unresolved.

Where does the solution of the problem of public involvement in schools lie? A relationship between the teachers and the community must be re-established. In retrospect perhaps the Ealing county schools gauged the relationship correctly. They did recognise how important it is for teachers to retain their own place amongst the variety of forces at work in shaping a school. It is once again important for teachers to assert, and for them to be allowed to assert, their professional expertise, not to secure a dominant role in the future of education, but to secure a role which is equal to that of other people.

For it is a fact that in all schools the greatest single determinant of the quality of education and of the experiences which the pupils will encounter is the teacher. He or she is the most important catalyst in the reaction between people which is education. In the Ealing county schools the headteachers took a good deal of care in selecting suitable staff.

The teachers at the Boys' School made a lasting impression on Alan Wylie. He remembers that 'it is to the masters of my day to whom I feel I owe the greatest debt. They were men of sterling quality who set splendid examples'. Mr. A.L. Mathers, appointed history master in 1933, agrees with his assessment. Mr. Wylie continued to describe the deep involvement of the teaching staff in the life of the school. They were more than just subject or classroom teachers. Some of today's secondary school pupils continue to acknowledge the important role of the teacher in their schools. The entrants in the essay competition organised by New Society magazine in 1984 concluded that teachers were 'crucial'.³⁸ Teachers themselves are not concerned to circumscribe their role. Mr. McIldowie, the headmaster of Swanley School, explained to parents in 1984 that teachers still seek to foster in their pupils the qualities of 'integrity, dedication, tolerance and understanding'.³⁹ There is no difference between the role fulfilled by the teachers at the Ealing county schools between 1913 and 1944 and the role of teachers as perceived by themselves today. The kinds of people teaching are similar. In 1985 in nearly every secondary school in England and Wales the staff is almost all graduate. Unlike the Ealing teachers before 1944 they have also undergone a course of teacher training. Since 1970 all graduates entering the profession have been required to complete a course in teacher training, although this ruling has since been relaxed for certain science teachers.

38 New Society 9:2:84.

39 Swanley School Prospectus 1984/5, p.3.

If the role of the teacher today is the same as the role of the teacher in the Ealing county secondary schools before 1944, the job of teaching is very different. The demands upon the teacher are greater. In the comprehensive schools in particular staff find themselves teaching a much wider ability range. While it is true that any class of pupils is to some extent a mixed ability class never before have pupils of such widely differing ability been brought together for lessons. The demands on a teacher's ability and imagination are immense. Old methods of teacher dominated lessons become untenable. It is necessary to work out more individual approaches to learning. Particular headway has been made in this direction in Mathematics with such schemes as the Kent Maths Project. Highly individualised schemes of work are prepared and made available to all pupils in the county. As well as attempting to make an understanding of their specialist subject possible, staff are required to deal with the emotional and social problems of pupils from a great variety of backgrounds. The social fabric from which pupils emerge to go to the Ealing schools today is, as in the rest of the country, different to what it was between 1902 and 1944. In 1973 the Times Educational Supplement reported that in England there were one million single parent school-children. To help cope with new problems pastoral curricula are being developed and attempts are being made to bring together the pastoral and the academic curriculum.

As in Ealing between the wars, the teacher of the 1980s devotes a good deal of his or her time to organising clubs

and societies, coaching sports teams, directing school plays and planning and supervising school trips. Such endeavours have long been regarded as an important part of the secondary school teacher's job. It is a measure of the importance placed upon such activities that in preparatory negotiations aimed at leading to a contractual definition of the teacher's job, the employers are keen to have erstwhile voluntary activities redefined as contractual obligations. Anyone seeking to identify the proper role of the teacher for the future or attempting to adequately define his or her job would perhaps do well to take note of Professor W.H.G. Armytage's definition of what he considered a good teacher had always been. The Professor was asked, while lecturing to a group of postgraduate students at Sheffield University in 1971, to give such a definition. He replied without hesitation, it was something he must have taken for granted, that a good teacher was one who 'legislates for his or her own obsolescence'.

For good teachers to continue to do that in the future will not be easy. As well as contending with long standing issues they and their schools must face new ones. Ealing County Boys' School is now Ealing Green High School. Ealing County Girls' is now Ellen Wilkinson High School, Drayton Manor County is Drayton Manor High School and Greenford County is now Greenford High School. As comprehensive schools they must cater for the multi-racial community that Ealing has become. The first immigrants began to arrive in the borough from India in the 1950s and there are now, in 1985, large ethnic minority groups. A study undertaken by a research

team led by Professor John Eggleston of Warwick University resulted in a report entitled The Educational and Vocational Experience of 15-18 year old Young People of Minority Ethnic Groups. The report can be purchased from: Multicultural Studies in Higher Education, at the University of Warwick. It deals with South Asian and Afro-Caribbean adolescents. The research team discovered that the educational achievements of black and coloured youngsters is hampered by racist attitudes and by prejudice. It is an irony that the mixing of cultures, creeds, customs and races, which could so enrich the education of all parties, should be instead a dilemma.

One of the reasons for the slow development of the maintained secondary schools in Ealing between 1902 and 1944 was the presence in the borough of a large number of private schools. Nonetheless by the end of the 1930s educators in Ealing had become certain of the important role of state secondary education in the life of the national and the local community. Though they may have reservations about the quality of provision, most teachers in state secondary schools in 1985 feel equally certain of their continuing role. However, perhaps they should take notice of some recent utterances from people in high places which indicate that perhaps all education may be required at some time in the future to submit itself once more to the vagaries of market forces. In summer 1985 Mrs. Thatcher called for an increased availability of assisted places at Direct Grant Schools. Shortly afterwards Mr. Bob Dunn, junior education minister, exclaimed that 'What we need now is a system of schools, independent, separate schools'. Referring to what he obviously considered to be the burden of

state education he concluded that 'the onus is upon us, the Conservative Government, to set education free, to set the people free'.⁴⁰

It is undoubtedly correct that the secondary schools of the 1980s should continuously assess their role in the social processes. They should appraise the methods they use in their attempt to fulfil that role. Critical appraisal of concepts and methods is always healthy. A certain scepticism about the importance of one's own role is essential to the maintenance of a sensible perspective. Ivan Illich, with his notion of 'deschooling society' has been an important figure in the encouragement of such reassessment. For school pupils are a unique body of people. They are the only law-abiding group of people who have been removed from the community for maybe six hours a day and kept in a separate place to be told that such conditions are for their own long term good. Attempts have been made to remedy this situation and some of them have already been described. The community school idea, spoken very highly of by Professor Harry Ree and experimented particularly seriously with by Leicestershire represents another such attempt.

It does seem that the maintained secondary school will survive for the foreseeable future. What the history of maintained secondary education in Ealing between 1902 and 1944 demonstrates most impressively is that any system or any school is most basically and most importantly a collection of indiv-

40 The Teacher 6:9:85.

iduals. More than management, organisation or codes of practice, education is about people. If the dilemmas of the future are to be met and the issues resolved beneficially the education service requires people of the calibre of some of those who worked in Middlesex and Ealing between the two wars. The task of educating must be undertaken by people of warmth and courage, with integrity and imagination. Schools need teachers who are able to bring to those young people with whom they work a keen intelligence and a very real compassion. Then secondary education in the future can be exciting.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

A NOTE ON SOURCES

Those sources which are from the collection of the late Mr. E.P.H. Pugh are listed as such in the bibliography. With Mrs. Pugh's permission they will be deposited in Ealing Reference Library during 1986. Accession and item numbers will be determined by the local history librarian.

The unpublished works in Ealing Reference Library are not accredited to any university. The library does not hold the addresses of the authors and further enquiries are therefore impeded.

The file for Ealing Central School prior to 1937 is listed as wanting by the Public Records Office. Similarly there is no trace in the P.R.O. files for Ealing School of Art of a 'report' referred to in 1936. Nor is there any trace of such a report in the minutes of the H.E.C. or in the G.L.R.O. It is possible that the 'report' referred to was not in fact a full inspection report.

Several of the maps which are listed in the bibliography have since been destroyed in a fire which occurred at the old library building in Walpole Park, Ealing. The new library building does possess a copy of the 1927 plan of the borough framed and hung.

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Mr. A. Wylie
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" "	<u>" "</u> . 1969.
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McEwan, K.	<u>Ealing Walkabout. (Nick Wheatley Association, 1983).</u>
Middlesex Education Committee	<u>Primary and Secondary Education in Middlesex 1900-1965 (1965).</u>
Neaves, C.M.	<u>The History of Greater Ealing. (Brentford Printing & Publishing Co. 1930).</u>

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

EALING COUNTY BOYS' SCHOOL.
SYLLABUS FOR ADVANCED COURSE
IN MODERN HUMANISTIC STUDIES, 1923

The syllabus exists in its entirety in the H.E.C. Minutes for 7th December 1923. It was devised by Mr. Lewis Marsh, the school's headmaster, in response to the encouragement given in the Education Act, 1918 to the introduction of specialist courses for 16-18 year olds. Mr. Marsh explained the purposes of the course:

'A Modern Humanistic Course is first and foremost concerned with human beings and their affairs. We select any two nations of Western Europe and we make a special and detailed study of their languages, their literatures, their history and their social, economic, commercial and geographical conditions. These various branches of study are not treated as separate subjects, but as parts of one great subject, mankind, and each branch is studied in its due relation to other branches.'

The headmaster continued to detail the advantages such study would have for his pupils.

- '1) A most valuable opportunity for that rapid mental development which invariably takes place between 16 and 18, if the mind is properly controlled and guided.*
- 2) Opens the way to Universities and Arts Degree courses and may save one year of a University Course.*
- 3) Provides a full preparation for the new Executive Class of the Civil Service when posts are again available to the general public. Also a preparation for L.C.C. Clerkships, Bank of England Clerkships and Municipal Government Officer.*
- 4) Preparation for Commercial Appointments in Great Firms.'*

All boys eligible for the course were also eligible for Intermediate Scholarships which covered all the costs for the period of study, including books, and for a maintenance grant of £18 per annum. Fees for the Higher Certificate examination were paid for by Middlesex County Council. Fees for the Intermediate Bachelor of Commerce examination and the Intermediate Bachelor of Arts exam were to be paid by the parent. The course was specifically aimed at the University of London Higher Certificate examination. It therefore rendered the Intermediate B.A. exam unnecessary.

SYLLABUS FOR FIRST YEARFIRST TERM

HISTORY *England 1603-1714)* *The Seventeenth Century*
 Europe 1643-1715)

Brief review of civilisation leading up to and including the Renaissance and the Reformation

Wars of Religion in France, Germany and England. The Peace of Westphalia, Absolute Monarchy in France (Richelieu; Mazarin; Colbert). French Ascendancy under Louis XIV. Economic and Financial Policy of Colbert. Attempted establishment of Absolutism in England, and the Puritan Revolution. Civilisation in Western Europe in the XVIIth Century.

FRENCH Outline sketch of the development of French Literature up to and during the Renaissance period

Malherbe and his influence on contemporary literature. The early theatre in France. Corneille: "Le Menteur". "Le Cid". "Polyeucte". Le Grande Siecle. Moliere: "L'Avare". "Le Misanthrope". Racine: "Atholie". "Britannicus". Selections from Boileau. La Fontaine: Fables. Selections from La Bruyere and Mme. de Sevigne. Saint-Beuve: "Moliere et Racine".

ENGLISH I. Literature. Outline sketch of the development of English Literature up to and during the Renaissance period

The early theatre in France and England. Marlowe. Shakespeare (read "Twelfth Night" and "Hamlet".) Brief story of Shakespeare's outlook, dramatic powers and craftsmanship, with a detailed study of the two prescribed plays in their appropriate places.

II. Study of the English Language

Chaucer: his position and importance, vocabulary, structure, etc. How far is he a modern? (read Chaucer: Prologue, Prioress's Tale, Pardoner's Tale.)

ECONOMICS - (a) Historical Introduction

I - The Economic Structure of European Society in the 17th Century

The importance of the factor of Nationality explains:

- a) Emphasis on Bullion and Bullion Suppliers;
- b) Importance of Commerce (Foreign Trade), and therefore of the Merchant Prince;
- c) Intervention of Government in order to nurse the Balance of Trade.

The economic ideas of this period expressed by the Mercantilist Pamphleteers, etc. (Petty, Mun and James Steuart).

II - Les Economistes

Their bias. Land and Taxation (Bois guillebert, Vauban etc., Quesnay and Turgot. The influence of Locke). The passing of mercantilism and the advent of the doctrine and the age of "Laissez Faire".

III - The Industrial Revolution

The sense in which we understand Adam Smith to be the "Father of Political Economy".

(b) General Definitions

I - The Scope of Economics

Economics, a study of Economic Welfare. Terminology.

II - The Use and Abuse of Statistics

Averages, Types of Averages (with examples to be worked by pupils, dealing with statistical material bearing on economic phenomena of 19th Century).

(c) The Characteristics of the Present Day Economic Organisation of the Industrial World

Production on large scale; increasing application of the principle of the division of labour. Combination. Trusts and Cartels.

GEOGRAPHY*I - The Features of the Earth's Surface*

A course in physical geography and elementary geology.

II - Principles of Climatology

Principal natural regions of the world.

III - The Mediterranean Region

- a) Early civilisations and their geographical environment.
- b) The Roman Empire and its extension.
- c) Mediterranean Trade Routes and the City States of the Mediterranean.
- d) The moulding of the present states of Europe; European nationalities and European races; the importance of geographical factors.
- e) The economic geography of the Mediterranean lands, regard being shown for the more important political factors and their effect.

SECOND TERM

HISTORY *England 1714-1789) The Eighteenth Century*
 Europe 1715-1789)

Wars of Empire - England, France, Prussia, Russia. The growth of Commerce - The great Merchant Companies. The Industrial and Agrarian Revolutions. Humanitarian Movements. American War of Independence. Failure of Absolutism in France - The French Economists of the period (Quesnay and Targot). Civilisation in Western Europe in the 18th Century.

FRENCH *Decay of Classical Literature*

Lesage: "Gil Blas". Philosophic Movement and preparation of the Revolution. Montesquieu: "Esprit des Lois" or "Les Lettres Persanes". Voltaire: "Charles XII". Rousseau: "Contrat Social", "Emile" or "Extraits". (Hachette).

ENGLISH I - Literature

- a) Brief sketch continued of the development of literature up to the beginning of selected period (1794-1850). Pope (c.f. Bocleau): "Essay on Criticism". Addison: Selected papers from "Tatler" and "Spectator". Swift: Political Pamphlets.
- b) Literature from 1744. Johnson and his circle - Burke, Gibbon and Goldsmith. Read Goldsmith's Essays. The Drama (Sheridan and Goldsmith). Read Sheridan's "Critic". Letter Writers (Chesterfield, Lady Montague and Horace Walpole). Growth of the Novel - Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, Goldsmith and Fanny Burney.

II - English Language

History and development, Chaucer to Shakespeare.

ECONOMICSI - The Three Requisites of Production

- a) Labour - Problems of Population. Historical sketch of growth and redistribution of population in Western Europe and North America during last 200 years (correlated with the Industrial Revolution in the historical syllabus). Malthusian doctrines. The Efficiency of Labour.
- b) Land. Fertility. The "Law of Diminishing Returns".
- c) Capital. The provision of capital. Growth of capital. A slight historical sketch of the increase in facilities for the accumulation of capital. Development of Banking, and the Joint Stock Principle (Stock Exchanges etc.)

II - Value and Price

- a) Historical sketch of the Principle Doctrines. (Adam Smith, Marxians. Jevons. The Austrian School. Modern Theory.)
- b) Use of Value and Price.
- c) Factors which cause values to vary.
- d) Monopoly Value.

GEOGRAPHY The Economic Geography of Western Europe, in particular of the British Isles and France

Attention will be paid to 19th Century developments in agriculture, industry, movements of population, etc.

THIRD TERM

HISTORY Europe 1789-1815. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars

Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, their influence in France before the Revolution. State of France compared with that of England and Germany at end of the 18th Century. Relative economic conditions, ownership of land, etc.

The Revolution

Events and personalities, constitutional experiments. Napoleon's career.

FRENCH The Revolution

Lamartine "Histoire des Girondins" or Mignet "Histoire de la Revolution". Chateaubriand: "Memoires d'Outre Tombe".

Romanticism

Theory of Romanticism with reading of the theorists - Mme. de Staël: "De l'Allemagne" and Hugo: "Preface de Cromwell". Romantic Poetry: Hugo, Lamartine, de Vigny, de Musset (Oxford Book of French Verse). Stendhal: "Racine et Shakespeare".

ENGLISH I - Literature

Romanticism

The Romantic Revival up to 1798.

Poetry

Gray, Collins, Blake, Burns, Cowper, Percy's Reliques, Ossian, Chatterton. Read Golden Treasury Book III and Odes of Collins and Gray. Romantic Novel: Horace Walpole and Mrs. Radcliffe.

England and the Revolution

Wordsworth and Coleridge; Lyrical Ballads.

II - Language

History and development, Shakespeare to Johnson.

ECONOMICSI - "Distribution" as understood by the classical school

- a) Causes determining the rate of wages of Labour.
- b) Causes determining rate of interest.
- c) Causes determining rent of land.

II - "Distribution" as understood by more recent economists

The Distribution of National Income between:

- a) Owners of property.
- b) Labour.

III - The Principles of Taxation

- a) Changes in England in the 19th Century.
- b) English system contrasted with that of Germany and that of France.

GEOGRAPHY

I - The Economic Geography of North America. Historical sketch of settlement.

II - Ocean Trade Routes. The Discoverers.

III - The Exploitation of the New Continents.

IV - The Pacific Problem from its Economic Aspect.

SYLLABUS FOR SECOND YEARFIRST TERMHISTORY *England 1789-1832*

Influence of French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars on English thought and institutions - Burke, Fox, Pitt. Influences of Sea Power; the Peninsular War; the American War of 1812. Wars of the Revolution. Comparative evolution of industry in England and France. The Regency. Reaction and Reform, 1815-1832. Catholic Emancipation. The Reform Bill.

FRENCH Romance

The Romantic Novel. Hugo: "Notre Dame". Merimee: "Chroniques de Charles IX". George Sand: "Les Maitres Sonneurs". Vigny: "Cinq Mars", "Grandeur et Servitude Militaires". Balzac: "Pere Gonot", "La Cousine Bette", "Eugenie Grandet".

ENGLISH I - LiteratureRomance

- a) The Romantic Novel: Scott and his imitators.
- b) Jane Austen: Persuasion, Pride and Prejudice.
- c) Romantic Poetry: Keats, Shelley, Byron, Campbell, Moore, Southey. Read in detail Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound". Keats; Lyrics.
- d) Romantic Essayists: Lamb, Hazlitt, de Quincey. Read in detail Lamb: Letters and English Critical Essays. Also Hazlitt's Essays.

II - English Language

Development of Language from Johnson's Dictionary to modern times.

ECONOMICS An Introductory Course on Money: Currency and Banking

Historical sketch of monetary institutions of Western Europe.

GEOGRAPHY

The economic development of England, France, Germany, and the United States of America in the 19th Century.

SECOND TERM

HISTORY Europe 1815-1848. Reaction and Revolution

The Age of Congresses: Greece, Naples, Portugal, Poland. Metterrich and the Holy Alliance. Reaction and Revolution in France 1815-1830. Industrial evolution of France and England. Organisation of Working Classes. The Belgian Revolution; Rise of Prussia; German Confederation: The Zollverein. Italian Unity. The Year of Revolutions - 1848. Civilisation at middle of 19th Century.

FRENCH The Romantic Theatre

Hugo: "Hernani", "Les Burgraves", "Ruy Blas". Vigny: "Chatterton". de Musset: Selected Plays. Dumas: "Henry III", "Antony".

ENGLISH I - Literature

The Early Victorian Period

Progress of Science and of Democracy reflected in Literature.

Poetry

Tennyson: Poems up to 1850. Browning: Poems up to 1850. (Compare Tennyson and Browning with the French Romantics).

Novelists

Dickens, Thackeray, Lytton, Disraeli, Charlotte Bronte.

Prose

Carlyle: French Revolution. Macaulay: Essays.

II - The English Language

Modern vocabulary and structure.

ECONOMICS The Principal Economic Problems of the Present Day

- a) The Treatment of Wages Disputes.
- b) The causes of, and suggested cures for, unemployment.
- c) Suggested modification of the present distribution of wealth: (1) Control of Monopolies (2) Co-operation (3) State enterprise (4) Socialism.
- d) Problems of taxation.
- e) The relation between wealth and welfare.

GEOGRAPHY The English and French Colonial Empires (in detail)

Latin America.

THIRD TERM

Complete Revision of Work in all subjects.

APPENDIX II

EALING. GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS 1868-1945

Key: C = Conservative, Lab = Labour, Lib = Liberal, Ind = Independent. Names typed in BLOCK LETTERS = elected candidate.

Source: Hankinson, pp.75-79.

COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX (TWO MEMBERS)21 November 1868

Lord George Francis HAMILTON	C.	7,850
Viscount ENFIELD	Lib.	6,507
Henry Dupre Labouchere	Lib.	6,397

14 February 1874

Lord George Francis HAMILTON	C.	10,343
Octavius Edward COOPE	C.	9,867
Viscount Enfield	Lib.	5,623
Frederick H. Lehmann	Lib.	5,192

2 April 1880

Rt. Hon. Lord George Francis HAMILTON	C.	12,904
Octavius Edward COOPE	C.	12,318
Herbert John Gladstone	Lib.	8,876

THE EALING DIVISION OF MIDDLESEX (ONE MEMBER)7 December 1885

Rt. Hon. Lord George Francis HAMILTON	C.	4,353
William Bruce Gordon Hogg, M.D.	Lib.	2,691

5 July 1886

Rt. Hon. Lord George Francis HAMILTON	C.	Unopposed
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7 July 1892

Rt. Hon. Lord George Francis HAMILTON	C.	5,547
Stephen Holman	Lib.	2,112

13 July 1895

Rt. Hon. Lord George Francis HAMILTON	C.	Unopposed
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1 October 1900

Rt. Hon. Lord George Francis HAMILTON	C.	Unopposed
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17 January 1906

Herbert NIELD	C.	8,261
Arthur Hill Hutton	Lib.	6,982

19 January 1910

Herbert NIELD	C.	12,916
Maurice Charles Hulbert	Lib.	8,210

3 December 1910

Herbert NIELD	C.	Unopposed
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EALING PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH (ONE MEMBER)14 December 1918

Sir Herbert NIELD, K.C.	C.	13,710
Alfred Hugh Chilton	Lab.	3,610

15 November 1922

Sir Herbert NIELD, K.C.	C.	14,507
Alfred Hugh Chilton	Lab.	6,128
Brig. Gen. Lewis Montgomery Murray Hall, C.B.	Ind. C.	719

6 December 1923

Sir Herbert NIELD, K.C.	C.	12,349
Alfred William Bradford	Lib.	6,410
Alfred Hugh Chilton	Lab.	4,495

29 October 1924

Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert NIELD, K.C.	C.	18,572
Alfred Hugh Chilton	Lab.	6,765

30 May 1929

Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert NIELD, K.C.	C.	20,503
James William Maycock	Lab.	9,093
Arren Paul Grundy	Lib.	8,042

27 October 1931

Sir Frank Bernard SANDERSON	C.	32,792
James William Maycock	Lab.	6,857

14 November 1935

Sir Frank Bernard SANDERSON	C.	28,472
Mark Auliff	Lab.	9,972

EALING EAST AND EALING WEST (ONE MEMBER EACH CONSTITUENCY)26 July 1945East

Sir Frank Bernard SANDERSON	C.	22,916
David John Johnston	Lab.	18,619
Capt. Harold William Foster	Lib.	6,377

West

James Hindle HUDSON	Lab.	29,115
Bernard Sunley	C.	12,880
Herbert Mostyn Lewis	Lib.	6,258

APPENDIX III

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

APPENDIX III

Dramatis Personae

This Dramatis Personae includes those personalities considered to have played an important role in the emergence and development of maintained secondary education in Ealing 1902-1944.

KEY

b = date of birth
d = date of death
ed = education
c and p.l = career and public life, with public offices held where known
i = other known interests
? = unknown

ALLENBY, Sewell Headmaster, Drayton Manor County School,
 1930-1946

b. 1880, Lincolnshire. d. 1954

ed London University. B.A., B.Sc. Westminster
 Training College

c_and_p.l 1903-1930, Assistant master, Christ's College,
 Finchley.

1930, Appointed Headmaster, Drayton Manor County
 School.

1914-18, Captain, Royal Flying Corps.

1939-45, Wing-Commander, A.T.C.

1946, Town Councillor, Drayton Ward.

1949, Middlesex County Councillor. Management
 Committee, Ealing Memorial Hospital.

i Chairman Ealing Branch, United Nations Association.

BECK, Dorothy Lucie Headmistress, Ealing County School for Girls, 1925-1943

b. c.1890, Birmingham. d. 1960

ed King Edward VI High School for Girls, Birmingham.
Girton College, Cambridge. M.A., Classics 1910,
History 1911.

c_and_p.1 1916, Hostel Tutor and Lecturer in History, Leeds
Training College.
?-1925, Headmistress, Farringdon School, Berkshire.
1925, Appointed Headmistress, Ealing County School
for Girls.

BINNS, Arthur Lennon Secretary to Ealing Education Committee,
1925-1936

b. 1891 d. 1971

ed Municipal Secondary School, Grimsby. St. John's
College, Cambridge, 1st Class Honours Natural
Science Tripos. London University B.Sc.

c_and_p.1 1914, Assistant Master, West Bromwich Municipal
Secondary School.
1918-21, Science Master, King Edward VI School,
Birmingham.
1921-25, Director of Education, Barking.
1925, Appointed Secretary to Ealing Education Com-
mittee.
1936, Appointed Chief Education Officer, West Riding.
By 1954, Chief Education Officer, Lancashire.
1954, Knighted.

COMPTON, Joseph Secretary to Ealing Education Committee,
1936-1957

b. 1891, Liverpool. d. 1964

ed Liverpool University. B.A. 1913. M.A. 1914.

c_and_p.1 1921-25, Inspector of Schools, Manchester.
1925-36, Director of Education, Barking.

COMPTON, Joseph (cont'd.)

1937, Appointed Secretary Ealing Education Committee.

i Chairman of Committee of Art Council of Great Britain during the Festival of Britain.

1952, C.B.E. for this chairmanship.

Writer of poetry. Honorary treasurer Oxford Festival of Spoken Poetry. Publications include: Open Sesame, Magic Sesame, The Curtain Rises, Beginners Please, Master Venturers, The Savoy Opera Book, Contemporary Novelists.

DUDMAN, W.J.

Headmaster, Ealing County School for Boys, 1930-1940

b. 1880. d. 1940

ed Queen Mary's Grammar School, Basingstoke. Reading University B.Sc. London School of Economics B.Sc. (Econ.)

c_and_p.1 Previously Assistant Master, Middleton College, Ireland and Assistant Master, Haverford West Grammar School, South Wales.

1913, Appointed Assistant Geography Master at Ealing County School for Boys.

1930, Appointed Headmaster of Ealing County School for Boys.

FARR, George C.

Chairman Ealing Committee for Higher Education, Dec. 1920-Jan. 1922

b. 1850, Calcutta, India. d. 1922

ed ?

c_and_p.1 Solicitor. 1901 elected to Ealing Town Council, Lammas Ward.

1907, Mayor. Sat as member on almost every town council committee, including from 1902-22 the Education Committee. Represented Ealing on Middlesex County Council and on Committee of Municipal Corporations.

FULLER, John Charles Chairman Ealing Committee for Higher Education, Feb. 1922-Dec. 1930 and Dec. 1932-Dec. 1933

b. 1876. d. 1941

ed Leighton Buzzard

c_and_p.1 Ealing manager, Car and General Insurance Corporation until 1919.
1919-37, City Manager. Managing Director M.C.T. Printing and Publishing Co.
1917, elected to Ealing Town Council.
1922-3, Mayor.
1925-7, Middlesex County Councillor.
1933, Chairman, Middlesex Education Committee.
1939, awarded Honorary Doctorate of Law, London University for work on Middlesex Education Committee. Chairman Middlesex Education Committee. Higher Education Sub-Committee.
1939, Vice-Chairman, Middlesex County Council.

FUSSELL, J.H. Headmaster, Ealing Modern School, 1937-1942

b. ? d. ?

ed Katherine Lady Berkeley's Grammar School, Wotton under Edge. University of Bristol. 1923 B.Sc. Mathematics and Physics. 1924 Diploma in Education. 1936 M.A. in Education.

c_and_p.1 1924-30, Assistant Master South Bristol Central School.
1931-37, Assistant Master Kingswood Grammar School.
1937, Appointed Headmaster Ealing Modern School.
1942, Assistant Director of Education, Finchley.

i Musician. A choirmaster and organist. Fellow Royal College of Organists.

GOTT, Benjamin S.Secretary to Middlesex Education
Committee, 1902-1928b. 1865, Bingley, Yorks. d. 1933ed Bradford Grammar School. Caius College, Cambridge.c_and_p.1 1891, Science Master, Cheltenham Grammar School.
1894, Headmaster, Cheltenham School of Science.
1898, Organiser of technical education for Middlesex Guildhall.
1902, Appointed Secretary to Middlesex Education Committee. Member Adult Education Committee appointed by Board of Education 1921. Member Committee formed by B.B.C. to advise on development of broadcasting to schools.i Fellow Chemical Society. Published papers on education and chemistry.
1914-18, President Ealing and Hanwell Boy Scouts Local Association and District Commissioner for Ealing and Hanwell. Knighted 1924.GREEN, H.C.

Chairman, Ealing Committee for Higher Education, July 1919-Dec. 1920

b. 1837 d. 1921ed ?c_and_p.1 Surveyor. Director M.C.T. Printing and Publishing Co. Director, Ealing District Steam Laundry.
1877, Member Ealing Local Board.
1901, First Mayor of Ealing. Represented Ealing on Middlesex County Council for ten years. J.P. at Brentford and Ealing.

JOHNSON, John Benjamin Secretary to Ealing Education Committee, 1902-1925

b. 1868 d. 1925

ed Trained as a teacher at St. Peter's College, Peterborough.

c and p.1 1885-87, Assistant Master Hatfield Boys' School.
1889-91, Assistant Master London Road School, Southend.
1891-1903, Headmaster St. John's Boys' School, Ealing.
1903, Appointed Secretary to Ealing Education Committee. Also a Barrister at Law of the Inner Temple. Member of Burnham (Technical) Committee. Member of 'schemes' Committee set up by Board of Education. Member General Purposes Sub-Committee of Central Association for Mental Welfare and also of Visual Instruction Sub-Committee of Royal Colonial Institute.

i Member Ealing branch of British Empire Shakespeare Society. Vice-President St. John's Temperance Society. For ten years on executive committee of Bishop of London's Sunday School Council. Associate of Guildhall School of Music.

KIMMIT, Colonel Robert Robertson Chairman Ealing Committee for Higher Education, Jan. 1933-1945

b. 1872 d. 1951

ed ?

c and p.1 Commander, 3rd Battalion, London Irish until 1919. 1919, awarded O.B.E. (Military Division). 1928-37, Honorary Colonel of 44th (Home Counties) Divisional Signals.
1931, Deputy Lieutenant of Middlesex.
1911, elected to Ealing Town Council. Assistant secretary Old Cottage Hospital, Chairman Percy House Schools.

MARSH, LewisHeadmaster Ealing County School for
Boys, 1913-1930b. 1880 d. 1930ed Wilson's Grammar School, Camberwell. Emmanuel
College, Cambridge. 1902 B.A. (Hons.) Mediaeval
and Modern Language Tripos. 1906 M.A.c and p.1 1903, Assistant Master City of London School.
1913, appointed Headmaster Ealing County Boys'
School.
1920-1930, Member Ealing Education Committee.
1928, Chairman General Purposes Sub-Committee.i Member Ealing branch, League of Nations Union.McNAB, MargarettaHeadmistress Ealing County School
for Girls, 1943-1954b. 1909 d. ?ed Perth Academy. Edinburgh University - 1st Class
Hons., History. Clapham Training College -
Cambridge Teachers' Certificate.c and p.1 1932-4, Assistant Mistress, Henley Grammar School.
1934-7, Assistant Mistress, Glendale County School,
Wood Green.
1937, Senior Mistress and Head of History Depart-
ment, Pinner County School.
1943, appointed Headmistress, Ealing County School
for Girls.
1954, Headmistress, Aberdeen High School.NELSON, Sir Edward MontagueChairman Ealing Educational
Association, 1877-1902b. 1841 d. 1919ed Privately.c and p.1 Member of Ealing Local Board 1873-1899, as Chair-
man for 22 years.
1902, Charter Mayor.

TRANGMAR, Charles F. Principal Ealing School of Art, Technical Institute, Technical College, 1922-1955

b. 1884 d. 1964

ed Brighton School of Art. Royal Academy of Art.

c_and_p.1 First teaching post in Hull.
Headmaster, School of Art, Salisbury.
1922-55, Principal Ealing School of Art and Technical Institute (After 1937 Technical College).

WALTON, Henry Maurice Secretary to Middlesex Education Committee, 1929-1945

b. 1880, Richmond, Yorks. d. 1952

ed Richmond Grammar School. Durham University.

c_and_p.1 d.? Assistant Master, Cedars private school, Uxbridge Road, Ealing.
1913, Administrative Assistant, Middlesex Education Authority.
1919, Head of Higher Education Section, Middlesex Education Authority.
1929, Appointed Secretary to Middlesex Education Committee.
Treasurer and chairman of Education Committee of Research Board for Correlation of Medical Science and P.E.

i Member of Hispanic Council and chairman of its Education Committee. Founder member Ealing branch of Historical Association.

WHITE, William Thomas Chairman Ealing Committee for Higher Education, Dec. 1930-Dec. 1932

b. 1858 d. 1937

ed Thorn House Academy, Ealing.

c_and_p.1 1874, Post Office clerk. Rose to rank of Staff Officer and then Head of Home Mailing branch.

WHITE, William Thomas (cont'd.)

Retired 1919.

1920, Town Councillor.

1927-8, Mayor. Chairman of 4 Council committees including the Education Committee. Treasurer Oxford Local Examinations. J.P. for Middlesex.

WITHRINGTON, J.W.

Headmaster Greenford County School,
1939-1946

b. ?

d. ?

ed

Victoria University, Manchester. 1925 B.Sc. 1st Class Hons., Mathematics. 1928 M.Sc. for research in Mathematics. 1933-36 London University Institute of Education (part-time). M.A. Research in Education. d.?-1939 Senior Mathematics Master Addey and Stanhope School, New Cross.

