The contribution of local authorities to the training of teachers before 1914

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

to the

TRAINING OF TEACHERS BEFORE 1914

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INTRODUCTION

This Thesis is an attempt to show why Local Authorities became one of the agencies for the training of teachers, and more especially how they discharged their responsibility after they had been specifically given it by the Education Act of 1902.

I selected this topic for four reasons. Firstly, it had always seemed surprising to me that the Local Authorities were slow to assert their claims to be involved in the training of teachers. The denominational monopoly of the schools had been overthrown by the Act of 1870, yet why was the natural complement of the denominational school system, the denominational Training College, not challenged more effectively by the School Boards?

Secondly, accounts of the preliminaries to the Act of 1902 and of its subsequent implementation frequently mention the importance to the planners of the problem of the training and supply of teachers. I was interested to see how vital these issues became in the policies of the Local Authorities.

Thirdly, it was not until the creation of Local Education Committees in 1902 that the system of training teachers was drastically overhauled. The Local Authority Secondary School and the Local Authority Training College, which were not possible until this Act, had repercussions on the Pupil Teacher system and on the denominational College, which up till then had both remained virtually undisturbed as the method of

training teachers since they had been established in the early days of the Committee of Council on Education. By 1914 only 38% of intending teachers could be classified as Pupil Teachers, and 44% of the students in training were in voluntary colleges.

Fourthly, educational historians have generally neglected the administrative arrangements for the training of teachers, particularly during this period.

This Thesis covers a wide field, not least because the training of teachers has affinities with so many different branches of the educational system. Furthermore, the Local Authorities were a mixed bag, and any generalisations about them are dangerous, for even when they had a policy at all with regard to the training of teachers, they often viewed their responsibilities differently. No attempt has been made to deal with either the provision of specialist training courses (e.g. Domestic Science, Physical Training, Handicraft) or with the development of further training facilities for serving teachers. In both these respects, most Local Education Authorities maintained and extended the tentative start that had been made by School Boards and Technical Instruction Committees.

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CHAPTER I

The Training of Teachers before 1870

One of the many reasons which delayed the establishment of the English educational system in the early nineteenth century was the absence of an efficient local administrative unit. Admittedly local initiative and concern for education had an honourable history (e.g. Guild Schools, Charity Schools) but voluntary local efforts were clearly unsuitable as the framework for a national system. Local administration was in a confused state and major re-organisation was required urgently. In the meantime if education were to be administered locally, possibly use could be made of one of the existing authorities - namely the parish with its vestry, which was the unit of self-government in the country, or in certain of the boroughs, re-organised by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, the Town Council. Alternatively special ad hoc authorities for education could be established - similar to the Poor Law Unions of 1834 or the Local Boards of Health of 1847 - both of which cut across the existing established districts.

Although there was a growing interest in education, few people saw the need for provision and organisation on such a scale. Of the few who conceived of the education of the lowest orders as a national problem, the majority took it for granted that it was not a civil responsibility, but a job for the Established National Church to tackle. 'Education' managed by the Church Society was no less national and 'official' than law administered by the unpaid amateur Justices of the Peace[1].

However this claim for popular education to be under the control and auspices of the local parish was challenged by the increasing numbers of Nonconformists and therefore when the Government first gave a grant to education in 1833 it was to be administered through the National Society and its rival the British and Foreign School Society. It is interesting to note here the importance of the parish as an administrative unit, for each individual grant was to be based on the amount raised locally by the organisers for the erection of the school house and in addition these local organisers were of course to be entirely responsible for the maintenance of the school.

The policy of Government grants supplementing voluntary efforts was developed and extended by the Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education after it was established in 1839. Yet it became increasingly obvious that, despite valiant efforts by voluntary bodies to provide and maintain a national network of schools, it was an impossible task unless they were given substantial subsidies from central funds. However, Government grants were being increased at a rate which already appalled many sections of Victorian public opinion, e.g. £150,000 in 1851 to £663,435 in 1858[2]. Accordingly the Newcastle Commission was appointed in 1858 to prevent public elementary education from becoming too costly. In an attempt to protect central government funds from further demands the Commission recommended that there should be another source of income for education, namely a county or borough rate. Not only would this foster local interest and support for education but it would provide a source of income for all schools and especially those which were unable to comply

with the more exacting conditions imposed by the Education Department for the Government grant. R.W. Lingen, Secretary to the Department, welcomed the proposal as one which would achieve a considerable degree of decentralisation. The distribution of the grant that Parliament voted annually had thrown far too much power in the hands of his department, and this had aroused considerable hostility within and without Parliament. Even though a more complete policy of rate aid was not suggested by the Commissioners, their recommendations with regard to rate aid were not implemented[3].

Nearly all the Education Bills in the fifties and sixties (e.g. Fox, Russell, Pakington) similarly intended to decentralise English education, both administratively and financially. For instance, in 1855 Milner Gibson proposed to divide the country into districts which would levy a school rate. This Bill is noteworthy because the school committees were to be given the power to erect undenominational normal schools[4]. All these Bills were abortive primarily because the ratepayers would be unwilling to give financial assistance to denominational schools unless they had a considerable share in the management. For their part the religious bodies argued that the independence of denominational teaching could not be guaranteed where the management was largely in the hands of the ratepayers[5].

In the 1860's the shortage of school places attracted more public attention and a solution involving participation by some sort of local authority could not be delayed much longer. The National Education

League demanded that a local network of schools should be established to the exclusion of the denominations. However, the Education Act of 1870 was a compromise. The denominational schools were to be retained, but they were to be supplemented where necessary by Board schools. This meant that there was to be local management of education by elected School Boards. Education became a local government burden. For this purpose rates could be levied for the building and administering of schools, not by the Boards, but by School Districts.

The Metropolis had its own rating system; in the Boroughs the rating authority was the Borough, and in the civil parishes the rate was to be levied by the overseers. The denominational schools were to be outside this system and any local financial aid they were to receive to supplement Government grants and fees was to come not from the rates, as W.E. Forster originally proposed, but from local generosity in the shape of subscriptions and money raised by bazaars and the like.

The agitation prior to the Act of 1870 did not concern itself with the training of teachers. The Lancashire Public School Association had included a proposal for County Boards to be established and to support one or more normal schools for the training of teachers[6], but similar proposals are strangely absent from the programmes of other organs for education reform. The Act of 1870 itself makes only one direct reference to teachers. The omission of the training of teachers from the functions of the School Boards is understandable, for the training and supply of teachers was a small problem in comparison with their immediate task.

Providing schools for unlettered boys and girls from the gutter, and getting them into schools was a sufficiently demanding problem for even the most energetic School Board - together of course with combating illiteracy, bad manners and dirt[7]. The supply of teachers of a sort had never caused much difficulty in the past and training was rarely thought to be necessary. The institutions that did supply training were isolated and self contained, little known outside the societies which had started them[8]. Nevertheless, even though it was not always taken advantage of, the system was at least well established, and the partnership responsible for the colleges - the Government and the voluntary bodies - was not in need of any local assistance or interference.

What was this system in 1870? The industrial and social demands of the nineteenth century required schools and the schools required teachers. The efforts of Lancaster and Bell, attractively cheap and apparently efficient, attempted to grapple with the problem. However, it was soon apparent that even their child monitors required a rudimentary training and training schools were established at Borough Road in 1805 and at Baldwin's Gardens in 1811, followed subsequently by about thirty five often pitifully small central schools in some of the dioceses.

The central role of the training of an adequate army of teachers in any project for national education was realised by those politicians who were interested in this issue. The creation of a national normal school was prominent in the various projects of Roebuck, Brougham and

Wyse, and because it was of such cardinal importance they proposed that it should be undertaken by the State[9]. In 1835 £10,000 was voted towards the erection of normal or model schools. Within three days of being appointed in 1839, the Committee of the Privy Council published plans for establishing a resident State normal school. Attached to it were to be a practising school and a model school. Inevitably conflicting views over the religious instruction to be given caused the breakdown of the scheme, but, allied to these rivalries, were complaints of the State assuming such a dominant position in education. Suspicions were further aroused by the use of an Order in Council, as opposed to Parliamentary procedure, to establish the project. Thus the State, in the person of Dr. J. Kay, Secretary to the Committee, was defeated in its attempt to provide a supply of trained teachers through a national channel. It is significant that, in a period when the State was reluctant to intervene in education, it had been prepared to make such a decisive bid for control over the training of teachers[10].

The result was that the Committee of Council resorted to a policy of grants to aid the denominational bodies erect normal schools. The Minutes of 1843 and 1844 promoted considerable building activity, but it was at the price of establishing denominational control over the training of teachers[11]. By 1845 there were about twenty normal schools, many having been already in existence as diocesan central schools. These attempts to secure a more efficient body of teachers were only partially successful, chiefly because the lowly social status and the precarious

financial rewards of the teaching profession did not attract a suitable supply of entrants. Furthermore the cost of the course was often beyond the candidate's pocket, unless he was sponsored by the school managers or a patron. By the Minutes of 1846 (25th August, 21st December) the Committee attempted at moderate cost to provide a supply of better qualified candidates for the normal schools, and at the same time improve the quality of teaching in the schools by substituting apprentices for monitors. The intention was to attract the best pupils - both morally and intellectually - and to continue their education by apprenticing them to the Schoolmaster as Pupil Teachers for five years from the age of thirteen. They were to be paid by the Government, the salary commencing at £10 and rising to £20 per annum, instructed by the Schoolmaster for seven and a half hours weekly, and examined by the H.M.I. annually. On the result of a competitive examination for the Queen's Scholarship it was hoped that the successful candidates would proceed to a normal school for one, two or three years. As the candidates would come from working class homes they were to be awarded a maintenance grant (£20 to £25) to meet the expenses of the normal school course. Hitherto the gap between leaving the elementary school and entering the normal school had caused many likely candidates to be lost to the profession, and this government financed system attempted to bridge the gap effectively. Before any Pupil Teacher was authorised in a school, the H.M.I. had to report on the competency of the Schoolmaster, and the efficiency of the school, and in doing this the Government secured a definite control over the policy of the managers of

that school.

In both of their aims the Pupil Teacher Regulations were markedly successful. As far as the schools were concerned large numbers of Pupil Teachers came forward. The figures rose from 200 in 1848 to 13,871 in 1861. In fact despite a more discriminating selection by H.M.I.s. the numbers increased so rapidly that doubts were expressed about the financing of the scheme. At the same time H.M.I.s reported that standards of instruction in the schools showed a distinct improvement. Unfortunately, as the Pupil Teacher cost the Managers nothing, he became all too easily a means of reinforcing the staff cheaply at the expense of the government. As far as the normal schools were concerned, they were provided with a more regular succession of better qualified candidates, and with financial assistance from the Government, commencing at £20 for every first year student who obtained the Certificate of Merit, and £30 for every third year student. The normal schools were no longer dependent solely on private generosity and fees[12].

The Minutes of 1846 envisaged the training of teachers in two clearly defined stages. The apprenticeship period of preliminary training, followed by the more formal professional training at the normal school. The successful completion of this second stage was marked by the award of a certificate which entitled the teacher to an augmentation of salary direct from the Government of between £10 - £30 annually. However, in July 1847, with the intention of increasing the supply of Certificated Teachers quickly and cheaply, teachers who had not been to the normal school were allowed to sit for the examination, and if successful, they

too would receive the augmentation. This was regrettable because it meant that attendance at a normal school was no longer a necessary condition for the status of Certificated Teacher. The indispensable qualification for the teacher was the certificate and not attendance at a professional course of training in a normal school.

The Minutes of 1846 did two more things. Firstly they meant a worthwhile increase in salary for the certificated teacher, plus the attraction of a pension. In addition, the fact that part of this money, for many teachers, came directly from the Government, gave them something of the status of a Civil Servant, and this was quite an improvement socially[13]. Secondly the introduction of the Teachers Certificate meant that a hallmark of professional ability was established. 'Although the majority of teachers in elementary schools were uncertificated until a much later date, the certificate set the standard for the profession. The fact that from the beginning the standard was set by the Government and could be manipulated to control the supply of teachers is one of the most significant facts in the history of the profession[14].

In the process of bringing stability and uniformity to supply and training of teachers, the State had become heavily committed. The stipulation that any Government contribution should be met by at least an equal local contribution was conveniently broken with regard to the erection of normal schools. Furthermore the Pupil Teacher system was entirely financed by the State, and grants to the normal schools for maintenance were exceedingly high. 'Its concern for them (the teachers) has been

more conspicuously paternal than for any other educational institutions, and through its regulations and inspectors it has exercised control and supervision of them in a high degree - no doubt partly due to the high rate at which the state contributed to their funds, but even more to the realisation of their vital significance for the welfare of the Service[15].

The system established by Kay - Shuttleworth in 1846 remained basically unaltered until the beginning of the twentieth century, although it was subject to many modifications. The Regulations affecting the distribution of the grant were amended continually to produce a more efficient system. For instance, as it was not always easy to get students to attend the normal school for as long as two years, the regulations were therefore altered in 1856 so that with some exceptions, those students leaving the school after one year would be regarded as Uncertificated[16]. However, a serious setback occurred with the Revised Code of 1861/2. The teachers lost status. For example pensions were abolished and the salaries of the Schoolmaster and Pupil Teacher were to depend on the Capitation Grant earned by the examination and by the attendances of pupils. This caused a fall in average salaries, which were entirely at the mercy of an agreement with the Managers of the school[17]. The Schoolmaster no longer received a special grant for a Pupil Teacher and this meant that he took less interest in apprentices who were no longer bound to him, for he had nothing to gain or to lose. Staffing ratios fell[18]. A fourth class Certificate for teachers in rural schools could be gained without examination, and there were even attempts by J. Walter in the House of Commons virtually

to dispense with any kind of Certificate. All this meant that the profession lost some of its popularity and the standard of the Queen's Scholarship had to be lowered in 1865 and 1866, as the annual intake had fallen from 3,002 (1861) to 1,895 (1864). To some extent there was a return to the original system as a result of Mr. Corry's Minute of 1867 which called attention to the necessity of re-introducing payments for schools that attracted more Pupil Teachers. An additional Capitation Grant (1s. 4d. per head) was made available to encourage better staffing, part of which might be made up of Pupil Teachers. Extra grants, later fixed at 40/- to 60/-, were paid for each Pupil Teacher who passed fairly well in the Queen's Scholarship and Certificate examinations. The result was an increase in the number of Pupil Teachers from 11,031 in 1868 to 14,612 in 1870.

The normal schools passed through a critical and anxious period as a result of the Revised Code. Chichester and Highbury were forced to close. There was a reduction in the number and quality of students, chiefly because of the reduction in the number of Pupil Teachers[19]. By the Code of 1863 the annual grant that a normal school could earn was not to exceed 75% of the certified expenditure[20]. As certain students had used the normal school simply as a means of further education, and did not subsequently become teachers, the grant for each student was to be paid to the normal school retrospectively, when the teacher had taken up a teaching post in an elementary school and completed his probationary period. The result of the Minutes was not to take full effect until 1868, but by 1867

the government grant had fallen from £113,242 in 1863 to £70,752.

The Revised Code had certainly called a halt to the development of both the Pupil Teacher system and the normal schools. Nevertheless the system inaugurated in 1846 had resulted in substantial and uniform progress, and it was relatively well established. It was a partnership between voluntary agencies and the State. Initially education societies or diocesan authorities had provided the normal schools, which were all residential institutions, and they were responsible for the management and courses of the schools. Admittedly considerable financial assistance had been received from the State for capital expenditure up to 1860, and for maintenance from 1846. In addition the State assured a supply of students for the normal schools through the Pupil Teacher system, and it also controlled the award of teaching certificates. The partnership was a remarkable one, and its success was largely due to Kay-Shuttleworth. 'Sectarian suspicion was as strong as ever, and yet he succeeded virtually in nationalising the training of teachers without excessive wounding of religious susceptibilities'[21]. His method was to utilise the existing facilities, while the initiative was still left with the voluntary agencies who were stimulated to great efforts[22]. At the same time policy was directed by the State through its regulations determining the distribution of grants.

Perhaps the system had been too successful in producing teachers. Concern was evident from the following directive in the instructions to the Newcastle Commissioners in 1858 'You will inquire.....whether there

appears to be any ground for the fear that the number of teachers holding Certificates may become excessive'[23]. This was followed by the termination of building grants to normal schools in 1860. The Revised Codes had further restricted the training system at both the Pupil Teacher and the Training College level. Nevertheless, the system survived these hard knocks at the price of few changes. In 1870 there was in existence a system which was intelligible and which seemed able to cope with such training as was thought necessary for teachers at this time. And this had grown up without the help of any local authority.

CHAPTER 2

The Preliminary Education of Teachers before 1902

The period between 1870-1902 saw the rapid expansion of the education system, and this was to have considerable effects on the supply and training of teachers. In the first place the Act of 1870 introduced the principle of compulsory attendance, and this meant that more school places were required. For example, a return of the Leeds School Board in 1871 showed that 27,329 children out of a child population of 48,787 were not catered for. More places were needed as the age of exemption was progressively raised to ten in 1876, eleven in 1893 and twelve in 1899. Secondly, there was an increase in the child population, especially between 1870-1895. Thirdly, an extension of the facilities for education above the compulsory school leaving age meant that more teachers were required. In 1895 nearly half a million children in elementary schools were above the age of twelve. In the seventies the main job had been to provide sufficient places for a vast army of children. However, by the nineties the focus had shifted, and the Boards were faced with the problem of supplying education to the older age groups that were voluntarily staying on at school. In 1870 there were just over a million children attending inspected schools, but by 1900 this had risen to nearly six million, and the average length of time spent by a child in school had increased from 2.55 years to 7.05 years[1].

It is important to remember that it was not only a matter of recruiting a sufficient number of teachers to cope with this expansion

but at the same time maintaining such staffing standards as were laid down by the Education Department. In 1870 the situation in most schools was one adult teacher plus a team of pupil teachers, but during this period the adult assistant teacher emerged in place of the Pupil Teacher and this invariably meant better staffing standards[2]. The Education Department was often criticised for not adopting more rigorous criteria with regard to staffing, but it was not until the Code of 1882 that it felt able to introduce a staff scale[3]. While many of the School Boards took any sort of teacher, others were highly selective. It was the policy of the London School Board to engage only certificated teachers, preferably trained[4].

The implementation of the Act of 1870 meant that there was a sudden demand for teachers. The number of adult teachers very nearly increased tenfold between 1870 and the end of the century - from 13,729 to 113,986. There was no doubt that the coming of the School Board made the teaching profession an attractive proposition[5]. For the young girl in particular, teaching had much to offer by comparison with other possible openings, and the proportion of women and girls rose from 53% in 1869 to 75% in 1899.

The total increase in the teaching force did not impress the N.U.E.T. J.J. Graves, the President, in welcoming the Act, stated that no part of it indicated how properly qualified and trained teachers were to be found. His own solution was that temporary teachers should be recruited and permitted to teach without the certificate until certificated teachers could be trained. However, the remedy of the Education Department

was to meet the shortage by lowering the standard of the certificate examination as a matter of administrative convenience. This was the only possibility open to the Department so long as it insisted as the condition of the government grant to the school that the responsible teacher was certificated. 'In 1870 a new clause was inserted to the effect that, during the three years ending 31st December, 1873, certificates could be awarded without examination to experienced teachers upon the report of the Inspector. Provisionally, certificated ex-Pupil Teachers were also allowed to have charge of infant classes. No less than 1,200 certificates without examination and 1,000 Provisional Certificates were issued by 31st August, 1873.' Furthermore, from 1875, to help supplement the staff of an infants' school, a woman over eighteen, approved by the Inspector, could be recognised in place of two monitors. They were soon allowed in girls' schools and also for the first three standards in boys' schools. Although they had not passed any examination or received any training they were classified as additional women teachers (from 1890 Article sixty-eighters). Employment of such women was an easy and cheap method of staffing. Their numbers grew from 543 in 1876 to 17,588 in 1902[6].

These relaxations in the standard of the profession caused alarm among existing teachers, who feared, among other things, that their salaries might be reduced. The 1878 Conference of the N.U.E.T. demanded that an independent body under the control of Parliament should be responsible for controlling entrance into the profession. The increase in the number of Pupil Teachers from 14,612 to 29,245 between 1870-75 was

a further threat to an already overcrowded profession. The Code of 1877 included a concession to one of the demands made by the N.U.E.T., namely, that there should be not more than three Pupil Teachers to each Certificated Teacher in a school; and by the Code of 1880 the ratio was reduced to 2:1. 'The impression that emerges of the teaching staff is a small band of trained Certificated Teachers immersed in a growing flood of untrained Certificated Teachers, assistant teachers, additional woman teachers, Pupil Teachers and probationers'.[7] Staffing difficulties became particularly acute towards the end of the century in many of the small voluntary schools, which were often unable to afford to pay the qualified teacher an adequate salary. Attempts by the Education Department to raise staffing standards were bitterly resisted by the Managers of such schools. It was not unknown for a certificated teacher to be dismissed in favour of an unqualified woman teacher.

The figures in Board of Education Report for 1899-1900 were as follow:[8]

(1) Certificated Teachers 62,085 (36,020 trained)

Male 24,253 69.3% } trained for

Female 37,832 46.5% } two years.

(2) Assistant Teachers (uncertificated or provisionally certificated) 30,233

Of these, about 25,500 were women and 4,750 men. Many of these were preparing to attempt or re-attempt the Certificate examination.

(3) Additional Women Teachers (Article Sixty eighters) 16,717

Their only qualifications were:

(a) They must be over eighteen.

(b) They must have been vaccinated.

(c) They must satisfy the H.M.I.

(4) Pupil Teachers 30,783 Boys 6,081

Girls 24,702

(5) Probationers 2,500

Pupils who intended to become teachers could be recognised on the staff as probationers from the age of thirteen plus, provided that they were exempt from school attendance. This recognition could continue until the age of sixteen.

In 1902 there was one adult teacher for every forty children and one certificated teacher for every seventy two children.[9]

Preliminary Education

One of the responsibilities which fell naturally to the newly elected School Board was to enforce the Regulations of the Education Department in respect of the Pupil Teachers in its schools - and this the Boards did willingly as it was the only contribution that they could make towards supplying themselves with adult teachers in the future. Numerically, of course, the Pupil Teachers were a formidable force. As two out of every three teachers in the seventies were Pupil Teachers they solved any staffing problems.

The system had come to have many defects, and the larger School Boards were quick to realise them. Two particular criticisms had become

especially loud by the time of the Cross Commission in 1886. Pupil Teachers were not efficient teachers, and too great a burden was placed on shoulders that were too young to bear it. The method of part-time education from Head Teachers was patently inadequate. Surveys of Training College students showed that many of them had received less than the legal minimum of instruction during their pupil-teachership. The necessity for a wider academic training had been realised by Matthew Arnold and his fellow Inspectors as early as 1852, but the difficulties were inherent in this system which tried to combine education and employment for the Pupil Teacher. Dr. Crosskey, a witness before the Cross Commission, stated, 'I do not think that it is right to sacrifice the education of the working classes to an indifferent mode of preparing teachers'.[10] The immaturity of the Pupil Teacher was well expressed by Thomas Gautrey at the end of a long career with the London School Board. 'The Pupil Teacher is a relic of the old child labour of the Nineteenth Century. A Pupil Teacher was apprenticed at thirteen and was entrusted with a man's job. He worked when he should have been playing, he taught when he should have been studying, for five hours a day, for five days a week. In addition, he had to receive lessons from his Head Teacher for an hour before (or after) school, and to pursue his studies in the evening'.[11] Owing to the distances involved, the burden on the Pupil Teacher in country areas was often considerably greater, and Departmental reports constantly stressed the danger to the health of the Pupil Teacher.

Some of the more progressive School Boards were responsible

for the emancipation of the Pupil Teacher. Among them the London School Board was prominent in its efforts to alleviate the hardships of the Pupil Teachers and to improve their training. In 1875, at the instigation of the Rev. J. Rodgers, the Board passed a series of Resolutions. Pupil Teachers should begin their engagement at fourteen instead of thirteen, they should be forbidden to attend evening school and they should be responsible for a class only during the last three years of the engagement. Instruction was to be given at convenient centres instead of at school by the Head Teacher. The Education Department replied that they saw no reason why the existing system should not continue to produce, though perhaps in larger numbers than at present, a body of thoroughly efficient teachers. However, the persistence of the London School Board and the inadequacies of the system caused the Department to modify the arrangements. In 1876 the Memorandum of Agreement was altered to permit a Certificated Assistant Teacher on the staff of the school to take part in the instruction of Pupil Teachers. The Code of 1878 reduced the period of Pupil Teachership from five to four years: a new category of Probationer Pupil Teacher was subsequently recognised between thirteen and fourteen years. The Code of 1880 allowed instruction to be given by any Certificated Teacher instead of the Certificated Teacher on the staff of the school at which the Pupil Teacher was employed. This meant that the Board could instruct Pupil Teachers collectively in evening classes and on Saturday mornings. The Code of 1884 reduced the minimum daily hours of employment from five to three hours,

which enabled instruction to be given during school time.
The London scheme had been launched in 1881. Pupil Teachers who had passed beyond the second year spent half of every day at the Centre, and those who were in the third and fourth years attended the Centre on two half days plus Saturday morning. The accommodation was often unsatisfactory, but in 1885 the first Centre was opened in Stepney, followed by twelve others within ten years. By 1887 the London School Board was employing forty one permanent assistants at the Centres. A panel of thirty six teachers was available for duty on Saturday mornings.

The London School Board was not alone in these efforts, for many of the other Boards were equally progressive. The Liverpool Board had been so impressed by the results obtained by Pupil Teachers from the central classes of The Sisters of Notre Dame in Liverpool that they commenced half time classes for stipendiary monitors in 1878. This was followed in 1884 by a decision to make all their first year Pupil Teachers half timers, and central classes were established for them. Leeds School Board operated a scheme whereby Pupil Teachers were farmed out in groups to selected teachers, but they were not given any time off school. In 1881 the Sheffield School Board started to instruct Pupil Teachers at suitable centres within the City. The instruction was shared amongst the Head Teachers, but each Head was still responsible for the oversight of his own Pupil Teachers in his school. The cost of the scheme to the Board was £376 per annum. In 1887 the five Centres were abandoned in preference to one central class at the Central School. Opportunity was

given here for study for the London University Matriculation examinations. It was not until 1895 that a full time Superintendent was appointed. The Birmingham School Board introduced a scheme in 1884. Each Pupil Teacher was allowed a day weekly to attend the offices of the Board. In addition three hours every Saturday morning and two and a quarter hours on two evenings weekly were spent in central classes at one of the Board's schools. The scheme was controlled by a full time organising director. He had an assistant, a science demonstrator plus assistant and an art master, together with a panel of Heads and assistants who were available for evening and Saturday sessions.[12]

Obviously, central classes were not introduced by all the School Boards, for the original pattern of Pupil Teachership was too well established. Often instruction was given to the Pupil Teacher both at the central class and by the Head Teacher at school. Central classes were not suitable for all areas, especially rural districts. They became associated chiefly with the School Boards because only rarely could the Managers of the voluntary schools afford the cost of maintaining such classes. There was no doubt that candidates from central classes did distinctly better in the Queen's Scholarship examination. In 1887 the percentage of First Classes in England and Wales was 21.7% for boys and 25.0% for girls. The percentages at the Central Classes of the London School Board were 63% for boys and 47.9% for girls. This superiority made the spread of the central system to all large towns inevitable by the 1890's.[13]

The Cross Commission were agreed as to the value, whatever the drawbacks, of central classes, and that thenceforward they must be looked upon as the accepted means of instructing Pupil Teachers in urban areas. On the more general question of the Pupil Teacher system their views were as follows - 'On the whole we concur in the opinion of the inspectors that, having regard to moral qualifications, there is no other available or, as we prefer to say equally trustworthy source from which an adequate supply of teachers is likely to be forthcoming; and with modifications, tending to the improvement of their education. The apprenticeship of Pupil Teachers, we think, ought to be upheld'.[14]

A Minority Report, looking forward to the replacement of Pupil Teachers by adult teachers, condemned the system as the weakest part of the educational machinery....at once the cheapest and very worst possible system of supply...it should be abolished root and branch. They disagreed with the proposition that there was no other equally trustworthy source to that of Pupil Teachership from which an adequate supply of teachers was likely to be forthcoming. 'The moral securities for the teachers of the future were not likely to be diminished,but on the contrary greatly increased by a wider course and a prolonged period of preliminary education before students were entrusted with the management of classes'. There was another, much longer, Minority Report by some of the signatories to the first Minority Report. 'The complaint is general that Pupil Teachers teach badly and are badly taught..... The defenders of the Pupil Teacher system mainly base their case in support of that system on the

early familiarity acquired with School Management, and for the sake of this familiarity they are willing to somewhat sacrifice the general education and intellectual development of the Pupil Teacher. In view of this contention, it is a matter for serious reflection to find that the bulk of Pupil Teachers finish their career both poorly instructed and bad teachers.....their shortcomings may be summed up as great meagreness of knowledge, crudeness and mechanical methods of study, arising largely from neglect of their training by their Head Teachers'.[15]

There was no immediate outcome of the Cross Commission with regard to Pupil Teachers. The proposals of the Commissioners were contradictory. The majority had recommended a return to the policy of admitting children at thirteen instead of fourteen, while the minority suggested raising the age to fifteen. However, they had definitely approved of central instruction and advised the Department to encourage it financially by means of grants to the Schools Boards and Managers of the voluntary schools. Where central classes were difficult to arrange special grants should also be available for some other means of special instruction. However, it was by Circulars and inspections that the Department stimulated the development of these classes. A Circular issued in 1891 pointed out the improvement in the standards of Pupil Teachers in central classes in the urban areas. With effect from 1894 Inspectors were to supervise central classes. The growth of the centres was very rapid in the nineties - especially in the larger towns. Many of the buildings were no longer provisional and makeshift, but specially

designed with specialist rooms and used exclusively for the instruction of Pupil Teachers. In many cases they were no longer merely central classes, but centres in their own right, often with highly qualified staff, giving secondary education and earning grants from the Science and Art Department.[16]

The term 'central class' covered instruction given in a great variety of ways and at many different levels of efficiency. As there were over 2,500 School Boards it would be wrong to assume that there was a uniform policy, even if their financial resources had made it possible. The regulations of the Department for the central instruction of Pupil Teachers were permissive, and some Boards did not even arrange either for evening classes or for Saturday morning instruction by practising teachers. Many Pupil Teachers had to rely on correspondence classes, and within limits they were efficient and not unsuccessful.[17]

It was the Pupil Teacher in the voluntary school who suffered most, for many of these schools were in rural areas which made central instruction difficult to arrange. Furthermore, the Managers of these schools could not release him to attend the centre as easily as the School Board, for being small schools, the Pupil Teacher was often the only teacher on the staff besides the overworked Head. Where arrangements could be made for attendance at a centre - often that of the Board - the discipline and efficiency of his own school was inevitably prejudiced. As in so many other respects the voluntary schools were handicapped because the power of the School Boards to levy a rate, meant that they were in a

stronger financial position. Voluntary schools had to rely on Government grants and on subscriptions, and they could not maintain the same standards as many of the School Boards. While Pupil Teachers from voluntary schools were often fortunate if they received even Saturday morning instruction, Pupil Teachers under the larger School Boards became teachers only in a limited sense - rather they became professional learners and observers. On the other hand, the Pupil Teacher was virtually essential to the maintenance of the voluntary school. This state of affairs, which was clearly to the disadvantage of the Pupil Teacher in the voluntary school, was to continue until a local authority was established that could reconcile the financial inequalities between the two systems.[18]

The changes in the Pupil Teacher system resulting from the extension of central classes by the School Boards caused a Departmental Committee to be established in 1896. The Committee stated that the system did not deserve all the criticism directed against it; it had some merits as well as many defects. Nevertheless, there could be no doubt about its views - 'Although it is the main yet it is not the only, nor even, ultimately, the cheapest source of supply. We wish to record as emphatically as possible our conviction that the frequent practice of committing the whole of the training and teaching of classes to immature and uneducated young persons is economically wasteful and educationally unsatisfactory, and even dangerous to the teachers and the taught in equal measure. We do not, however, wish to see at present the entire abolition of a system

which ensures an early acquaintance with the process of teaching, and we have felt ourselves bound to recognise the established place which an existing institution has made for itself'.

The Committee recognised the improvement effected by the centres, but it considered many of them to be 'merely classes brought together for the purposes of cram. It is inevitable that they should tend to produce professional and social narrowness of aim and to subordinate educational aims to the pressure of examinations'. The perpetuation of elementary school syllabuses in the centres created a serious barrier between the centres and the Secondary schools. The centres were considered mere substitutes and supplements in an imperfect system. They should approximate more nearly to the spirit of the Secondary school by abandoning the class ideal and giving more attention to cultivating a social and corporate life, by strengthening their staffs and striving to give a liberal education. The Committee envisaged the conversion of the centres into well staffed and properly equipped Secondary schools 'where although perhaps intending teachers would be in a majority, they will have ample time for their studies, and will be instructed side by side with pupils who have other careers in view'.[19]

They looked to the Secondary school as the best means of overcoming the narrow intellectual and professional outlook of the Pupil Teacher. It would be beneficial to the profession if an increasing number of intending teachers could pass through a Secondary school. 'We think it extremely desirable that all intending teachers should pass through a Secondary school for the completion of their ordinary education.

The preparation of young teachers can and ought to approximate more closely to the more liberal methods and studies which would help bring them to the same level as the best scholars of the Secondary school'. The elementary school would still remain the main recruiting ground for the profession, but by this integration with the Secondary school it was hoped that prospective elementary school teachers would be recruited more easily from the middle classes attending such schools. The Committee therefore recommended that the Queen's Scholarship should be open to Secondary school pupils who might occupy the time between leaving school and entering Training College by gaining some practical experience in an elementary school.[20]

The proposals of this Committee emphasised the need for a broader training for intending teachers, by making use of the Seconary schools. For this to be accomplished two major problems, which had been outstanding for some time for other reasons, required attention. Firstly, the system of Secondary education was desperately in need of reorganisation if it were to cope with intending teachers. Secondly, if all intending teachers were to receive this broader training, it was essential that some further financial aid should be given to the voluntary schools to enable them to be independent of the services of the Pupil Teacher.

Many of the proposals of this Committee were not implemented until the Regulations for the Preliminary Education of Intending Teachers became effective in 1904.[21] Before this, however, there were some slight modifications such as alteration in the curriculum of Pupil Teachers

(Code of 1899); reduction of the period of Pupil Teachership from four to three years except in rural areas (Code of 1900); Examination of Pupil Teachers only at the beginning and the end of their engagement (Code of 1902).

By March 1902 there were 105 centres with 17,435 Pupil Teachers. The total number of Pupil Teachers and Probationers was about 32,000.[22] These developments came to a sudden halt when Mr. Cockerton, the Local Government Board Auditor, disallowed certain expenditure by the London School Board on the erection of a building for a new Pupil Teacher Centre. The responsibilities of the School Boards had never been defined clearly with respect to the education of Pupil Teachers. During the negotiations between 1874 and 1880, with regard to the earliest central classes in London, the London School Board had obtained an opinion from Counsel that it was illegal for them to spend money upon training Pupil Teachers in any way or in any subject not recognised by the Code. From 1880 onwards, however, the Code imposed no obstacle in the way of central classes. In the course of time the School Board began to spend money in providing special buildings to house these institutions. As far back as 1885 the Local Government Board received a deputation from electors of the London School Board protesting against the Pupil Teacher Centre being charged on the rates. In the first place, it was argued that any advantage that the system might have could not possibly be confined or secured to the ratepayers. Secondly, the Education Acts of 1870 and 1873 gave no authority to School Boards to provide such a system at the expense of ratepayers.

In 1886 the Local Government Board Auditor disallowed expenditure in connection with a building for Pupil Teachers, arguing that the Centre was not a public elementary school, and therefore the School Board could not maintain any other building for Pupil Teachers out of the School Fund. However, the decision was reversed on an appeal to the Local Government Board, since the Education Department, who were consulted, held that the expenditure might be regarded as having been incurred by the School Board for the purpose of fulfilling their obligations to the Pupil Teachers under the Memoranda of Agreement. Furthermore, the Code did not specify where the instruction of the Pupil Teachers was to take place. In reversing the decision of the Auditor the Local Government Board pointed out that they were relying heavily on the Education Department, for there was no more than an implied power in the Acts to provide accommodation for Pupil Teachers. This line taken by the Education Department gave the School Boards a false sense of security as they pushed ahead with their plans to develop Centres.[23]

Once the more celebrated Cockerton judgment, which ruled expenditure on higher education by the School Board to be illegal, had been upheld by the High Court, it was natural that expenditure on the education of Pupil Teachers should be called into question. Although the Pupil Teachers Centres were restricted to certain pupils, it was felt that the Centres, like the Higher Grade Schools, were challenging the established Secondary schools, and that the School Boards by promoting them were challenging the authority of the newly established Technical

Instruction Committees. The decision of the Auditor was confirmed by the Court of Appeal - Dyer and Others v. The London School Board (2 Ch 768) 1902. The Court declared that instruction other than elementary could be given to Pupil Teachers in the schools in which they were employed, but it was not within thepowers of the London School Board to establish separate centres for the purpose of giving education which could not be described as being given in the public elementary school. This decision meant that the attempts made by some of the School Boards to remodel the Pupil Teacher System had suffered a serious set-back. It also emphasised the administrative chaos in education and made urgent the need for a major Act of Parliament which would create an administrative body responsible for both higher and elementary education. The earlier Cockerton judgment had strengthened the case for such an administrative body, but this later judgment was altogether more conclusive in this respect because the preparation of intending teachers consisted from necessity of both elementary and higher education. In the meantime the Education 1901 (Renewal) Act, 1902, authorised the continuance by the School Boards of the Centres. This required that the Boards had to obtain approval for any expenditure on their Centres from the County, County Borough or other local authority under the Technical Instructions Acts of 1889 and 1891.[24]

The Department Committee of 1896-8 stated that intending teachers required a broader education. For this they looked to the Secondary school. It is perhaps surprising that this important proposal

to integrate the training of the elementary school teacher with the Secondary school system had not been dealt with in some detail by the Royal Commission on Secnndary Education (Bryce Commission) which reported in 1895. After all, the Pupil Teacher system had been since its inception the obvious way open for working class children to obtain Secondary education. However, the main hindrance to the proposal was not the cold shoulder of this Commission, but the absence of a system of secondary schools for the lower and middle classes. The endowed grammar schools and the proprietary and private schools that were in existence were completely separate from the public system of elementary education - and in any case the number of places was quite inadequate, despite the efforts of the Endowed School Commissioners. The position in Wales had improved somewhat since the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889.

It was this chronic absence of Secondary school places that caused the larger and more active School Boards to provide Higher Grade Schools, which became in many cases little different from Secondary schools, and often a good deal better. It was primarily the needs of the intending teacher which encouraged the School Boards to develop such schools.[25] It could further be argued that one of the reasons why the Education Department allowed these developments was because it too had the welfare of the intending teacher at heart.[26] One result of the provision of such facilities was the breaking down of the belief that Secondary education was the preserve of the middle classes.

It was not only by establishing Higher Grade Schools and central

classes for Pupil Teachers that some of the Boards attempted to broaden the education and outlook of the prospective teacher. The Pupil Teacher schemes of some Boards made sure that Secondary school facilities were taken advantage of. In Manchester, for example, the apprenticeship was delayed till sixteen, the intervening years after leaving elementary school being spent in a secondary school or Higher Grade School. In some parts of Wales, where there were eighty intermediate schools, the first two years of the Pupil Teachership were spent in one of these schools, and no teaching was required. Similar attempts were made in England. For instance, one Roman Catholic Teaching Order in the large towns of th e North conducted Secondary schools and Pupil Teacher Centres, if not as integral parts of the same institution, at any rate on the same premises and with the aid of the same staff. Similar use was made of the Secondary schools in Wiltshire by Pupil Teachers. In Birmingham, the steady growth of facilities for Secondary education meant that whereas in 1891 only 13% of the Pupil Teacher candidates had attended Secondary School this had increased to 67% by 1896. In Scarborough the Borough Council and the School Board co-operated to establish a Secondary school. The School was intended chiefly for prspective teachers, but it was also open to other pupils. Full time education was available up to sixteen, and the intending teacher would then complete a further two years as a Pupil Teacher.[27]

The Local Government Act of 1888 created County Councils in England and Wales, and towns with a population of more than 50,000 were

recognised as County Boroughs. This Act made possible the next year the Technical Instruction Act which allowed the Council of any County, County Borough or any sanitary authority (under the Public Health Acts) to supply or aid technical or manual instruction. For this purpose they were empowered to levy a rate of 1d. Another unexpected source of income was the Whisky Money provided by the Local Taxation (Customs & Excise) Act of 1890. After payment of £300,000 in respect of Police superannuation, the residue was to be paid into the funds of the local authorities for the relief of rates or as a subsidy for technical education. To administer this money Technical Education Committees were established by the authorities. This statutory recognition of the County and Municipal Councils as local authorities for technical education marks an important development, for at last a part of the education system had been brought within the scope of local government. These newly created authorities were not concerned with elementary education, but they were large enough to undertake wider responsibilities. For the moment, however, they brought immediate and welcome help to technical and secondary education. Within five years of being established 93 out of 129 Borough Councils were spending the whole of this Whisky Money on technical education, although in only thirteen of them was a rate levied.[28]

Many of the Technical Education Committees built laboratories so that institutions could qualify for the grants of the Science and Art Department. Technical Education was not interpreted too narrowly and many committees spent money on a variety of projects, including aiding the

the instruction of intending teachers, (e.g., by allowing the use of the technical school premises as a Pupil Teacher Centre). Most committees provided scholarships tenable at Secondary schools, and many were held by pupils who afterwards became Pupil Teachers. Mr. H. Macan informed the Departmental Committee of 1898 that out of thirty eight Counties and County Boroughs giving such scholarships, twenty three at least found them used by pupils who afterwards became Pupil Teachers. (In the previous four years about 150 holders of such scholarships had become Pupil Teachers).

The most elaborate of these scholarship systems was that constructed by the Technical Education Board of L.C.C. in 1893 under the chairmanship of Sidney Webb.[29] The County Scholarship was a ladder which took a great many young Londoners from the lowest elementary school to institutions of University standing, but at the same time it gave many intending teachers the opportunity of Secondary education. The 1898 Committee was anxious that scholarships to Secondary schools should be introduced in more areas, and that there should be many more of them. Lyulph Stanley suggested to the Committee a scheme under which certain scholarships to Secondary schools should be offered for competition only among rural children, thereby helping to provide teachers for the under-staffed rural schools.[30]

Certain Technical Education Committees also made grants in aid of special classes for the instruction of Pupil Teachers. Such grants came within the powers given to the local authority, provided that they did not exceed the amount of the expenses incurred in the teaching of

technical subjects. Surrey County Council instituted Saturday morning classes in science for Pupil Teachers. The Holland County Council made a grant in aid of the Spalding Pupil Teachers Centre, and the Borough of Ashton-under-Lyme provided the accommodation for the central classes held in that Borough. However, not all authorities adopted such a favourable attitude. Lancashire County Council in refusing a request for help for Pupil Teacher classes stated that it had no intention of using its reserves to aid would be teachers at the expense of technical education.[31]

The help that was given by Technical Education Committees towards the training of Pupil Teachers became but part of a wider controversy about the need for a competent authority which could reconcile the existing cleavage between secondary and elementary education. The existing arrangement of having two authorities in an area, each rather uncertain of the limits of its power and each with the power of levying a rate, was the cause of unnecessary conflict. The Technical Education Committees, and that of the L.C.C. in particular, had given some indication of how competent such an authority could become given greater powers.[32] By comparison the School Boards were of varying quality. In some areas there was no Board, and many were small and inefficient. Some of the larger Boards, and especially the London Board, had become unpopular on account of their aggressive and over-reaching policies. The need for a powerful local authority, financially and administratively responsible for all grades of education had long been recognised in educational circles

but the solution was not easy, as the rejection of Gorst's Bill in 1896 had shown. Nevertheless, official policy turned increasingly to the County Councils and the County Boroughs as the co-ordinating authorities for education beyond the elementary stage.[33] At the same time, the Cockerton jedgments were a useful pretext for those Conservatives, denominationalists and Fabians who, for various reasons, wished to overthrow the School Boards.

CHAPTER 3

The Training Colleges before 1902

As a result of the Education Act of 1870 many more teachers were required. Yet the increase in the number of Training College places was in no way proportionate to the expansion of school places. In spite of the pressing need for trained teachers only eight new Colleges were opened between 1870-90.[1] Understandably, this was largely owing to the very anxious time that the Colleges had passed through after the Code of 1863, and also because the Government had stopped the building grants by a Minute of January 1860.[2] During this period the Church of England was heavily committed financially to providing and maintaining Church Schools, and it could not afford to keep up with any demand for new Colleges. The Nonconformist position was rather different. They became less interested in providing elementary schools, as they felt that the battle for undenominational schools had been won. The Board Schools gave Bible teaching under the Cowper Temple clause, and this satisfied the Nonconformists, for as the British and Foreign School Society later reported with satisfaction:- 'School Boards are in reality British School Committees, some upon a gigantic scale and, with few exceptions, the schools are British Schools with another name'. However, the Nonconformists were anxious to build undenominational Training Colleges because here candidates suffered disabilities on account of the shortage of places. As early as 1871 the British and Foreign School Society decided to concentrate its resources on the training of teachers, as there would be a demand for them from the School Boards. By 1884 the Society

had six Colleges training some 15% of all intending teachers.[3]

The supply of Training College accommodation soon fell below the needs of the country, and this many School Boards, as employers of trained teachers, objected to. As early as 1872 the London School Board appointed a special committee to consider the supply of trained teachers. The Committee proposed to establish a Central Day Training College in London, supported by a Government grant, and making use of the Board's schools as the practising schools. However, the Board did not adopt the proposal, but instead it called for an extension of existing College accommodation together with the admission of non-resident students. It also pleaded for increased facilities for teachers who were anxious to prepare for the Certificate examination, but who were not able, or did not wish, to enter College. The Board had, of course, no power to implement these recommendations. In March, 1875, the London Board enquired of the Sheffield School Board whether it had met any difficulty with the supply of trained teachers, pointing out that the Training Colleges could turn out only 2,000 teachers annually 'whilst the number of Pupil Teachers in the last Blue Book is 28,000. Had the Sheffield Board considered the arrangements.....necessary for securing the training of their Pupil Teachers who decide to remain in the profession?'. The Sheffield Board appears to have ignored the letter.[4]

The shortage of places could easily become a highly emotional issue, as can be seen from a controversy within the Birmingham School Board in 1882. Educational considerations could take second place to religious and political issues. The Chairman of the Board, George Dixon,

proposed that a memorial be sent to the Education Department to urge it to increase the number of Training College places. He argued that less than half of the candidates who passed the examination could be admitted because of the shortage of accommodation. Nearly 30% of the Certificated Masters and nearly 50% of the Certificated Mistresses in public elementary schools had not been trained, and it was most desirable that schools should have teachers with the highest possible qualifications. 'The ecclesiastical restrictions imposed by the large majority of the existing Colleges acted to the disadvantage of Pupil Teachers in the Board Schools and presented a serious obstacle to the entrance into the teaching profession of many qualified candidates'.

He then proposed that School Boards should have the 'power to establish Training Colleges to which grants should be made available on a scale proportionate to those now given to existing Training Colleges'. The Colleges would be established and maintained out of the rates. They would be undenominational and residential. The Conservatives on the Board opposed this extension of the statutory powers of the School Board. Undenominational Board Colleges in receipt of both Government and rate aid would seriously threaten the position of the denominational Colleges, which received only the Government grant. It had happened already with the denominational schools. There was also opposition to the Chairman's criticisms of the existing Colleges. The denominational restrictions did not prevent them from being acceptable to the great majority of students. Further meetings, and the need for additional College places, caused the Board to reach a compromise. Reference to the difficulties caused by

denominational restrictions imposed by Colleges was omitted from the Memorial. The Department was asked to give the School Boards the power to establish Day Training Colleges only. The decision in favour of Day Training Colleges was unanimous - a point which witnesses from the Birmingham School Board before the Cross Commission used in support of their proposals for Day Training Colleges.[5]

In December 1882 the Sheffield School Board sent a Memorial to the Education Department protesting 'that the Pupil Teachers under the various School Boards labour under special disadvantages when seeking admission to some of the existing Training Colleges'. Little progress was made, and in May, 1883, a proposal was made to communicate with the various Boards throughout the country with a view to their joining a deputation to wait upon the Vice-President of the Committee of the Council to press upon him the need to modify the right of the Managers of Training Colleges to fix the terms of admission to their respective Colleges.[6]

To overcome this shortage of places, some Boards began tentatively to provide training facilities themselves. Obviously, such schemes could not produce many teachers, but they were an extension of the authority of the Boards, and a token challenge to the monopoly of the established Colleges. The School Board had no power to establish a Training College. However, attendance at College was not the only method of acquiring Certificated Teacher status. It could also be gained through private study, and it was here that the School Boards gave assistance. In 1884, the Birmingham Board introduced a scheme of training for ex-Pupil Teachers, in accordance with Article 110 of the Code which gave School Boards the

authority to spend money on the training of assistant teachers. However, the grant from the Department was subject to the teacher having been employed for three years in schools under the same management, yet by studying on his own the teacher could qualify for this Acting Teachers Certificate in only two years. For this reason the scheme did not receive much support, and the Board was forced to abandon it. This was unfortunate because it was carefully planned and under the control of the well qualified Director of Classes for Pupil Teachers. A similar scheme was devised in Sheffield in 1885 covering six hours a week in the evenings and on Saturday. Out of 153 Assistant Teachers in the service of the Board who might have been expected to attend, 78 claimed exemption, fifteen were absent on account of illness, nine attended irregularly, two had not commenced to attend. Three outside teachers attended the classes on payment of a fee. The total cost to the Board was £240 per annum, but the classes were cancelled in the following year.[7]

The training and supply of teachers was discussed by the Cross Commission. The criticism of the existing system centred around the following four points. Firstly, the Training Colleges were providing an inadequate supply of trained teachers. The numbers admitted annually as Pupil Teachers were from 8,000 to 9,000, about 6,000 of whom would complete the apprenticeship. In theory, all who obtained a place in the first or second class of the Queen's Scholarship examination were eligible for admission to a College. In 1888 the Colleges had accommodation for 1,600 students, yet 2,800 were eligible for admission. At least

it can be said that those who were trained - especially the girls - were on the whole the best of a large number of Pupil Teachers, who were already a selected group. Obviously, there was a supply of candidates, but whether there was a shortage of College places depended upon whether it was believed necessary to train all teachers. As pointed out by the Commission, if Certificates were granted only to those teachers who had gone through a course of training, the provision of places would have to be at least doubled and the erection and maintenance of new Residential Colleges would involve an expenditure which the country would be reluctant to incur, so long as there were alternative and cheaper methods of acquiring Certificated teacher status. Complaints were made to the Commissioners that there were already too many Certificated, but untrained, teachers, and cases were reported of such teachers making it diffucult for the trained, and presumably more efficient, teachers to obtain employment. Furthermore, schools with less than seventy children could not afford a trained teacher unless Government grants were greatly increased. It was argued that the real needs of the country were therefore obscured. The Commissioners took a more realistic view of the situation, and stated that 'whilst there is still a growing demand for fully qualified female teachers, the supply of trained male teachers is somewhat in excess of the present demand for them'.[8]

A second criticism of the existing system was that the denominational character of most of the Colleges made it difficult for some candidates to be trained. This criticism was directed at the Church

of England which controlled thirty out of the forty three Colleges.[9] Almost invariably there was a requirement that a candidate had to submit to a denominational examination in religious knowledge. Even when a Nonconformist candidate passed high in the Queen's Scholarship examination an Anglican candidate lower in the list was likely to be preferred. An additional grievance was that Anglican students occupied anything up to a third of the more competitive places at the undenominational Colleges. The Second Minority Report of the Cross Commission stated that 'The proportion of accommodation in Church of England, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan Training Colleges is greatly in excess of the proportion of children in the schools of the same denominations. On the other hand, while 47.3% of the children in public elementary schools are in Board schools, there is only 19.8% of the accommodation British and undenominational Training Colleges'.[10]

Thirdly, the fact that all Colleges were residential meant that many eligible candidates would rather live at home than go into residence. Fourthly, there was a pressing need for a less expensive course. Despite the Queen's Scholarship, many suitable candidates could not afford their part of the cost of College training - an entrance fee, outlay on books, pocket money, etc. - and the consideration that for two years money would be paid out, instead of received, were factors which deterred those who had no money of their own.[11]

Witness from the School Boards made suggestions for establishing non-residential Training Colleges. Rev. E.F.M. McCarthy reminded the Commission that the Birmingham Board had presented a Memorial to the

Department in December 1885 requesting that School Boards be given the power to establish and maintain such Colleges. The proposal had received favourable support from a number of other Boards, notably Leeds and Nottingham. W. Lee, Clerk to the Leeds School Board, also reminded the Commissioners that his Board had presented a similar Memorial but, chiefly on the grounds of expense, it did not anticipate the Board taking the prominent part suggested by the Birmingham Board. 'The cost of any special arrangements must be borne by the Government or by local subscription, or by both. But as the work is a national one, and the teachers are at liberty in after years to move to any part of the country, it seems to your Memorialists to be reasonable that the public taxes should bear a considerable share of the cost, and that the locality, which will have under any circumstances to bear the burden of higher salaries for these teachers, should not be further burdened to any serious extent by the cost of training them. The only solution of these difficulties is the establishment of Day Training Colleges in England with generous Government aid such as is granted to the non-residential Colleges in Scotland'.[12]

McCarthy himself made a proposal which would have involved the School Boards quite considerably. It was based on a scheme operated at Worcester, in the State of Massachusetts, and it was at the same time an attractive alternative to the Pupil Teacher system. Ten or twelve Colleges, each with 250 students, were to be established in large towns, preferably those where University Colleges were already in existence.

They would be undenominational and mixed. The course would last five years, and the age of admittance would be from sixteen years. The first two years were to be spent as full time students at the College, with some attendances at the Practising School as required. Half of the third year would be spent teaching on half pay. The fourth and fifth years would be spent as a fully paid probationary teacher. The period between leaving the elementary school and entering the Day Training College would be taken up with attendance at Secondary school if possible, or, alternatively, in special classes set up by the Board. The Colleges would be under the management of the Local School Board and supported entirely by the State. The Board would have the power to co-opt onto the Management Committee of the College any of the Trustees or Professors of the local University College to which the Training College might be affiliated.[13]

The School Boards were not the only - nor indeed the obvious - claimants to provide Day Training Colleges. Provincial University Colleges had been developing steadily, and they were willing to undertake the training of teachers. At the Yorkshire College in Leeds, several evening classes were held for teachers studying for the Acting Teachers Certificate. Professor Bodington had devised a scheme for the institution of a training department in the College, which had the backing of the Leeds School Board and the Voluntary School Managers.[14] The provincial Colleges were desperately keen to become involved in the training of teachers for their own ends. Most of these Colleges were struggling to establish them-

selves and the Hartley Institution at Southampton, for instance, was prepared to push projects which might strengthen its claim to a grant and the recognition as a University College that would go along with it. 'A joint Memorial (following the example and suggestion of the University College of Nottingham) was sent from the Hartley Council and the Southampton School Board to the Education Department pointing out that every year a large number of Pupil Teachers who had passed the examination for admission to a Training College were unable to find places, and urging the establishment of Teacher Training Departments in Universities or other local Colleges to accommodate them'.[15] The Education Reform League had waited upon the Vice-President of the Council urging similar action. Dr. Thomas Morrison, Rector of the Free Normal Church College, Glasgow, gave detailed evidence to the Commission as to the working of the Day Training system in Scotland. Under Section 102 (b) of the Code, students in Training Colleges could attend during the winter session one or two of the classes in the University, prescribed for graduation in Arts or Sciences. The Colleges in Wales were anxious to establish Day Training Departments because such Colleges would provide places for the many Welsh Nonconformist students who would otherwise find difficulty in securing admission elsewhere.[16] The extension of facilities for University education to elementary school teachers was welcomed by the profession, especially by the N.U.E.T. and the Teachers University Association.[17]

Decisive and official support for Day Training Colleges to be established under the aegis of the provincial Colleges, as opposed to the

School Boards, came from the officials of the Education Department. Mr. Cumin, the Secretary, hoped that it would be ultimately possible to get rid of all untrained teachers. His solution was to take advantage of local Colleges, not only where there was actually a University College, but also where there was suitable provision for higher education of the University type. 'I do not propose or intend in the slightest degree to interfere with existing Training Colleges, but I do propose to substitute for these inferior acting teachers a certain number of trained teachers'. The proposal not to interfere with the existing Colleges had an appeal for the majority of the Commissioners who were anxious to safeguard denominational interests. Equally attractive to them was Cumin's intention to exclude the School Boards from his plans, which 'would certainly not involve a charge on the rates. There is no power to be given to School Boards to set up new Colleges. I know that some wished this, but it is not general'. Official opinion was determined to avoid any widening of the powers of the School Boards which would include the training of teachers.[18] It is interesting to note that the Second Minority Report of the Commission, which was favourably disposed towards the School Boards, did not recommend that they should be entrusted with the training of teachers (p.291). 'We doubt whether the School Board alone, or the local College alone, would be the best body; perhaps a Council representative both of the higher education and of the School Boards in large towns, and in Counties a delegation of the County Rating Authority, might be constituted, working in conjunction with representatives of the Education Department.'

The Cross Commission was divided on the issue of Day Training Colleges. To the majority of the Commissioners this type of College stood for secular education, just as did the Board School. They, therefore, came down heavily in favour of the residential College, because, in their opinion, it ensured that the student's character would be rightly moulded to educate the youth of the nation. The lowly home backgrounds of the students made a residential establishment especially necessary. The denominational Colleges could also be justified on economic grounds.[19] Nevertheless, the Commission did recommend that 'a system of Day Training Colleges in connection with Universities or Colleges of equivalent status should be tried on a limited scale with a view to meeting the cases of those students for whom, for various reasons, residence at a Training College cannot at present be provided. Only a limited number of students should receive Government assistance towards their training, and no portion of establishing or maintaining the Day Training College shall fall on the rates.' An additional recommendation was that existing Colleges should be permitted, though not compelled, to receive day students.[20]

A Minority Report, strongly representative of the views of the Boards, challenged the moderate proposals in the Final Report. They accused the majority of being too lukewarm towards some of the suggestions made to remedy the shortage of training places. The Church of England enjoyed an enormously privileged position. The existing facilities should be used to the full, and Residential Colleges should be made open to day students, subject to a conscience clause. Day Training Colleges should

be established, in addition to those attached to the Universities, supported by local rates and popularly managed. Like the majority, they favoured some provision for boarding accommodation at Day Training Colleges, but, at the same time, they welcomed students living at home and subject to its influence. A Second Minority Report went much further and violently attacked the denominational character of the existing Colleges. The report condemned the Colleges for being out of date - the instruction was inadequate and the life of the student narrow and drab. Any further assistance to this system would be bitterly opposed.[21]

In May, 1890, to meet the need for more places free from denominational difficulties, the Department accepted the proposal to establish Day Training Colleges, but they were not to be sponsored by local authorities. The regulations required that the College must be attached to some University or University College of University rank. A local Committee was to be responsible for the discipline and moral supervision of the students and for their attendance at lectures. The students would receive general education at the ordinary University classes, but a training department of the College would be in charge of their professional training. The scheme was obviously experimental, as the number of students was at first limited to 200, but this restriction was removed by the Code of 1891. The growth both in the number of Colleges and students was rapid, and by the close of 1902 nineteen Colleges had been established. In proportion to the overall number of Training Colleges

required, the number supplied by this method was never very great, although as far as the Day Colleges were concerned the Training College students were vital to their existence.[22]

Nevertheless, the significance of the Day Colleges should not be under-estimated. The denominational Colleges had been challenged, and the principle of Day, as opposed to Residential, training had been established. The training of teachers, hitherto in one respect self-contained and isolated, and in another respect too intimately associated with elementary education, was brought into contact with higher education in institutions of University standing. The status of the teaching profession was raised. The Day Training College attracted many of the more able students, and this in turn made the older Colleges less complacent about staffing and facilities. University courses and examinations became accepted as alternatives to those of the Education Department for the Certificate. The degree course was too difficult for the majority of students, but they could qualify for the Cerificate. Some of the Residential Colleges began to provide third year courses for selected students, often leading to a degree.[23]

The Day Training Colleges did not solve the shortage of trained teachers. This shortage seriously affected the School Boards, who were, of course, unable to mitigate the situation because they had no statutory authority themselves to provide training facilities. There were still many good candidates who were without facilities for training either because they did not want to leave home in order to attend College, or

because they could not gain admission. The London School Board determined to devise a worthwhile scheme of training for those ex-Pupil Teachers who wished to become Certificated. In 1898, Mr. W.T. Goode, Head of the Education Department at Owen's College, Manchester, was appointed as Superintendent of these students. The Board Room of the School Board was made available for instruction by the Superintendent and visiting teachers for the Pupil Teacher Centre.

The numbers attending grew rapidly, and one floor of Graystoke Place School was made available for the Board's Classes. Special attention was paid to professional training by means of careful supervision in schools. The students taught half time, and were paid £35 (men) or £30 (women) a year. The remainder of the time they studied, and after two or three years they sat for the Acting Teachers Certificate. The Board of Education refused to recognise teachers trained this way as being College trained. The London School Board was not to be out-manoeuvred, and recognised them as being College trained as far as the Board was concerned, and eligible for Headships. This was virtually an illegal Training College which 'directed into London Schools a stream of teachers well qualified on the academic side, thoroughly trained as practical teachers and animated by an admirable spirit which never flagged'.[24]

The shortage of training facilities did not go unnoticed by the Technical Education Board of the L.C.C. Both the Chairman, Sidney Webb, and the Secretary, Dr. William Garnett, took a wide view of their responsibilities. In a report to the Council in 1901 the Technical

Education Board stated 'We have had under our consideration for several years the urgent need that exists for providing additional facilities for the training of teachers, including not only those intending to enter elementary and secondary schools, but also those teaching especially technical subjects, science, art and modern languages'.[25] It estimated that of the London boys and girls entering the teaching profession probably one half were unable from lack of accommodation in existing Training Colleges to obtain proper training. It pointed out that the London School Board had no legal power to provide training, and that the Council, acting under the Technical Instruction Acts, was the only public authority with such power. It therefore decided to establish a Day Training College for men and women under the Council's control, but, as was required by the regulations of the Board of Education in connection with a University institution, namely, London University, 'It is not proposed to spend capital in erecting new buildings..... We believe that (including rent, salaries and all expenses) the maintenance cost will not exceed £2,800 a year'. It was proposed that this would be taken from funds which the Council might annually devote to technical education.

Negotiations did take place between the L.C.C. and the University Senate who jointly made up the Local Committee. The L.C.C. provided the College, and the University appointed the Professor of Education whom the L.C.C. agreed to accept as the Principal of the College. It opened at Clement's Inn, the first of a series of makeshift premises, in October, 1902, with fifty eight students. The Technical Education Board reported

'In this way we hope to enable London students who, owing to the lack of accommodation in Residential Training Colleges, have been unable to take advantage of the King's Scholarship to obtain, whilst living at home, the advantage of the best training in their calling'.[26] There was no doubt about the success of this College, but it was virtually impossible for other Technical Education Committees to provide similar facilities. Their limited funds were taken up with more pressing problems, and moreover their powers under the Technical Instruction Act were restricted.

The shortage of qualified teachers did not affect all areas equally. It would appear that many of the urban areas did not find it too difficult to recruit staff, because they were able to pay good salaries. As there were no national salary scales, the count ry areas were not protected from the wealthier urban School Boards recruiting the best teachers.[27] Rural districts had few financial or social attractions for the trained teacher. The Education Committee of the Somersetshire County Council, under the powers given to it under the Technical Instruction Act, drew up a scheme for the training ofrural teachers. 'The idea in the beginning was to give a chance to these poor girls in the villages in Somersetshire who are so unable now to get any proper training at all, so as to provide really efficient mistresses for these schools in the future'. The driving force was Mr. W.S. Clark, a member of the Committee. He made arrangements with the British and Foreign School Socie ty to start a Training College for thirty girls in connection with a Pupil Teacher Centre

to be established in a large house in Street, owned by himself. The financial responsbility was to be taken by the Society, but the County Education Committee would have given assistance in fitting up the class-rooms for scientific purposes, in paying salaries for science teachers and in awarding scholarships to Pupil Teachers. Support came from the Inspector, but the Department refused to sanction a College that was not in connection with a University Centre. Several members of the Departmental Committee expressed surprise at this decision.[28]

By the end of the century the need for more College places was becoming acute. In October, 1898, the London School Board sent round to other Boards a memorandum which it intended to submit to the Education Department, urging that the supply of Training College accommodation be increased by the establishment of Colleges under public management. This feeling seems to have been fairly general among the larger provincial Boards. The Departmental Committee of 1898 stated (p.21) that 'No witness interrogated on the point hesitated in giving it as his opinion that the supply was inadequate to the demand. The official returns and statistics published annually put it beyond doubt that this is the fact'. In 1899, 2,556 out of 2,904 men passed the Queen's Scholarship examination, but only 1,008 went to College. The position for women was far worse. Out of 9,216 candidates 7,572 passed the examination and only 1,724 were admitted. It should be pointed out that many of those taking the examination had no intention of seeking entrace to a College, but took the examination to qualify themselves under Article 50 of the Code. Over and above these

pressures was the Nonconformist grievance that students who were not members of the Church of England were at a further disadvantage. Considerable publicity was given to the fact that a Nonconformist candidate who came 237th in the order of merit had to wait a year, whilst a Church of England candidate who came no higher than 2,681st was admitted. This did not mean that the Church was altogether insensitive to Nonconformist feelings for when the Rochester Diocese opened St. Gabriel's College in 1899 candidates for admission could take advantage of a Conscience Clause.[29]

At the same time, reports of educational developments in other countries drew attention to the fact that the majority of teachers in this country were untrained. The Departmental Report of 1898 complained that 'too many drift into the teaching profession through the side door of the Certificate examination for acting teachers, their only preparation having been confined to private study, evening classes at Pupil Teacher Centres, correspondence and other such means, often unsatisfactory. Thus, those who need training most are left without it, and enter upon one of the most important callings with the slenderest equipment of necessary knowledge'. In addition, the annual reports of the Inspectors were becoming increasingly outspoken about the need for a greater proportion of trained teachers. 'Measure the value of the work of this vast body of teachers thus prepared, who pass annually into the schools of the country, and think what it might be, were they properly prepared.

Without detracting the least from the good and conscientious efforts of these teachers, or minimising in any degree their usefulness relatively, still it is impossible to deny that their value to the nation is much less than it ought to be, and that the national life, as far as education can form, mould and direct it, must suffer seriously'. The argument was taken up in the Report for the following year - 'A trained teacher to every 100 children does not seem extragavant, but to meet such a demand 46,000 teachers will be required, or 10,000 more than we possess. At the present rate of increase it would be twenty five years before this modest requirement could be satisfied, assuming that the average attendance remains stationary'.

The Departmental Committee of 1898 (p.22) were 'Strongly of the opinion that every facility should be given by the Education Department for the extension of Training College accommodation. This implies both the enlargement of such present establishments as are not unwieldy and the provision of fresh Colleges'. However, it felt that very little more could be looked for from voluntary effort, 'for voluntary effort is only another word for the efforts of very few, which on any sufficiently large scale are no longer energetic'. The Annual Report for 1900/1 stated, 'More Colleges are required. The Denominational system deserves the gratitude of all friends of education for what it has done. But the old enthusiasm which poured forth the first full stream of voluntary effort no longer exists. They have suffered as the voluntary schools have suffered, but without the same help. To them has come no abolition of the 75% limit, no fee grant, no Aid Association. They may have been too

proud to plead poverty, but they have felt the pinch. If a Training College has to spend a few hundreds in improving, or a few thousands in increasing, its accommodation the result is too often that weariness and vexation of a spirit familiar to borrowers'. The financial difficulties of the voluntary schools were enormous, and it was out of the question for the denominations to make the large scale provision of College places that was required without financial assistance. The chances of the Government offering such help, and thereby incurring the hostility of the Nonconformists were remote.[30]

Another possibility was to increase the number of students at Day Training Colleges, but there was a limit to the number of places that they could provide. The contribution of these Colleges was marginal in comparison to the total number of places required. Nevertheless, they had attracted much support in some quarters. For example, the Bryce Report, admittedly more concerned with the training of Secondary teachers, approved of them as places where the training of elementary and secondary education could be combined. 'The function of providing the professional instruction does not seem properly attributable to local authorities because their sphere of action is not sufficiently wide. On the other hand, it ought not to be handed over to the Central Office because that might induce an undesirable uniformity. Freedom and variety would, in our opinion, be best secured if the Universities were to take up the task'.[31] However, the Reports of the Inspectors were not always complimentary. 'The advantage derived by the student of a day Training Department

should be more than a share of the privilege of attending eminent teachers whom they do not always understand....Insufficient precautions are taken to prevent ill-equipped students from attempting the degree course....they all suffer from rawness of material which they have to work up and the lack of funds....they would do more in the direction of providing scholarships and hostels if the means were at their disposal, but they are poor....the cost of living in lodgings is considerable and a great deal of severe pinching and self denial is practised to eke out the exiguous means at their disposal'. Statements such as these indicated that the Day Training College was a palliative and not a remedy to the problem.[32]

The enlargement of the existing Colleges - both Residential and Day - was essential, but it was also necessary to establish new Colleges if a greater proportion of teachers were to be trained. In such circumstances the insistence on attaching Day Colleges to institutes of University status was open to question. Mr. Scott Coward, the Inspector for Training Colleges, looked to the new Technical Schools established in large centres of population as possible sponsors. As to the financial difficulty, he could 'see no other way than by grants from the State and the localities - by grants, that is, from the public purse of the Central Government and of the local authorities'. The local authorities that Mr. Scott Coward and his colleagues looked to were the County and County Borough Councils, already active in the field of higher education. Such authorities, it was felt, would have adequate resources to finance training schemes. The

N.U.T. also believed that these local authorities should be given the right to spend money on the extension of Training College accommodation. It was only by such an expansion that the army of unqualified teachers could be reduced. These teachers were a serious stumbling block to the attempts of the N.U.T. to raise the salary of the trained teacher and to establish a system of Teachers registration.[33]

Although the National Education Association was active in promoting the case for an increase in training places in unsectarian institutions under public management, during the passage of the 1902 Educational Bill, the training of teachers was not an important issue amidst the intense denominational rivalries. However, the need for more trained teachers had become urgent, and in response to the demand for more undenominational College accommodation, a clause was specially inserted giving the proposed local authorities the power to spend money on the training of teachers. It was the N.U.T., claims A. Tropp, that was successful in obtaining this promise from the Prime Minister.[34]

CHAPTER 4

The Preliminary Education of Teachers 1902-14

Under the Act of 1902 the School Boards and the Attendance Committees were abolished and their powers were transferred to the newly created Local Education Authorities. The powers conferred on the local authorities by the Technical Instruction Act were merged into the powers of the new Authorities. For Elementary Education there were 318 L.E.As. - sixty three County Councils, eighty two County Boroughs and 173 Boroughs and Urban Districts with populations of over 10,000 and 20,000 respectively at the 1901 Census. For Higher Education the Authorities were to be the sixty three County Councils, the eighty two County Boroughs, but in addition 868 Boroughs and Urban Districts within the administrative counties were allowed to continue to levy a rate of a penny in the pound for the support of their own institutes and schools, concurrently with the County Council.[1] As far as the County Councils were concerned, the arrangements for Elementary Education were untidy, owing to the difficulties there had been in Parliament at the proposed withdrawal of power from smaller authorities. Although the County Councils were to have responsibility for Higher Education throughout the whole of the administrative County, they were not responsible for Elementary Education in the autonomous Boroughs and U.D.Cs (i.e. Part 111 Authorities) within the administrative County. In such cases the co-ordination of Elementary and Higher Education inevitably caused friction between the respective Authorities. This occurred particularly in connection with the arrangements for Pupil

Teachers, which embraced both Elementary and Higher Education. There were an unusual number of difficulties in counties in which there were a large number of Part 111 Authorities. In Lancashire, for instance, there were thirty two autonomous, and fiercely independent authorities.[2]

However, 'With all its imperfections it (Education Act 1902) embodied the idea that the service of public education should be a specific function of ordinary Local Government as re-organised by the Act of 1888, that in every area there should be a local authority primarily responsible for the provision, organisation and administration of public education, amenable through electoral processes to the influence of ratepayers'.[3] By the Act education was decentralised, and it became a normal and fully integrated Local Government service. The Board of Education's responsibility was to superintend and encourage, although it did have the right to interfere in certain specific instances. It had, of course, further powers insofar as it controlled the grants voted by Parliament to the Authorities, and also determined the conditions under which grants should be made. Nevertheless, the Act was the beginning of a co-operative partnership, the success of the relationship depending on the response made by the local authority to the stimulation of the Central Authority.

With regard to Higher Education, the local authority had first to fix an appointed day, on or after 1st April, 1903, on which it would take over the new responsibility. Then, the Act went on, the'Local Education Authority shall consider the educational needs of their area

and take such steps as seem to them desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of education other than Elementary, and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education, and for that purpose shall apply all or so much as they deem necessary of the residue under Section 1 of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, and shall carry forward for the like purpose any balance thereof which may remain unexpended , and may spend such further sums as they think fit'. The Local Authority was therefore obliged to apply the Whisky Money to Higher Education, this being their first source of income, but otherwise there was no specific duty imposed on it to provide Higher Education , and the Board of Education had no power to see that the steps taken by the Authority were adequate. The Act, in respect of Higher Education, was permissive. Local Authorities were given the power and the encouragement to spend money on Higher Education - the rate was not to exceed twopence in the pound in the Counties without the permission of the Local Government Board, but there was no limit in the County Boroughs. Certain Authorities carried out their surveys with considerable enthusiasm, and some of them engaged Mr. Michael Sadler, whose Reports did much to stimulate local interest. However, by the end of 1906-7 less than a quarter of the Authorities had carried out local surveys.[4]

The new Local Authorities were given very wide powers, including the power to provide Secondary Education and to train and instruct Pupil Teachers, though they were not obliged to do either of these things, except

insofar as they felt it necessary to do them in order to meet their obligations in connection with Elementary Education.[5] The training and instruction of teachers, including Pupil Teachers, was a portion of the supply of education, other than Elementary, and although it was still administered by the Elementary Branch at the Board, it was a charge on the Higher Education funds of the Local Authority. How the Board intended these obligations to affect the training of teachers was seen in the 'Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers and Students in Training Colleges' published separately for the first time in July, 1903, to replace the Articles in the Elementary School Code hitherto dealing with these matters. These regulations were largely based on the recommendations of the 1898 Departmental Committee. The new title and the fact that these were the first of the Board's regulations which were revised under the direction of the Secretary to the Board, R.L. Morant, is perhaps and indication of the importance he attached to the preliminary education of teachers. Unless the quality of teachers and teaching in the Elementary schools could be improved, Morant's plans for the development of Secondary education would be unsuccessful, because the pupils from the Elementary schools would be unable to benefit from it. For too long the training of teachers had been little more than an expansion of the Elementary school curriculum, and there could be no real progress in education without a radical improvement in the training of teachers. The Regulations were to begin to be operative with effect from 1st January, 1904, but owing to difficulties and modifications the new system was not completely

established until 1906-7.[6]

The keynote of the Regulations was general education, rather than professional training, as an integral part of the general provision of Secondary education. They aimed at doing two things. Firstly, to defer all employment in a public Elementary school to a later age than had previously been the case, in order to facilitate the preliminary education of future teachers so that it would be more complete and continuous than hitherto. The intention was to give Secondary education to prospective teachers, and this was done by raising the age of the Pupil Teacher engagement. Accordingly, Probationers were no longer to be recognised as part of the Elementary school staff, and the minimum age for recognition as a Pupil Teacher was raised to between sixteen and seventeen, except in a few sparsely populated rural districts which were remote from P.T. Centres, where it could begin between fifteen and sixteen.

In the second place, the Regulations aimed at securing for the Pupil Teacher a more complete education during the Pupil Teachership which was to last for two years (three years in a few rural districts). Employment was to be strictly limited to half of the school meetings, and the rest of the time was to be spent in approved instruction extending over at least 300 hours, where possible in a fully equipped and staffed P.T. Centre. Pupil Teachers were to be employed only in specially selected schools, where they would be given some instruction in the art of teaching and not regarded merely as cheap assistant teachers. The Pupil Teacher Centre could either form an integral part of a Secondary School, be

attached to a Secondary School or, with the special consent of the Board, to a Higher Elementary School, provided that there was no Secondary School available. Alternatively, the Centre could be an Independent Centre similar to those that had been established by the School Boards. If no Centre were available, Pupil Teachers had to be instructed during the day, together with Central classes on Saturday, or when they could be arranged. Above all, it was to be a time of probation and training under proper supervision rather than one of premature practice in teaching at the expense of general education.

Another method of recruitment was introduced in an attempt to attract Secondary School pupils to teaching. Any boy or girl who had spent three years in a Secondary School and signified his intention of becoming a teacher might at sixteen claim a Bursary for one year. If at the end of this year he passed the necessary qualifying examination he could go to a Training College or spend one year as a Student Teacher teaching half time.

The Prefatory Memorandum to the Regulations stressed the importance for intending teachers to receive a sound general education, but not in isolation from other boys and girls of their own age. Before sixteen the preliminary education was to be given in a Secondary School, but if such a school were not available it could be given to pupils intending to become teachers in a Preparatory Class attached to a Pupil Teacher Centre. These pupils would not be allowed to serve in any capacity in an Elementary School, and the recognition of such Probationers

was to be discontinued eventually. Although the Board was anxious that the Secondary School should be responsible for the education of intending teachers before they became Pupil Teachers, it was not in a position to offer any direct assistance to the Secondary School specifically for this purpose. The financial burden was to fall on the Local Authorities, to whom the heavy cost was essential, argued the Prefatory Memorandum, if L.E.As. were to get value for all their other expenditure on Elementary education. Therefore, it was suggested to them that their first concern was the provision of a well organised Scholarship system for candidates for the teaching profession. 'The Board of Education do not desire by these Regulations to enforce or even to encourage plans for educating Pupil Teachers apart from other scholars. On the contrary, the Board would urge L.E.As. to arrange, by means of an adequate Scholarship system or otherwise, that all the cleverest candidates for Pupil Teacherships in their area, whether boys or girls, should receive a sound general education in a Secondary School for three or four years with school fellows intended for other careers before they commence service in any capacity in an Elementary School. If, further, there is attached to the Secondary School a Pupil Teacher Centre in organic relation with it, providing half time instruction, the Pupil Teacher will continue to share in some measure in the corporate life of the Secondary School even after he has commenced to give some service in the Elementary School'.

The 1907 Report stated that much readiness had been shown by most L.E.As. in accepting the principles of the new Pupil Teacher Regulations,

and much energy had been devoted to the task of improving existing P.T. Centres and to organising new ones where none existed previously.[7] When the Regulations were drawn up there were about 172 variously organised Central classes in County areas and about ninety six in the County Boroughs. Many of these Centres were not thoroughly equipped, and at many of them the hours of instruction received in a week by a Pupil Teacher were very few. Many closed down, and the pupils were transferred to Secondary Schools. Some of the most successful Centres were, in fact, converted into Secondary Schools (e.g., Leeds, Hull, Wakefield, Rochdale, Leicester). The majority of Centres that were recognised under the new Regulations were naturally existing Centres that had been established by the School Boards or sometimes by voluntary agencies. Local authorities were empowered to subsidise centres without taking into account the fact that distinctive religious teaching was given. In 1903, the Birmingham Education Committee gave assistance to the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Centres in the City, and this resulted in violent protests from the Birmingham and Midland Education League. Some small Centres had to be hastily improvised by the L.E.As. to meet the requirements of the Regulations, but often the premises were not permanently suitable. For instance, the Bacup and Rawtenstall Centre was opened at Waterfoot early in 1905 to make the necessary provision until a Secondary School could be established. This did not happen until 1913. By 1906-7, as a result of the Board's moral and financial support, there were 392 fully equipped Centres in the Counties, and 187 in the County Boroughs, nearly all of which were recognised

by the Board.[9]

At the beginning of January, 1907, only 363 pupils were not in a Centre. Fifty two of these belonged to Norfolk and thirty one to Devonshire, two Counties exceptionally rural and ill-equipped with Secondary Schools. The Report for 1907 went on (p.18), 'It is even possible that some Authorities may ultimately prove to have been led too far in the desire to fall in with the movement, and that, in view of the difficulties of travelling involved, the attempt to draw Pupil Teachers even from the most remote districts into Centres may have to some extent to be abandoned. The success of this attempt, however, cannot finally be estimated, or the best method of securing a supply of Elementary School teachers from and for rural villages determined until the general re-organisation of Higher Education within their areas, upon which most Local Authorities are now engaged, has been completed'.

There was no lack of willingness by the Governing Bodies of Secondary Schools to apply for recognition as Pupil Teacher Centres, and L.E.As. were anxious to make use of their facilities. 'Out of 694 Secondary Schools receiving or applying for recognition and grant during 1906-7 under the Secondary School Regulations 357 are also recognised or applying for recognition as Pupil Teacher Centres. There are forty three Centres attached to Secondary Schools not in receipt of grant to Higher Elementary Schools. The Independent Centres are 179 in number. Most of these are, however, on a large scale, and of the total number of 10,540 Pupil Teachers recognised for the first time from 1st August, 1906, and now

receiving instruction in Centres, 6,260 are in Independent Centres, and only 4,280 in Secondary Schools. But many of the Independent Centres are only maintained as a temporary arrangement by Authorities who desire to make use of Secondary Schools and are for the present prevented from doing so by the want of Secondary School accommodation within their areas.[10]

There is no doubt that in many cases the grants of the Board did much to stimulate the L.E.As. to implement fairly quickly the Regulations concerning the Centres. They were as follow - the Centre received £7 for each Pupil Teacher, and £4 for a Pupil Teacher between fifteen and sixteen, and for a Pupil in a Preparatory Class. The L.E.A. received grants varying between £3 and £5 according to the kind of instruction provided for Pupil Teachers who were not in Centres. Grants of £2 were available with effect from the year ending 31st July, 1906, in aid of travelling expenses of Pupil Teachers living in rural areas to encourage them to attend Central Classes.

The situation as described so far has been taken from the Reports of the Board of Education, and does not reveal that there was a good deal of opposition to the Regulations in spite of some firm pushing by Morant. A Conference of Northern Authorities was held at Bradford in December, 1905, to consider the question of the apparent policy of the Board in favouring the instruction of Pupil Teachers in Secondary Schools. The Chairman, Mr. R. Roberts, of Bradford Education Committee, said that there was a kind of atmospheric influence emanating from Whitehall in favour of the training of Pupil Teachers in such schools rather than in separate Centres. Many

Authorities had spent very generously upon the building and equipment of their Centres, and they had been the means of most admirable work. They looked consequently with considerable apprehension to the new mode. It was a matter of common knowledge that there had been recently a very considerable growth of Centres. In 1902 there were 193 in the Counties and ninety nine in the County Boroughs. In 1905 the figures were 320 and 113 respectively. The inference would seem to be that, so far from the usefulness of these Centres having passed away, they were more and more approving of themselves to Education Authorities. Furthermore, the corresponding increase in the number of Pupil Teachers entering the Centres (5,271 in the first six months of 1903, 8,100 in the first six months of 1904) was another indication of their satisfactory nature. Sir John Hoy, of Manchester, remarked that the Circulars of the Board with regard to the training of teachers were fair and equitable, but he knew that in administering the Regulations it adopted a much stronger attitude to secure its ends.[11]

Many Authorities, especially those in rural areas, complained bitterly of the cost of Pupil Teachers under the new Regulations. Before they came into operation, Pupil Teachers cost the West Riding on average from £40 - £50 each for their course of training, but under the new Regulations it amounted to anything between £80 - £90. Moreover, the West Riding representative at the Conference doubted whether the same state of efficiency was reached as formerly. There was also the risk that immediately this costly training had been completed the County Council might lose the Pupil Teachers to other Authorities. In Worcestershire,

the expenditure on Pupil Teachers for the year 1904-5 was £1,598, yet the grants received came only to £156. It was further estimated that when Centres were fully established each Pupil Teacher would cost £11, of which only £7 would be received in grants. Other rural areas had similar difficulties. The expenditure by Kesteven for the same period reached £673, while only £151 was received from the Board. As the Authority pointed out, this did not represent the total expense incurred in the training of Pupil Teachers because of the tendency on the part of the Board to refuse to recognise Pupil Teachers as part of the staff, and to insist on additional qualified assistants being appointed in schools where Pupil Teachers were engaged. In a Resolution, Warwickshire called the attention of the Board to the heavy burden entailed by Authorities that made due provision for the training of Pupil Teachers, chiefly in the case of those Pupil Teachers that attended Centres from rural districts. It urged that larger funds should be made available by the Exchequer as it was highly desirable to encourage a supply of teachers from country districts. Alternatively, Warwickshire proposed the postponement of the introduction of the new Regulations owing to the difficulties of obtaining and paying the staff required to fill the gaps caused by the half time attendance of the Pupil Teachers at the Elementary School. The demand for greater financial assistance had been firmly rejected by the President of the Board of Education, Lord Londonderry, in the previous year. Aid had, in fact, been greatly increased, he claimed, as £14 was paid over the two years, whereas under the previous three years apprenticeship system only £6 was

payable, and under the four years' system which preceded that, the grant for the full four years varied from a total of £4 to £12. The financial difficulties of the Authorities were often aggravated by the withholding of grants if the Pupil Teacher had not made attendances at the Elementary School and the Centre respectively in strict accordance with the regulations of the Board. In July, 1907, the Board sent a warning letter to the County Councils Association. In turn the Surrey County Council issued a Memorandum to all concerned to see that deficiencies or excesses of attendances were guarded against as cases had been reported of a grant being lost altogether through the omission of a single attendance.

County Authorities had additional problems. Commenting on the report that had been commissioned from Professor M. Sadler, the Derbyshire County Council stated that the difficulties of transit in scattered rural districts would make the organisation of a complete scheme by which every Pupil Teacher could attend such a Centre very expensive, and possibly in some cases quite impracticable. The efforts of Northamptonshire to have its Pupil Teachers admitted to the Centre of the Northampton Borough Education Committee were unsuccessful, owing to insufficient accommodation. The Board therefore agreed to arrangements for Saturday classes at convenient Centres, jointly for Supplementary and Pupil Teachers. A dispute between Caernarvonshire Education Committee and the Governors of the Friars County School and the County School for Girls at Bangor led to the eviction of the County Pupil Teachers from these schools. The fees at these schools were respectively £9 or £8, but the Education Committee had refused

to pay more than the Board allotted for the instruction of Pupil Teachers.[13]

Apart from practical difficulties, such as the inability of some Authorities to provide full time education in Secondary Schools between fifteen and sixteen, which caused modifications in subsequent Regulations, the old Pupil Teacher Centres still had many champions. Mr. A.R. Pickles, President of the N.U.T., was highly critical of the closing down of Independent Centres which, he held, in direct contradiction to the evidence offered by examinations for the King's Scholarship, were the only places for the effective training of Pupil Teachers, in order to pamper the Secondary School, towards which he was strongly antagonistic. It was argued that the intending teacher must be taught the principles of class management from an early age, and this could be done in a Centre but not in a Secondary School. Under the new arrangements the Pupil Teachers attended the Centre on a part time basis from the age of sixteen in the towns. This part time arrangement meant that the Centres had certain organisational prblems, but it was the staffs of the Secondary School who were most outspoken about the difficulties created by half time pupils who were unable to take a full part in the life of the School. The Board was fully aware of the issues which might arise as Pupil Teachers entered the Secondary School. Not only would there be difficulties of organisation, but all too often the Pupil Teacher was educationally ill-prepared for such a School. The 'class' problem also had to be faced. At first, both middle class parents and the Secondary School teachers objected in a number of instances to the introduction of Pupil Teachers into the School.

Elementary School teachers, in turn, resented the fact that some Secondary Schools made invidious distinctions between Pupil Teachers and other pupils. It was not unusual for the groups to be kept apart as much as possible in the school, and separate playtimes were not uncommon. This was especially apparent in the more ambitious Secondary School charging relatively high fees. Tensions were not reduced by the practice of many Authorities in sending intending teachers to the Secondary School at the age of fourteen, which was a survival from the days when teachers came exclusively from the older scholars of the Elementary School. Such difficulties explain why some authorities were unwilling to look to Centres as forming an integral part of the Secondary School, but preferred their Pupil Teachers to be trained in Independent Centres.[14]

However, through all these difficulties Morant did not change his aims. 'Closely allied to his restriction of Elementary Education was his gradual abolition of the old Pupil Teacher system. He did so whole-heartedly, for he found the very conception of Pupil Teacher training abhorrent. It was monstrous, he once wrote, that a boy bred in West Ham and Pupil Teachered in West Ham, should then forever teach in West Ham. Today, indeed, we should all agree, if in less trenchant terms; just as we should approve of Morant's abolition of Pupil Teacher Centres and his insistence on training by Secondary education and Training Colleges as the proper substitutes, but many would see virtues in the Pupil Teacher system to which Morant was blind. His condemnation was too emphatic to be just'.[15]

The change of policy inaugurated by the new Regulations, that prospective teachers wherever possible should pass uninterrupted through a Secondary School until sixteen was bound to have a far reaching effect upon the development of Secondary education. The Act of 1902 left the provision of Secondary School places to the discretion of the local authority, but it was forced to their attention by the Board's insistence on Secondary education for intending teachers. However reluctant a Local Authority would have otherwise been to incur expenditure in providing Secondary education, the necessity of providing a supply of teachers to staff its schools meant that many Authorities were obliged to devote their resources for Higher Education almost exclusively to the preliminary education of intending teachers. In effect, this meant that the Local Authority had not only to assist existing Secondary Schools, but to build and maintain new schools of its own primarily for the appropriate instruction up to sixteen of all Pupil Teachers. This applied particularly to girls' schools, for here the demand was greatest and the supply of schools very small. 'The degree to which the need to provide education for future teachers contributed to the extension of Secondary education by the Local Authorities, especially for girls, has often been neglected'.[16]

The Bryce Commission had made a full inquiry into the provision of Secondary School accommodation. It reported a deficiency in the supply of second and third grade schools, especially for girls, at a price sufficiently low to place them within the reach of parents of limited means. The endowed Grammar Schools were few in number, and certainly offered

insufficient places. Many of these schools relied very heavily on grants earned from the Science and Art Department, but above all it was their social isolation from the Elementary Schools that caused most difficulties. The position was bleak. Some of the School Boards had extended the scope of their work in an attempt to supply the shortage and if the numbers at these Higher Grade Schools are taken into consideration the figures are slightly less alarming. The position had also improved steadily after the Technical Instruction Act, which empowered Local Authorities to aid Secondary education, but their powers were not sufficiently wide for them to deal comprehensively with the problem. In 1901-2, the year in which State aid was first given to Secondary Schools as such, the number recognised by the Board with pupils taking the approved course was 272. The numbers rose steadily in successive years, but a large proportion were not new schools, but schools that had been remodelled to meet the requirements of the Board.[17] The re-organisation and extension of such schools was usually only possible with help from the Board and the Local Authority. The problem of augmenting the supply of Secondary Schools fully occupied the Higher Education Sub-Committees. The costs for any of their own new schools were naturally met by the Local Authorities, but often they gave considerable assistance to the Governors of Endowed Schools so that they could comply with the standards imposed by the Board.[18] The maintenance grants offered under the 'S' Regulations of 1904 for each pupil in attendance - ranging from £2 for a first year pupil to £5 for a fourth year pupil - were a further incentive. Provided

the requirements of the Regulations could be met, Higher Grade Schools and Pupil Teacher Centres were converted into Secondary Schools.

The extension of Secondary education was vital to the future development of the country. Morant looked to the Local Authorities to exercise the power they had been given by the Act of 1902, to provide it. He recruited a strong team of H.M.Is. to forward its development and, at the same time, to maintain the standards that he felt were so important.[19] The financial resources of the Board after the Boer War were stretched, but he ensured that grants made to Secondary education were relatively generous. However, as supply of money was limited he ensured that it was spent to the best advantage, and this he did by giving the Secondary course a clearly defined purpose. He wrote a friend sometime later, 'If you can really feel what you say as to Day Secondary Schools having at last been established, there is nothing in the world I could have better wished as my epitaph, for that was my fundamental aim in 1902'. The vital role of Secondary education to his plans is further illustrated by the quotation from one of his speeches, 'It has been abundantly clear that without adequate training in courses of the Secondary School type, students cannot profit by higher courses of training'. Training for teaching was only one of the higher courses that Morant had in mind, but because L.E.As. were intimately concerned with the supply of teachers, it acted above all others as the spur to the development by them of Secondary education, which otherwise would have proceeded at a more leisurely pace.[20]

Even though the need for Secondary education had long been

realised, there was considerable disagreement about the form it should take and the agencies that should provide it. There were two concepts of Secondary education - education for an elite or popular Secondary education for all. 'Morant was a singularly able and forceful exponent of the majority opinion of the day' - namely that the Secondary School should provide a select education for an elite. He rejected the popular Secondary education that had been provided by the School Boards in the Higher Grade Schools and in the Pupil Teacher Centres. They had shortcomings in respect of staff and buildings, and much of the instruction, while efficient within its limits, was deficient of what he considered to be the real elements of education. Such institutions confined themselves to cramming their pupils for examinations to the almost complete neglect of their health, their social accomplishments and their general education. Furthermore, it was no more than an extension and continuation of the education given in the Elementary School. He saw Secondary education as the higher type of physical, moral and intellectual training as dispensed by the great public schools. This meant closing down the separate working class Secondary Schools - and the admission of working class pupils into the middle class Secondary Schools by a system of Scholarships. The cultural advantages of his concept of Secondary education, above all for the prospective teacher, must have strengthened Morant's conviction of what was required for Secondary education at this time.[21]

The needs of the intending teacher were also partially responsible for changes that were made in the Secondary School curriculum at this time.

There was much criticism of the premature specialisation in both Grammar and Higher Grade Schools because of the grants that were available from the Science and Art Department (after 1900 from the Board of Education for Scientific and Technical Education). A more general course was desirable. Accordingly, the Secondary School Regulations were revised and the old distinction between Division A and Division B Schools was abolished. The new Regulations of 1904 demanded a balanced curriculum, and this change was supported by the local authorities. 'In their readiness to approve the Board's policy the County Authorities were motivated in large part by their assessment of the majority of their pupils, and, at this date, the demands made upon the Secondary Schools were for clerks and teachers, rather than for artisans and technologists'. Obviously, a predominantly scientific course was unsuitable for their needs. The Regulations in force before 1904 had been criticised for this reason. 'The Board should have the wit to perceive, even if the individual County Council does not, that it cannot be a good thing to train up all the would-be Pupil Teachers upon a curriculum in which science and mathematics are exalted at the expense of the humanities'. Many authorities had adopted 'Division A' Regulations simply because the grant was more generous, but, nevertheless, some others had favoured the more literary type of curriculum of the 'Division B' Course. Lancashire, for instance, noted that a reason in favour of the 'B' Course was that in future it was hoped that a large proportion of the Pupil Teachers (up to sixteen) would be largely educated at the various Secondary Schools, and for all these

students a sound training in general literary subjects was of greater importance than a systematic study of several branches of science.[22]

'It is likely that the strongest pressure away from a scientific and towards an academic curriculum during the years at the beginning of the Century came from the central role assigned to the Secondary Schools in the education of future Pupil Teachers'. Obviously a predominantly scientific course would not meet their needs best. In Coventry it was reported that considerable changes would have to be made in the Secondary Schools of the City if they were to be suitable for the preliminary education of prospective Pupil Teachers. The report stated that the science time must be greatly reduced and some attempt must be made to give proper importance to the literary side of things. While the new Regulations of the Board of Education encouraged languages and maths, L.E.As. were by no means loth to follow, particularly when they considered the particular need of their future Pupil Teachers, at this date, along with lower middle class fee-payers, the most important element in the school.[23]

'From 1903 the Board deliberately set itself to encourage the use of the Secondary School as the natural avenue for the sons and daughters of the labouring classes to the teaching profession in all its branches'.[24] At the same time, the Board insisted that fees were charged by Secondary Schools so that sufficient means were available to maintain adequate standards with regard to staffing and equipment. It was, therefore, necessary for there to be free places or Scholarships for pupils whose

parents could not afford the fees. This applied particularly to intending teachers, and Local Authorities had to establish a system of Scholarships so that intending teachers from Elementary Schools could spend sometime in a Secondary School.

Opportunities for pupils to pass from Elementary Schools to Secondary Schools already existed in various forms. Foundation Scholarships were offered by the Governing bodies of Endowed Schools, or a Scholarship under a scheme governing some local education charity might be available. During the period 1890-1902, a large number of additional Scholarships, eventually amounting to about 5,500 and costing about £80,000 , were provided from public funds supplied by the Science and Art Department and by the local authorities for Technical Education. Unfortunately, this provision was scanty and unevenly distributed. Even if it had been more abundant, it would not have been of much use because of the small number of Secondary Schools offering an efficient Secondary education at moderate fees. One of the tasks that called for the attention of the Local Authorities established by the Act of 1902 was the creation of a Scholarship scheme to enable children of ability to pass from the Elementary School to the Secondary School. They were given a considerable stimulus by the 1903 reforms in the system of educating intending teachers. By 1906, the Scholarship schemes of Higher Education Committees of the Local Authorities were coming into effect, and the position can be gathered from a Parliamentary Return (H.C. No. 110).[25] A great advance had been made in a comparatively short time, even though part of this increase was

owing to a scheme for Local Government Science and Art Scholarships. However, after 1st January, 1906, the provision of Scholarships was given no direct assistance from the State, as the Board felt that with such limited funds at their disposal they would be most usefully spent in securing a higher level of efficiency in the Secondary Schools.

In 1907 there was a change of policy for political reasons by the Liberal Government. Under the new Regulations £250,000 became available for Secondary Schools offering Scholarships under certain conditions. Any school accepting the higher capitation grant from the Board had to receive at least 25% of its intake from Elementary Schools as non fee paying pupils. Such schools would receive £5 per pupil (twelve to eighteen years) and £2 (ten to twelve years) with a minimum grant of £250. The intention was to open the older Grammar Schools to working class children from Elementary Schools. Yet in 1907, the pupils from public Elementary Schools made up about half the total number of pupils in Secondary Schools, and they were divided about equally between fee payers and free places. But while a number of schools consisted entirely of such pupils, other schools had none at all. The Regulations aimed at securing in every area that a Secondary School would be available to the Elementary School pupil.

The Scholarships were also designed to secure from Elementary Schools a supply of pupils who would subsequently become Elementary School teachers, for if recruits were to be found in anything like sufficient numbers, they had to come, as they had always done, from the Elementary

Schools. The ending of the salaried Pupil Teacher system for those under sixteen had already meant a considerable extension of free places in order to achieve an adequate supply of teachers. The prospective teacher had to remain at the Secondary School until his Pupil Teachership began at sixteen, and as many authorities found in attempting to implement the 1903 Regulations, many pupils required not only a free place, but a maintenance allowance, and travelling expenses as well, to ensure that they did not leave school early.[26] Many authorities, therefore, became involved in a large and expensive scheme of maintenance allowances in order to secure sufficient young people at the age of sixteen who were competent to become Pupil Teachers.[27] In view of the expense it is hardly surprising that some local authorities attempted to earmark Scholarships for prospective teachers. For example, in 1904 the L.C.C. offered up to 800 awards of free tuition, together with travelling expenses to children between fourteen and sixteen years, selected by examination and undertaking to become Pupil Teachers on reaching the age of sixteen, and conditional on the parent promising to refund the sum involved should the child eventually fail to become a Pupil Teacher. It was, at one time, proposed that all holders of Junior County Scholarships (approximately 2,000) should be similarly pledged unless they were certified by the Headmaster as likely to win an intermediate Scholarship (involving free education to eighteen or nineteen and a maintenance grant). This led to criticism that to make a great Scholarship scheme subservient to the supply of teachers was to invite ridicule, rather than support. The N.U.T. organised a public

protest meeting to rouse educational opinion against the scheme, and eventually the L.C.C. agreed to withdraw the bond by which parents pledged their children. This meant that all Secondary School pupils could defer their choice of profession until seventeen or eighteen. Some other authorities stopped awarding Scholarships specifically for intending teachers, but at the same time they increased the number of ordinary Scholarships. Lancashire, for instance, awarded 350 intead of 250 in 1908. However, it would appear that the majority of authorities maintained the policy of awarding a number of Scholarships for intending teachers, additional to the County Scholarships, and requiring a lower standard of attainment.[28]

The 1907 Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers expressed doubt as to whether the system of concurrent instruction and employment, which was the essence of Pupil Teachership, had not outlived its usefulness. It found difficulty in justifying the lack of continuity in the education of the intending teacher, especially those pupils who were transferred from the Elementary to the Secondary School at fourteen, followed by another transfer to a Centre at sixteen. The late entry to the Secondary School meant that they had wasted two of the most important years in their school life, and in the process caused disorganisation in the Secondary School. However, the most serious obstacle to effective use of the Secondary School by the intending teacher was the requirement that the Pupil Teacher had to spend up to half of his time in an Elementary School, and as a result his energies were dissipated and his general

education stunted. The Report dismissed the familiar argument that this half time system ensured that the Pupil Teacher received his practical training in how to manage large classes. It doubted whether the continuous contact with the child mind was worth struggling for, and in any case perhaps any advantages that there were, could be better achieved by deferring all practical experience of school work until a more natural break in the pupil's education. The Report also argued strongly against the desirability of retaining the Independent Centres. 'They had done yeoman service in the past, but the debt which the Pupil Teacher system owed to the introduction of Central Classes must not be discharged by a refusal to recognise the serious educational weaknesses to which these classes had always been subject.' Since they had always been regarded as an outgrowth of the Elementary School, they were naturally staffed with teachers trained and equipped for Elementary School work.' The comments of the Chief Examinees for the King's Scholarship Examination for 1905-6 confirmed that the standard reached was a lamentably low one, and that many of the gravest defects were precisely those such as, could be, and ought to be, removed by more intelligent methods of instruction.[29]

The Board was satisfied, from the reports of their Inspectors and the evidence of L.E.As., that the regulations introduced in 1903 had effected a real educational reform. However, the Board was now determined to introduce a more elastic system that would ensure that intending teachers received a more continuous education in a Secondary School. Therefore, new Regulations were introduced in 1907, and this was possible

only because of the growth in the number of Secondary School places. The change in title to 'Regulations for the Preliminary Education of Elementary School Teachers' was significant. The general education of future teachers could now be continued uninterrupted in Secondary Schools until seventeen or eighteen, and all attempts to obtain practical experience of Elementary School work could be deferred until entrance to Training College, or at least until the qualifying examination for admission had been passed. The 1906-7 Report of the Board had stated (p.52)....."The experience of the last few years has convinced the Board that the problem of the selection and education of the new Elementary School teachers must remain insuperable so long as it continues to be regarded as an isolated one, and the prospect of a satisfactory solution only emerges when it is regarded merely as a part of the national problem of making an education in Secondary Schools widely available for all such children from Elementary Schools as are capable of profiting from it, whether they are ultimately destined to become teachers or to enter other professions, or to follow commercial or industrial pursuits'.

The intention of the Board was that the prospective teacher should remain in the Secondary School for as long as possible. The proposals which it had tentatively made in the 1903 Regulations were now to become the normal pattern - and they were as follows:

The Bursary System. The intention was that the prospective teacher would attend the Secondary School from eleven to twelve years to sixteen years and over, as an ordinary pupil. Application could then

be made to the local authority for a Bursary, which would facilitate staying on at school until seventeen or eighteen years. There was to be no formal examination and the onus for nomination was to rest with the local authority, supported by a reference from the Headmaster of the Secondary School, stating that the candidate was of suitable character and attainments for the teaching profession. The Bursar had to have spent at least the two previous years (three years from 1st August, 1909) in the Secondary School, and a declaration of intent to become an Elementary School teacher was required. He was given complete exemption from fees, and allowances were available for maintenance and travelling. During this period as a full time pupil of the Secondary School, the Bursar would work for the Preliminary examination for entrance to Training College. Having attained this, the Bursar could enter the Training College, remain at the Secondary School for a further period, or become a Student Teacher.

The Student Teacher had to be not less than seventeen and of good character. An examination which was a qualification for entry to Training College should have been passed.(This became compulsory with effect from 1st August, 1910). He was employed under a written agreement for one year or, possibly, two years. The salary was to be at the discretion of the authority - e.g., for men, London £55 p.a. Leeds £35 p.a. At least two half days had to be available for the Student Teacher to continue his general education. In most cases this would be fulfilled by attendance at the Secondary School or, failing that, at a Central Class, or in certain instances by private study under supervision. He could

count as a member of staff. (Allowance 1:45 pupils in average attendance, but as some authorities were taking advantage of the student teachers for staffing purposes it was reduced to 1:20 by the Code of 1909 with the intention of limiting his responsibilities). Alternatively, attendance at the school could be devoted entirely to observation. At the end of the year the Student Teacher would proceed to the Training College or become an Uncertificated Teacher.

Under the 1907 Regulations the earlier form of Pupil Teachership was still to be available - in other words it was still possible simultaneously to teach and to study for the qualifying examination. At sixteen years (fifteen in rural districts) the pupil became a Pupil Teacher for two years (three years in rural districts). His time was divided between a public Elementary School for practical training and a Secondary School or a Centre approved by the Board for general education. He had to be healthy and of good character, and a declaration of intent had to be signed. Training in the art of teaching was to be given by the Head Teacher, and each school receiving Pupil Teachers had to be certified by the H.M.I. The Pupil Teacher was not to count on the official staff of the school, and he was to be free from employment on two half days a week.

Another form of Pupil Teachership was possible, in rural areas not within reasonable distance of a Secondary School, mainly for pupils who had been at an Elementary School until they were fourteen years old. In this case the Pupil Teachership commenced at fourteen years and lasted for four years. Training in teaching would be given in the Elementary School

by the Head Teacher, who would also give instruction in some of the subjects for the qualifying examination, but generally this would be supplemented by further instruction at a Centre, or by a peripatetic teacher.

The Centres used by the Pupil Teachers were of two types. Either they were an integral part of a Secondary School, or they were independently organised. The Independent Centres were usually in rural areas, but urban areas which had established efficient Centres were often not anxious to have them replaced (e.g., Manchester). If the Pupil Teacher lived at a distance from the Centre satisfactory arrangements had to be made for their care and oversight during their absence from home - in respect of meals, rest and recreation. Where the Centre was providing Preparatory Classes for Pupil Teachership (i.e. fourteen to sixteen years) pupils were to attend for nine meetings weekly.

The Board made grants to the local authorities for providing the necessary facilities as detailed in the Regulations, and it also paid through them maintenance and travelling allowances for necessitous Bursars and Pupil Teachers. The grant for each of the Pupil Teacher years was £7.10.0d., but this was reduced to £2.10.0d. if the Pupil Teacher did not qualify for entry to Training College within a year of completing the engagement. If the Pupil Teacher were not in a Centre the grant could range from £2 to £5. The local authority was paid £2 for the travelling expenses of each Pupil Teacher. For each Bursar the Board paid £10, which could be increased if required by a further £5 for maintenance, on condition

that a corresponding amount came from local funds, and the Board also paid £2 towards travelling expenses. No grants were payable on behalf of Student Teachers. The Prefatory Memorandum to the Regulations had no doubt that L.E.As. would be alive to the importance of limiting maintenance allowances to those Bursars whose circumstances were such as to render the allowance reasonable. The Surrey Higher Education Committee ruled that if a Bursar wanted a maintenance allowance he had to become a Pupil Teacher.[30]

Morant was determined that the new scheme should be widely accepted. Therefore, to stimulate local authorities to adopt the Bursar - Student Teacher scheme the Board offered a special grant of between £5 - £10 per head to cover the initial expenses of launching it. This grant was to be available for the first year only, although the offer was in fact repeated in the following year, 1908. During the first year the Board recognised a total of 2,055 Bursars, of whom 640 were boys and 1,415 were girls, from eighty local authorities. The majority of authorities welcomed the Bursar system for financial reasons. The L.C.C. calculated that the grants to Bursars and the salaries to Student Teachers were together slightly less than the salaries paid to the Pupil Teachers. In addition, the grants received from the Board were slightly larger than the Pupil Teacher grant. Together with the initial special grant, the total saving for 1907-8 would be £16,770, and for the following year £5,690. Warwickshire anticipated that the charge upon the Higher Education Fund would increase by up to £350, but this would be offset by a reduction of £450 in

the cost of Elementary Education. Durham hoped to save £500 per annum on travelling expenses alone. The West Riding Education Committee claimed that the net saving on a Bursar and Student Teacher, as compared with a Pupil Teacher was £15.10.0d. for boys, and it was estimated that further savings would be effected in respect of each Bursar who proceeded directly to Training College, thus avoiding the Student Teacher Year. The Bath Education Committee considered that the scheme would be highly advantageous to the City, with a large saving of expenditure.[31]

It should be pointed out that many authorities complained that it was unfair for them to have to bear the onus for an intending teacher who failed his examination, or who did not subsequently enter Training College. In an attempt to raise standards in Centres a similar regulation was brought into force for Pupil Teachers in 1908, delaying the payment of grant until the Pupil Teachership had been completed successfully. The aim of the Board was to ensure that Exchequer funds were not spent upon Pupil Teachers who did not really intend to become teachers or whose attainment did not reach up to the standard required. The Wiltshire Education Committee protested that grant for a Pupil Teacher who failed to pass his preliminary examinations (£2.10.0.) was quite inadequate in view of the expense incurred in their training (approximately £15). One result was that some authorities, such as Gloucestershire, carefully vetted each intending teacher to ensure that he would pass the examination and thereby earn the Board's grant.[32]

The response from local authorities was encouraging. Schemes

were devised to comply with the demands of the Regulations, and in the next few years an increasing proportion of intending teachers were recognised as Bursars as opposed to Pupil Teachers. The East Riding Education Committee noted with satisfaction that the new Regulations of the Board were practically on the lines of the Scheme they had recommended in the previous year. The L.C.C. felt that they represented a distinct educational advance as they offered a valuable alternative system of preliminary education for the Elementary School Teacher. As there was some misapprehension among parents and students in Leeds about the effect of the new Regulations, the Education Department issued a Memorandum showing the distinct advantages, not least the financial, of becoming a Student Teacher. 'Education' contains many reports from a variety of authorities expressing their approval of the new Regulations, and their willingness to adopt the Bursary System. The view most commonly held by local authorities was that the old Pupil Teacher system was defective, stated the Board's Report for 1909-10 (p.84). Surrey, like some other authorities, adopted the new Regulations without immediately discouraging Pupil Teachers. The West Riding decided to reserve Pupil Teacherships for candidates who were not qualified by attendance at an approved Secondary School to become Bursars. Some County authorities, such as Durham and Lancashire, desired to adopt the Bursary System, whereas certain of the autonomous authorities within the County for Elementary education wished to retain the Pupil Teacher system. The Lancashire County Higher Education Sub-Committee allowed the Local Committees to opt for either until 1st August, 1910, when

the Bursar - Student Teacher System would be adopted throughout the whole county, but this decision had later to be reversed. Another problem for the County authority was that some autonomous authorities were not prepared to guarantee a Bursar subsequent employment as a Student Teacher. In some cases, the County authorities (e.g. Kent, Staffordshire) responded by strictly limiting the number of Bursaries available to candidates from autonomous authorities. The cause of this friction was that while the expenditure for the Bursar was chargeable to the County Higher Education fund, the cost of the Student Teacher, if he were employed by an autonomous authority for Elementary education, was paid by that authority.[33]

The acceptance by authorities of the Bursary System hastened the closing down of the Pupil Teacher Centres, although, inevitably, this had to be a gradual process. For instance, it was not until Willesden Centre closed in the Spring of 1911 that they ceased to exist in Middlesex. There was, of course, as the Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers had noted (p.21), a natural unwillingness in some towns to abandon the separately organised Centre, which in the past had been the means of effecting a notable improvement on earlier systems of training Pupil Teachers. The Chairman of the Wolverhampton Education Committee felt that their Centre was excellent, but the Board was emphatic that it had to be closed as a Centre not later than July, 1910, and recognised instead as a Girls' Secondary School. It was from this source that the authority would have to look for its supply of female teachers in the future. The

suggestion was made by one Councillor that the closing of the Centre also meant the closing of the profession to the working man's child. The Bristol Education Committee were equally reluctant to dispense with their Centre, which they proudly felt to be one of the largest and best in the country.[34]

The adoption of the Bursary System affected local authorities in another way, for the Regulations, by requiring all pupils to proceed to Secondary School from an earlier age, made it necessary for authorities to introduce new schemes for Scholarships - not only were more required, but they were required from an earlier age. Brighton, for example, offered an additional twenty Junior Scholarships when the Pupil Teacher Centre was closed in July, 1919. Surrey felt that at least 150 Junior Scholarships should be awarded, and, if possible, 150 Senior Teaching Scholarships should be offered. The Board encouraged authorities to offer Scholarships so that a transfer could be made at twelve or thirteen, which was indeed necessary for compliance with the Bursary Regulations, which required three years attendance at the Secondary School before the sixteenth birthday. The Scholarships Handbook of the L.C.C. for 1908 stated that the authority provided a comprehensive system of awards which enabled capable children of parents of slender means to pursue a course of education and training from eleven to twenty at little or no cost to themselves.[35]

It was the claim of the Board that it allowed to local authorities as much latitude in the framing of schemes for the employment and training of Student Teachers as was consistent with securing proper supervision of

of their training and adequate provision for the continuance of their general education. The scheme for the employment of Student Teachers had to be approved by the Board, under the provisions set out in Chapter 7 of the Regulations. Particular attention had to be paid to the selection of schools, the arrangements for the supervision of Student Teachers, their training, and their general education. The main consideration governing the choice of a school was its suitability in affording the student adequate instruction in teaching. A list of suitable schools was to be drawn up, and an essential for inclusion was that the Head Teacher should have been through a Training College Course. However, the Board did not feel that supervision should be left solely to the Head, and considered that every authority should make one of its Officers responsible for Student Teachers. The West Riding appointed a special officer, but Durham rejected such an appointment as wasteful and unnecessary. There were likely to be no more than thirty Student Teachers in the first year, and, furthermore, it was felt that the autonomous authorities would resent a County Officer inspecting Student Teachers in their schools. The proper persons to see to this work were their own Inspectors. The usual practice (e.g., Leicestershire) was for the Director of Education to be responsible for the general supervision along with the respective Head Teachers.[36]

The Board's Report for 1908-9 (pp.147-52) contains detailed extracts from Inspectors' Reports as to how the scheme operated in Liverpool. They felt that the Students were better educated and began their work more mature intellectually than the Pupil Teachers. The Reports commented

favourably on the effect of the Student Teacher on the children and on the Supervising Assistant. The Report for the next year (pp.86-94) described the working of the system in rural areas. Many authorities were critical of the fact that suitability for teaching was tested too late. Leeds Education Committee therefore devised a scheme whereby the first term was to be spent in an Elementary School for this specific purpose. If satisfactory, he would return to Secondary School for a complete year of uninterrupted study. The final two terms would be spent learning to become a teacher in an Elementary School, supplemented by two or three weekly meetings at the Secondary School.[37]

Authorities objected to the stipulation that the Student Teacher was not to attend the Elementary School for the equivalent of one day a week. The views of the Board were emphasised in the Report for 1908-9 (pp.56-7), 'The importance of arranging that he shall have both leisure and encouragement to pursue his general education on the particular lines that may be most suitable to him, cannot be exaggerated and the Board are not prepared to approve any scheme for Student Teachers that does not make adequate provision for these points'. The Board were adamant that he should not become absorbed in school duties, nor be in full charge of a class. A reply to a deputation from the County Councils Association stated that the proposal to extend the service of the Student Teacher to five days instead of four days in the week had received the careful consideration of the Board, but they considered that it was extremely desirable that every Student Teacher should have a reasonable amount of time for the continuance

of his general studies or for the beginning of his professional studies. One result of this attitude can be seen from the Board's Report for 1912-3 (p.153) which claimed that some authorities had in fact been inclined to limit or abandon the system because of the restriction on the Student Teacher's attendance at the Elementary School to eight meetings in the week. The pressure from the authorities was constant, and when it was found necessary to modify the Regulations in 1913 the Board made a concession in so far as it allowed local authorities to submit schemes which, although they still made some provision for general education, were adapted to local conditions. This concession was considered by the Board as experimental in the first instance. Lancashire proposed that Student Teachers should become full time members of staff, responsible for a small class, their own education being reduced to Saturday morning classes. The Board's approval was limited, and it accepted the scheme for an experimental year, and then only for Student Teachers who were already fully qualified to enter Training College.[38]

Most authorities made arrangements for the Student Teacher to continue his general education by attending the local Secondary School for the equivalent of a day weekly. As the County Inspector for Surrey commented, this arrangement was profitable where there were sufficient Students for a special class to be arranged. However, in smaller schools little more than keeping the Student in touch with School was achieved. However, it was difficult for the Student Teacher Scheme to be every fully effective, as the loyalty of the Student was divided between the Elementary

School and the Secondary School. It was for this reason that the Board expressed the wish in Circular 597 that ex-Bursars would proceed direct to college without having dissipated the result of their previous education as Student Teachers in an Elementary School. At College they would receive their first experience in the art of teaching under the Master of Method. At the Secondary School the majority of Students took three or four subjects, such as English, Music, Drawing, Needlework and Physical Training. In Barnsley the classes were held at the Central School, where instruction was given in Psychological Method and visits were also arranged to various schools in the Borough. Birmingham Education Committee made provision for the two half days to be spent at the Day Training Department of the University, at a fee of £6 per annum. In West Wiltshire Students attended a Central Class in Salisbury conducted by a tutor from Salisbury Training College.[39]

Authorities were also critical of the requirement effective from August, 1910, that the Bursar had to have passed the qualifying examination for entry to Training College before he became a Student Teacher. If, however, he passed the examination as a whole, yet failed in one of the subjects prescribed by the Board's Regulations, then the local authorities were given permission to allow such candidates to become unrecognised Student Teachers. Out of the 3,102 recommended to the Board in 1910-11 for recognition as Student Teachers, 401 failed to pass the qualifying examination, 110 of whom completed their qualification during the course of the year. As a result of pressure from the authorities the Regulations were modified

in 1913 to provide for the recognition under certain conditions of Bursars who had not completed their qualification.[40]

It was unfortunate that despite the introduction of Bursar-Student Teacher System - or perhaps because of it - there was a serious decline in the number of intending teachers. The Prefatory Memorandum to the Regulations for 1909 called 'the serious attention of L.E.As. to the doubt which must exist whether the number of Bursars and Pupil Teachers now being brought annually into the earliest stages of the teaching profession is sufficient to maintain a supply of adult teachers adequate to the needs of the Elementary Schools of the country'. It was estimated by the Board that 14,000 new Pupil Teachers and Bursars were required annually. The decline in the total number of entrants to less than half that number threatened the whole existence of the education system. The causes of this decline, stated the Board's Report for 1912-3 (p.149) were complex...!they vary from district to district and are different in town and country and for men and women. It is difficult to disentangle them or to estimate their relative importance'. Many reasons were put forward, but solutions were not so plentiful. The Board looked to the authorities to solve any problems of recruitment. Commenting on the future supply of Certificated Teachers, as early as 1905-6, the Report (pp.38-39) stated that the burden of supplying new recruits was very unequally borne by the various parts of the country. A comparison, admittedly only made on the basis of the 1904 King's Scholarship examination, of the number of candidates who passed that examination per 100 Certificated Teachers in the different areas showed a wide range

between the minimum and maximum figures. 'The districts where the population is most dense, the geographical areas of London and Middlesex, supply only six King's Scholars for every 100 Certificated Teachers employed by the L.E.As. in these areas. On the other hand, rural areas such as Pembrokeshire and Cornwall or Cumberland, supply from twenty seven to thirty King's Scholars for every 100 Certificated Teacher.....but it cannot be said that it is impossible for urban areas to do their share of this important work, for all the County Boroughs supply a larger proportion than the lowest quoted above, many of them do very nearly as well as the rural areas we have just named, and some of them such as Grimsby, Lincoln and Oxford with thirty five per 100 Certificated Teachers do even better'. These points were taken up in some detail in the Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers 1903-7. The statistical tables (p.166) gave the proportion of new Pupil Teachers for each areas as compared with the number of scholars under instruction in public Elementary Schools, thereby affording a rough estimate of the contribution made by each area to the general supply. Furthermore, the Board emphasised that it was desirable that each authority should have regard less to the actual supply of adult teachers required in its area, but rather to the suitability of the population of its area to furnish good candidates. A letter from the Board to the County Councils Association in the following year adopted the same attitude. 'It should also be borne in mind that those authorities who appear to be educating the largest proportion of Pupil Teachers are educating a much smaller proportion than is desirable in order to provide an adequate

supply of adult teachers in the future, unless the very serious wastage which at present occurs at all stages of the process (not less through the failure to pass the necessary qualifying examination) can be greatly diminished'.[41]

By 1911 complaints were widespread about the fall in the number of young persons coming forward as Bursars and Pupil Teachers, and moreover, the effects were beginning to be felt in the schools. The Board's Report for 1911-12 stated (p.53)....'In many districts, especially inthe country, L.E.As. and School Managers now find it difficult to fill vacancies in the teaching staff as they arise, and there is prospect of greater and more serious difficulty in this respect'. The shortage in such areas had certainly been accentuated by the Bursary System. How many boys or girls, queried County authorities such as Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Berkshire, after three years in a Secondary School, desired to become an Uncertificated teacher at eighteen, or even a Certificated teacher at twenty, in a rural school. The emphasis by the Board on the selection of candidates with superior attainments, on a long and expensive course at Secondary School, followed by Training College, meant that fewer Uncertificated teachers were available. The Bursar Scheme could probably produce an adequate supply of Certificated teachers, but it would certainly not produce an adequate supply of Uncertificated teachers on which the rural schools had hitherto depended. The Board regretfully noted the results of its policy in the Report for 1913-14, (p.206).....'the usefulness of teachers of a lower grade in country schools

was hardly realised, and the economic difficulty of rising at once to the ideal of fully trained teachers in every school was not sufficiently estimated'.[42] Economic difficulties, namely the financial attractions of the profession were cited most frequently as the cause of the fall in numbers. This was accepted by the Board in its Report for 1912-13 (pp. 149-150) ... 'The number of young persons adopting theprofession of an Elementary School teacher must ultimately be determined by the attractiveness in respect of emoluments, immediate and prospective status and security. As regards emoluments, it is certain that there are very wide variations in the salaries paid in the different parts of the country'. The local authorities that offered the most attractive salaries usually had sufficient teachers.

It was argued that the Bursary System aggravated the economic problems, for it delayed the earning powers of the young teacher who could not become a wage earner until nineteen at the earliest or, in most cases, until twenty one. The maintenance grant, assuming that the intending teacher was eligible, was often inadequate and usually did not start until sixteen or seventeen, regardless of the fact that many parents either could not afford, or were unwilling, to keep their children at school. By comparison with the 'old' Pupil Teacher System where, at no cost to the parents, the Pupil started to earn a small salary from a comparatively early age, the Bursar System was a drain on the family resources. Lower middle and working class children had supplied most of the recruits to the profession in the past, and it appeared to many that the Bursary System,

by postponing the earning powers of the intending teacher, put up a barrier against the entrance of this class of child. Many considered the Pupil Teacher System to be the peculiar preserve of the working class - for obtaining higher education and securing some degree of social mobility. The closer association of the teaching profession with the middle class Secondary School resulted in cries of 'A Stolen Profession'. In a speech at Dudley in July, 1909, the President of the Board, W. Runciman, hotly denied that the Bursary System was leading to the exclusion of working class children. However, many parents could not afford to forego the earnings of children after the age of compulsory education had passed. Gloucestershire County Council called upon the Board to make the necessary financial provision to meet this deficiency. It was obvious to the authorities that free education up to sixteen was not a sufficient incentive, and in July, 1911, the Association of Directors and Secretaries of Education appealed for additional Exchequer grants to assist them in the payment of increased maintenance allowances. A conference of L.E.As. meeting at Leeds in January, 1912, made a similar request.

The West Riding had urged the Board to adopt some scheme to provide for the preliminary education and training of a sufficient number of boys and girls from every area, and at the same time adequate funds for such purposes should be granted by Parliament. The Council informed the Board that it could not incur any further expenditure on the preliminary education of teachers, as it had already had to apply to the Local

Government Board for rating powers to raise the Higher Education rate to fourpence in the pound. Mr. H. Hobhouse, Chairman of the Education Committee of the County Councils Associations, complained that not only had the Board given little useful guidance to authorities as to the numbers they ought to train, but they had failed to provide such financial assistance as appeared to be absolutely necessary, especially towards the earlier part of the training. In a letter to the Board on the supply of teachers, Leicestershire Education Committee observed that any deficiency of intending teachers in the County was not caused by an inadequate provision of Secondary education, as the Board sometimes suggested. The County had provided facilities at seventeen Secondary Schools, which were accessible for most rural areas. An inquiry among Leicestershire Head Teachers had revealed that an additional twenty to thirty teachers could be secured by granting adequate maintenance allowances to pupils who would otherwise leave school.[43]

It had, of course, been increasingly difficult to recruit sufficient boys for a number of years. Openings in other occupations in commerce, industry and the Civil Service offered better prospects. Furthermore, now that promising to teach was no longer the only method of entering on a course of education other than Elementary, Elementary school teaching was hardly able to hold its own in competition with other professions and callings. In other words, the working class child could obtain a Secondary education without having to pay the price of becoming a teacher. The policy of the Board was to rely on the natural attractions

of the profession. This was a negative policy. The situation deteriorated further because of an oversupply of trained teachers, which was given considerable publicity. Many parents were not prepared to allow their children to enter a profession where there was a fear of unemployment. The L.C.C. stated that it did not feel justified in encouraging intelligent boys and girls to become Pupil Teachers and Bursars if they had no better prospect before them than that of becoming Uncertificated Teachers. As the Board's Report for 1908-9 (p.47) commented 'The length and comparative arduousness of the preliminary stages often act as a deterrent and parents are naturally prone to be alarmed by any suggestion that the profession to which the approach is so guarded, is or is likely to be, overstocked'.[44]

The rural authorities blamed the policy of the Board in making the Secondary School the normal method of entrance into the profession. Hitherto the country areas had provided a considerable number of teachers, but many possible candidates were virtually excluded by the more stringent conditions introduced by the Regulations. As early as January, 1908, Westmorland noted that the lack of elasticity in the new Regulations had resulted in a decrease in the number of candidates. Warwickshire complained that the Board had refused to recognise several candidates, even though the authority had introduced the Bursar System in deference to the wishes of the Board. In its Report for 1911-12 (p.53) the Board admitted that one of the causes for the fall in recruitment was the physical impossibility of attendance at Secondary Schools from many country districts. The

profession was certainly closed to some children in country districts, although some authorities continued to recruit a number of such candidates by offering Boarding Scholarships to Secondary Schools. It was, of course, still possible for Pupil Teachers to be recognised in approved schools in rural districts beyond the reach of a Secondary School, but this system was not widely adopted as the Board had not made it financially attractive. The number of such Pupil Teachers recognised in 1904-5 was 2,141, yet by 1911-12 the number had fallen to twenty nine, and this was the chief reason for the shortage of staff in rural areas. It should be pointed out that some authorities were reluctant to incur the expense of opening new Secondary Schools to meet the requirements of the Regulations. There was no express obligation on the Local Authorities to train teachers, and some of them made very little effort to provide the necessary facilities to carry through the preliminary stages of training. 'The is no doubt that in some places there are a number of children who would become teachers, but are debarred from doing so because the L.E.A. have made inadequate or no provision for the purpose. Such authorities are, however, in a minority: the problem is to account for the failure of the supply in areas where the authority have endeavoured to encourage it'.[45]

It was essential for measures to be taken to remedy the very grave situation caused by the serious fall in the numbers coming forward. In July, 1913, the Board issued Circular 821 announcing changes designed to assist local authorities in facilitating the entry into the profession of children prevented from reaching it. The remedies followed suggestions

made by the authorities and discussed with them before they were embodied in the Regulations for that year. Wiltshire was sure that the modifications would involve an increase in expenditure, but it was felt unavoidable in the circumstances. The determination of the Board not to abandon the Bursar System was clearly evident. It was impressed by the marked improvement in candidates who had entered teaching after a substantial period of attendance at a Secondary School.[46] Accordingly, maintenance grants were increased up to a maximum of £15, the authority paying half the sum, and they were to be available throughout the whole of the intending teacher's school life. Wolverhampton, Huddersfield and Leeds dismissed the grants as inadequate. The Board made available £10,000 in aid of the initial cost of extending these maintenance allowances. Mr. F. Goldstone, a prominent member of the N.U.T., described it in Parliament as a bribe of £10,000 to the Bursars. It would not solve any difficulties, and these difficulties would remain until teachers were paid respectable salaries. Some authorities, such as the L.C.C., Wiltshire and the West Riding, took the opportunity to award Scholarships to pupils up to fourteen or fifteen in Elementary Schools who were considered suitable for the teaching profession.[47]

At the same time, the Board found it necessary to return to the Pupil Teacher System in a form suitable for those areas that were still without a satisfactory network of Secondary Schools. The Board were careful to point out that it was not merely reverting to the old system, but rather improving on it by securing greater opportunities for a good general

education. Grants were substantially increased. Pupil Teachers could be appointed at fourteen years, and the L.E.A. was responsible for making such arrangements as appeared to them most suitable under the circumstances. Instruction was to be given by the Head Teacher, and unless he was exceptionally able this was to be supplemented by such methods as attendance at a Pupil Teacher Centre for one or more sessions, the appointment of specially qualified techers to the staff of the school, visiting teachers and the residence of Pupil Teachers for such periods as were possible at a suitable place of instruction. The first of the four years was to consist entirely of general education, but in the second year a quarter of the time could be spent learning teaching techniques, to be increased in the third and fourth years to a half. Once the Pupil Teacher had gained entrance to a Training College he could become a full time teacher. The Board had to subsequently emphasise that this scheme was only open for candidates whose homes were not within easy reach of a Secondary School or a Centre. The Report for 1913-14 (pp.134-9) describes some of the various methods adopted by authorities. Most of them appointed peripatetic teachers (e.g., Dorset, Gloucestershire). Warwickshire strengthened the staff and improved the equipment of two Elementary Schools (Wellesbourne and Tysoe) so that they became Central Intermediate Schools for Pupil Teachers. The North Riding developed Central Classes, and provided hostel accommodation so that classes could be held on successive days. Berkshire, Norfolk and Warwickshire provided for the supplementary instruction of certain Pupil Teachers by correspondence. Several additions, including three in

Hampshire and two in Durham, were made to the number of Pupil =Teacher Centres recognised as separate institutions. Lancashire felt that the Pupil Teacher System would not materially increase the supply of teachers, and instead they concentrated their attention on developing Secondary School facilities, hoping that free tuition together with maintenance and travelling allowances would be sufficient inducement. In 1913 the Committee was responsible for building five new Secondary Schools, and considerable extensions had taken place at five others.

The 1913 Regulations also encouraged local authorities to suggest their own schemes for bringing recruits into the profession, for the Board was well aware that some authorities had succeeded in getting a supply of teachers through avenues other than those aided under the existing Regulations. In assessing the grant to be paid the Board would be guided by the success of the scheme in producing qualified teachers. It was decided to aid four such schemes which were submitted by Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Liverpool and Warwickshire, and these are described in the Report for 1913-14 (pp.142-4).[48]

The new Regulations do not appear to have had much effect on recruitment, but owing to the outbreak of the 1914 War it is difficult to make a reliable judgment, for this in its turn created further problems of supply and demand. The Report for 1913-4 (p.133) announced that the improvement had been very slight, and the number of candidates 'continues to fall below the needs of the country. Unless the rate of increase is very much greater in the near future it will be impossible to maintain the staffing of Elementary Schools at a satisfactory level of efficiency.

During the period 1902-14, the preliminary education of the intending teacher was drastically altered. The Pupil Teacher System, together with the Pupil Teacher Centre, which had attempted to provide Secondary education of a kind when few Secondary Schools had existed, were replaced by the Bursar - Student Teacher Scheme, which was dependent on attendance at Secondary School. The proportion of entrants to Training Colleges who had received a continuous education in a Secondary School up to the age of seventeen rose from a very small minority to nearly 40% in 1911. By regulation, encouragement, and a certain degree of financial support, the Board brought about a very marked rise in standards. For example, a report of the Kent Education Committee of December, 1903, stated the instruction in the Centres was of the most meagre and perfunctory description, yet by 1909 there were 512 pupils who had qualified as Pupil Teachers or Bursars, and who were receiving a thorough course of Secondary instruction in properly equipped and efficient Secondary Schools. In addition, there were in Secondary Schools maintained or aided by the Committee nearly 4,000 pupils contributing a source of supply from which teachers of the future could be drawn. The rise in standards of preliminary education, resulting from the intending teacher having attended Secondary School, meant that the Training College was able in its turn to concentrate on more advanced work, and in particular on professional training.[49]

There was no doubt that the Board was firmly determined to make alterations in the preliminary education of the intending teacher, and the control exercised through its regulations was a decisive factor in securing this end. However, the success of the Board's policies depended ultimately

on the development by each authority of Secondary education facilities, which had to be backed up by a scheme of Scholarships and maintenance allowances. On the whole, the authorities responded well, considering that there was no statutory obligation for them to provide such facilities. Inevitably, many did not respond as quickly as the Board would have liked, not least because the rural authorities doubted the wisdom of dispensing with the Pupil Teacher System. Even so, a study of the Minutes of the Higher Education Committees reveals the central importance to their debates of the preliminary education of the intending teacher.

The policy of the Board was to abandon earmarking intending teachers from an early age for specific training, hoping instead that a large enough body of sufficiently well educated Secondary School pupils would be attracted to teaching at an age when they were able to make the choice. This meant, in effect, increasing further the facilities for Secondary education and increasing the remuneration of teachers. Nevertheless, the responsibility for maintaining an adequate supply of candidates rested with the local authorities, as it had done in the past with the Managers of Voluntary Schools and School Boards, and the Board reminded them of this once there was a fall off in supply. A co-operative effort of this sort clearly required that the roles of the local authority and the Board should be defined clearly. Unfortunately, too much was left to chance. The Board alone could take an overall view of the situation, but it was reluctant to give definite guidance to the local authorities. However, the position became so serious that in 1915 (Circular 915) the Board

emphasised to authorities the importance of estimating the annual wastage in their areas, and it calculated that in few areas the needs of the profession could be maintained with an innual intake of less than 6% of the teachers employed. The Board criticised areas such as London, Lancashire and Cheshire, and Birmingham that were relying heavily on obtaining teachers who had been educated at the expense of other authorities. In its turn the Board was criticised for not devising a national scheme for the financing of the preliminary education of teachers. It was argued that the whole cost should be borne by central funds, for while each local authority was prepared to be responsible for the staffing of its own schools, it was naturally reluctant to incur expenditure which could be to the benefit of other authorities. The Act of 1918 defined the responsibilities of the local authorities more precisely.[50]

CHAPTER V

The Training of Teachers: 1902 - 1914

Prior to 1902 there were two types of training colleges - Residential Colleges, conducted by voluntary bodies, mainly denominational in character, and Day Training Colleges under the aegis of the Universities and University Colleges. By the Education Act of 1902 specific powers were given to the new L.E.As., enabling them to train teachers. Section 22(3) of the Act stated that 'the power (of the L.E.As. in the Counties and County Boroughs) to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary includes a power to train teachers.'(1) Section 23(2) added that this power 'shall include a power to make provision for the purpose outside their area in cases where they consider it expedient to do so in the interests of their area, and shall include power to provide or assist in paying the fees of, students at schools or colleges or hostels within or without that area.'

These powers were explained more fully in Morant's Prefatory Memorandum to the Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers and Students in Training Colleges published in 1903. Now that L.E.As. had been established for every large or populous area, it was hoped that facilities for the training of teachers would be greatly increased. Next, the Memorandum anticipated that L.E.As. would unite in fostering this development by making subsidies to existing Day or Residential Colleges, in return for additional accommodation or in return for the right of nomination to free places in such Colleges. Another possibility was to establish a scholarship system by which the

cleverest Pupil Teachers in their area may proceed to particular Training Colleges. Alternatively an Authority could provide Hostels or Training Colleges on its own, or in collaboration with other Authorities.

The same Regulations removed a long-standing grievance of the Residential Colleges - namely the limit of the grant to colleges of 75% of the actual expenditure was abolished. Another alteration, in this case to the benefit of students in Day Colleges residing in approved Hostels, was that Exchequer grants would be on the same scale as the grants made in respect of students in Residential Colleges. This change was the result of a promise made during the passage of the 1902 Education Act, that grants equal to those hitherto paid in respect of students residing in Residential Colleges would be paid in respect of all Training College students, except Day students not residing in Hostels. New Hostels could now, of course, be established by a Local Education Authority for students at Day or Residential Colleges.(2) The main object of these changes was to secure for as many Training College Students as possible a share in a healthy corporate student life which, claimed the Board Report for 1902/3 (p.13), 'will tend to the improvement of the standard of Certificated Teachers generally.'

What facilities existed for the training of teachers for public elementary schools in 1902? There were 65 colleges in receipt of Government grants, of which 20 were for men, 32 for women, and 13 were mixed. 46 of these colleges were Residential Colleges providing accommodation for 4,485 students. In 1902 there were in residence 1537 men and 2751 women, plus 182 day students. The remaining 19 Colleges were Day Training Colleges which were attended by 1607 students, of

whom 742 were men and 865 were women. This was not a very satisfactory state of affairs. In the first place there was not anything like enough places in the colleges for all those who had obtained a First or Second Class in the King's Scholarship Examination, or who had been successful in other examinations approved by the Board. Of the 10,728 candidates at the examination held in December 1901, 2,703 were eventually admitted to college. Secondly, of the places available (including those at Day Training Colleges) 3,986 were in denominational colleges, which were residential and almost entirely restricted by denominational conditions without a Conscience Clause. Obviously not only were more places needed, but there was a particular need for more places free from denominational restrictions. In the third place, the number of children in average attendance at Public Elementary Schools had risen by 1902/3 to 5,030,219, yet the annual output of the Colleges was only 2,791. Furthermore, the majority of teachers had not been trained. In the schools under inspection there were 67,813 certificated teachers (1 to every 72.2 children in average attendance), 29,218 Pupil Teachers, 36,265 Assistants, and 17,588 Additional Women Teachers. Of the 25,570 Certificated Masters 71.9% had been trained, and of the 42,198 Certificated Mistresses the percentage was 48%. The Report for 1902/3 continued:(p.3) 'Of the teachers, however, who are technically described as untrained, a large proportion have been through the Pupil Teachers' Course, and afterwards served as assistants in large schools, before passing the examination for a Certificate and undertaking independent charges.' (3)

Comments such as these did not hide the fact that there was a shortage of trained teachers which could only be solved by more Training

College accommodation - and this the Board knew. The remodelled Regulations for the Training of Teachers demonstrated that Morant was determined to improve both the preliminary training of intending teachers and also the later stage at Training College, for he considered an improvement in the quality of teachers to be of fundamental importance. 'The influence of a body of thoroughly competent, zealous and conscientious teachers in public elementary schools may plainly be an immensely important factor in our national life, and apart from their professional work, the teachers as a body of well-educated men and women may render services out of all proportion to their number in the population in the performance of the common duties of citizenship'.(4) The Prefatory Memorandum looked to the Local Authorities to provide the additional facilities required for training sufficient teachers. In an attempt to motivate the Authorities into action, Morant assured them that only by making provisions to provide fully qualified teachers would they be able to secure a proper return on the rest of their educational expenditure.

Pressure on the Local Authorities for action also came from The Record. 'The restrictions that had hampered the action of the School Boards have been swept away. Now there are Authorities which can without fear of auditorial restrictions establish and carry through a complete system of training for all grades of teachers. The passing of the Act of 1902 has made it possible for the first time for L.E.As. to deal with the matter systematically, and it is much to be hoped that the new authorities will at once take steps to set in force the powers which they possess under the Act and will draw up comprehensive schemes. Every important L.E.A. should prepare a scheme for meeting the demand

for teachers by the provision either of Residential or Day Training Colleges. Lesser Education Authorities should co-operate wherever possible with their more important neighbours by paying the fees of candidates, or by contributing to the establishment of colleges or hostels.(5)

Pressure also came from 'Education', the official organ of the Education Committees, on numerous occasions. 'It is clear that L.E.As. will have to take the question of the training of teachers in hand without delay. A well-defined, co-ordinated and uniform system of education, good school buildings, and innumerable scholars are all very well, but without an adequate supply of adequately trained teachers we cannot and we shall certainly not obtain good educational results. . . . The question is one of national importance and one which cannot be ignored, and it must be admitted that the facts we have given amount to an unanswerable condemnation of the slipshod and haphazard manner (we cannot say method) in which the great question of the education of the children of the people has hitherto been dealt with. The provision of a College may be beyond the reach of any individual authority - with one or two exceptions - but what is there to prevent two or three authorities uniting forces for this purpose? We sincerely trust they will at once grapple with this subject and wipe out what is no less than a national disgrace.(6)

There was certainly considerable agreement about the need for more trained teachers, but equally there was considerable feeling among Local Authorities that the onus for providing for this deficiency should rest with the Government, and not with the Local Authorities. A deputation

from the County Councils' Association went to the Board of Education on 3rd December 1903, and raised the difficulties involved in the training of teachers. Their feelings were quite evident from a representative Conference on Higher Education held in London on 17th March 1903. Sir Richard Jebb, M.P., said, 'One principle that ought to be borne in mind in regard to the whole question of the training of teachers - namely that the subject was one of national concern, not merely a local one (Cheers). There were many agricultural counties in which he was inclined to think that the feeling would be this - they would say, 'Our burdens are already very heavy. How can we fairly be asked to increase these burdens in order to provide training in the counties for teachers who, when they have been trained, will leave us and turn their training to account in other parts of the country?'(7) We fully recognise the national importance of the training of teachers, but the provision of new facilities on an adequate scale within our county would mean putting on us a responsibility heavier than we ought to be called upon to bear'. The subject was one of most urgent importance to the country from every point of view - educational, industrial, and commercial. It was a matter of very great difficulty and complexity, and the new authorities would do patriotic work in helping to solve the problem.(8)

The point of view of the Local Authorities was ably expressed in Parliament (and elsewhere) on a number of occasions by the Rt. Hon. H. Hobhouse, M.P., Chairman of Somersetshire Education Committee. The cost of the training of teachers was now for the first time made a matter for local taxation, instead of a matter for Imperial taxation. It was

his view that the training of teachers was a matter of national concern. Indeed, it was impossible to treat the question as a local question. There were about 130 different L.E.As. and those who had to deal with them knew how difficult it was to get them to agree to combined action for any purpose: and the difficulty would be increased in the matter of training teachers, as the duty was not obligatory, but optional. He did not think the Secretary of the Board would care to undertake the job of forcing the Local Authorities to do their share of the work in the training of teachers. One objection which the Local Authorities could urge was that it was impossible to localise teachers. The teachers trained by the Local Authorities would be tempted to go elsewhere by the offer of higher salaries. Then why should country ratepayers be asked to pay for the training of teachers who would serve in the large towns? All these difficulties made it clear that little would be done by the Local Authorities for the training of teachers until the work was made easier for them by the Central Authority. He wished the Government to assume greater responsibility, and not to imagine that they could shunt off their responsibilities on to the Local Authorities.(9).

The outcome of this debate was a promise by the Government that an announcement would be made about building grants being made available for Training Colleges. It was felt important that the locality should bear a portion of the cost, in order to prevent wasteful extravagance, which was likely to occur if a Local Authority were allowed to build a college at its own sweet will and at no expense to itself. However, the Rt. Hon. H. Hobhouse hoped that the burden expected of the Local Authorities would

be no greater than that required to secure the economical administration of the Colleges.(10) The attitude of the Board can be seen from the reply of Lord Londonderry, President of the Board, to a deputation from the West Riding which complained about the cost to the ratepayers of training teachers.

The deputation requested that the State should undertake a large share of the cost, or, alternatively, if it were not prepared to do this, it should step in to ensure that Local Authorities that did undertake the training of teachers should obtain a definite return in the shape of services rendered by trained teachers. The President replied that it could not seriously be contended that the State should give more. The grants paid by the Government,(11) together with the fees paid by the Students, covered the cost of maintaining the Colleges. Furthermore, the Government had pledged itself to assist with building grants in establishing Colleges. With regard to the alternative proposal, the President felt that it was the responsibility of each Authority to make its own arrangements about binding teachers down to serve under them for a number of years. He felt that a more satisfactory solution would be for Counties and County Boroughs to establish a Training College in a suitable Centre where students would be sent by the contributory Authorities.

What action was taken by individual Local Authorities in providing college places? It was not until the end of September 1904 that the Act had come into operation in the area of every L.E.A., and it would seem that, after they had assumed their powers, the Authorities had other more pressing tasks, such as the preparation of Draft Schemes for the

Board and negotiations with minor Education Authorities. The Board of Education Report for 1903/4(p.6) commented that so great a change in our educational system, throwing duties upon Local Authorities which are not merely heavy in amount but novel in character, could hardly be expected to come into operation without some degree of difficulty. Special difficulties have been experienced in certain places by Local Authorities in dealing with the Governing Bodies and the teaching staff of the smaller secondary schools and with the Managers of voluntary schools.' Admittedly Higher Education Sub-Committees, set up by the Local Authorities, discussed the question of teacher training, but most of them saw their role in this context as remodelling their pupil teacher system around the Secondary School as required by the new Pupil Teacher Regulations. They were not particularly anxious to shoulder the burden of the later stage of training - if, in fact, they discussed it at all.

Where Authorities made a survey of the educational facilities of the area, this also took time, and even then the provision of training facilities was likely to be overlooked.(12) Higher education generally was ignored, for its provision was largely optional. Local Authorities were empowered by the Act of 1902 to allocate the 'Whisky Money' to Higher Education, and they had the power to levy a rate. However, as additional rates were inevitable for elementary education, it was unlikely that Local Authorities would willingly ask ratepayers for funds for 'unnecessary institutions' of a higher order. Furthermore, no doubt many councillors were sure in their own minds that Certification was a quite adequate qualification for most of their teaching staff - and more

especially if any of the cost of training had to be borne by the Local Authority.(13)

It would appear that, if there were discussions by the various Higher Education Sub-Committees, they followed much the same pattern. The problem was discussed, anxiety was expressed about the need for more College places, but the Committee was careful not to implicate itself in a situation where it felt that the responsibility should rest with the Government. All too often nothing resulted from the discussions. For instance, on 12th October 1903 a Special Sub-Committee of Lancashire Higher Education Committee reported that further provision for the training of teachers was a pressing necessity in Lancashire, and probably in the neighbouring counties, for it was thought likely that considerably more than a half of those obtaining King's Scholarships in the area were unable to enter Training College. It referred to the current idea that the State should have undertaken this work, but dismissed it without discussion in view of the clear definition of the Local Authority responsibility for it. An exploratory Conference was suggested, and invitations were sent to representatives of the Lancashire County Boroughs, Cheshire County Boroughs, Cheshire County Council, H.M.I's. and the Universities of Manchester and Liverpool, with which a close association of any new college was considered important. The Conference was held on 23rd November 1903, and it discussed the possibilities of a co-operative effort to remedy the deficiency in the supply of trained teachers. Dr. Hopkinson, Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University, Manchester, expressed a preference for State provision of Training Colleges as being

more equitable and less likely to lead to provincialism than purely local colleges. It was suggested that the Councils represented at the meeting should establish two new colleges at Manchester and Liverpool in close connection with the Universities there, and the meeting was adjourned.

The Director of Education for Lancashire showed in his report of May 1904 that, within the areas of the Local Authorities contemplating co-operation, there was 1 undenominational College, 4 denominational Colleges and 2 Day Training Colleges. Their total output of approximately 836 students was quite inadequate to cope with the increasing numbers eligible for entry, and still less to cope with those in the Third Class of the King's Scholarship examination. He called for co-operation between the neighbouring authorities to secure efficiency and economy, contributions to be made on a capitation basis. The Conference that had been adjourned met again on 9th June 1904. But discussing the arrangements for financing and managing the College between as many as 21 Local Authorities was slow. Sir Henry Hibbert, Chairman of the Lancashire Education Committee, noted that 'combination is exceedingly difficult - it would have to be enforced by the Board of Education.' The Training Colleges Sub-Committee of the Lancashire Education Committee became impatient, and in January 1905 drew up for the County Education Committee schemes for a college capable of accommodating 150 women. They planned to convert an existing building, a railway hotel, as this would be less costly and less likely to leave them with a white elephant if it failed. Despite such precautions, it was financial considerations which caused

the scheme to be shelved. The cost was too expensive, and the Committee dreaded the expenditure involved in a new building.(14)

The Manchester Education Committee felt that Manchester was a convenient and homogeneous area, suitable for establishing an undenominational college for men, and an undenominational college for women in rented buildings. Even if such houses had to be extended to afford additional dormitory and classroom accommodation, this course would be preferable in the first instance to embarking on the immediate creation of College buildings. Time would undoubtedly be saved, and there would be the additional advantage of the Authority obtaining further experience before any serious capital expenditure was incurred. The provision of undenominational hostels at Owen's College, Manchester, was also desirable.(15) In the following year, a recommendation was made to purchase Manley Hall, Whalley Bridge, as a Residential College for women. Mr. Pennington argued that it was unwise and dangerous for a city authority to go into the business of keeping what was really a boarding house for teachers. Day Training Colleges were the proper institutions to be established by public bodies. The fear that the City would find itself bearing the cost of an institution which would be used by other Authorities was the downfall of this Scheme.(3)

A large gathering of Authorities in East Anglia at a meeting in December 1903 at Ipswich resolved that additional undenominational facilities should be provided for Elementary School Teachers in the area, by establishing one or more Colleges. Special attention would be paid to rural subjects. The obvious enthusiasm of this meeting appeared to

augur well for the future. 'There is not a shadow of doubt', commented Education, 'that united action of this description will produce, in a great many cases, the best results. Perhaps the time will arrive in the dim and distant future when the State will assume the responsibility of what in our opinion is a national question'. However, no College was ever established. Alternative proposals submitted later that year by Mr. Austin Keen, Secretary of the Cambridge County Education Committee, with a view to the joint action in establishing hostels at existing Colleges also failed to materialise. He reported the remarkable fact that, in administering the new Act, there had been an average general increase in the numbers of children for the area of 10%, and East Anglia now required a staff of 5,561 teachers. His recommendation was to provide a hostel in connection with Norwich Training College and another with Saffron Walden College, each for 50 to 60 women, together with a hostel or its equivalent for men at the Cambridge Day College. The total cost would be about £15,000, which, distributed among the associated Authorities on the basis of average attendance, would work out at the trifling amount of £5 for every 1,000 children.(16)

Co-operation was the keynote of an important Conference about the training of teachers in Wales. The Chairman, Principal Griffiths, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales, reminded the delegates that the one really new branch of education given to the Local Authorities was the creation of a satisfactory system for the training of teachers. No machinery existed, of course, to compel each Authority to discharge its due part in this matter of national importance. Nevertheless, it was evident that action had to be taken even if the more zealous Authorities

had to carry an undue portion of the burden. He hoped that Wales would lead the way. Any policy depended on the proportion of Certificated teachers to pupils, and they should not be satisfied until it was 1:40 or 1:50, in which case Glamorgan alone would require 2,500 teachers. There was considerable willingness by the Conference to consider the needs of Wales as an educational unit. As a first step an impartial Committee was to inquire into the number, location, status and equipment of Training Colleges in Wales.(17) A second Welsh National Conference on the Training of Teachers was held at Shrewsbury in 1906. Professor Rees successfully moved that immediate steps should be taken to establish a Council of Education, which should proceed to provide additional College facilities for the training of teachers.

A joint effort to provide training facilities received much attention at the North of England Education Conference in March 1905. A careful analysis showed that an additional 180 teachers were required annually (i.e. 360 places - 280 women, 80 men.) The estimated cost of building a Residential College was from £150 to £200 per place, but the Conference was more favourably disposed to hostel accommodation, as this cost only £100 per place. The men could therefore be established in a hostel in connection with either division of Durham University at a cost of £8,000. If the Training Colleges at Durham, Darlington, and Newcastle would co-operate, hostels could be built for 50 women at each College. A suitable Centre would be found for the remaining 130 places in Cumberland or Westmorland, such as St. Bees. The total capital outlay of this Scheme was £42,500, representing an annual charge of £2,500 on a 6% basis, which meant that each Authority would be charged about £7 for every 1,000

children in average attendance in its schools. The maintenance costs would be met from the Government grant and the Students' fees. Co-operation on this scale proved too difficult, and the Scheme was never implemented.(18)

In Hereford an opportunity was presented to the County Council to respond to the need for more College accommodation. The result was that it has the distinction of being the first Local Authority to establish a Training College. The situation was certainly unusual, for Herefordshire is certainly small, remote and rural. At its first meeting on 18th April 1903 the Education Committee referred to the Higher Education Sub-Committee a letter from the Directors of the County College, a boys' school in Hereford which had not been a financial success - inviting the Council to purchase the site and building. It was thought of as a likely Pupil Teacher Centre. An offer of £7,500 was eventually made for this 'white elephant', but the Directors held out for £8,500. In December the City Council offered to contribute the necessary £1,000,'subject to it being understood that in the first instance the building shall be used as a Training College for women, so that this object may have a fair trial'. Evidently various possible uses for the building had been discussed, but the attraction of a Training College was that the County Council would receive a grant of £35 per student, together with the £3 Science and Art Grant - £3,800 for the proposed 100 students. This comparatively large grant proved the decisive argument when it was suggested that the building might be better employed for the benefit of higher education for boys, as only the Science and Art grant would have been

available in this case. Since the premises were suitable and immediately available, the Board for its part was not slow in giving permission for the College to be established. It opened in September 1904. More than 560 applications were received for the 50 places.

At the formal opening of the College in the following year, the Chairman, Judge Harris Lea, proudly announced that not only had the College received good reports from Inspectors, but a profit of £400 had been made. He looked forward to continuing profits in the years ahead. These profits subsequently contributed £2,300 to the building of Hereford's High School for Girls. Preference was given to Herefordshire candidates, who paid only £16 in fees for the two years, as opposed to £24. However, it was also the intention of the Committee to attract teachers from outside into Hereford. The Judge left no doubt about the policy of the Committee. . . . 'Our ambition is not only to satisfy the Board, but that they shall look upon this as one of their best Colleges. And what will it do for Herefordshire and the girls in our county? We think it will be a centre of educational activity in the county. But apart from this, every girl in the county who is ambitious to make education her work in life, and who can pass the examination and is otherwise fit, will have a right to enter this College. Those who have read any of the hundreds of letters we get applying for admission will better realise what a boon this is. Not half the applicants can obtain places anywhere . . . and then it is the experience of all Colleges that there is a great tendency to return to their homes. And though the students may go out all over the country, we hope and expect that many of them, as

places can be found, will return to their old county, and as mistresses of our schools repay us for the benefit we have done them.(19)

In Sheffield the Higher Education Sub-Committee had commissioned Mr. Michael Sadler to make a report on Higher Education in the City, and on 21st December 1903 it recommended that his proposals should be carried out in their entirety.[20] There was already a Day Training College at the Sheffield University College, and Sadler recommended that the Local Authority should provide it with accommodation, and at the same time open a hostel for the women students. Although it was to have an organic connection with the University College, the Training College was to be taken over by the City Council. It was to be under the direct control of a Principal, who was to be appointed by the Education Committee, and who might be qualified to be Professor of Education at the University College - being responsible for both the degree and the Certificate Students. 'The Day Training College was not without its difficulties, and it must have been with a good deal of relief that the College Council learnt that, under the powers given by the Act of 1902, the City Council intended to set up a City Training College for teachers.' (21) Representatives from the West Riding, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Rotherham were to be invited to join the Scheme and the Management Committee would include representatives of the Local Authorities who agreed to send students to the College. The Sheffield Education Committee would acquire the buildings and the other Authorities would be asked to contribute towards the cost of maintenance according to the number of places reserved for their candidates. However, the other Authorities were doubtful, and a meeting

was not held until 29th August 1904, which Sadler attended and which appointed a Sub-Committee (Training College Managers). The City Council went ahead by purchasing the premises of the Royal Grammar School at a cost of £12,000, plus a further £1,800 for adaptations. As there were only 27 resident places, the Managers accepted a tender of £9,905 for a residential block for 82 women students. The College opened in October 1905 with an intake of 132 men and women.

The London County Council showed far greater enterprise than most Authorities. When it came into existence on 1st May 1904 it inherited two colleges - the London Day Training College, from the Technical Education Board, though admittedly with no buildings of its own - and Graystoke Place, an illegal college until it was recognised from September 1904 as providing temporary accommodation for 144 women students. Earlier in the year Sidney Webb had suggested a policy for the L.C.C. in his book 'London Education'. The problem was serious. 'Any general levelling up of the London elementary school will bring the County Council face to face with the most pressing of educational problems, the supply and training of teachers. The present practice of the School Board of appointing to its permanent service none but fully trained teachers will, of course, be adopted by the County Council for all the schools. But this will be to raise the number required by nearly one-half, and to demand, for London alone, more than 40% of the entire output of all the Training Colleges in England and Wales put together, and more than twice that of those situated in the London area. With the growing demand of other counties and County Boroughs, it is clear that London cannot possibly continue to get even as many as heretofore, let alone half as many again. There is already something approaching to a teacher

famine. More than a hundred vacancies in the School Board's own staff remain month after month unfilled. It is only by each county training as many teachers as it needs (not in the least implying that each county should employ only those whom it has trained) that the total supply can be kept up. London, in fact, must somehow get established, primarily for its own supply, additional training college accommodation equal to an annual output of 500 teachers, chiefly women.

He then goes on to discuss 'whether we should add to the number of residential training colleges, in which future teachers are boarded, lodged and instructed in a sort of 'seminary' fashion, or whether we should simply enlarge six or eight-fold the existing "Day Training College" established in connection with London University, in which the students live at home or in lodgings, and, whilst provided with special pedagogic training, obtain their academic instruction as ordinary students in the various University Colleges. . . . 'The establishment of a dozen new Stockwells or Isleworths (i.e. residential colleges) would mean a capital expenditure of half a million.' He pointed out that even assuming that all the prospective teachers could benefit from such a course, the existing University Colleges of the metropolis could not be expected to absorb anything like so large a number as 1500 additional teacher undergraduates. The solution as Webb saw it was 'to enlarge as rapidly as possible the excellent nucleus of a Day Training College, securing the necessary corresponding enlargement or multiplication of the existing University Colleges (especially getting one established in South London) and providing residential hostels for such students as need them;

on the other hand, to grasp eagerly at any opportunity of establishing in the country round London two or three new 'Stockwells' for those London girls who find themselves excluded from existing residential colleges because they are not members of the Anglican or Roman Catholic churches, and whose needs and circumstances make the University Day Training College unsuitable.(22)

The Sub-Committee of the L. C.C. for the Training of Teachers received a report from its Educational Adviser, Dr. Garnett, in January 1905. He also estimated that London needed 1500 new teachers every year, but required additionally and immediately 2,000 teachers for the non-provided schools. He anticipated that about half of London's needs would come from the existing voluntary colleges, and therefore the L. C.C. should make provision for an annual output of about 750 teachers from its own colleges. Allowing for 100 from the London Day Training College, 72 from Graystoke, and 100 from Goldsmiths, he recommended that the L.C.C. should establish four or five colleges in the suburbs of London.

The L.C.C. adopted a responsible attitude to the national problem of training an adequate number of teachers, and, unlike the majority of Authorities, it was fully prepared to make a fair contribution. It expected its fair share of teachers from Colleges which it did not provide, this share being calculated as the fraction which the number of certificated teachers in London was of the number in the whole country. Then the L.C.C. set itself the task of providing training facilities for the balance of its annual requirements.

The L. C.C. decided to convert a mansion at Avery Hill, Eltham, into a permanent residential college. It was considered a matter of great

urgency to have the college ready as quickly as possible, so that intending teachers would not be excluded from training facilities, thus checking their career as trained teachers. Delay would also seriously injure the provision of trained teachers in the Council's schools. The College was opened in September 1906, with accommodation in the first instance for 57 residents and 200 day students, all women. The cost of the adaptations and equipment was £10,250, and it was estimated that after the first year the annual cost of maintenance would be £3,500. Graystoke Place had soon been recognised as a temporary College. The Board then urged the Council to utilise the premises more fully. The top floor was occupied by the students, the two lower floors being used by school-children. In December 1905 it was agreed that the middle floor should be taken over by the Day Training College.(23)

The situation at Goldsmiths' College was peculiar. However, it gave authorities the opportunity to train their teachers and thereby secure a regular supply with the highest qualifications, without any contribution from the ratepayers towards the capital expenditure of the College. In 1905 the Goldsmith's Company had presented to London University the site and buildings at New Cross which they had acquired in 1891 and on which they had spent approximately £200,000. The offer was made that, because of the great need for well-qualified teachers after the 1902 Act, the existing building at New Cross might serve the purpose of a University College for South London 'to which the teachers from any part of the Metropolis might be drafted'. The Academic Council of the University contemplated a training department of 400 students that would be financially self-supporting on the basis of capitation

grants (of £10) from the Board of Education, and of reserved places guaranteed (at a fee of £16) by London and the Home Counties for students nominated by them. As a result of conferences with the County Councils of London, Kent, Surrey and Middlesex and the County Borough of Croydon, an undenominational Day Training Department was established. Agreement was reached as to the number of reserved places - 185 for London, 92 each for Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, and 39 for Croydon, a total of 500 when the Department was in full operation. The fact that each of these authorities was committed to these places assured the College of a steady income. Each Authority was represented on the College Delegacy. In September 1905 the College opened, and it was non-residential. Of the first 250 first-year students all but four had been nominated for Free Places by the Local Authorities concerned, though 36 men and 7 women actually came from Wales.(24)

In Exeter the City Council had been concerned with the training of teachers prior to the Act of 1902. The University College there formed part of the Royal Albert Memorial, which was a museum with adjuncts for the study of art, science, and literature. After 1870 the affairs of the Royal Albert Memorial were managed by a Committee of Governors, some of whom were members of the City Council, and the rest were selected by the Council. In 1901 the Board of Education sanctioned a Day Training College for women (followed in 1903 by one for men), even though the Memorial College was not in a position to be in receipt of a Treasury grant as a University institution. The College was, of course, maintained by the City of Exeter, an arrangement which lasted until 1922. Buildings were provided by the City Council, with the help of Exchequer grants,

once they became available. The importance of the intending teachers to the survival of the College can be seen from the fact that only a minority of the students did not intend to become teachers.(25)

The Local Authority Colleges that were sanctioned by the Board to begin with were naturally only of the type permitted by the Regulations, namely either Residential Colleges or Day Colleges attached to an institution of University standing. However, the Regulations for 1904 had announced an important change in policy. Though not in connection with a University or University College, a College need not now on that account be a Residential College. Officially Municipal and County Colleges were classified as Day Training Colleges, but the fact that the Regulations of the Board already allowed the same grants for day students residing in approved hostels attached to Training Colleges, as for students in Residential Colleges, at least ensured that Local Authorities that did provide residential accommodation would not be at a disadvantage with regard to maintenance costs. The Colleges were to be undenominational.(26)

The founding of this new type of Local Authority College was further encouraged by the Regulations for 1905 which contained details of the Special Exchequer grants that had been promised in the previous year towards the cost of providing College accommodation. Grants would be available under prescribed conditions. The basis of the grant amounted to £25 for each place provided or 25% of the cost of the buildings and site, whichever was the less. A temporary grant of £1 for each student accommodated, or 25% of the rent, whichever was the less, was available in cases where there were special difficulties in increasing training

facilities, and provided that the Board was satisfied that these temporary arrangements (e.g. hiring of premises) were a necessary step in establishing a permanent College. These grants were not to cover any expenditure on residential purposes (Article 64) or any part of the cost of any premises in which Training College and other students are taught in common.(27)

'Education' (30th June 1905) felt certain that the new Regulations would receive the serious consideration of L. E.As. Certainly the availability of these grants was the occasion of fresh attempts by Local Authorities to co-operate, Some of these attempts have already been described. A conference held in August 1905 was the start of Dudley Training College. Representatives from Staffordshire, Worcestershire and Dudley agreed to establish a Training College at Dudley. It was not, however, until May 1908 that the Dudley Corporation, acting on its own, purchased the proposed site for £8,000, and the foundation stone was laid later that year. The booklet produced for the occasion stated that Dudley was chosen as a centre for the erection of a College as it would serve a densely populated district. The College Council consisted of 10 representatives from Dudley, 4 from Staffordshire, 2 from Worcestershire and 1 from Birmingham University. The College was opened in 1909 with accommodation for 150 men and women.(28)

The deficiency in the provision of training facilities in the Midland counties was brought to their attention in a letter from the Vice-Chancellor of Birmingham University. The numbers at the existing Day Training Colleges (one for men, one for women) at his University were far from adequate to satisfy the needs of the district. However, numbers could be

increased provided there was some extension of buildings, and this the University would agree to, since the training of teachers was one of the obvious duties that the University owed to the locality which supported it. In connection with any extended scheme the residential question had to be considered, and he believed that a hostel on a sufficiently large scale could be self-supporting, so that the burden falling on the co-operating authorities might be limited to interest on the capital. To carry out such a scheme it was necessary that the various counties should work together in collaboration with the University. A conference was held, but it did not make any recommendations.(29)

The general lack of co-operation between authorities, amounting at times to suspicion, masked the main problem which was the fear of increasing the burden on the ratepayers. Already in 1905/6 Surrey, Glamorgan, Cambridgeshire, Lancashire, Buckinghamshire, Gloucester, Southampton, all had rates of 10d. in the pound or more for elementary education alone. The West Riding estimated that the cost of pupil teachers and secondary schools added a further 6d. to the rates.(30) Feeling was unanimous within the County Councils' Association that Local Authorities could not afford to train teachers. It had been suggested on innumerable occasions that the provision of Training Colleges was national work, and the necessary funds should be provided by the Government.(31) Such a policy would involve the State in considerable expense and the role of the Local Authority would be reduced to that of a visiting committee.(32) Another proposal was that the Exchequer should provide the Local Authorities with larger grants, but after the change in the Regulations of 1905, whereby

the State became responsible for 25% of the building costs, the Board of Education had paid little attention to appeals for further help. Inevitably increased support of this nature would raise difficulties with denominational colleges - whether they were to be included in the increased grants or whether they were to be excluded from them.(33)

An alternative proposal was that all Local Authorities should be compelled to spend certain sums on the training of teachers - or failing that those authorities who did train should be enabled to recover a certain proportion of their expenditure from Local Authorities who did not train teachers.(5) This is, in fact, what certain Authorities did in an effort to ensure a proper return on any expenditure on the training of teachers. Some Training Colleges would only admit students if they would undertake to serve in the area of the Authority that supported the College. For instance, students at Goldsmiths' College with free places provided by Kent had to undertake to serve for at least two years in the Authority's schools if required, and it was only under pressure that the County agreed to release from the undertaking candidates who had not been offered appointments by the County by 31st May. In 1908 Hertfordshire abandoned a scheme whereby the award of Training College Studentships was conditional on the holder serving as a Certificated Teacher in the county for two years. Originally Staffordshire Training Scholars were also obliged to serve in the county for three years, but owing to the method of appointing assistants by the School Managers, the Committee found themselves unable to guarantee appointments in advance to the students, and the obligation was of necessity relaxed. It should be pointed out

these scholarships, usually up to the value of about £20, were often the only expenditure incurred by the majority of L.E.As. in the training of teachers. It was not unusual for such Authorities to use the money thus saved in attracting staff with better salaries. This practice could only be checked if the burden of training teachers were shared among all the Local Authorities.(34)

The absence of a coherent national scheme for the training of teachers was a matter of some concern. At the Annual Conference of the National Society in 1905, Rev. H. W. Dennis pointed out that, in order to secure efficiency in the training of teachers and to prevent unnecessary waste and competition in the provision of Colleges, it was of urgent importance that the various religious and education societies which had founded and maintained Colleges should combine without delay to urge upon the L.E.As. the necessity of co-operating with them and with one another, in considering the present needs and in formulating a comprehensive scheme for the adequate provision of the training of teachers as a matter of national or general rather than of local concern.(35)

As early as 1903 the President of the Training Colleges Association, Rev. G. W. Garrod, had suggested an Advisory Committee to consult with the Board of Education to organise attempts to supply the deficiency in the number of Colleges, so that the increase might be controlled. The position of the Association to the absence of careful planning at a national level was forcefully expressed by a later President, Professor M. R. Wright. A reasonable system of education required that the majority of teachers should be trained, and therefore there must be an increase in training colleges. However, he regretted that they were

rising in a sporadic way, due more to the importunity of certain Education Authorities and Sects rather than to the needs of the country in particular areas. It was an error surely to place the provision of Training Colleges in the hands of Local Authorities. It was one piece of work which could have been done more efficiently by a central body.(3)(36)

In April 1906 the County Councils' Association and the Association of Municipal Corporations called for a complete and comprehensive scheme for the training of teachers to be established. Accordingly they called together on 23rd May 1906 a conference representing the L.E.As., including the L.C.C., the Residential Colleges, the Universities and University Colleges, the religious bodies, the N.U.T. and the Board of Education. The Conference was concerned with the deficiency in the supply of College accommodation, the best method of meeting it, and more especially whether such a deficiency should be supplied out of national or local funds. Sir W. Anson, from the Chair, pointed out the need for more accommodation both from the point of view of the number of applications for admission to the Colleges, and from the point of view of meeting the need for a greater supply of trained teachers. It was idle to expect Local Authorities or private individuals to build Colleges larger than the applications for admission warranted, and in order to justify an extension of the present number and size of the institutions there must be a greater demand, which could only be created by the demand of Local Authorities for an increased supply of trained teachers. Any additional grants from the Exchequer should be an encouragement to Local Authorities, not only to build Training Colleges, but to insist on training amongst the teachers they employed.

The Rt. Hon. H. Hobhouse hoped that with increased Exchequer grants it would be possible for the local authorities to do something substantial towards providing new building accommodation. How was each Authority going to do its share? In the first place, they did not know what their share was, because the Board had given them no guidance about this. Although there were some promising examples of Authorities combining, he felt that pressure was necessary from the Government before Authorities would take common action. The one great difficulty was that the Authority had to persuade the ratepayers that they would get direct benefit. But he was afraid that even when machinery was provided for Local Authorities to recover from other authorities or from the State, there would always be some authorities declining to spend money on what with great plausibility they maintained was a national and not a local object.(37)

The overall position was that the Local Authorities had been reluctant for a variety of reasons to take advantage of the powers given to them by the Act of 1902 to establish Training Colleges. Even after building grants became available in 1905, it was obvious that, if the Local Authorities were to make a significant contribution to the supply of places, further assistance from the Exchequer would be required. The shortage of College accommodation still remained, and it was far from sufficient to provide for the training of all those who became Certificated Teachers. The Board of Education Report for 1906/7 (p. 57) estimated that, in order to replace the annual wastage of adult teachers in employment, and to provide satisfactorily for the future, the number of fresh adult teachers required annually was about 13,500. The Colleges that were

recognised in 1905 scarcely provided accommodation for 4,500. Pressure on accommodation would inevitably increase with the replacement of the King's Scholarship by the Preliminary Examination. Previously only those who had passed in the First and Second classes were eligible for entry to College, but now all those who passed could enter, thereby increasing the number of candidates considerably. Furthermore, the practice of Colleges in encouraging certain students to stay for a third year to read for a degree meant that fewer places were available.

With the advent to power of the Liberal Party in 1905 it was hoped that the Government would show more concern for the training of teachers than its predecessor. The Liberals had been swept into office pledged to remove Nonconformist disabilities in the field of education. An indirect method of achieving this was to strengthen the position of the Local Authorities, as opposed to that of the denominational colleges, in their difficulties over Training Colleges. In April 1906 the new President of the Board, A. Birrell, introduced his ill-fated Education Bill which was primarily intended to reverse the provisions for non-provided (denominational) schools made by the Act of 1902. However, Clause 33 was to give Local Authorities the right to seven years' service from any teacher whose training it had assisted. If the undertaking were not honoured, then the Local Authority could recover the money from the teacher or from the Local Authority employing him. The County Councils' Association condemned it as cumbersome, extravagant, and likely to cause much friction. The clause was, in fact, withdrawn on 11th July 1906.(38)

In May 1906 it was announced that grants of up to 75% of the cost of building Training Colleges would be made available, provided that the

total expenditure was not excessive. The grants were exclusive to Local Authority Colleges, and they were to include expenditure on sites, buildings, extensions and improvements to existing buildings.(39) Particularly welcome was the fact that the grants were available as from 1906 for residential accommodation, and this resulted in its development in the Local Authority College. It was hoped that the provision of residential places might keep pace with the general development of College places (Article 63). At the same time, and this eased the financial burden of all Colleges, the maintenance grant was to be more dependent on a general test of College efficiency rather than on individual examination results.

In making the announcement, Mr. Acland praised Birrell for managing to do what previous 'Ministers of Education' despaired of doing, namely loosening the purse strings of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was usually so close-fisted whenever education was mentioned. The grants would enable Local Authorities really to organise, individually or perhaps more frequently by co-operation, a proper system of Training College accommodation. He then concluded by warning Local Authorities that it would be important for them to consider without delay what they would do to take advantage of this offer of help, for they could hardly imagine that so generous a system of grants could be continued by the Exchequer for an indefinite number of years. The Act of 1902 had placed on Local Authorities the duty of training teachers, but they had been given practically no means whereby they could carry out this onerous work. Even though the Board still believed that a portion of cost should be found by

the Local Authority, these Regulations had at last made it possible for Local Authorities to fulfil their obligations with respect to the training of teachers. 'Education' felt confident that 'many Authorities who previously would not have moved in this matter will now cheerfully proceed to carry out the behest of the Government. The details of the Government's proposals will require close scrutiny.' It was the particular intention of the Government to encourage without further delay the extension of Local Authority Training Colleges that would be free from religious tests. As Selby-Bigge remarks 'Here educational considerations were perhaps less prominent than a desire to redress the balance between provisions made by voluntary agencies and provisions made by Local Authorities.(40)

There was something else that the Liberal Government could do, which, although it did not create more places, at least made such places as were available free from denominational restrictions. It was not surprising that the Government returned to office chiefly as a result of Nonconformist dissatisfaction with the Act of 1902, and having failed with Birrell's Bill of 1906 to reverse the concessions made to the denominational schools, turned its attention to another part of the privileged empire of the Church - the Training Colleges. Soon after the General Election a return had been ordered by the House of Commons showing for each Training College the total amounts received for maintenance from Exchequer funds, from subscriptions and from students' fees. Then changes were made in the Regulations for the Training of Teachers that were ostensibly designed to ensure that Colleges should be open to all candidates, without reference to their religious beliefs, but Anglicans saw behind them an attempt by

the Government to secure by administrative regulations what they could not do by legislation.(41)

The Regulations stated that from 1st August 1908 existing Colleges receiving Exchequer grants should be open to all students qualified to profit by the training given in them irrespective of the religious creed or social status. No College would be allowed to claim that the Trust Deeds of the College would not permit this, as they could be amended if necessary. Furthermore, the Regulations stated that new Colleges would not be recognised and no grants would be available to any new Training College or hostel that required either a majority of its Governing Body or any of its teaching staff to belong to a particular denomination, or that provided sectarian religious instruction.(42)

The new Regulations were certainly a severe blow for the denominational Colleges. The monopoly which they had enjoyed for the greater part of the 19th century had already been restricted by the recognition of undenominational Day Training Colleges at the Universities from 1890, and by the recognition of L.E.A. Day Colleges from 1904. The National Society described these new Regulations as a 'comprehensive, elaborately devised and most dangerous attack on the very existence of definite and genuine religious teaching.'(43) It was predicted that the admission of students of any and of no religion - Turk, Jew, infidel and heretic - would drive a wedge into the corporate life of the Colleges. The controversy was bitter. It centred around the actual size of the contributions that the denominations had made and were making to their Colleges, and whether such sacrifices entitled them to such a privileged position.(44) Some Anglican bishops protested that out of the total

number of existing places, the majority were free from denominational restrictions. Certainly the Anglican Church had a monopoly of the residential places, but whoever was to blame it was certainly not the Church which had simply used the opportunity offered alike to all. By equal effort the Nonconformists could have been possessed of equal accommodation. The new Regulations virtually prohibited new efforts by voluntary bodies and certainly did not add a single residential place, but only displaced one Churchman for every Nonconformist it admitted.(45)

Eventually it was agreed that the Regulations should be modified so that a denominational College was permitted to reserve 50% of the places to adherents of the particular denomination, while the remaining half would be open to all duly qualified candidates, irrespective of their religious beliefs. To meet any difficulties which might arise from the initiation of these changes, the Regulations provided that the recognised students need not necessarily reside in the College, but they might be housed in any annexe, hostel or lodgings approved by the Board suitable for the purpose. Nevertheless, as a result of these changes W. Runciman, the President of the Board, could announce that out of the total of 6,000 places available in 1908, no religious tests could be imposed on 4,750 of them. The compromise for 1908 became a permanent arrangement. The failure of the Government to carry through the original proposals is an indication of the power of the Churches. However, it was the development of the Local Authority Colleges that was chiefly responsible for this religious difficulty with respect to the admission of candidates becoming less of a problem.(46)

Following the offer of the 75% building grants, it was not

surprising that certain authorities considered possibilities of establishing Training Colleges, sometimes acting independently and at other times attempting to promote the College jointly with other Authorities. The Board of Education Report for 1907/8 stated that the number of proposals received by the Board increased after the impetus of the increased grant , and steady progress was made towards meeting the existing deficiency. 'Definite schemes for the provision of nine new Colleges, providing accommodation for about 1,000 students, have been submitted to the Board. Considerable further extensions to the accommodation of existing Colleges are also being carried out or are in contemplation.'(47) It was certainly during this period that most of the discussions concerning the Colleges which opened before 1914.took place.

Where it was possible for Colleges to open in temporary premises, progress was often reasonably rapid. In other cases, even though the Local Authority was anxious to establish a College, there were innumerable delays, such as with the Durham County Training College. It is worthwhile to look at this case in as much detail as the available records permit. On 20th December 1906 the Training College Minor Sub-Committee resolved to proceed in the first instance with the erection of a Training College for about 100 women students, and to await a Report from the Secretary for Higher Education before making a definite decision concerning a College for men. In the following year temporary premises for women students were proposed, and the Committee inspected Leazes House in the City which could be leased at £250 per annum. Proposals to establish a permanent College at Neville's Cross did not meet with the

approval of the Board of Education, and a deputation waited upon the President on 25th June 1908, followed by a meeting in Durham with officials of the Board on 20th July 1908. The deputation emphasised the advantage of the site and its central position as regards railway services. Within a radius of four miles, excluding the City, 23 elementary schools were available as practising schools, and within an easy railway journey 12 additional schools, making a total of 19,000 children in all. Reference was also made to residence being within reach of the Durham Colleges. The Committee were willing to comply with any conditions imposed by the Board. After further consideration, the Board consented to a College for 120 women, on the strength of certain assurances being given by the Committee. These conditions, which included a longer period than three weeks devoted to teaching practice, were chiefly concerned with the unsuitable standard of practising schools in the area. Alterations had to be made in accordance with any requirement that the Board might make with regard to the structure of the schools. They also had to be specially staffed for the purpose as directed by the Board (in particular Group 4 - Sherburn). The Council had to provide a covered conveyance in bad weather for the students on teaching practice, and to ensure that these students had a substantial meal in the middle of the day in a separate room. (48)

A suitable site of 11 acres was secured at Neville's Cross, but the difficulties of the Committee were not over. The Annual Report of the Council for 1910/11 (p. 20) states: 'We have appointed more than one deputation to the Board of Education during the year and had considerable correspondence with them upon the question of the proposed Training

College. We have forwarded no fewer than three sets of plans for the Board's consideration; to two of these the Board took strong objection.' Again in the Report of 1911/12 (p. 25): 'We have had considerable further correspondence with the Board who took exception to the retention of two study classrooms and wished to compel us either to drop these or to reduce the sizes of the students' bedrooms which the Board contended were sufficiently large to meet the requirements not only as bedrooms but as rooms also for private study. In the end the Board declined to pass the plans unless a definite tender could be obtained to complete the work for a sum named. We are therefore reluctantly compelled to omit the study classrooms. In what we hope may prove to be their final state, the plans as amended were passed by us on 31st January 1912.' The Report for 1912/3 (p. 27) noted that a tender of £35,195 had been accepted. It was subsequently necessary to arrange a supplementary agreement with the Board to postpone the date of completion until May 1916. Students were not admitted until after the War.(49)

When the Training College Sub-Committee of the Lancashire Education Committee reported on 2nd July 1906, it stated that the time had arrived to take immediate action with regard to the provision of College places. They still hoped for co-operation with the neighbouring authorities, but the lack of progress towards this end made the Sub-Committee put forward definite proposals for the building of a College for 150 resident women students at a cost of £42,000. The Sub-Committee argued that the Exchequer grant for capital expenditure, together with the Government maintenance grant of £38 per annum per student, plus fees at £12-£15,

would impose little financial burden on the County Council. Nevertheless the recommendation was defeated by the Higher Education Sub-Committee in November 1906, and again in July 1907. Certain members of the Education Committee were not satisfied with this decision, and a report was prepared showing that of the 373 Pupil Teachers in the administrative County who had qualified for admission to College, 92 out of the 161 who wanted to go to College had not found places. Others in the Education Committee were less anxious for the county to open a College. In particular, they feared that teachers trained at the expense of the county would not seek service with the county, but with one of the numerous Lancashire County Boroughs that offered higher salaries, plus the attractions of town life. A deputation was sent to the President of the Board to urge on him the advisability of the Board undertaking the national provision of Training Colleges. It was only proper that the charge should fall on national funds and furthermore the Board would be able to co-ordinate the system more effectively. The deputation was received brusquely by the President, Mr. R. McKenna, who emphasised that any difficulties experienced by the County Council were not peculiar to that County. The Training College Sub-Committee therefore made a fresh attempt at co-operating with neighbouring authorities. The inquiry had a mixed reception, and some of the County Boroughs declined to discuss the matter further. In February 1909 the Education Committee decided by 20 votes to 19 that the Council had to give a lead and build a College with or without the co-operation of other authorities, but when the proposal came before the County Council it was decisively rejected by 59 votes to 17. A College

was considered unnecessary, as there were reports of qualified teachers being unemployed, but even more important was the argument that benefits from the College would be reaped not by the County Council but by the Lancashire County Boroughs.

In November 1906 a conference of representatives of the North Riding, the East Riding and the Cities of Hull and York considered the provision of Training College accommodation, and decided to establish a Residential College for 150 women. The position adopted by Hull, as reported by its Chairman, Sir Alfred Gelder, is especially interesting. Hull was committed to nothing, and he had expressed no opinion as to whether the city should join the others. Hull had before them the possibility of setting up a University College. If there were a chance of this being established, then naturally Hull students could be trained there - and it could possibly act as the Training College for the Ridings.

The views of some of the Local Authorities from the North and the Midlands can be gathered from the report of a conference they had with representatives of four Training Colleges in December 1906. There was agreement that accommodation for men students was adequate. However, it was doubtful whether there was sufficient accommodation for women, even with the increase that had already taken place, to meet the further demands for trained teachers foreshadowed in the recent code of the Board of Education. What was most needed was for two or more County Authorities to combine to provide a College for teachers of moderate ability from country districts, who would teach in country schools after their training. This conference made no firm proposals. What it did

lead to was a decision by Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire to establish a College for women (100 resident with 20-30 day students). It was estimated that the annual cost, both of capital repayment and of upkeep, when the College was in full working order, would not exceed £250 for each county. A site at Darley Dale was recommended, and it was subsequently reported that Leicestershire was considering the desirability of joining the scheme. The Manchester Education Committee had acquired on lease two properties - The Dales, Whitefield for a men's College, and Manley Hall for women. However, when the 75% grant was announced in respect of capital expenditure incurred in the provision of sites and buildings for Training Colleges, with the condition imposed by the Board that a leasehold site would not be accepted where freehold site could be obtained, and that no lease must be shorter than 99 years, the Committee decided to hold its hand over buying Manley Hall and over equipping and extending two buildings at the Dales. The Committee was, however, anxious to have fullest advantage of the aid offered by the Government and it recommended that the City should acquire the Platt Hall Estate for a Training College and as a playing field for children. If their scheme were adopted, it was estimated that the charge upon the rates would probably be ¼d. in the pound, after taking into account the Exchequer grant. Nevertheless the Town Council declared the training of teachers to be a national duty and declined to sanction any proposal to supply the deficiency in accommodation at the expense of ratepayers. Sir John Hey, Chairman of the Education Committee, resigned. His letter to the Lord Mayor of 11th March 1907 is worth quoting: 'The amendment withdraws

from the control of the Committee the subject of the training of teachers. Under no circumstances could I continue to serve on a Committee with powers so crippled, and crippled too in a direction, as I believe, detrimental, if not fatal, to the interests of the children in our schools.

'By a strange but easily understood process of attack, it is assumed that the teachers alone are interested in the matter. The impelling factor is not the wishes of the teachers, but the needs of the scholars. Of the 160,000 teachers in the elementary schools of England and Wales, one-half are neither trained nor certificated.

'The Board of Education have now offered the L.E.As. terms such as ought to secure immediate and active efforts to meet the difficulties of the situation.

'What is the position? The Board already give an amount per head per annum which, with the ordinary fee of £10 to £12 per annum paid by each student, covers 95% of all the cost of the present Training Colleges - board, teaching and administration. There remains the cost of land, buildings and equipment, and towards this the Board now offer 75% of the interest upon all capital expenditure.

'It seems to be incumbent on all public authorities thus relieved of so large a share of the burden to proceed with this provision for the training of teachers computed on the scale of their own needs.

'Manchester can do all this great work by the payment of one-fourth of the interest and Sinking Fund upon capital charges, can, in short, do its share in the proper staffing of schools, for a sum of about £1,250 per annum.

(52)

'I will have no part or lot in the neglect of this palpable duty.'

In Cornwall proposals for a County Training College were discussed on 20th June 1907, chiefly because facilities were beyond the reach of many intending teachers, and also because there was special need for undenominational accommodation. It was felt that the Committee should anticipate the time when all teachers would require training. The Central Technical Schools in Truro were offered for use, but the offer does not seem to have been adopted. In March 1908 it was decided to have a residential college for boys only, in the vicinity of St. Austell with accommodation for 80 students, capable of expansion to 100. Conditional approval was given by the Board, and negotiations for a site began. Land was bought, and in 1911 the Board authorised a building grant of £2,343. However, in that same year the Chairman of the Sub-Committee said that the present time was inopportune for proceeding with the College, and it was thought advisable, in view of the recent speeches of the President of the Board of Education, to postpone taking any further action. In 1914, five acres of the land purchased in St. Austell were taken back by the landowner, and the College was never established.

It would appear that it was difficult for non-Anglican girls to receive training at the Diocesan College at Truro in Cornwall, which seemed determined to cater principally for church women. The College was prepared to accommodate nonconformist girls in an annexe, but as for all residents in the College itself, they had to make a written statement that they would attend Anglican religious services within and without College. In March 1910 a meeting between the Bishop, College officials, and representatives of the Education Committee was held, but the results

were inconclusive. All this led to a resolution by the Council that greater facilities were required for the training of teachers. Approval was also given for expenditure not exceeding £600 as grants in aid of men and women who were prevented by circumstances in Cornwall from receiving training there.(53)

The financial attractions of establishing a College were noticed by the Director of Education for Cardiff. He estimated the capital cost of establishing a College to be £16,000, which, after making allowance for the Exchequer building grant, would leave the Council with a deficiency of £4,000 or an annual repayment of £350. The saving to the rates by the adoption of the Day Training System, as opposed to the existing expenditure on the training of teachers, would be £1,730. Local Authorities that did not establish Colleges of their own often made arrangements for their students to attend one of the existing Colleges, thereby avoiding the responsibilities of a College, financial or otherwise. For instance, in 1907, the East Riding made arrangements with Ripon Training College to reserve 10 places at the College. If any of these places should not be filled, then £5 would be paid for each place. On receiving the letter which Leeds Education Committee sent to all authorities, offering contracts to retain a certain number of places at the College, the Secretary to the Birkenhead Education Committee thought it would be a good thing to reserve places at a number of Colleges in order to achieve variety among the Birkenhead school staffs. In 1909 Leeds set aside 50 places for the West Riding County Council students at the proposed new College. Fees were

to be paid for these reserved places whether or not they were filled, and the arrangement was to last for ten years. Halifax and the East Riding reserved 12 each.(54)

Nearly all the Colleges that were opened fairly soon after the 1906 Regulations were in temporary premises. The Colleges could be started quickly without having to wait for buildings to be completed. Authorities also adopted this policy because it tested the need for a College without involving them in any serious capital expenditure. In London it was especially difficult to make forecasts of the likely demand for places. An Education Committee Report in 1906 had emphasised the need for more places, especially if the Council insisted on all new appointments being trained and certificated. Assuming the professional life of a woman teacher to be ten years, and that of a man to be nineteen years, it estimated that approximately 1,500 teachers (1,222 women, 245 men) were required to meet the annual wastage. Three new Day Colleges were required, and the sites would be chosen with regard to the localities from which the day students would be drawn. Urgent representations were made to the Committee by candidates, and the parents of candidates, who were unable to secure entry to a College. In 1907 London Day Training College and its three-year students were transferred to Southampton Row. The department of the College that contained the two-year students remained in the old premises, having been recognised as a separate College, the Islington Day Training College, as from 1906. In 1907 another Day Training College was opened in temporary premises at Clapham.(55)

An Education Committee report in 1907 showed the need for even more

accommodation. The number of Pupil Teachers requiring places in September 1908 would be about 1,104, and as the existing Colleges of the Council had accommodation for 734, there was need for a further 370 places. This would entail two new Colleges - one in N. W. London and another in the N. E., each ultimately not exceeding 250. These new Colleges would enable the existing temporary Colleges at Clapham and Islington to be reduced to 250 in each. It was pointed out that if, at some future date, it was found desirable to reduce the Training College accommodation, the Council could devote to some other purposes one of the existing buildings which had been adapted for use as a College, but on which no building grant had been received from the Exchequer. However, the immediate outcome of these discussions was that two more temporary Day Colleges were opened in 1908 - Fulham with 130 places and Moorfields with 125 places. In the same year Clapham was enlarged to cater for 250 women instead of 160. In 1909 Fulham was increased to 215 and Moorfields to 180.(56)

In the interests of the large number of Leeds Pupil Teachers who were unable to gain admission to Training College, the Higher Education Sub-Committee discussed the question of College accommodation in June 1906, but it was not until 18th July 1907 that it was resolved that 'the building in Woodhouse Lane, which had until recently accommodated the Leeds Girls' High School, be rented for the purpose of the temporary Training College, and the period for which the premises be taken be two years in the first instance.' The accommodation was certainly limited, the library, for example, being a room some five yards square. Nevertheless, there were

over 1,000 applications for the 137 places available, and nearly 700 in the year afterwards. When the College opened in 1907, the majority of students were, of course, Day students, but 45 were housed in premises which were rented in various parts of the city.

The immediate success of this venture, together with a reminder from the Board that approval for a temporary College had been given on the undertaking that proposals would be submitted later for a permanent College, led the city to purchase a site at Kirkstall Grange with 40 acres. It was not bought without controversy, and a pamphlet entitled 'Kirkstall Grange Estate Scandal' resulted in a public enquiry being held before one of the Board's Inspectors at Leeds Town Hall. More difficulties followed as the Board considered that the intended accommodation was on a considerably more elaborate scale than was necessary for an efficient College. In 1910 Lord Grimthorpe sold another 35 acres for playing fields, and then made a gift of a further 19 acres. The Board did not feel that the 35 acres were absolutely essential to the efficiency of the College, and therefore it did not make any grant available for this land. In the meantime, the number of students had increased by 1909 to 250, reaching 399 by the autumn of 1911, and therefore additional hostel accommodation was rented. In 1909 the temporary College premises were bought by the War Office, and the men and women were separated into fresh temporary accommodation until 1911, when possession was taken of Kirkstall Road School. The College moved into the permanent premises in the autumn of 1912. It was residential, with places for all the 480

students. There were five hostels for women, two for men, plus the Kirkstall Grange itself which served as another men's hostel. Altogether it was a great achievement for Alderman Fred Kinder and James Graham, Secretary to the Leeds Education Committee.(57)

In 1907 a Day Training College opened in Bolton in the temporary premises of the Pupil Teacher Centre. A hostel for women was subsequently provided. In February 1908 the Town Council unanimously decided to erect a College. They were sure that this could be done without cost to the ratepayers, for the balance of the 75% building grant from the Exchequer would be met by the fees of the students attending the College. In 1911 the Local Government Board sanctioned the borrowing of £3,433 for the purchase of a site for a College. At the end of the academic year, the College, which had provided accommodation for 150 women, and the hostel were closed.(58)

In 1907 a Day Training College was also opened by Portsmouth Education Committee, but recognition of the College was still under consideration by the Board in 1908, pending further information as to the provision of a Demonstration School and a satisfactory recreation ground for the students. Nevertheless the numbers were increased from 90 to 180 in 1908.(59).

Unusual reasons prompted the Higher Education Sub-Committee of Cheshire County Council to consider favourably establishing a College. They felt that in a county such as Cheshire the training of ex-Bursars during their student-teacher year would be both costly and ineffective.

Therefore it was proposed to establish a Training College which would admit ex-Bursars from Cheshire schools after they had completed their Secondary School course and passed the necessary qualifying examination. Taking into account the grants paid by the Board of Education to Bursars and Students in Training Colleges, the College, as compared with any other adequate system of training, would provide by far the most economical method of discharging this important and necessary duty. As the students would enter the College without the practical experience of elementary school teaching of the Student Teacher, the course would be essentially practical and would not seek to compete with the graduate courses in other colleges. The College would have accommodation for 100 students with at least one hostel for 40 women. The Higher Education Sub-Committee was careful to emphasise that the proposed College would involve the County in little financial cost. In 1907 a site was chosen, purchased, and approved by the Board. The College opened in temporary quarters in the Mechanics Institute in Crewe at the beginning of the autumn term 1908, with 26 men and 39 women, increasing to a total of 124 in the following year. A house was rented as the first hostel for women students, and lodgings were found for other students not residing in the district. A feature of these early years was a contingent of men students sent each year by Somerset County Education Committee. The new College buildings were opened in June 1912.(60)

In 1908 the County Borough of Sunderland opened a non-residential College in temporary premises which it proposed to replace later with permanent buildings. In the first instance the College admitted 140 men

and women. Proposals that were on foot to replace the temporary buildings were suspended on account of the 1914 War.(61)

Brighton Education Committee showed similar enthusiasm by proposing to establish a Day Training College. The total cost was estimated at £7,200, and this meant that the College would have to find £1,800. The College would admit 60 students each year (40 ex-Bursars from Brighton and 20 from other areas). No fees would be charged to Brighton students, but outsiders would pay £10 per annum. The Higher Education Sub-Committee explained that there were very definite advantages to be gained from the project. The College would fill an important gap in the educational system of the town. In the second place, it would ensure a constant supply of well-qualified teachers for public elementary schools. As they saw it, preparation for teaching involved a four-year course from the age of $16\frac{1}{2}$ to $20\frac{1}{2}$ years - one year as a Bursar, one as a Student Teacher, and two years at a Training College. In this way the Committee would be able to provide a complete and continuous four-year training course. Thirdly, the establishment of this College would be a very great step towards the foundation of a University College for Brighton. Such a University College would add greatly to the prestige of the town, and it would be eligible to receive a Treasury grant which might amount to £5,000. Finally, the adoption of this scheme would effect a considerable saving on the rates required for the training of teachers. The Committee also estimated that the scheme would be a great improvement to the student, for, after deducting any fees payable, the income of the boys would be £104, as opposed to £50 under the old system.

In spite of these arguments, the Committee was not without its anxieties, and it therefore proposed to establish the College in the Technical College, postponing the erection of a permanent building until there had been time to see whether the College would be a financial success. The Town Council also had their doubts, and they originally deferred the project for twelve months, but later this resolution was rescinded. In 1909 the College, with a first-year intake of 40 women and 20 men, did start in the Technical College. The Principal was directed to admit students in the following order of preference: Brighton; Sussex students not requiring lodgings; other Sussex students; other candidates. The permanent premises were ready in 1910 and a hostel for 120 women students was opened in October 1911.(62)

In Wales two existing Colleges were transferred to Local Authorities. In 1907 permission was given by the Board of Education for the County Borough to take over Swansea Training College, a voluntary residential college for women. Entirely new premises were built, but it was not finally taken over until 1915 with the transfer to the new premises which provided accommodation for 120 resident students and 80 day students, all women. In 1908 the Board sanctioned the transfer of the Bangor Normal College, which had been established by the British and Foreign School Society in 1858, to a Joint Committee of the Carnarvon and Anglesey County Councils, and the enlargement of the College to provide for an additional 130 students. The College intended that students who found the College work well within their grasp should be allowed to attend Degree Courses at the Day Training College at the University College. The constitution of the Joint Committee was subsequently altered to

include representatives of the Denbighshire and Flintshire County Councils. It was hoped that the enlarged College would serve the needs of the four Counties of North Wales. The old premises were used entirely for teaching and administrative purposes, and by 1911 hostel accommodation had been provided for 200 students.(63)

In 1906 Middlesex County Council had attempted to become virtually responsible for the Maria Grey College. In return for the right to nominate the majority of the Governing Body, it was prepared to make an annual grant of £250 upon condition that 10 free places were allotted to Middlesex students. In addition, the Middlesex Education Committee was prepared to pay £10 for other Middlesex students.(64)

It was natural that nearly all the early Local Authority Colleges were non-residential institutions, especially those started in London. The authorities were uncertain and hesitant about providing permanent accommodation. The Colleges usually began in temporary buildings, often hastily improvised for the purpose. The model for these Colleges was the Day Training Colleges begun in the 90's by the Universities and University Colleges. The College was a centre for lectures, and there was no real control over the outside life of the students, apart from the kind exercised by the Local Committees of the Day Colleges that were responsible for discipline among the students. This system was reasonably satisfactory for those living at home, but once students were admitted from outside the immediate area of the College it was obvious that some form of residence had to be provided. Hereford was from the start residential, and often hostel accommodation of a sort was available at

some of the other Colleges, usually in rented houses. However, what really encouraged authorities to make definite provisions was the introduction in 1906 of the 75% grant either towards the building of hostels or towards renting suitable hostel accommodation. Thereafter the pattern that most authorities adopted was provision for both day and residential students (especially the women). This extension of undenominational hostel accommodation by the Local Authorities reduced the Nonconformist grievance that they were compelled to go to a Day Training College because the Residential Colleges, which were largely denominational, imposed religious tests.

The Board obviously set a high value on residence in College or hostel, feeling that safeguards were provided at a critical time for the health and protection of young persons who might easily and in other circumstances suffer at once physically, mentally and morally. Once a reasonable number of College places had been provided, the Board became more and more exacting about the necessity for residential accommodation. The Report for 1908/9 (p. 163) stated: 'As the number of places available in Training Colleges comes to approximate to the number needed, the question of most importance in this branch of the Board's work will come to be the question of providing proper accommodation in hostels for those students who are at present attending Training Colleges as Day students. The provision of hostel accommodation is a matter to which the Board attach great importance, and they have announced that, after 1st August 1910, they will require as a condition of recognition of a Training College to be satisfied that sufficient accommodation in hostels

is available for women students attending but not residing in the College, with due regard to the extent to which such students may reasonably be expected, in view of local circumstances, to live at home.(66)

It was therefore to be expected that residential accommodation became a more prominent feature of the Local Authority Colleges as they developed in subsequent years.(67) Most of the later Colleges were completely residential (e.g. Leeds, Bingley, Caerleon, Barry, Hull). The change in the policy of the Board with regard to residence can be seen from its dealings with Manchester Education Committee. Since 1907 the Committee had been anxious to open a Day College at the Pupil Teacher Centre in Princes Street, to accommodate those intending teachers in the service of the Committee who were unable to gain admission to college. There had been many reasons for the delay, not least the attitude of the Board, and the College was not opened until the autumn of 1910, when the premises were no longer to be used as a Centre. There was accommodation for 150 men and women, but none of these places were residential. For this reason (and also because there were no playing fields) the Board could not consider the College as fully equipped. The Board's Report for 1910/11 (p. 128/9) stated that 'the present arrangement is, however, recognised as being of a tentative character, and the Board have consented to defer making any definite arrangements as to more suitable premises until they have had actual experience of the working of the College.' The inspectors complained particularly of noise from traffic.(68)

Commenting on the residential accommodation provided by the Local Authorities, a later Report noted that 'the new ideal of a Residential College differs materially from the old. In place of one large block containing classrooms, dormitories and other accommodation for any number of students from 40 to 200, as well as rooms for the Staff, the new type of Training College has an educational block with separate self-contained hostels, or halls of residence near at hand. Each hostel accommodates 40 to 60 students under the charge of two or more resident members of staff. The plan is, in fact, an attempt to combine the educational advantages of a large institution with the domestic and social amenities of a small one.(69)

It had always been difficult for the Universities and University Colleges to provide residential accommodation for any of their students, including members of the Training Department. Where hostels existed, they had been built from University funds or from private gifts and subscriptions, for the Regulations of the Board did not permit of any grant being made towards the capital cost, and naturally any hostels that the University did manage to build were not primarily for students in the Training Department. If, however, a Local Authority established a hostel for students from its own area, the Authority could obtain, after 1906, the 75% grant towards the cost. For [illegible] that did not want to provide an entire College on their own, this was an excellent method of securing a supply of teachers. At Goldsmiths College, Kent County Council opened a hostel at Granville Park, Lewisham, for 34 women, followed later that year by a Surrey hostel for 44 women. It was not until 1912 that

Middlesex County Council provided a hostel at the College. In 1908 the County Councils of Gloucester, Somerset and Wiltshire discussed in some detail proposals for building a hostel for men and women students at Bristol Day Training College. The annual repayment charges for each County would be £55, but it was confidently anticipated that students' fees would more than repay this charge.(70)

The Regulations of 1909 (Article 65) extended the payment of building grants in aid of the provision of hostels to Universities or University Colleges. This new departure was aimed at giving students in the Training Departments greater facilities for associating with University students. The Board was now prepared to make building grants available towards the cost of hostels that were not reserved exclusively for students in the Training Department, but only in proportion to the number of places definitely reserved for such students. A further condition of the grant was that the application had to be supported by the Local Authority who also had to be responsible for defraying the balance of the cost of providing the places reserved for the Training Department students.

In order to comply with the Regulations, it was necessary for any grant made by the Board to be administered through the offices of the Local Education Committee. In 1909 Birmingham University asked the Birmingham Education Committee to support their application for a hostel, and this the Committee agreed to do, on condition that the University agreed to indemnify the Council against any loss which they might be put to in connection with the matter. In 1910/11 a grant of £4,680 was made by the Board in aid of the provision of 29 places out of 57 definitely reserved at this hostel for women at Birmingham. A similar grant of

£2,855 was made towards the extensions at Manchester University (Ashburne Hall Hostel) where 21 out of 62 places were definitely reserved for Training Department students.(71)

The efforts of the Board and of certain of the Local Authorities resulted in an increase in the number of Colleges, and therefore in the supply of trained teachers. It was vital that Local Authorities adjusted their staffing requirements accordingly, so that these trained teachers were absorbed. The number of adult teachers had been steadily increasing, as can be seen from the fact that the number of children in average attendance to each adult teacher had fallen from 40.19 in 1901/2 to 28.2 in 1906/7. At the same time the Board had attempted to raise standards progressively by various changes in the codes.(72) The improvement was needed, for in too many schools the staffing ratio allowed the lowest possible margin over the official minimum standards. The necessity for placing voluntary schools on a proper basis accounted for much of the improvement that had taken place. There were, of course, exceptions, and many Authorities were content, where this was possible, to appoint uncertificated teachers. In Newcastle-on-Tyne, for instance, the number of certificated teachers increased from the not very liberal figure of 613 in 1904/5 to merely 623 in 1908/9. There were wide variations between Authorities. In 1908/9 the number of scholars in average attendance for each certificated teacher varied from 56 in Halifax to 95 in Dudley, and for the Counties from 50 in Middlesex to 76 in Durham (the figure in Durham had been as high as 105 in 1904/5). There was no guarantee that these standards operated in all the schools of the

Authority, and then within each school there were often some classes of excessive size. By 1909/10 61 out of every 100 adult teachers in Public Elementary Schools were Certificated Teachers, of whom 33 were trained, as compared with 56 out of every 100, of whom 32 were trained, in 1901/2. It can be seen that the increase in the actual number of trained teachers, rapid though it had been, was proportionately less rapid than the increase in untrained Certificated Teachers. The Report of the Board as early as 1905/6 had expressed concern at this situation. Commenting (page 29) on the increase in teaching staff, it stated that 'when the figures are analysed the results are not very satisfactory.(75) They furnish ample justification for the action of the Board in stimulating by special grants the foundation of Training Colleges, and in giving notice that after 31st July 1909 they will require a certain proportion of the staff in all Public Elementary Schools to be trained Certificated Teachers.' The Report later noted that the question of the sufficiency in qualification would depend largely upon the growth in the supply of Training Colleges during the next few years. It was hoped that the liberal provision made for Exchequer grants in aid of the provision of new Training Colleges would lead to a large increase in the number of Certificated Teachers who had been trained, and so enable the Authorities to comply with this new requirement.

The Prefatory Memorandum to the Code of 1906 stating that the Board 'will' (in the Code itself it was 'may') require a certain proportion of staff to have been trained represented the high water-mark of the Board's policy in insisting on training. This statement was not

repeated in subsequent Codes. Circular 709 of March 1909 relating to the 'Revision of Regulations affecting the Staffing in Public Elementary Schools and size of Classes', which was embodied in the Code of 1909, was intended to bring about a marked improvement in standards of staffing, but it made no distinction between the trained certificated and the untrained certificated teacher. The staff value of the certificated Assistant remained unaltered at 60 in the general scale, but his relative value was augmented as the result of reductions in the values of other teachers (e.g. the Uncertificated Teacher was reduced from 45 to 35). The use of Supplementary Teachers was restricted and the Code also required that no class should exceed 60 children on the register. The Circular had spoken of the advisability of 'stimulating the employment of teachers possessing superior qualifications', and it appeared to foreshadow in the not too distant future a demand for the employment of trained teachers in all schools still to be insisted upon. However, Circular 709 was bitterly attacked by the Authorities, and the Board did not force the issue. 'Education' felt that there had been few more lamentable experiences in the history of education, for the Authorities had to oppose a proposal of the Board that they were in general principle anxious and willing to put into operation. The fear that ratepayers would revolt against the heavy cost, chiefly on training and increased salaries, made Authorities such as Bolton openly refuse to administer the Circular. Later, when there was unemployment among trained teachers, the Board did not take the opportunity to insist on the appointment of trained teachers for fear of again provoking the Authorities. In the meantime, the number of

trained teachers was gradually increasing.(74)

Indirectly the Board was able to channel intending teachers to Training College by raising the standard of the examinations for both Uncertificated and Certificated Teachers. Circular 709 gave notice to this effect. The percentage of failures for Part II of the Preliminary Examination was increased from 11.2%, at which it had stood in 1907 and 1908, to 16.0% (1909), 21.0% (1912). Unfortunately in 1912 the Board felt that the steady decrease in the number of candidates entering the teaching profession made it impossible for them to carry any further the progressive raising of the standard. In 1906 the certificate examination for Acting Teachers was separated from that of students in Training Colleges. To avoid any sudden change, the standard was raised gradually. At the same time, owing, no doubt, to the increasing number of places available in Colleges, the total number of candidates and the average standard of attainments fell also. The percentage passing was 85.0% (1905), 62.5% (1907), 37.7% (1909), 31.3% (1911), 29.6% (1913). The number entering in 1905 was 5,683, but by 1913 this had fallen to 2,763.(75).

The Act of 1902 did not compel Local Authorities to provide training colleges. The vast majority of Authorities were therefore not particularly forthcoming, being quite content to rely on the existing Colleges to produce sufficient trained teachers. Moreover, as long as Certificated status could be obtained without training at College, many considered it an unnecessary luxury for all their teachers to be trained. Subsequent difficulties, such as the growing cost of education, together with an apparent over-supply of trained teachers, seemed to confirm the policy

of those Authorities that had been reluctant to become involved. The problems of financing the education of teachers had been there from the start. However, it was only one aspect of the much wider issue of the finance of public education generally - and as higher education was not a statutory commitment of the Authorities it was not the most important one at that.

It is difficult to find a report of either the County Councils' Association or The Association of Municipal Corporations which did not highlight financial hardships of the Authorities in some detail, and these meetings were almost invariably followed with deputations to the President of the Board of Education, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and at times the Prime Minister. The dissatisfaction occurred because the concept of a public responsibility - either by the local or central authority, or jointly, to finance a comprehensive system of education had not as yet been developed, and as H. Asquith reminded a deputation from the Association of Municipal Corporations this was dependent on a satisfactory formula being evolved for the financing of the local government services generally. (76)

A Royal Commission on Local Taxation which sat from 1897-1901 had failed to suggest the principles that should determine Exchequer grants in aid of locally administered national services. It considered that education was national in a high degree, for it conferred great benefit on the classes which participate in it, but does little to increase the rateable property of the particular locality. The majority report favoured the existing system, whereby ad hoc grants in aid were made towards the cost of specific items of expenditure, subject to the

conditions of efficiency laid down by the Board being maintained. At least this method ensured a separation between central and local finances, although the Exchequer was subject to pressure as the cost of the services rose. The Minority Report favoured a system of Block Grants, limited to half the total expenditure of the Authority for a fixed term of years. It was argued that this method would secure from the Authority economy and efficiency. The grant for each Authority was to take into consideration the population, the actual expenditure and the capacity of the area to bear the charges.

The Act of 1902 retained the system of ad hoc grants (i.e. Annual Grant; Fee Grant; Grants for special subjects). Howéver, some provision was made under Section 10 of the Act for a Special Aid grant which attempted to relate the payment to the number of scholars and the capacity of the area to pay, as measured by the product of 1d. rate. The Local Authorities created by the Act were charged with responsibilities greatly in excess of those previously undertaken by the School Boards, and which entailed a corresponding increase in cost. From the outset, the actual maintenance charges in respect of elementary schools made increasing demands on their funds. The average cost per head in average attendance throughout England and Wales, which was £2 13s. 2d. in 1902 rose to £3 8s. 6d. in 1909 - an increase in 7 years of 15s. 4d. per head or 29%. Whilst the Exchequer contributed 41% of the increase, the Local Authorities had to find 59%. The total expenditure on education by Local Authorities in 1908-9, for instance, was £27½ millions (elementary education £23 millions, higher education £4½ millions), of which the Exchequer contributed just over

£13 millions or 48%, leaving about £14½ millions or 52% of the amount to be provided locally.

The relatively high cost of education affected all Authorities, but considerable local variations were revealed by the Departmental Committee on Education Rates which reported in August 1906. The expenditure of the different Authorities varied by over 200% per child, such variations ranging from 134s. 5d. at Hornsey to 39s. 11d. at Whitehaven. This variation could be due to the policy of the Authority, but more likely to the proportion of Council and Voluntary schools in the area. Another variation between Authorities was the assessable value of the different localities on which the rate was raised, ranging from under £3 to over £10 per head of population. In addition, the proportion borne by the number of children attending public elementary schools to the total population varied according to the character of the locality, the largest proportion being in the poorer districts.

A comparison between Bournemouth and West Ham illustrates these points. The expenditure at Bournemouth was below average, being 56s. 7d. per child, and the Government grants were the normal amount. The net cost falling on local funds was therefore low, being 19s. 10d. per child. The produce of a penny rate was high, viz. 6s. 10d., so that a rate of about 3d. would suffice. The expenditure at West Ham was high, being 100s. 4d. The net cost falling on local funds was therefore high, being 60s.7d. per child. The produce of a penny rate was low, viz. 2s. per child, owing mainly to the abnormally high proportion of the population in attendance at school (199 per 1000), so that a rate of about 30d. was required.

The result was that some Authorities found it difficult to administer the Act and in 1906-7 a Super Grant was introduced for Necessitous Areas in which the expenditure was necessarily high and the assessable value low. Simultaneously the Board was encouraging Local Authorities to improve and to extend their educational service. Burdens such as the feeding of poor children, medical inspection, the operation of Circular 709, were all worth-while developments, but the Exchequer did not shoulder the costs as the Local Authorities felt they should. The percentage of the total cost of elementary education borne by the State had gradually fallen from 64.9% (1900) to 50.1% (1908) to 45.5% (1914).

It must also be remembered that Local Authorities were responsible for Higher Education, and in many cases they incurred heavy expense. The 1906 Departmental Committee showed that the amount spent varied from nil to 5.3d. in the pound in the County Boroughs. The total amount raised by the rates for Higher Education in the areas of L.E.As. where Part II of the Act was in force was £781,900, which was 0.6d. in the administrative counties, and 1.7d. in the County Boroughs. In addition, the Whisky Money was spent on Higher Education, but this could create difficulties, as the amount fluctuated. In Gloucestershire it fell from £11,947 to £10,992 in 1906, and the County Council which had already refused to levy a rate for Higher Education declined to meet the deficiency, and thus prevent the suspension of County Scholarships.

The pressure of the Local Authorities was such that the Treasury appointed another Departmental Committee under Sir John Kempe, which sat from 1911-14 'to inquire into the changes which have taken place in the

relations between Imperial and Local Taxation since the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation in 1901'. Between 1901/2 and 1911/12, local expenditure had increased from £53 to £55 millions (£28½ millions for education). During this period parliamentary grants had fallen proportionately. The unequal incidence of the burden of education on different localities had, with the growth of the service, become more striking and more onerous to the poor areas with larger populations. In 1911/12 for elementary education the rateable value per child ranged from £13 to £106; the expenditure from 52s. to 150s., and the rate from less than 6d. to more than 2d. The Committee pronounced in favour of a system of direct grants in aid of local services to be paid as block grants to be related to the total expenditure. A distinction was to be made between areas according to the ability to pay. The result was that J. A. Pease, President of the Board of Education, introduced proposals in 1913 for the development of a national system of education, but the Government eventually proceeded with only one clause which was designed to afford a limited amount of relief. The President admitted that 'the £150,000 which I have now to offer is merely a preliminary recognition of the necessities of the L.E.As. I ask the House, therefore, to regard this relief not as a substitute for but as an introduction to a very comprehensive measure which we hope to introduce in the next session. It was not, however, until the Fisher Act of 1918 that ideas of a financial partnership between central and local bodies were developed to any extent.(77)

The early efforts of Local Authorities to meet their responsibilities to train teachers must be assessed against this background of rising

educational expenditure on elementary education. The problems of training were especially complex because the cost fell almost entirely on those Authorities that provided facilities, and tensions were aggravated by the absence of a national salary scale which encouraged the movement of teaching staff. Local authorities had a grievance, but the Board was not always prepared to listen sympathetically. Sir W. Anson at the opening of Hereford Training College commented that a great deal of fuss was being made about the risk of local losses. The Board of Education Report for 1912/3 (page 2) stated that the building grants were 'on a very generous scale', and the maintenance grants were 'so high as to make the Colleges practically self-supporting in the sense that, with the help of students' fees, they have been able as a rule to cover their working expenses. In some cases they have even saved money for capital expenditure. Increased expenditure has been met mainly by an increase in students' fees'. In a reply to the demand for larger relief for the ratepayers, W. Runciman, President of the Board of Education, pointed out that the taxpayer was also a gentleman who was at times prepared to wreak his vengeance on those who had spent his money. The Government was already paying three-quarters of the capital costs and something like nine-tenths of the cost of upkeep. The position of the Authorities providing Colleges was as follows - If it were argued that they were doing national work, then the cost should be met nationally, or, alternatively, a greater proportion of it should come either from the Exchequer or from those Authorities not providing Colleges. Admittedly many Authorities made grants to their Students towards College fees, and some of the more progressive Authorities spent money on training teachers already in service. Even so, their total expenditure on the

training of teachers could hardly be compared with that of an Authority providing a College. The abortive proposals introduced by J. A. Pease in July 1913 showed that the Government had come to accept that the burden should be spread more widely. He intended to establish Provincial Councils which would have delegated to them responsibility for the creation and management of Training Colleges and the supply of teachers. A crisis over the financing of Training Colleges provided by Local Authorities was responsible for the Departmental Committee on the Training of Teachers for Public Elementary Schools of 1925. The cost of training teachers (other than Pupil Teachers) in 1921/2 for Durham County was £76,750 and for the City of Leeds £56,562, both Authorities maintaining Colleges. Yet Northumberland and Preston that did not maintain Colleges spent respectively £150 and £240.(78)

The financial worries of the Local Authorities explain why more was not done to provide Training College places. Another reason was a temporary over-supply of trained teachers which was closely associated with the supply of intending teachers and the employment of Supplementary Teachers. The N.U.T. held the Board responsible for flooding the market with teachers who had not been to College. The controversy was bitter and complicated, and it certainly dissuaded Authorities from providing additional training places. On a number of occasions the Board predicted a serious shortage of staff. The 1907 Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers claimed that either a determined effort must be made to increase the supply or else the country must make up its mind to be badly handicapped in its effort to improve its elementary schools

through a very serious shortage of teachers which will render it impossible to dispense with the ever-growing army of Supplementary Teachers. It suggested that there would be a shortage of teachers, but owing to an inaccurate estimate this did not materialise. However, in 1909 the Board again called attention to the supply of teachers. The N.U.T. later counter-claimed that there was an over-supply of teachers in 1908, 1909, 1910. The Board refuted such charges and emphasised the seriousness of the position again in 1910.(79)

It was, however, undoubtedly true that there was an over-supply of trained teachers in the earlier part of the academic year, and also that there were many cases of individual hardship. The Organizing Committee of the unemployed teachers cited cases of young men who had been trained as teachers driving cabs, and young women serving in Lyons tea-rooms, ironing collars in a laundry, hawking needlework from door to door, addressing envelopes for 10 hours a day at a miserable pittance. In 1910 the President of the N.U.T. called attention to the fact that newly-trained teachers were out of work, while tens of thousands of classes were taught by unqualified or partly qualified teachers. He demanded that the Board should solve the difficulty by sweeping away the unqualified teachers and by reducing the size of classes. On a number of occasions the President of the Board rejected such proposals as too expensive for the Local Authorities, especially rural Authorities. In July 1911 he claimed that the main areas of over-supply were London and Cardiff, simply because the teachers concerned were unwilling to go outside these areas. On the other hand, in rural areas, such as Lindsey

and Norfolk, but also in Preston and the Rhondda, there were shortages. One proposal put forward by the Board was that the Training Colleges should have two dates of admission, thereby spreading the supply of trained teachers. Obviously there was an urgent need for a national policy to control supply and demand. Because the Board had encouraged Local Authorities to establish Colleges, more trained teachers were available, but the rising rates caused many Authorities already in financial difficulties to prefer the cheaper teacher, and this meant that many trained teachers were unable to secure appointments. Many Authorities had failed to adjust their staffing standards either to keep pace with the improvement in the qualifications of teachers available for appointment or to establish a reasonable staffing ratio. Amidst so much controversy Local Authorities were not disposed to provide additional places. The total number of students in Training Colleges reached its maximum for the year 1911/12, and thereafter the decline which had already occurred in the earlier stages of training began to affect the Colleges. Existing Colleges had difficulty in filling vacancies. Sheffield Training College spent £85 on a coloured prospectus to attract applications. At the opening of Bingley Training College in 1911 Mr. W. H. Clark said it was an anxious time for those who had charge of new Training Colleges, because of the striking shortage of applicants. Mr. M. Sadler complimented the West Riding on having courage and faith to open such a College at such a time.(80)

As early as 1908 Essex had withdrawn plans for joint action with West Ham for a College, because there were more trained teachers than required. The apparent over-supply of teachers clearly affected the

long-term provisions that the L.C.C. made for Training College accommodation. In February 1910 the Higher Education Committee proposed to reduce the annual output of teachers from its Colleges from 925 to 760. It gave notice that after 1912 it intended to discontinue the arrangement with the University of London whereby 93 places at Goldsmiths' College were reserved for L.C.C. students annually. In place of the temporary Day College at Clapham, it was proposed to erect a College for women at Wandsworth for 150 residents and 100 day students. Similar Colleges were to be erected at St. Pancras to replace the temporary Day College at Fulham, and another at a site in West London to replace the temporary Day Colleges of Graystoke Place and Moorfields. The Finance Committee disputed on financial grounds the need to provide for so many permanent places, at the same time reminding the Education Committee that a number of teachers who had left L.C.C. Colleges in 1908 and 1909 were still unemployed. Furthermore, the L.C.C. recruited staff from Colleges not maintained by them, the Superannuation Scheme for Teachers of the Council being a strong inducement.(81)

The Higher Education Committee replied that an attempt had to be made to predict the demand for teachers in ten years' time - notoriously difficult as this was - and provision had to be made for it by the country generally and London in particular. The number of teachers required by the Council to replace wastage alone (4.6% on 18,570) would be 854 (about 100 in excess of the proposed output of the L.C.C. Colleges), so even on this assumption the L.C.C. would draw teachers from outside Colleges. The Finance Committee argued that the Council should obtain as many teachers as possible from outside and only train the difference between the number

obtainable and the number required by the elementary schools. The reply of the Higher Education Committee was most responsible. As they saw it, it was the duty of the Local Authority to provide for the inhabitants of its area such education as they may require to fit them to take up future occupations, in the same way as it provided Schools of Art, etc. There was no need for the L.C.C. to limit the teachers it trained to its own service. Undoubtedly by making the conditions of its service sufficiently attractive, the Council could attract as many teachers as it required for its schools, but in adopting such a policy it would not be adequately carrying out its duty as an Authority for Higher Education. If too few Training College places were available at some future date, some L.C.C. candidates could be refused admission, because the L.C.C. had relied too much on places at outside Colleges. The L.C.C. would then be faced with parental pressure to open new Colleges, possibly at their own cost, if the 75% grant for building were no longer available. The proposals would mean an annual saving of nearly £5,500 on the maintenance account. They were approved.

The premises at Islington which were originally recognised for 320 men and women were reduced to 250 in the autumn of 1911, and men students only were admitted. In 1915 Clapham, Fulham, Islington and Moorfields were closed. Furzedown College - a permanent College - was opened in the same year.(82)

In the autumn of 1911, the West Riding of Yorkshire opened Bingley Training College. 102 women students were admitted, and in the following year the College was utilised for the full number of resident students, for

which it had been recognised, namely 200 (women). The College was entirely residential. As early as 1906, the provision of a Training College had been discussed, but owing to uncertainty about additional aid, the Committee felt unable to proceed. As one aim of the admittedly expensive Pupil Teacher system was to produce a supply of teachers really well qualified for a proper College Course, the Committee felt that much of the good would be lost unless there was ready waiting for the Pupil Teachers at the age of 18 adequate Training College accommodation. When the plans were finally approved by the Board of Education in 1909, the Committee discussed the possibility of a College for men students. At the opening Sir John Horsfall, Chairman of the County Council, replied to criticisms of the College as another piece of Council extravagance. The cost was £80,648, leaving £35,600 to be raised by Council, which worked out at the third of a farthing rate over 30 years. What was received from the Government for maintenance would cover the costs of the College when full. The result would be 100 trained teachers every year. He called it exceedingly good business, and as a business man he thought it a very profitable investment.(83)

In September 1913 the Hull Municipal Training College opened. As far back as 1906, a proposal was considered by a Special Sub-Committee to transfer the Technical College to a large new site in the suburbs, and there to combine it with a Teachers' Training College. It was suggested that this joint institution should be known as the Hull University College and that students be given both professional training and preparation for London University degrees. The scheme was supported locally because the

higher education facilities in Hull were inadequate and because there was a deficiency of Certificated Teachers. The Board felt that the plans of the Committee were too ambitious. If the Technical College were removed from the centre of the city, the day students would have travelling difficulties. Furthermore, a Teachers' Training College should be a completely separate building to qualify for the Board's grant and should need only about 10 acres, rather than the 50 acres suggested. There were likely to be staffing difficulties if an attempt were made to combine the two Colleges. Nevertheless in January 1907 the Sub-Committee decided to push ahead with what was possible, and in July 1907 43 acres of land were bought by the Education Committee, an adjoining piece being bought later by private subscription. Approval was given in January 1908 for the College, which was to be for about 150 men and women. The plans later submitted by the Committee were returned by the Board with the comment that they were too like a Secondary School, but they were finally sanctioned in July 1910 at a cost of £40,287 14s. 11d. The Board had also objected to the proposed joint refectory, even though a separate refectory added £10,000 to the cost. The over-supply of trained teachers resulted in several remarks in the local newspapers on the folly of embarking on such a grandiose scheme in Hull. The Hull and District Chamber of Trade wrote urging that, in view of the abundant supply of teachers awaiting engagements, and the prospect of an increase in the city rates, no further expense should be incurred in connection with the proposed Training College, and that the scheme, if not abandoned, should at least be postponed.

However, the Education Committee persisted, and the College opened as planned with 48 women and 72 men. All the students were resident. It is interesting to note that about half of the women and a quarter of the men were already Certificated Teachers, entering on a one-year course in order to obtain a College training which would help them gain promotion.(84)

Two Welsh Local Authorities opened Colleges in 1914 - Caerleon by Monmouthshire and Barry by Glamorgan. In November 1904, soon after it had been established as an L.E.A., Monmouthshire complained of staffing difficulties. On 3rd July 1906 a deputation was sent to the Board of Education. The following decision was the result. 'The provision of a County Training College is a matter which should be considered at once in view of the funds which are to be placed at the disposal of a L.E.A. Pending such provision, since many Pupil Teachers are prevented by poverty from taking a course at Training College, some aid should be offered to those who need it.' Early plans involved the use of Carleon Industrial Schools, which the Board were prepared to consider sympathetically, pending the erection of a new College. In February 1908 a Dual College for 60 women and 40 men was proposed, but the Board objected because of difficulties of discipline, expense (in maintaining separate playing fields) and for what it euphemistically described as 'other reasons'. The Board advised a Conference with Glamorgan about each County providing a College for one sex. Terms were agreed. Monmouthshire was to provide accommodation at Caerleon for 40 Monmouthshire males and 60 from Glamorganshire. Glamorgan was to provide accommodation for 120 of its own women and 30 from Monmouthshire at Barry Island, after alternative sites at the Pupil Teachers' Centre at Quakers Yard and Tondu

had been rejected. In 1909 the Board sanctioned the scheme for the erection of the College at Caerleon at a cost of between £25,000 and £30,000. It was expected to be finished by September 1912, but there were difficulties of diverting footpaths running through the middle of the College field and of cutting the cost to meet the specifications of the Board to qualify for the maximum grant. These difficulties were smoothed by Alderman Thomas Parry, who had indeed himself purchased the site of the College on the Council's behalf. In October 1914 Glamorgan Training College opened at Barry with 132 residents and 18 day students.(85)

The Board of Education Report for 1914/5 (p. 72) stated that 'since the outbreak of the War the Board have carefully scrutinized all proposals that were before them involving the payment of a building grant, with a view to their postponement where practical. Proposals that were on foot for the provision of new Training College buildings at Sunderland by the L.E.A. and at Highgate by the L.C.C. to replace temporary buildings have accordingly been suspended. Several proposals for the provision of Hostels by Universities and by Local Education Authorities that were before the Board have also been postponed'. In any case, by the beginning of this year, as the Report pointed out, 'the scheme for the provision of additional Training Colleges with the aid of building grants from the State, which was initiated in 1906, was nearing completion. One building for a new College was in process of construction and proposals for the erection of permanent buildings to replace Colleges which had been established in temporary premises were in two or three cases under consideration. But, speaking generally,

the programme for the provision of additional Training Colleges had on 1st August 1914 been so far completed that the figure at which the total accommodation then stood was not likely to be exceeded, and might even be reduced if certain Colleges which had been carried on in temporary premises were to be discontinued without being replaced by permanent premises'.

In attempting to assess the contribution of the Local Authorities in providing Training College accommodation, the very great differences between the Local Authorities must be remembered - type of Authority (County Council or County Borough), size, number of teachers required, wealth, existing College accommodation in the area, attitude towards the need for training, other commitments, are some of the more obvious from a long list. Such differences make it quite unrealistic to think of them as Authorities with common problems and common policies. Even so, their reluctance to exercise this responsibility which had been thrust upon them to train teachers was fairly general.

The intention of the Act was for the newly-created L.E.As. to make a contribution to the provision of places, as, for various reasons, the existing Residential and Day Colleges could not meet the whole of the need. This some Local Authorities had done, for by 1914 there were

4,168 students in Local Authority Colleges.(86) How adequate a contribution this was is difficult to assess. The School Guardian claimed that the Local Authorities had expanded places unnecessarily, thereby intensifying competition between the Day and Residential Colleges. Certainly the National Society became worried about the growing number of unfilled places.(87)

The development of Local Authority Colleges had been encouraged by the Liberal Government with a view to breaking the denominational monopoly of the training of teachers. This had started with the undenominational Training Colleges at the Universities in 1890, but it was greatly extended with the development of the Local Authority Colleges, and more especially with the growth of residential accommodation at these Colleges. The Nonconformist grievances over admission to Training Colleges became isolated cases, such as at Truro Diocesan College. One reason was that hardly any denominational Colleges were built in this period, largely because building grants were not made available. The exceptions were Roman Catholic Colleges at Salford (1903), Southampton (1904), St. Mary's, Newcastle-on-Tyne (1905), Hull (1905). Bangor Normal and Swansea Training Colleges were transferred to Local Authorities, and the Church of England College at Oxford for women was closed. The Regulations of the Board of Education which insisted that half the places should be free from denominational restrictions did much to overcome the Nonconformist complaints. However, it was chiefly the growth of the Local Authority Colleges that was responsible for removing the difficulty. It is not easy to distinguish genuine cases of hardship from the part that this

issue played in the political programme of the Nonconformists. (89)

Apart from providing more College places, the Local Authorities created a new type of College. From the outset the Local Authorities providing these Colleges were able to offer better salaries and better conditions of employment. 'Unhampered by the traditions of a more conventional age, they set a new pattern in building and encouraged an ideal less like that of an isolated seminary.' The extent and the quality of the Colleges varied considerably, but in all cases the Board had to be satisfied before recognition was granted or continued. In their turn the older Colleges were stimulated to enlarge and adapt their premises. The College at Norwich, for example, moved into new buildings. (90)

The provision of these Colleges was not always straightforward, and, as has been described, some of the Authorities that proposed to establish Colleges in the end found the difficulties too great. Moreover, the Authorities were not obliged to provide Colleges, and there was already in existence a network of Colleges, which though, perhaps, inadequate at providing all the trained teachers that some people thought necessary, did at least provide some teachers for all areas. The rising cost of education, both higher and elementary, made most Authorities careful not to incur further expense by training teachers. Such anxieties were inevitable, as a coherent system for the financing of public education had not been worked out between the Central and Local Authorities.

The Board expected too much from the Authorities and too quickly. Admittedly the Board had done much itself by remodelling the regulations. Its maintenance grants were generous, but it was only after considerable

pressure that the Board accepted the fact that Local Authorities had to be given sizeable Exchequer grants to help them to establish Colleges. It was difficult for the Local Authorities, still perhaps thinking of themselves as upgraded School Boards, to conceive of a national responsibility for the training of teachers. The Board could have helped more by drawing up a national policy, as indeed it was repeatedly called upon to do by the Local Authorities, the teachers' association, and the Training College Association. Apart, however, from general appeals, the Board gave no concrete guidance to the Authorities as to what was expected of them in this respect. It could have given greater financial assistance to the Colleges, or at any rate ensured that Local Authorities that did contribute towards the training of teachers could recover a certain proportion of the expenditure from the other Authorities.

This lack of a national policy meant that the development of Local Authority Colleges was somewhat sporadic and uneven. The President of the Board of Education said in the House of Commons in July 1911: 'I am not at all sure that we are proceeding in the right direction in fostering so many Training Colleges which are restricted to their localities and which will in course of time lead to inbreeding of teachers'. The point was taken up again in the Report for 1912/3 (p. 43). 'It is not good for any district that the teachers in its schools should have been brought up, educated and trained within its own boundaries, and should never have been compelled to seek a wider experience elsewhere. Some Authorities are fully aware of this fact, and select only a proportion of the teachers

they require from the output of their own Colleges. If a Municipal College is filled, or almost entirely filled, by students from its own district, their experience is confined to people and schools of the same type as they have known since childhood.' The Report refers favourably to the old system of 'non-local' Training Colleges which did at least ensure a constant interchange of students between the different parts of the country, and in most cases it gave the student his one great opportunity of seeing the world.(91)

The Board was perhaps expecting too much to imagine that Local Authorities could view the training and supply of teachers from any other standpoint than a local one. If the Local Authority in whose area the student received his preliminary education maintained a College, it was certainly cheaper for him to attend that College. One disturbing result was that the Authority sometimes then insisted that the student taught for the Authority. The financial policy of the Board towards Authorities that provided Colleges did not discourage this attitude. Inevitably the Colleges were at first distinctly local in character, and only gradually did they come to draw students from a wider area.(92) Nevertheless, a recent writer claims that the Colleges established by the Local Authorities were even more isolated than the voluntary Colleges with their denominational ties. (93)

REFERENCES

CHAPTER 1

1. Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol. XII, 1956
Best G.F.A., The Religious Difficulty in National Education in England. p.163.

2. Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 11 (1898) p.524.

3. Adamson J.W., English Education, pp.220-3.
Lowndes G.A.N., The Silent Revolution, p.10.

4. Free Schools Bill, pp. 1854-9, ii 461, Milner Gibson

5. Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth in a letter to Lord Granville in 1861 expressed the situation as follows - 'The ratepayers would accept the transference of the charge of public education, in whole or in part, from the assessment of £550,000,000 of annual value to the local assessment of £86,000,000 without so substantial transference of authority in the management of the schools as would be subversive of that of the religious Communions'.
Quoted in Connell W.F., Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold, p.109.

6. Maltby S.E., Manchester and the Movement for National Elementary Education, p.140.

7. Gautrey T., School Board Memories. Introduction by Ballard P.B., pp. 9-11.

8. Report of the Committee of Council on Education 1894/5, p. 131. The Education Act of 1870 did not touch them. While it reacted with much increasingly energetic effect upon the buildings and curriculum of the schools of the country, the training Colleges remained outside the current that was bearing onwards the elementary schools, and, except in so far as the higher life of the latter reacted on them by stimulating them into a higher intellectual activity, they remained quiet, or moved only very slowly on their own lines.

9. De Montmorency J.E.G., State Education in English Education pp.236-8.
Armytage W.H.G., Four Hundred Years of English Education pp. 112-3.
c.f. The State Colleges in France. In 1832 the Ministry of Education nationalised the training of teachers, and this was followed by a law in 1833 whereby every Department (or in co-operation with another Department) had to maintain a Teachers Training College.

10. Committee of Council on Education Minute of 3rd June, 1839
'The most useful application of any sums voted by Parliament would consist in the employment of these moneys in the establishment of a normal school under the direction of the State, and not placed under the management of a voluntary society'.
See Rich R.W., The Training of Teachers, pp.50-53.

11. Applications for grants should be 'conveyed' to the Committee of the Council through the Committee of the National Society or that of the British and Foreign Schools Society. The grant was to be £50 for every pupil which the proposed building was calculated to accommodate, and the site and the premises of the normal school were to be conveyed to the Trustees for the training of masters and mistresses, and to be open to inspection.
Under these Minutes, St. Marks received the most (nearly £8,200) and Chichester the least (under £1,200).
By 1860 there were thirty four normal schools, providing accommodation for 2,388 students.
Board of Education Report 1912/3, pp. 11-12.

12. Board of Education Report of Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers 1903-7, pp. 4-5.

13. Smith F., Life of Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth, p.173.
'To a precarious and frequently makeshift occupation he brought the stability and prestige of Government support, to an easily entered and indifferently practised calling he brought rigid selection by examination and inspection'.

14. Tropp A., The School Teachers, p. 19.

15. Selby-Bigge L.A., The Board of Education, p. 251.

16. Board of Education Report 1912-13, pp. 16-17.
See Rich R.W., op cit. pp. 115-149.

17. Remuneration for Pupil Teachers under the 1846 Minutes was £15.
The average for boy Pupil Teachers in 1868 was £13. 9. 9d.
See Board of Education: Report on Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, p. 6.

18. In 1861 there was one adult to thirty six children, but in 1866 it was 1:54. In 1861 there was one Pupil Teacher to fifty six children, but in 1866 it was 1:96.
Rich R.W., op cit. p. 186.

19. The total number of students in Colleges in 1862 was 2,972: in 1866 2,403.
See Rich R.W., op cit. p. 188

20. 94% of the expenses of Cheltenham College were met by Government grant in 1859.
See Board of Education Report 1912-3, p. 9.

21. Rich R.W., op cit. p. 137
An exception was Homerton College, which was founded and maintained as a deliberate attempt to avoid State aid. In 1868 it accepted inspection by H.M.I.s. pp. 147-8.

22. Before 1870 the Church of England expended £194,085 on erecting Normal Schools, and £94,810 on maintenance.
Financial Return (No. 233) for 1906.

23. Royal Commission on the State of Popular Education in England, vol. 11. p. 7.

CHAPTER 2

1. Smith F.A., History of Elementary Education p 313-6
Curtis S.J., A History of Education in Great Britain p. 279

2. Kay-Shuttleworth had always looked forward to the replacement of Pupil Teachers by adult teachers. 'I hope that there will be a gradual substitution of assistant teachers for Pupil Teachers, and the assistant teachers will cost the Government somewhat less than two Pupil Teachers'.
Newcastle Commission, Vol. 6, p. 323.
In the early days of the Leeds School Board of the staff 68% were Pupil Teachers and 18% were Certificated Teachers. In 1903 8% were Pupil Teachers and 78% were Certificated.
See Leeds Education Committee - Education in Leeds (1926), p. 36.

3. The Code of 1871 provided that 'Unless there be a Pupil Teacher for every forty scholars after the first twenty of the average number in attendance there will be a reduction in the Government grant'. The Staff Scale introduced by the Code of 1882 was that the Principal Certificated Teacher was to count for sixty children to average attendance, any other Certificated Teachers eighty children, Pupil Teacher forty, Additional Woman Teacher forty. The Code of 1890 assigned a value of seventy to all

teachers certificated before 1891. The Code of 1894 provided for the size of classes by requiring that the number on the register of a teacher's class should not exceed by more than 15% the value assigned to him.
Board of Education Report 1909-10, pp. 3-6.

4. When the London School Board handed over to the L.C.C. in 1904, out of a permanent staff of 9,346, 8,069 had received training. The national average was 30%
Education, 8th November, 1907.

5. Wilson J. Dover (Ed.), The Schools of England, pp. 205-6.
'Teaching in elementary schools became in this period a new career, a career with special attractions for the vigorous and ambitious children of those members of the community to whom the avenues of approach to the secondary schools were few and difficult. Young people who themselves felt a thirst for further education, or whose parents felt it for them, had hardly any other means of procuring it, and few other outlets than teaching for its exercise when it had been obtained'.
It should be noted that the financial rewards were attactive, especially for the girl. There was an immediate income of nearly £15. p.a. for five years, with the prospect of salary afterwards from £60-100. The average salary of the Certificated male teacher rose from £94 in 1870 to £129 in 1900.

6. Tropp A., op cit. pp. 110-114
Board of Education Report 1909-10, pp. 10-11.

7. Tropp A., op cit. pp. 115-117.

8. Board of Education Report 1899-1900, Vol. 111, Appendix to Report, p. 86.

9. Board of Education Report 1909-10, p. 11.

10. See for example the criticisms of a Pupil Teacher from 1868-72.
Christian G.A., English Education from Within. Many Head Teachers were unequal to the very advanced coaching and many others had but little energy for anything beyond the calls of the school. pp. 10-11.
....quite 75% of the Pupil Teachers received less tuition than they were entitled to. p. 33.
Cross Commission, 7807-10: 30966.
Board of Education, Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, p. 7.

11. Gautrey T., op cit. p. 126.
See also Webb S., London Education, for a biting condemnation of the system, pp. 21-3.

12. Cross Commission, Final Report 89-93.
Gautrey T., op cit. pp.126-7.
Bingham J.H., The Period of the Sheffield School Board, pp. 94-106.

13. Cross Commission, Final Report, pp. 90, 273-4.

14. Cross Commission, Final Report, p. 88.

15. Cross Commission, Final Report, pp. 242, 270.
The signatories of the Second Minority Report were Lyulph Stanley, R.W. Dale, T.E. Heller, Henry Richard, George Shipton.

16. Cross Commission, Final Report, p. 93.
Board of Education Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, p.10.
As early as 1873, the Liverpool School Board had attempted to organise physical science classes for picked Pupil Teachers who would earn the Science and Art Department grants, thereby reducing the cost to the ratepayers. However, the Education Department was troubled at this time as to the legality of any charge made on the School Fund (i.e. the rates) for any purpose other than that of elementary education.
See Eaglesham E., From School Board to Local Authority, pp. 90-2.

17. See Departmental Report on the Pupil Teacher System 1898, p. 19.
One organisation had 4,000 names on its books.

18. Departmental Report on Pupil Teacher System 1898, e.g. 7220: 15287-9 (in Leeds the Managers of the Voluntary Schools could not afford the fee of ten shillings charged for Saturday morning instruction). See also p. 11, The amount of time every Pupil served in school under a Certificated Teacher varied from a minimum of three to a maximum of twenty hours per week.

19. Departmental Report on the Pupil Teacher System, 1898, pp. 4-5, 8.

20. The Committee drew attention (p. 7) to the difficulties experienced by Nonconformists in obtaining posts as Pupil Teachers in rural areas where the only school was the Church School. This problem could be avoided if all intending teachers went to the Secondary School, the State paying the necessary fees. See 151913; 7703-13; 8524-5, 1236-7.

21. The Committee avoided making any revolutionary recommendations (pp. 25-31) because the system was so firmly established in the economy of national education. Nevertheless, the National Society was sufficiently alarmed to set up a Committee to consider the working

of the system in its schools. Their Report, which was published in 1899, emphasised the practical value of any training system and the need for funds to be provided to meet the cost of limiting the employment of Pupil Teachers to half time.

22. Report of the Federation of Teachers in Central Classes, 1902. In 1902, ninety one out of the first 100 in the Queen's Scholarship examinations came from the larger centres.

23. Eaglesham E., op cit. pp. 73-77, 86-87.
Board of Education, Report on Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, p. 15.

24. This arrangement was not without its difficulties as far as the London School Board was concerned. Morant discussed the various issues involved in a Minute in December, 1903.
See Eaglesham, op cit. pp. 151-53.
'This will be a very important letter. There is, as you well know, the prospect of a considerable tussle between the School Board policy on the one hand and the Technical Education Board on the other, as regards the development of instruction of Pupil Teachers in London. The School Boards are exceedingly anxious to retain the existing Pupil Teacher Centres, to turn each partial (sic) time Centre into a whole-time Secondary School with a half-time top, and probably to establish more of these Institutions. The existing schools, though their teaching staff have very high paper qualifications in many cases, are really impregnated with the Elementary School tradition and atmosphere. I understand the Technical Education Board are very anxious to establish real Secondary Schools of a different type, and with a different atmosphere in various parts of London. I understand they feel that if we recognise all these existing School Board Centres as real Secondary Schools, we shall be really throwing back the development of true Secondary education in London.

On the other hand, I am sure it is important that we should not, at this particular stage, seem, as a Board, to be standing in the way of the London School Board in its efforts to improve and extend, as they put it, the education of Pupil Teachers. Hence, there is some reason for making the letter somewhat evasive on the various points

25. Board of Education Report, 1908-9, p. 32.
'After 1870, it is true, the School Boards in the larger centres of population, and in some of the smaller ones also, were gradually and almost unconsciously forced by pressure of facts to extend the scope of their work to education a kind higher than elementary. Partly, this came from the necessity for providing some reasonable education for their Pupil Teachers between fourteen and eighteen

years of age, in order to secure a supply of teachers for their Elementary Schools'.
See also Departmental Report on the Pupil Teacher System 1898, 2513; 12, 120; 4032; 8509.

26. Eaglesham E., From School Board to Local Authority, p.153.
'Right from the outset, and for thirty years thereafter, the Education Department failed to keep track of the development of the main concept with which it was concerned. . . elementary education. One of the main factors which vitiated its thought was the education of the Pupil Teacher. The Pupil Teacher was undoubtedly 'elementary' in the social sense; he sprang from the working classes, his education was part of his contract within an Elementary School and under an Elementary School Board..... Yet the instruction given to these Pupil Teachers was inevitably more than elementary. Moranthad no such doubts. He saw his State education in stages.....he took a final slash at this Geordian Knot of the education of the Pupil Teacher; his further education must be really secondary. Hybrid elementary-secondary education was apparently finished. See also pp. 54-5.

27. Departmental Report on Pupil Teacher System 1898, pp. 14, 17-18, 4970-3, 11,843-51, 15, 143-77.
Board of Education: Report on Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, p. 14.
Board of Education Report 1908-9, p. 50.
It was not unusual for a School Board to arrange for its Pupil Teachers to attend University. Extension Classes, and sometimes a special class would be held at a University College or a Technical Institute. For instance the Sheffield Board paid £50 for third year Pupil Teachers to attend a class in English Literature at the University College.
See Bingham J.H., op cit. p. 105.
See also Armytage, W.H.G., op cit. p. 161.
England was virtually covered by extra mural classes, and Pupil Teachers as well as working men profited from these peripatetic Universities.

28. By 1898, out of a total of £807,000 available Whisky Money, no less than £740,000 was being spend on Education, and nearly £100,000 was levied in rates.
See Balfour G., The Educational Systems of Great Britain & Ireland, p. 167.
The position in London was as follows:

Year	Whisky Money given to L.C.C.	Amount of Whisky Money spent on Technical Education.
1890-92	£342,000	Nil
1893	£200,000	£29,000
1902-3	£200,000	£180,000

See Argles M. South Kensington to Robbins, p. 38.

29. Departmental Committee Report on Pupil Teacher System
Macan 11, 226, 11,231. See also 13045; 9077-80
When H. Llewellyn Smith reported in 1892, there was an elementary school roll of 680,000 pupils, yet the total number of scholarships available was about 1,000, and many of these had qualifications attached to them. In 1893 the Board agreed to award 500 Junior County Scholarships, entitling pupils to further education at Seconary or higher grade schools, together with a maintenance grant of £10 per year. By 1904 the number of Scholarships had increased to 600, plus 100 intermediate scholarships and three teachers travelling scholarships.
See McBriar A.M., Fabian Socialism and English Politics, p. 211
Webb B., Our Partnership, p. 79.

30. Departmental Committee Report on the Pupil Teacher System.
Stanley, 3835-7, drew attention to the splendid raw material available in the rural districts.

31. Departmental Committee Report on the Pupil Teacher System.
11, 248, 14,460-84, 14,824-35.
'The Record' (October 1894) states that most Committees were concerned firstly, with providing a Scholarship scheme and, secondly, with arranging for facilities to enable teachers to qualify themselves as evening instructors in Science, Art, technical subjects, etc. Details of the expenditure by each authority can be found from issues of this Journal.

32. Webb S., The Education Muddle and the Way Out puts the case for an all purpose authority. 'The administrative triumph of the Technical Education Board of the L.C.C. was an impressive indication of what other Councils could perhaps do - but it should be emphasised that this creation of the Webbs was not just a Committee of the L.C.C., but a quasi-autonomous body, certainly free from all petty routine controls, representing the County Council and a number of other educational bodies.....This device had the merit of allowing far-reaching plans to be fathered of a kind which, if projected in the Council itself, would have antagonised other interests'.
B.J. Ed. Studies, Vol. X.
Judges A.V., The Education Influence of the Webbs, p. 38.

33. For example, Clause V11 of the 1897 Directory of South Kensington Regulations; the 'Cockerton' Acts of 1901, 1902.
See Eaglesham, E., op cit. pp. 108, 136-7,
Allen B.M., William Garnett,pp. 74-87.

CHAPTER 3

1. 1872: Southlands (Wesleyan), Darlington (Undenominational) Swansea.
1873: Oxford
1878: North Kensington
1884: Saffron Walden (Undenominational)
1885: Edge Hill (Undenominational)

2. Minute 21, January, 1860, 'Their Lordships will not entertain any new applications for grants towards building, enlarging, improving for fitting up Training Colleges'.
The original cost of these Colleges was £397,470 1. 5. of which £118,627, 7. 9. came from Government grants; £278,842, 13. 8. was contributed by the Promoters.
Board of Education Report 1902-3, p. 48.

3. Cruickshank M., Church and State in English Education, pp.54-5.
Edge Hill was founded by a group of Liverpool business men, several of them Unitarians, 'because many young people were prevented from thoroughly qualifying for their important duties as teachers, owing to denominational restrictions'.
Williams G.A., Administrative Aspects of the Training of Teachers in the Administrative County of Lancaster, pp. 166-7.

4. In 1872 only a third of the teachers engaged as new staff by the London School Board had been to Training College.
Philpot H.B., London at School, p.47
Spalding T.A., The Work of the London School Board, pp. 105-6.
Bingham J.H., op cit., p. 92.

5. See for example Cross Commission, 3320.
Sadler M., The Department of Education in the University of Manchester, pp. 10-14.

6. Bingham, J.H. p. 95, The Memorial continues 'That candidates for admission to Training Colleges are required to satisfy conditions with which the Pupil Teachers in Board Schools cannot always comply, and in most cases to pass an examination in religious knowledge for which distinctive training is necessary. 'That in the opinion of the Board candidates of superior qualifications should not on denominational grounds alone be passed over in favour of candidates of inferior qualifications, but that Article 121 of the New Code should be cancelled and that no candidate be refused on other reasonable grounds. The Board accordingly pray that the Education Department will take such steps as may be necessary to remove the disqualifications affecting Pupil Teachers from Board Schools who seek admission to Training Colleges'.

It should be pointed out that the motion to send this Memorial was carried only eight votes to six, with one abstention.

7. Cross Commission, 33, 181 - 33,199
Bingham J.H., op cit., pp. 96-98.

8. Board of Education Report 1912-13, p. 18.

9. Cross Commission, Final Report, p. 286.

Accommodation in Training Colleges	No. of Colleges	Students	Accommodation	%
Church of England	30	2,210	2,332	66.3
Undemoninational	2	147	151	4.5
" (B.F.F.S.)	6	515	517	15.3
Wesleyan	2	227	240	7.1
Roman Catholics	3	173	238	6.7

Total: 43 - 17 for masters 1,428 men
25 for mistresses 1,867 women
1 mixed 72

10. Cross Commission Final Report, p. 284.

Accommodation in Training Colleges Year Ending August, 1886.
Numbers in average attendance in public Elementary Schools.

Church of England	1,626,231	47.3%
British & Foreign School	252,461	7.3%
Board Schools	1,251,307	36.4%
Wesleyan	129,618	3.8%
Roman Catholic	178,738	5.2%

11. Under Article 125 (a) of the New Code, 1864, the grant to a Residential College could not exceed 75% of the certified expenditure. The Managers had to provide the remainder. With the decline in voluntary contributions the bulk had to come from the students themselves in fees. Originally, the education was practically free, but in some cases the students were being charged as much as £25 by the end of the century.
Board of Education Report 1899-1900, p. 197.

12. Cross Commission, 33,199 - 33220: 37967.
The Leeds School Board were also concerned for the welfare of teachers unable to attend College. 'Ex-Pupil Teachers who are preparing for the examination for Certificates while holding assistantships as acting teachers are working under serious disadvantages which operate injuriously both to themselves and the schools in which they are engaged.

13 Cross Commission, 33,210 - 33,583.
The estimated cost for the first three years of training was £60,000 - £65,000, instead of £125,000 if Residential Colleges were provided. The annual output would be 1,200 probationary teachers.

14. Cross Commission, 54,101-8.
An earlier venture was at Owens College, Manchester, where classes for teachers were in existence from 1853. In 1858, Mr. J.D. Morrell, H.M.I., proposed that the College should offer full time courses, but the staff feared too much interference from the Education Department. In 1870, Mr. Fielden left money for an Assistant Lectureship on condition that the Lecturer gave classes to teachers and Pupil Teachers.
Sadler M., op cit., p. 27.

15. Temple Patterson A., University of Southampton, p. 75.

16. Cross Commission, 54,703: 38,396: 50,783.

17. Cross Commission, 54,560
see Educational Review Vol. 9, No. 3., Cowie L.W., for an account of the notable efforts of Canon Barnett in arranging for Scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge for intending teachers.

18. Cross Commission, 58,934 - 59,115.
Matthew Arnold was also not prepared to entrust Colleges to the School Boards, whatever the deficiences of the existing system. 'My wish would be to have the Training Colleges, not voluntary institutions as at present, but provided either by the State, or if we had anything like provincial divisions, I should prefer to have the Training Colleges provided by local bodies. But at the present I would sooner see them provided by the State'. 5616
See also the evidence of the H.M.Is., especially J. Fitch, 56,739, H.E. Oakley, 59,169.

19. Canon Warburton, a former H.M.I. (7828 - I think that the present arrangement is an admirable bargain for the country. It is not only that the country saves 25% of the cost of training, but it is also saved a very much larger total outlay which would be involved if the management was not private management and looked after by the people on the spot'.

20. Cross Commission, Final Report, pp.98-102

22. Millington, R., A History of the City of Sheffield Training College, p.18
At Firth College, Sheffield, between 1897-1905 the training department provided from one third to one half of all the students in the College reading Arts and Science.

23. In 1903, 130 Day Training College Students passed degree examinations, a year in which about 830 completed their period of training
Board of Education Report, 1912-13, p. 32.
In 1900 out of 401 students from Residential Colleges presented for the examinations of London University, 164 were successful. Out of twenty students presented for the examinations of Victoria University from residential Colleges thirteen were successful. Out of forty six students presented for the examinations of Durham University from Residential Colleges (Darlington, and two at Durham) forty were successful.

24. University of London Institute of Education: Jubilee Lectures, Hayward I.J., L.C.C. and the Training of Teachers, p.25.
Board of Education Report 1900-1, p. 187.
Spalding T.A., op cit. pp. 207-9,
Eaglesham E., op cit., p. 175.

25. Jubilee Lectures, op cit., p. 26.

26. Harrison, A.S. (Ed.) Studies and Impressions, pp. 208-215.

27. London, where the average salary of Headmasters was £290 in Board Schools and £154 in voluntary schools in 1895, and Manchester, which had almost doubled her trained teachers in three years, had already taken full advantage of the fact that they were able to 'corner' the best teachers.
See Lowndes G.A.N., op cit., pp. 22-3.

28. Report of the Departmental Committee 1898, 5247-81.
The improved standard of Pupil Teachers from the Central Classes made it correspondingly more difficult for the rural Pupil Teacher to hold his own in competition for entrance to Training College. The Departmental Committee rejected (p.7) the idea of a College especially for rural candidates in case it became branded as an inferior College, but they favoured hostels attached to existing Colleges for Pupil Teachers who were insufficiently prepared for the Training College course.

29. Board of Education Report, 1899-1900, vol. 111, p.335.
Bingham J.H., op cit. p. 106.

30. Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System, 1898, pp. 21-22.
Board of Education Report 1899-1900, vol. 111, pp.335-6, 1900-1, vol. 111, pp. 185-8, 190, 197-8.
It should be pointed out that substantial progress was made subsequent to 1890 by the Residential Colleges. Four new Colleges were built between 1889-1903, but improvements and enlargements to the premises were very important. Some 1,500 new places were provided but there was still an enormous deficiency.
see Board of Education Report, 1912-3, p. 34.

31. Bryce Report, vol. 1, pp. 322-3, but see Mr. Fearon's recommendations for dividing England into five provinces, each with an Education Council that would be responsible inter alia for the training of teachers. vol. p. 129.

32. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1898, p. 325.
Reports of the Board of Education 1899-1900, vol. 111, pp. 331, 334; 1900-1, vol.111., p. 192.
By the close of 1902 there were nineteen Day Training Colleges providing accommodation for approximately 2,000 students.
Board of Education Report, 1912-13, p. 31.

33. Report of the Committee of Council on Education 1895-6, p. 176.
Board of Education Report 1899-1900, vol. 111, p. 334.
Tropp A., op cit. p. 180-2.
In 1879-80 there were 30,896 Certificated teachers, 10,530 Uncertificated teachers. In 1899-1900 there were 64,609 Certificated teachers, 49,977 Uncertificated teachers.

34. B.J.E.S., Vol. V111, p. 44.
Rogers, A., Churches and Children - A Study in the Controversy over the 1902 Education Act.
Tropp A., op cit., 181-2.
The Record, July, 1902.

CHAPTER 4

1. Selby-Bigge L.A., op cit., pp. 175-6.

2. Williams G.A., op cit.
This thesis brings out the difficulties of the 1902 Act for the Lancashire County Council in its attempts to implement the Pupil Teacher Regulations. 'None of the smaller authorities was inclined to combine with the County Council for the purposes of Primary Education, but much of the responsibility for instructing

and training Pupil Teachers who worked in these areas and who attended local Pupil Teacher Centres would be with the County Council'. p. 36.
Difficulties of working in conjunction with Part III Authorities were also experienced by the Surrey County Council, Education, 8th December, 1904.
At the Board of Education it was the Elementary Branch that dealt with the training and examination of Teachers and Pupil Teachers, yet the cost of training at the local level was a charge on higher education and therefore the responsibility of the County Councils. If plans were not to be carried out in piecemeal fashion, genuine efforts of co-operation were required.

Another problem that a County Council had to face was its relation with County Boroughs in its area. In Lancashire, for example, there were fourteen County Boroughs and, naturally, anyone living near a County Borough looked to it for training facilities. The County Council had to make the necessary financial arrangements, which usually meant paying the capitation fees, but in some cases the County and the County Boroughs were jointly responsible for the institution, e.g., Blackpool, Fleetwood and Fylde Pupil Teacher Centre was opened in 1904 by Lancashire Council and the County Borough of Blackpool.
See Williams G.A., op cit., p. 68.

3. Selby-Bigge L.A., p. 18.

4. See Graves J., Policy and Progress in Secondary Education, p. 54

5. Webb S., op cit., p. 3. 'The new local authority is thus empowered to provide anything and everything that it deems necessary in the way of education - physical, mental, moral Elementary, Secondary, University, manual, literary, artistic, scientific, commercial, technological or professional - without restriction of subject or kind or grade, without limit of amount or cost and without distinction of class or race or creed or sex or age.'
The Board of Education Report for 1908-9, pp.68-9, pointed out 'Great as was the impulse which the Education Act of 1902 gave to Higher Education generally, its effect on Technical Education was in practice largely counteracted by the immediate demands which L.E.As. found themselves having to meet in respect of the long neglected requirements in their areas in respect of Secondary Schools and the Training of Teachers'.

6. See Board of Education: Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers and Students in Training Colleges. Report on Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, 1903-7, p. 16.
Education (9, 23, July, 1903) commented that the Regulations were framed on extremely liberal, and what may fairly be termed progressive lines. 'They are truly remarkable for their lucidity and comprehensiveness, but more particularly because they show how absolutely Mr. Morant has grasped the necessities of the situation and the importance of reform'.

7. Report on Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, 1903-7, p.18. However, see the Board of Education Report for 1904-5, p. 37. It stated that the Board did not wish to press the authorities unduly, provided they were satisfied that the question was being seriously studied and steps were being taken towards an organised scheme of Centre instruction in the not too distant future - otherwise the grants were interpreted strictly. After 1st August, 1905, the Board required each L.E.A. to submit a statement giving a general survey of the steps they had taken to provide Pupil Teacher Centres in their areas, and showing the grounds which had prevented the establishment of such Centres.

8. Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, 1903-7, p. 18.
Birmingham Education Committee, Annual Report 1903, p. 38.
Williams G.A., op cit. p. 67

9. There was a steady decline in the number of Pupil Teachers not instructed in a Centre.
See Board of Education Report 1908-9, p. 51.

Year in which recognition began	Pupil Teachers instructed in Centres	Pupil Teachers not in Centres
1906-7	10,610	408
1907-8	8,040	268
1908-9	5,042	176
1909-10	3,702	61

10. Report on Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, 1903-7, p.18.
The following table shows how the Secondary Schools became increasingly responsible for the preliminary education of Pupil Teachers.
Board of Education Report 1908-9, pp.52-53.

	Centres forming integral parts of Secondary Schools	Centres attached to Secondary Schools	Centres 'attached' to Higher Elementary Schools	Centres separately organised	Total
1905/6	283	5	2	192	482
1906/7	395	5	4	182	586
1907/8	453	17	4	141	615
1908/9	497	9	3	107	616
1909/10	512	6	5	80	603

An organised curriculum was laid down for Pupil Teacher Centres. Compliance with this scheme of study was to be subject to local circumstances, but the intention was that the curricula of the Centre should occupy a definite position between the Secondary School and that of the Training College. The Board recognised that pupils entering the Centre were often of very varying degrees of attainment, and that there could be considerable difficulties in attempting to organise their instruction.

11. Education, 15th December, 1905.
see Education 29th March, 1907. The Board refused a plea from Lindsey for certain intending teachers to continue their education in a Pupil Teacher Centre.
Education, 19th April, 1907. The continued recognition of the Nottingham Centre for the year beginning 1st August, 1906, was conditional on the receipt not later than 1st April, 1907, of a satisfactory and detailed scheme for the better instruction of intending teachers.
Education, 2nd August, 1907. A similar policy was adopted towards Birmingham.

12. Education, 18th February, 1904; 15th December, 1905; 25th August, 1905; 18th May, 1906; 16th February, 1906; 24th February, 1905; 14th June, 1907; 19th July, 1907.

13. Education, 28th July, 1905; 16th February, 1906; 28th September, 1906.

14. Education, 19th March, 1903; 5th April, 1907, 15th December, 1905.
See Report on Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, 1903-7, pp. 21-24 for a full discussion of these difficulties.
Tropp A., op cit., p. 185.

15. B.J.E.S., vol. xii.
Eaglesham E., The Centenary of Sir Robert Morant, p. 6.

16. Board of Education Report 1908-9, p. 133.
'It is common knowledge that the necessity of providing a sound general education for the children and young people who intend later to become teachers in Elementary Schools has contributed materially to the large increase in Secondary Schools and Secondary School pupils in recent years'.

17. Board of Education Report 1908-9, p. 35.
The Secondary Branch now deals with 800 grant aided Secondary Schools (in England) with 136,000 pupils, besides a large number of others which it inspects with a view to recognition for efficiency, and it administers nearly three quarters of a million pounds of public money, of which over half a million consists of direct grants to Secondary Schools as such, and nearly £150,000 more of grants in respect of young persons receiving instruction in these schools who are intending subsequently to become Elementary School teachers.

18. In 1907 the L.C.C. was giving aid to fifty two schools, but a further thirty six that did not receive an L.C.C. grant admitted L.C.C. scholars. In London, where there was a large number of Endowed Schools, co-operation was essential, so that the efforts of the L.C.C. should supplement, but not supplant, the existing schools. Education, 22nd March, 1907.
In 1906-7, Lancashire took over financial responsibility for eight Endowed Schools, and eleven others received some grant. The County Council also insisted that where a Borough or Urban District was concerned it should levy its full penny rate for Higher Education for this purpose.
Williams G.A., op cit. pp. 61-62.

19. Board of Education Report, 1905-6, p. 44.
'The organisation and development of the education given in Secondary Schools is the most important educational question of the present day. It is the pivot of the whole situation, as it effects the efficiency, intelligence, well-being of the nation'.
Board of Education Report, 1905-6, p. 46
'The object of first importance is to establish a standard of quality rather than to hasten an increase in quantity. This latter object is a matter which rests mainly with the L.E.As. themselves'.
The Board published a Recognised List of Secondary Schools, and by 1905-6 575 schools with 95,000 pupils had been recognised after a full inspection. Board of Education Report, 1905-6, pp.46-47.
Eaglesham E., Implementing the Education Act of 1902, pp.154-160
See B.J.E.S., vol. x

20. Board of Education Report, 1904-5, p. 44.
The policy of the Board in apportioning the very limited funds placed at their disposal by Parliament for the purpose of promoting the efficiency of Secondary Schools is one of concentration on that part of the work which seems to them to form the kernel of the course these schools should offer'.
Allen B.M., op cit. p. 218

21. Morant had some first hand experience of the cultural limitations of many Pupil Teachers, as he had previously had connections with Canon Barnett's efforts at Toynbee Hall and through the London Pupil Teachers Association, to broaden their intellectual and cultural outlook.
See Educational Review, vol. lx, No. 3.
Cowie L.W., Canon Barnett and the Training of Teachers.
See Tropp A., op cit., pp. 176-8, 183-4.

22. Banks O., Parity and Prestige in English Education, p. 43.
Journal of Education, December, 1903,
See B.J.E.S., vol. iii.
Banks O., Morant and the Secondary School Regulations of 1904, pp. 33-41.

23. Banks O., op cit. pp. 43, 49-50.
See also Board of Education Report 1907-8, p. 59.
'The success of the system will depend upon the extent to which the curriculum of the Secondary School can be adapted to meet the needs of intending teachers. The tendency has been to adapt the curriculum too exclusively to the needs of a comparatively small number of boys who pass on to the Universities. By adapting the curriculum to the requirements of the intending teacher, it will also be adapted to the majority of children'.

24. Board of Education Report, 1907, p. 15.

25. Parliamentary Return (H.C. No. 110)
'Provision made by L.E.As. for enabling scholars of Public Elementary Schools to proceed to Secondary Schools or Pupil Teacher Centres or Preparatory Classes connected therewith by means of Exhibitions, Scholarships, Bursaries'. 1906.

Scholarships were divided into two classes:

(1) Expressed intention of becoming an Elementary School Teacher.
(2) Unrestricted.

(1)	(2)
11,430	12,120

Total 23,550 (c.f. approximately 5,500 in 1900)

County Councils only

(1)	(2)
6.180	6,390

Total 12,570 (c.f. approximately 4,231 in 1900)

Allowance should be made for an increase in Local Government Science and Art Scholarships from 481 (1901-2) to 7,110 (1905-6). See Board of Education Report 1904-5, p. 45.

There were, however, considerable local differences withregard to the provision of Scholarships and Bursaries. Rev. E.F. McCarthy claimed (**Education**, 3rd May, 1907) that one County Borough, 214 Boroughs and nearly 800 Urban District Councils did not make any provision.
The first attempt in Gloucester City to provide Scholarships out of public, rather than endowment, funds was suspended in July, 1905. It was then reported by the Education Committee that the teaching in the Elementary Schools was 'not yet organised to the point of connection with the Secondary Schools', Platts A. and Hainton G.H., Education in Gloucestershire, p. 88.

26. The average length of time spent at the Secondary School was a constant source of worry to the L.E.As. and to the Board of Education: 1908-9 2.7 years: 1912-13 2.9 years.
See Board of Education Report 1912-13, pp. 105-6.
The Report for 1907-8 complained that England suffered severely from the excessive elimination of pupils from her Secondary Schools, in spite of the fact that 27% of the total number came from Elementary Schools and enjoyed free tuition.

Age Group	Numbers in Attendance
11-12	11,758
12-13	19,978
13-14	24,113
14-15	23,094
15-16	17,947
16-17	8,487
17-18	2,755

See Statistics to Board of Education Report, 1907-8, Table 45.

The Report for 1909-10, p. 68, draws attention Article 2 (a) of the Regulations which expressly states that a Secondary School will not be recognised as such unless an adequate number of pupils remain in it at least four years. At the end of 1909, the Board took up cases of thirty five schools which appeared to have an

exceptionally short life.
The value of the intending teachers in helping to build up Secondary Schools in areas where the principle of Secondary education was not well established with the population can be seen from the following Reports.
Report or 1911-12, p. 71, 'The average school life of non-fee paying pupils exceeded that of fee paying pupils by about eight months in the case of boys, and by about five months in the case of girls. The excess is largely due to the fact that a considerable number of the holders of free places proceed to Pupil Teachership or Bursarship and thus continue their Secondary education longer than the bulk of the pupils wholeave school for industrial or commercial employment'.
Report for 1912-13, p. 107, 'Some schools, however, chiefly small Endowed Grammar Schools in rural districts, are in areas where, except for the few pupils who mean to enter the teaching profession, there is no real local demand or education beyond the age of statutory compulsion'.

27. Webb S., op cit., p. 25, contained the following forecast: The L.C.C. 'will also have to pay them (the Pupil Teachers) in a new form, at least the equivalent of the wages which they have hitherto received up to that age, nominally in return for their services in the school. It looks as if the L.C.C., merely to keep up the necessary supply of Pupil Teachers would find itself compelled to increase its Junior County Scholarships to 2,00 a year, and to give two thirds of the total to girls, perhaps confining the last 1,000 to candidates who undertake to complete their Pupil Teacher apprenticeship, and possibly modifying for such candidates its financial regulations'.

28. Education, 22nd March, 1907.
Banks O., op cit. p. 48

29. Report on Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, 1903-7, pp. 19-23.
Board of Education Report, 1908-9, pp. 53-58.

30. Education, 6th September, 1907.
See Sandiford P., The Training of Teachers in England and Wales, Chapter iii, for a discussion of the Regulations.

31. Board of Education Report 1907-8, p. 58.
Education, 7th June, 28th June, 30th August, 1907, 20th March, 8th May, 1908.

32. Education, 29th May, 1908, 13th May, 1910.

33. Education, 16th August, 24th May, 28th June, 6th September, 15th November, 1907; 8th May, 1908, 29th January, 1909, 20th September, 1907, 14th May, 1909

34. Education, 22nd December, 1910, 11th October, 1907, 9th October, 1908.

35. Education, 28th February, 6th March, 1908, 23rd April, 1909.

36. Board of Education Report 1908-9, p. 146.
Education, 24th September, 8th May, 21st August, 1908.

37. Education, 22nd February, 1909.

38. Board of Education Report 1912-13, pp. 157-8.
Williams G.A. op cit., pp. 86-8.

39. Education, 28th June, 1907, 15th December, 1911.
Minutes of Birmingham Education Committee, 1911-12, p. 59.

40. Board of Education Reports, 1910-11, pp. 113-6; 1912-13, p. 157.

41. Board of Education Reports, 1912-13, p. 149; 1914-15, p. 65.

Year	Pupil Teachers commencing		Bursars		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
1906-7	2,468	8,550	-	-	11,018
1907-8	2,092	6,205	637	1,406	10,340
1908-9	1,302	3,907	1,112	2,393	8,714
1909-10	894	2,956	1,090	2,251	7,191
1910-11	583	2,029	721	2,041	5,374
1911-12	393	1,562	723	2,135	4,813
1912-13	295	1,173	615	2,226	4,309
1913-14	282	1,409	590	2,422	4,703
1914-15	274	1,534	688	2,590	5,086

Education 24th January, 1908

Report on Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, 1903-7, p. 29
Education 28th January, 1908

42. Education 17th June, 1910, 17th November, 1911, 9th August, 13th September, 1912.

43. Education, 30th June, 1909, 1st September, 17th November, 1911, 16th February, 1912, 21st July, 8th September, 1911, 18th April, 30th August, 1912, Tropp A., op cit., p. 187

44. Education, 9th July, 1909.

45. Education, 3rd January, 1908, 14th February, 1909.
Board of Education Report, 1912-13, pp. 149, 152.

46. See Board of Education Report 1909-10, Appendix v, table showing the percentage of candidates who failed to pass each part of the Preliminary Examination.

1910

Failures	Bursars	All other candidates
Part 1	13.2%	26.1%
Part 11	4.2%	21.1%

47. Board of Education Reports, 1912-13, pp. 155-6; 1913-14, pp. 139-141
Education, 4th July, 8th August, 12th December, 1913.

48. Williams G.A., op cit. pp. 101-3.
Board of Education Reports 1912-3, pp. 153-6; 1913-4, pp. 134-146.

49. Education, 19th August, 1910

50. Board of Education Report, 1914-15, p. 64.

CHAPTER 5

1. 'In order to avoid any misconception arising from an unconscious tendency to adhere to the restrictions of the Technical Instruction Acts in interpreting the present Act, it (the training of teachers) is regarded as of sufficient importance to be specifically mentioned as coming within the powers of L.E.As.'

The Record, January 1903.

2. Article 113(b) laid down the conditions which must be satisfied before a Hostel could be recognised.

3. Residential Students

Denomination	Number of Training Colleges	1902/3		
		Men	Women	Total
Church of England	32	1,144	1,772	2,916
Undenominational	2	--	269	269
British	6	212	378	590
Wesleyan	2	124	112	236
Roman Catholic	3	56	218	274
For Blind Students	1	1	2	3
	36	1,537	2,751	4,288

Day Students

	1902/3		
	Men	Women	Total
In Day Training Colleges	742	865	1,607
" Residential Colleges	-	182	182
Total	742	1,047	1,789

Bd. of Ed. Report 1902/3, p. 50

3. (Contd.)

King's Scholarship Examination 1901

	Presented for Examination	Passed				
		1st cl.	2nd cl.	3rd cl.	Total	Failed
Men	2,487	284	1,053	907	2,244	243
Women	8,241	1,234	3,275	3,011	7,520	721
Total	10,728	1,518	4,328	3,918	9,764	964

Board of Education Report 1902/3, p.51

It will be noted that competition was more severe amongst the women.

3. Board of Education Report 1912/3, p. 35.
The Record (October 1903) reported that there were 5,600 vacancies, and if standards were to be raised in voluntary schools this meant that 6,000 teachers were required annually, which was at least double the present output of the Colleges.

4. Prefatory Memorandum for the Training of Teachers and for the Examination of students in Training Colleges, 1904.

The role of the Training Colleges was equally important, and after 1904 the appointment of staff was controlled by the Board.

The Memorandum also reminded the College authorities 'of the high and responsible duties which it is the privilege of the Training Colleges to fulfil for the public good. For if it be true that the moral and intellectual progress of a nation is very greatly affected by the nature and quality of the training of character and of intelligence which the public elementary schools provide for the children, it is equally true that the nature and quality of that training will depend very largely indeed upon a steadfast adherence to high ideals and a conscientious fulfilment of their most exacting duties on the part of the Principal, the teaching staff and the managing Committees of the Training Colleges. It should be their aim to send out zealous and capable teachers.

See also Allen, B. M. Sir Robert Morant, p. 218.

5. The Record, October 1903.

6. Education, 9th April 1903. See also 12th March, 17th September 1903, 30th June 1904.

7. A Local Authority, such as Lancashire County Council, with a large number of other Education Authorities within the geographical county, was also acutely conscious of this danger. Accordingly a deputation was sent to the Board of Education to make this point in February 1904.

See Williams, G.A. op. cit. p. 56.

8. Education, 2nd April 1903

The speaker then suggested that additional facilities could be provided in different parts of the country. Central Training Colleges, capable of receiving, say, 200 students - one or more in the North, another perhaps in the Midlands, and one or more in the South of England. To these Local Authorities in the district might contribute proportionately and in return they would have a proportionate share in the advantages of the Colleges, the rateable value in each case being a basis of calculation.

At the same meeting Mr. Scott Coward, the H.M.I. for Training Colleges, emphasised that it could not be in the interests of the country to continue the fatal policy of under-officering the schools. They wanted every teacher to be a trained teacher. In this case, even if the Day Training Colleges at the Universities and the existing Residential Colleges were utilised more fully, the facilities for training were entirely insufficient. It was therefore of the greatest importance that the training of teachers should be taken into serious consideration by the new education bodies.

9. Education, 24th March 1904.

Report of a Debate in Parliament, 15th March 1904.

10. See, for instance, the speeches of Dr. J. Macnamara, and Sir William Anson.

Education, 24th March 1904.

11. For every teacher trained for two years the Government Grant to a Residential College was £106 for men, £76 for women; to a Day Training College, £76 for men and £66 for women.

Education, 24th February, 10th March 1905.

12. See, for instance, Hughes, A: Report on the Education Resources of the City of Coventry, which mentioned no more than the following: 'A considerable proportion of the boy students have in the past gone to the Training College at Saltley. An increasing number of girls proceed to the Birmingham (University) Day Training College for Women.

13. See, for instance, the Report of A. Rankine, Inspector of Training Colleges, Board of Education Report 1900/1, vol. II, p. 185/6.

'In 1900 3,591 acting teachers were examined as compared with 2,338 students from Training Colleges. What is the meaning of this? First and foremost, the deeply ingrained feeling in the practical English mind that there is no science of education, and that very little preparation is required for the practice of the art.

14. Williams, G. A. 174-176, 178-183; Education, 3rd December 1903.

15. The Record, January/March 1904.
Manchester Education Committee Annual Reports 1903/4, p. 20, 1904/5, p. 21.
Education, 1st September 1905.

16. Education, 17th December 1903.
5th May, 1904. 17th February 1905.

The authorities represented were Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Isle of Ely, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Norwich, East Suffolk, West Suffolk, Great Yarmouth.

17. Education, 7th November 1904.
Education, 2nd February 1906.

18. Education, 10th March 1905. 17th March 1905.

The authorities represented were Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland and Westmorland, and the County Boroughs of Gateshead, Newcastle, South Shields, Sunderland, Tynemouth and West Hartlepool.

19. Newall, M. E. Hereford Training College, 7-19.
Education, 15th October 1903
25th February 1904

20. Sadler, M. E. Report on Higher Education in the City of Sheffield.

Grier, L. Achievement in Education, p. 133-4.

Sheffield was the first Authority to receive a Report from Sadler (July 1903, followed by a Training College Report 1904). Miss Grier suggests that the Sheffield Committee was so deeply impressed by the proposals of the Report as to promote them all immediately, although Sadler had suggested that they should be carried out over a series of years.

21. Chapman, A. W. The Story of a Modern University, p. 163.

In April 1905 the control of the Day Training College was transferred by the Board of Education from the University College to the Managers of the Training College, on the understanding that, if the University College was granted a Charter, the Training College would not be recognised as a constituent part of the University.

Millington, R. City of Sheffield Training College, p. 21-28.

Board of Education Report 1906-7, p. 58.

22. Webb, S. Op. cit. p. 17-21.

23. Jubilee lectures, op. cit. 28-31.

Education, 10th November 1905.
15th and 22nd December 1905.

Board of Education Report 1907/8, p. 65.

In one respect the Council were unfortunate. As the Council had acquired the site and the mansion before 16th March 1904 (the date specified in the Regulations of 1905), the Board refused to make a grant towards the site and building or enlargements to it. The Higher Education Sub-Committee admitted that the mansion and site had been acquired before the specified date the Regulations became effective, but they were not appropriated for Training College purposes until after that date. The Board refused to alter its decision.

See Education, 16th July 1909.

24. Dymond, D. (ed.) The Forge, p. 4-6.

25. Board of Education Reports. See Appendices for the following years:
Grants to County Borough of Exeter

1908/9	Building grant of £4,400 for hostel accommodation	
1909/10	Building for the Training College	£1,825
	for hostel accommodation	£1,308
1910/11	Building grant	£3,243
1913/14	Building grant	£987

See Parry H. Lloyd: History of the Royal Albert Memorial College, p. 12-20

The number preparing for definite examinations in July 1904 were: University of London, Final Degree: 4, Intermediate and Preliminary 25, Matriculation 36; University of Cambridge Teachers' Diploma 2; Higher Local, 5; Pharmaceutical Society, 9; Board of Education Teachers' Certificate, 100.

See Sadler, M. Report on Secondary and Higher Education in the City. p. 32.

Another part of the College was a Pupil Teachers' Centre. In his Report (p. 57-8) Sadler commented on the excellent work done at the Centre, and he felt it a great advantage that it was carried on in the same institution as the Training College. 'Pupil Teachers thus became familiar with, and attached to, the College to which those of them who may remain in education will naturally return in the course of their subsequent professional life for intellectual stimulus and for further opportunities of culture. Thus on a review of the circumstances of the case it becomes clear that, so far as Exeter is concerned, it will be more prudent to strengthen the Pupil Teachers' Centre at the College than to attach Pupil Teacher Centres to the middle of Secondary Schools.

26. Regulations for the Training of Teachers and for the Examination of Students in Training Colleges 1904.

The definition of a Training College was now:

A Training College, whether residential or day, may be either:

(a) a separate institution carried on solely for the training of teachers, or

(b) a department of a University, or

(c) a department of an institution devoted to higher education in Arts and Sciences.

27. Regulations for the Training of Teachers 1905.
Board of Education Report 1904/5, p. 41/2.

28. The Director of Education for Staffordshire later wrote that his county did not see its way to sharing any expense of the College, but it did consider providing a hostel for men. Staffordshire had, in fact, already seriously considered the expediency of establishing a Training College for Women at Trentham Park, when this was offered to the county for the purposes of Higher Education in 1905. Although it was near Stoke-on-Trent the proposal fell through.

Balfour, G.: Ten Years of Staffordshire Education, p. 52.

Education, 25th August 1905.
29th May 1908, 2nd October 1908

Board of Education Report, 1909/10, p. 104.

29. Education, 25th August 1905.
8th September 1905.

30. Education, 24th February 1905.
26th May, 1905.

The extra cost for teaching staff alone in Lancashire was £95,000 over and above the amount paid before 1902 - an amount equal to a rate of 5d. in the pound.

Education, 1st June 1906.

31. Education, for example, 11th August 1905.

32. Education, 20th October 1905. Speech of Sir William Anson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education at the opening of the City of Sheffield Training College.

See also Education, 16th June 1905.

Mr. Tudor Walters, Chairman of Leicester Education Committee, hoped that they would not allow the control of education to fall too much into the hands of Government departments. That would be fatal to its highest interest, since they wanted all the local interest, activity and inspiration they could obtain. Therefore if they were to have local control, a substantial contribution must continue to be made from local rates; but the basis of local rating was so limited that its resources were soon exhausted, and unless the basis was broadened there must be increased national contribution.

33. Education, 26th May 1905, for Acland's warning to the County Councils' Association on this precise point.

Education, 15th February, 7th April, 26th May 1905.

34. Education, 15th February, 7th April, 26th May 1905.
4th September 1908
15th May 1908.

Balfour, G. op. cit. p.52-53

35. Education, 16th June 1905.

36. Education, 24th December 1903.
3rd January 1908.

37. Education, 25th May, 1st June 1906.

38. Education, 27th April 1906
20th July 1906.

39. The Regulations also enabled the Board to make a grant in aid for erecting temporary premises for the purpose of a Training College hostel to the amount of £3 per place provided or 75% of the rent, whichever is the less, in cases in which the Board are satisfied that it is desirable to provide temporary premises, owing to the fact that premises cannot at once be provided, or that it is for the moment impossible to say for how many students accommodation is required.

In 1909, in order to prevent Local Authorities erecting buildings at excessive cost, the Board further defined the limits by publishing a scale which would not be exceeded, based on the average of 75% of the cost of each student place provided. A provision also limited the grant payable for buildings of different types.

40. Education, 1st June 1906, 6th July 1906.

Selby-Bigge, L. A. op. cit. p. 249.

41. Figures for the Church of England Colleges in 1905/6 were:

Subscriptions	£ 9,000
Student fees	£ 26,000
Exchequer grants	£138,000.

Sacks, B. The Religious Issue in the State Schools of England and Wales, p. 215-221.
'The Spectator' accused Nonconformists of having said to the Government that even if you cannot destroy Church predominance in the voluntary schools by Act of Parliament, you can make the Church exceedingly uncomfortable in the Training Colleges and produce indeed a state of things so intolerable that they will be glad to come to a compromise. p. 217.

42. Circular 570 explained that it was quite in order for L.E.As. that had provided Colleges or contributed towards the cost to give preference to candidates coming from their own areas, provided, of course, that such applicants were treated alike.

See Education, 6th September 1907.

43. The encouragement already given to L.E.As. to build Training Colleges and the well-known poverty of older Colleges led to expectations in some quarters that the voluntary Colleges would gradually disappear or be taken over. The Principal of one voluntary College dreaded the Local Authority College as a rival institution, like a Board School on a higher plane.

Education, 22nd October 1903.

Education, 19th July 1907.

44. Sacks, B. p. 215. From The Saturday Review.

Partisan estimates of the proportions contributed by the Exchequer and the denominations varied in favour of the State from 2: 1 to 14:1.

See Sacks, B. p. 218.

45. Education, 6th September 1907
20th December 1907.

Dr. Davidson pointed out that the Church of England was expanding its plans for more hostels and lodging houses to be open to Nonconformists. By 1907 the Church of England had 7 hostels for 189 students at Residential Colleges, and at Day Training Colleges 18 hostels for 627 students.

46. See the Board of Education Report for 1908/9, p. 60. Altogether there were 12,000 places (5,000 denominational, 7,000 undenominational). The net result was that 9,500 were open, irrespective of denominational considerations, and 2,500 were subject to a denominational test.

The Regulations applicable to new Colleges remained. Selly Park, Birmingham, which was opened in 1912 by the Sisters of Charity of St. Paul for 26 students. It was recognised as efficient by the Board of Education, but as it did not wish to comply with the regulations concerning the admission of students, it did not receive grants from the Government.

In 1903 Warrington Training College (Church of England) set up Orford Hall for training undenominational students who were already certificated. From 1st August 1911 the Board recognised it as a separate College, the governing body consisting of 5 University and Local Authority representatives, and 5 from the Warrington College.

Board of Education Report 1911/12. p. 121/2

47. Board of Education Report 1907/8, p. 64/5.

48. Minutes of the Higher Education Sub-Committee, Durham County Council,
8th July, 30th July, 16th September, 30th September Education, 10th January 1908.

49. Annual Reports of the Durham County Council, Higher Education Committee for 1908/9, 1909/10, 1910/11, 1911/12, 1912/13.

50. Education, 4th January 1907, 15th February 1907.

51. Education, 15th February 1907.
Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Cities of Nottingham and Sheffield, County Borough of Derby were represented.

Education, 3rd May 1907, 24th April 1908.

52. Manchester Education Committee: Annual Report 1905/6, p. 23.

Education, 18th January 1907
29th March 1907.

53. Correspondence with the County Archivist.

Education, 30th June 1911
15th March 1912.

54. Education, 6th March 1908
13th December 1907.
18th June 1904.
15th October 1904.

55. Education, 6th April 1906.
Education, 20th May 1910.
Correspondence with the County Archivist.

56. Education, 13th December 1907
Board of Education Report 1909/10, p. 104.

57. In 1906 out of 129 Leeds Pupil Teachers qualified for entrance only 23 found places. Only a quarter of the assistant teachers in Leeds were College-trained, and another quarter were pupil teachers.
See Rich, R. W. A Short History of the City of Leeds Training College, p. 1-9.

Leeds Education Committee - Education in Leeds. A Backward Glance. p. 122/3

Board of Education Report 1912/3, p. 163.

58. Education, 21st February 1908
20th January 1911.
Board of Education Report 1906/7, p. 58.
Board of Education Report 1912/3, p. 163.

Correspondence with the Director of Education for Bolton.

59. Board of Education Report 1907/8, p. 65.

60. Education, 25th October 1907.
9th October 1908.

Board of Education Report 1909/10, p. 104.

Cheshire County Training College. Jubilee Book 1908-58, p. 7.

61. Board of Education Report 1907/8, p. 65.
Board of Education Report 1914/15, p. 72.

62. Education, 28th February 1908.
21st May 1909, 9th July 1909.

Board of Education Report, 1909/10, p. 104.

63. Board of Education Report 1913/4, p. 158.
1910/11, p. 124.

64. Education of April 1906.

65. Some of the residential accommodation provided by the Authorities is noted in the Board of Education Reports for the following years:

1906/7. At Goldsmiths College, Kent opened a hostel for 34 students, and Surrey opened one for 44 students in 1907.

1907/8. In 1907 the L.C.C. opened a hostel for 75 women in connection with Avery Hill College, followed shortly afterwards by another for 40 women. Two or three more were contemplated for the College.

1908/9. Hostels were opened at Leeds, one for 34 men and another for 81 women. At Avery Hill one for 37 women; at Bolton one for 38 women; at Portsmouth for a total of 69 women, with another for 16 women in the autumn of 1909.

1910/11 Hostel accommodation for 114 men and 42 women was provided at Bangor Normal College.

1911/12 Sheffield opened a hostel for 60 women. Dudley opened a permanent hostel for 50. Leeds opened 2 temporary hostels (40 men, 43 women). Middlesex opened one at Goldsmiths College for 36 women.

1912/13 Crewe opened a hostel for 52 women.

66. Board of Education Report 1906/7, p. 59.

The Board of Education Report for 1907/8 (p. 66), commented unfavourably on the arrangements made for students in lodgings. 'The Board were very far from being satisfied that the Authorities of all Colleges attended by external students are as exacting as the Board would have them be in the licensing and supervision of lodgings, and in enforcing the discipline which is necessary, especially in the case of women. The Board require that the supervision exercised in respect of students on behalf of whom grants are made shall be real and effective, and they will insist on measures being taken to that end.'

67. However, residence was not provided at the following L.C.C. Colleges: Islington, Clapham, Fulham, Graystoke Place, Moorfields. Nor at Manchester or Sunderland.

The following table shows the number of students in attendance at the beginning of 1913/14, classified according to the provision made for their residence.

	Men	Women	Total
Resident	1,610	4,080	5,690
Hostel	672	1,565	2,237
Day	1,939	1,862	3,801
Total	4,221	7,507	11,728

Board of Education Report 1913/4, p. 159

68. Manchester Education Committee: Annual Report 1906/7 to 1912/3.

69. Board of Education Report 1912/3, p. 40.

70. Dymond, D. op. cit, p. 10.

Education, 3rd July 1908
13th November 1908.

71. Board of Education Report 1910/11, p. 131.

Education, 11th June 1909.

72. For instance, the recognition for staffing purposes of intending Pupil Teachers was terminated, and by the Code of 1903 the Board could make it a condition of the continued recognition of Supplementary Teachers that suitable arrangements were made for them to receive special training. After 1903 failure to observe staffing standards involved a liability to forfeiture of the whole grant instead of a deduction from the grant proportionate to the deficiency.

Board of Education Report 1909/10, p. 11-12.

73. Board of Education Reports 1909/10, p. 11-28;
1905/6
Statistical volume Table 6.

74. Education, 14th, 21st May 1909, 1st July 1910, 22nd November 1912.

Numbers of Trained Teachers in England

	CERTIFICATED TEACHERS			Total	
Year	Men	Women	Total	Number trained	Percentage trained
1909-10	30,101	61,351	91,452	49,503	54.13
1910-11	31,214	63,574	94,788	52,593	55.48
1911-12	31,998	65,105	97,103	55,495	57.15
1912-13	32,932	66,423	99,355	58,596	58.98
1913-14	33,779	68,067	101,846	61,647	60.53

Board of Education Reports 1911/12, p. 51
1913/14, p. 72/3

75. Board of Education Report 1911/12, p. 115.

See the results for the Certificate Examination for Acting Teachers in Elementary Schools in the Reports.

76. Education, 22nd March 1907.

The following extract from an address by the President of the Association of Education Committees is fairly typical (Education, 12th June 1908).

'The greatest difficulty facing us at this moment is that of finance. The Act of 1902 in putting all schools upon the rates necessarily added to the local burdens; in the case of my own Authority, for instance, it increased our rate by 6d. in the pound. Since that time the changes demanded by the Board, whilst doing much to advance education, have still further largely increased our expenditure, and this is being met in some quarters by a reduction in teaching staff, in salaries, apparatus, and other so-called economies, in order to keep down what is regarded as the appalling expenditure on education.

The Editorial columns of 'Education' frequently drew attention to the grievance. 'We must refer to a question which is apparently ever-recurring. When are the L.E.As. to receive the promised assistance from the Exchequer to enable them to carry out efficiently the admittedly national services they are rendering to the State?' (23rd October 1908). 'So frequently has authoritative representation been made to the Government as to the serious need there is for granting from the Exchequer further financial aid that it may seem the work of supererogation to reiterate the claims of the L.E.As.' (4th December 1908).

77. Selby-Brigge, L. A. p. 80-95.

Education, 1900-1950 Curd 8244 p. 23-5.

Education, 1st February 1907, 24th February 1911, 4th, 18th, 25th July, 19th December 1913.

Platts A. and Hainton, G. H. op cit., p. 89.

78. Jones, L. G. E. op cit. p.245-6.

79. Pamphlet issued by N.U.T., January 1911, argued that the supply of certificated teachers largely exceeded the actual demand.

Inquiries were made in the autumn of students who left Training Colleges in 1908 and 1909 in the previous July. The totals for 1909 were:

Employment on 1st October 1909				
Outgoing students	Employed as Certificated Teachers		Employed as uncertificated teachers	Without school employment
	Permanently	Temporarily		
4,836	2,860	192	144	1,528

Report of the Board of Education for 1908-9. (p. 47/48).

'At the present moment an idea is being disseminated that a large proportion of young persons newly trained and qualified for teaching posts will find themselves permanently unable to find employment. How fallacious this suggestion is, at any rate as regards the students who completed their Training College course so recently as the summer of 1908 has been shown by a recent return to the House of Commons which showed that out of 4,384 men and women who satisfactorily completed the Training College course in that year 4,069 or nearly 93% were known or believed to have secured employment within 12 months, i.e. by the 1st July 1909. In most of these cases the employment was secured in considerably less than 12 months. Furthermore, the residue of about 7% included a certain number of young persons who were not yet seeking posts, as they had elected to pursue their studies at a University instead of seeking immediate employment. Not only is it not that the profession is seriously overstocked at present, but the fullest study which the material available has permitted of the whole question of supply and demand for the teaching profession, as a national question, has forced the Board to the unwelcome conclusion that there is danger of a serious shortage in a very few years' time. When it is realised that the number of young persons brought into the preliminary stages of the profession at the beginning of the present year shows a reduction of 30% on the figures of 1907, it will be seen that the risk of there not being, in a very few years' time, sufficient qualified teachers for the elementary schools is already exceedingly grave.'

80. The Board's Report for 1913/4 commented on the diminution of the total number of recognised students in attendance at Training College from 12,126 in the peak year of 1911/12 to 11,728 in 1913/4. The decline was attributed to the decline in the number of entrants in the earlier stage of the teaching profession which was making itself felt at the Training College stage.

Education, 18th September, 25th September 1908
26th February, 14th May 1909
11th March, 22nd April, 9th September 1910
27th October 1911

Millington, R. op cit. p. 52.

Unemployment among trained teachers was taken as an opportunity by some Authorities to insist on compulsory training courses for uncertificated teachers. The L.C.C. was particularly well placed in this respect, because there were vacant places in its Colleges. Re-employment was guaranteed on completion of the course. Those who were not prepared to enter College had their appointments terminated after due warning.

81. Education, 2nd October 1908, 17th March 1911

Annual Report of the L.C.C. 1909/10, p. 97/8.

Dymond, D. op cit. 11-16.

The L.C.C. did this without consulting any of the other Authorities, and even though the contribution for Reserved Places had been reduced from £16 to £13 per annum. The Senate was willing to continue the Training Department only provided that the other Authorities agreed to occupy the same number of places. The financial position was precarious, and a serious decline in numbers was averted by the admission of fee-payers from other Authorities (e.g. 96 were admitted in 1912/3, including 27 from Wales).

82. Education, 20th May 1910.

Board of Education Reports 11/12, p. 123, 14/15, p. 74.

83. Education, 24th September 1909, 27th October 1911.

Board of Education Report 1911/12, p. 122/3.

84. Bibby, C. (ed.) The First Fifty Years, p. 9-14.

Education, 4th March 1910.

85. Education, 26th June 1908, 9th July 1909.

Board of Education Report 1914/15, p. 73.

Correspondence with the County Archivist for Monmouthshire.

86. Accommodation in Training Colleges 1914/5.

Type of College	Number	Accommodation
(a) University Training Colleges		
(i) providing a Four Years' Course	11	1,955
(ii) Not providing a Four Years' Course	9	1,511
(b) Council Training Colleges	22	4,168
(c) Voluntary Training Colleges		
(i) On the grants list	46	5,648
(ii) Not on grants list	1	24
Total	89	13,356

87. The School Guardian, February 1st, 8th, 1913

Sacks, B. op cit. p. 221.

89. Education, 8th January 1909.

A survey showed that only 10% of those entering Church Training Colleges wished to be relieved from any of the religious observances.

90. Board of Education Report 1912/3, p. 41.

The percentage of graduates of the staffs were as follows in 1913/4: 62.1% voluntary Colleges, 82.4% University Departments of Education, 73.2% Local Authority Colleges.

Jones, L. G. E. op cit. p. 76,

91. Education, 21st July 1911.

92. At Sheffield Training College, out of the 90 1st year Students in 1905, 42 came from Sheffield, but the corresponding figures for 1913 were 11 out of 93.

Millington, R. W. op cit. p. 26; 55.

93. Jeffrey, G. B. 'Universities and the Teaching Profession', p. 68. in Judges, A. V. Looking Forward in Education.

APPENDICES

Local Education Authority Training Colleges
(Dates of opening (or recognition)

1901	Exeter	transferred to Exeter University College	1922
1902	L.C.C.	London Day - Transferred to London University	1907
1904	L.C.C.	Graystoke Place closed -	1934
	Hereford		
1905	Sheffield		
1906	L.C.C.	Avery Hill	
	"	Islington Closed -	1915
1907	L.C.C.	Clapham Closed -	1915
	Bolton	Closed -	1913
	Leeds		
	Portsmouth		
	Swansea	(1872-1907 voluntary college)	
1908	Bangor	(1846-1908 voluntary college)	
	Crewe		
	Sunderland		
	L.C.C.	Fulham Closed -	1915
	"	Moorfields "	1915
1909	Brighton		
	Dudley		
1910	Manchester		
1911	Bingley		
1913	Kingston-upon-Hull		
1914	Barry		
	Caerleon		
1915	L.C.C.	Furzedown	

Accommodation in Training Colleges

Year	Number of Colleges	Number of Students for whom places were provided
1850	16	991
1860	34	2,388
1870	34	2,495
1880	41	3,275
1890	49	3,679
1900	61	6,011
1905	72	8,987
1910	85	12,625
1913	87	13,093

Board of Education Report 1912/3 P5

Building Grants & Rent Grants for Training Colleges and Hostels paid to LEAS and Universities

Year	Grant for Provision of premises	Grant in aid of rent	Total
1906-7	19,500 0 0	-	19,500 0 0
7-8	45,000 0 0	-	45,000 0 0
8-9	59,965 14 9	567 16 6	60,533 11 3
9-10	58,418 11 6	1,658 11 6	60,077 3 0
10-11	78,624 1 6	3,238 5 3	81,862 6 9
11-12	91,343 1 11	2,153 12 11	93,496 14 10
12-13	93,313 15 4	3,198 3 1	96,511 18 5
13-14	95,102 16 9	1,738 14 1	96,841 10 10
Total	541,268 1 9	12,555 3 4	553,823 5 1

Board of Education Reports 1912/3 p 164
1913/4 p 252/3

Income of Training Colleges*

ar	Growth from Govern-ment	Fees of Students (Sale of Books, etc. to Students included)	LOCAL SOURCES			
			Voluntary Subscrip-tions and Endowments	Contributions from Universities	Contributions from Rates	Miscellaneous
	68,272	2,911	19,506	-	-	2,879
	78,485	6,182	17,816	-	-	647
	109,299	20,964	22,704	-	-	751
1	126,429	30,092	18,350	-	-	542
1	178,220	61,462	18,731	995	105	856
11	355,210	146,746	17,391	11,085	22,470	1,669

* The figures do not include sums specially contributed for the purpose of meeting capital expenditure e.g. on premises

Board of Education Report 1912/3 p. 9.

EXPANSION AND STAFFING OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL SYSTEM 1874 - 1914

ate	No. of Schools	Average Attendance	No. of Adult Teachers	No. of Certif-icated Teachers	No. of Scholars per adult Teacher	No. of Scholars per Certificated Teacher
874-5	13,217	1,873,180	23,653	20,940	77.6	87.7
884-5	18,893	3,371,325	61,616	40,706	54.7	82.8
894-5	19,739	4,325,030	92,578	52,941	46.6	81.5
904-5	20,513	5,249,456	140,219	78,737	37.4	66.6
913-14	21,053	5,392,579	165,901	109,156	31.9	49.4

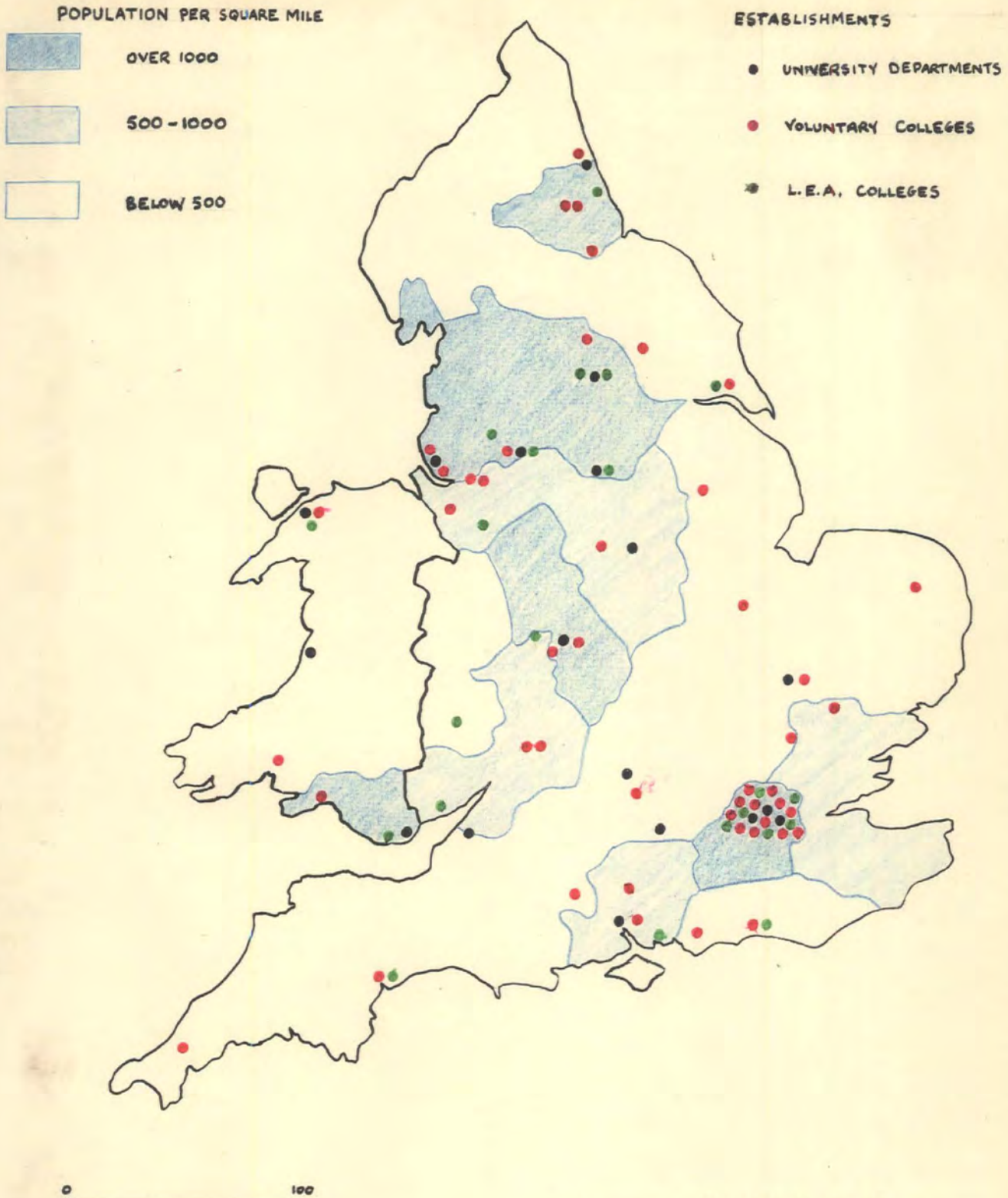
CHANGES IN NUMBERS AND QUALIFICATIONS OF STAFFS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

1874 - 1914

te	Certificated Trained	Certificated Untrained	Uncertif-icated	Supple-mentary	Student Teachers	Totals
74-5	14,872	6,071	2,713	-	-	23,656
84-5	22,658	18,048	16,618	4,292	-	61,616
94-5	30,639	22,302	27,961	11,678	-	92,580
04-5	42,894	35,843	42,346	19,136	-	140,219
13-14	66,906	42,250	41,407	13,367	1,971	165,901

From Jones, L.G.E. : Training Teachers in England and Wales. p. 266

Map to show Location of Teacher Training Establishments in relation to Population Distribution in the year 1911.



Sources : 1911 Census Report.
List 175 for 1912-13.

Bibliography

General

There is an excellent bibliography by N. R. Tempest in the British Journal of Education Studies Vol XI by N. R. Tempest entitled 'Some Sources for the History of Teacher-Training in England and Wales'. This article suggests that there is a plentiful and readily available supply of material, but this suggestion needs qualification. As the article shows this statement is undoubtedly true as far as the 19th Century is concerned, but there are many gaps that remain to be filled for the 20th Century. To some extent they can be supplemented by the official reports from the Board of Education, but as the chief aim of the Board was to encourage reluctant authorities to assume their responsibilities to train teachers, they are generous in their praise, yet careful to omit references of difficulties and disputes. Much of the other material that is available is only incidentally concerned with the agencies responsible for the training of teachers.

There is a shortage of histories about the training of teachers. The following are available:-

Rich R. W. The Training of Teachers in England and Wales in the 19th Century is an admirable study, but it wisely does not trespass into the 20th Century.

Jones L. G. E. The Training of Teachers in England and Wales gives a vast amount of detailed information, but much of it is restricted to arrangements that were in existence in the early 1920's. However, it contains a good introductory chapter, outlining the historical background.

Ogren G. 'Trends in English Teachers' Training from 1800'. This is primarily an investigation into teachers' attitudes to teaching and training, although it does contain a short historical survey that is somewhat superficial and at times inaccurate.

Sandiford P. 'The Training of Teachers in England and Wales', is based chiefly on the regulations and codes that were in existence when it was published (1910)

Tropp A. 'The School Teachers', traces the history of the teaching profession from the mid 19th Century, and inevitably it includes much information about the supply and training of teachers, together with their renumeration and status.

Board of Education Report for 1912/3 'Introductory Survey'. This brief account is a most useful introduction to the subject.

While these books cover, within the limits of their titles, changes in the Pupil Teacher System, none of them discuss the policy of local authorities towards establishing Colleges or the growth of the Colleges themselves. Histories of education usually cover in some detail the influence of Bell, Lancaster, Kay-Shuttleworth, and the Revised Code, but otherwise the training of teachers is given short shrift by most of them. An exception is Birchenough C., 'History of Elementary Education in England and Wales'. This is not to imply that some histories do not contain useful material, but it is often given in passing, being subsidiary to the main theme. Examples of such books are Banks O, 'Parity and Prestige in English Education', and Eaglesham E. 'From School Board to Local Authority'.

Government Sources

Reference should be made to the Acts of Parliament, especially the Act of 1902. Royal Commissions, and in particular the Cross Commission, contain information about the supply of teachers, Pupil Teachers and Training Colleges, together with some frank opinions from witnesses. Departmental Reports on the training of teachers for 1898,1907, and 1925 are invaluable. The Annual Reports of the Education Department and the Board of Education are essential sources of information. Similarly Regulations, Codes, and Circulars of the Department and the Board should be consulted. Prior to 1904 Regulations for the Training of Teachers appeared, with the exception of the Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers and Studies in Training Colleges (1903), as articles of the Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools and Training Colleges (1903) or earlier Codes of Regulations. In 1904 Regulations for the Training of Teachers for Elementary schools were followed by regulations for other categories of intending teachers. Other sources of Government policy are unfortunately not in existence. The Ministry of Education Records transferred to the Public Record Office are as follows:-

(78) Vol 12 Teachers. Training College Files. Few papers, prior to 1932, other than those relating to Hostels are extant. Most of the files start in the 1920's and 1930's.

(87) Of the series of Training College General Files only the Building Grant files which suffered some destruction are extant. (These files are not concerned with temporary Colleges)

Local Authority Sources

Reference has been made to certain of the Annual Reports, the minutes of the Higher Education Sub-Committees, and of the Education Committees of some authorities that did provide Colleges - namely Durham, L.C.C., Manchester. In addition the records of two authorities that did not provide training Colleges (Birmingham, Middlesbrough) have been consulted to see if anything could be found of their attitude towards the provision of Training College places. All too often local authority sources are frustrating. Not only are they often incomplete, but at times reference is made to reports and surveys which have not been preserved. Correspondence with the Archivists for Cornwall, Exeter, L.C.C. and Monmouthshire provided further information. However, although the information that they kindly supplied was useful, it was clearly apparent, apart from the L.C.C., that there is a shortage of relevant records.

Local Authority Training Colleges

The lack of source material dealing with the information of local authority colleges is remarked upon by the authors of the few colleges histories that exist. These histories are for Hereford, Sheffield, Goldsmiths, Leeds, and Hull Training Colleges. Nevertheless they contain much valuable information, even though much of it is naturally of a domestic nature. Correspondence with the Principals

of other Colleges was not fruitful, apart from occasional and brief introductory notes from brochures commemorating recent extensions. Some information about the early Day Training Colleges can be obtained from the histories of the Universities concerned - where they exist. (eg. Chapman A. W. The Story of a Modern University).

Journals

Use has been made wherever possible of periodicals, for not only do they include information and reports of conferences, but also illuminating comments on the policies of the Government and the local authorites. Extensive reference has been made to 'Education' the official weekly organ of the Association of Education Committees. The reports concern only a selection of the activities of some of the authorities, and the treatment of items receives a variable amount of space. The Record and the School Board Chronicle were also consulted.

It must be stressed that the above statements are not meant to imply that other material does not exist. Obviously it does, and what is required are some detailed studies of individual colleges, and more especially of local authorities themselves. (e.g. Bingham J. H. The Period of the Sheffield School Board). A first rate source for the policy of the Lancashire County Council with reference to

the training is the following thesis: Williams G. A. 'Administrative Aspects of the Training of Teachers in the Administrative County of Lancaster 1902 - 1944'.

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