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EDUCATION, IMPERIALISM, AND NATIONAL EFFICIENCY  
IN ENGLAND,  
1895 - 1905

By

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Being a thesis  
submitted for the degree of  
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L.M.S.  
11.6.79



## SUMMARY

This thesis traces, during the period 1895 to 1905, the growth of public awareness in England of the importance of education, particularly in the sense of the way in which education could further imperial interests and interests of national efficiency.

In the introductory chapter the thesis is initially set in the context of the British economy and society of the time. Then, the problems of dealing with the subject of education in general and turn-of-the-century English education in particular are dealt with and, finally, the aims and the limits of the thesis are sketched out.

Chapter I gives a broad survey of the English educational scene in 1895, emphasising its heterogeneity and administrative confusion. After showing the way in which 1895 can be seen as a time of educational reaction, it goes on to catalogue the events of 1896 - which led to renewed interest in education - and the short and long-term results of this "Made in Germany" panic.

One of the results of the relatively short-lived educational debate was a desire for facts about education. Chapter II deals with this search for information. The agencies by which information was collected and distributed are mentioned, the main areas of inquiry, including details of specific reports, given, and the general results of this new trend suggested.

Chapter III goes more deeply into the different kinds of pressure exerted by various groups and individuals both for and against educational reform in the period up to the Boer War. The groups are categorised, their main aims and tactics considered, their impact assessed.

The Boer War was for Great Britain a rude awakening to a sense of her own vulnerability. Chapter IV shows how general criticisms of the army and administration developed into criticisms of the educational system behind them. The lines along which such criticism ran are briefly discussed, as are the various solutions suggested at the time, often by completely new associations. The concept of national efficiency in its application to education is touched upon and the equivocal nature of the new demand for education is mentioned.

The Boer War agitations had impressed on the public mind the need for more efficiency in education and the forging of a stronger link between education and the responsibilities of Empire. Chapters V and VI show the attempts which were made to deal with these two problems.

The 1902 Education Act, it is argued, can be seen both as the apogee of national efficiency and also as a limitation of, and distraction from, the concept. Chapter VII charts the build-up to the bill, its passage through parliament, and the results of the legislation.

The concluding chapter of the thesis deals in greater depth with the signs of an educational reaction and the distractions from education in the period after 1902. An attempt is made to analyse the nature of national efficiency and imperialism and their impact on education in the eleven year period and to show what had been gained by the public agitations.

As a short follow-up, the policy of the Liberal government with regard to education up to about 1910 is sketched out, together with the vain attempts made by individuals like Haldane to rouse some interest in the general aspects of the subject.

There are three appendices: the first consists of a humorous poem on the 1896 Education Bill published in one of the contemporary educational journals; the second gives short biographies of the main personalities in the thesis with details of their work in the educational field; the third is a short chronology of educational events in the period 1895 to 1905.

## ABBREVIATIONS

M.S.	Manuscript Source (Private Papers)
Parl. Deb.	Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)
c.	column number (Hansard)
P.P.	Parliamentary Paper
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
C.O.	Colonial Office
Ed.	Education Department
W.O.	War Office
T.E.B.	Records of the London County Council Technical Education Board at County Hall

## INTRODUCTION

"Education ... is the instinctive effort which the social body makes to adapt itself to vital needs."

PROFESSOR H. W. WITHERS.<sup>1</sup>

"I am aware that education is an unpopular subject and that no bore is quite so appalling as the educational bore."

HENRY BIRCHENOUGH.<sup>2</sup>



## INTRODUCTION

At the turn of the century the people of Great Britain had, in many ways, good reason to feel confident about the future. They were at the hub of a great empire whose commercial, military and diplomatic power seemed unrivalled. They were free citizens in a parliamentary democracy. For the most part they were, nominally at least, Christians in an enlightened, God-fearing community. The old élite still seemed to be secure in its rule.<sup>3</sup> But this picture masks a sense of unease. Agriculture was still going through a depression and depopulation in country areas made the rural scene a depressing one. The strain of Britain's imperial commitments was becoming increasingly obvious.<sup>4</sup> They provided a prominent theme in Lord Rosebery's speeches<sup>5</sup> and even the more popular imperialist literature was laying stress increasingly on the duties and obligations of empire.<sup>6</sup> Many pessimists doubted how long such immense commitments over half the globe could be sustained, especially in view of the growing number of revelations about the impact of foreign competition. The first alarms concerned the state of British commerce and industry, but these soon broadened to include the state of the army and navy. It was, after all, quite logical to argue that without the wealth earned by commerce and industry Britain could not keep up an army, navy and merchant marine sufficient for her commitments, that if she did not keep up her commitments she would lose any hold over the Empire and, without it, sink to the rank of a second-rate power.<sup>7</sup>

The revelations, however, were not confined to the sphere of external threats. Alarm was increasingly felt over a declining birth-rate.<sup>8</sup> Social investigators like Booth and Rowntree had for some time been laying bare, in a highly scientific fashion, unpleasant facts about poverty and the concomitant health/



health/ and housing problems.<sup>9</sup> Their discoveries generated a new and at times depressing awareness of the magnitude of the social problems which had to be faced. The question began to be posed whether Britain was breeding a worthy imperial race in the disease-ridden slums of her major cities. Other questions were raised which were even more difficult to answer. Did the Anglo-Saxon race have the moral fibre to sustain an Empire? Was Christianity irrevocably in decline? And, more serious, was the decline in Christianity a sign of the decline of the Empire? The Christian Socialist, Masterman, in particular bewailed the lack of "ideal inner springs"<sup>10</sup> in British life without which he felt Britain could only hope to share the fate of other lost empires.

In the middle of the period Britain was plunged into a war which was as problematic as the optimism/pessimism dichotomy in British society. Although Britain was eventually overwhelmingly victorious, it was at the expense of millions of pounds sterling, her international status, and her self-confidence.<sup>11</sup> The war unleashed a torrent of criticism of nearly all aspects of British society, and although the criticism was followed by the inevitable reaction, the experience had been a shattering one.

Throughout this period and increasingly after the Boer War, education was to assume a growing importance in British society. Needless to say, any attempt to come to terms with the problem of education in general is fraught with difficulty. Few would argue nowadays against the importance of education - it is after all a universal experience - and at times it has seemed to constitute all things to all men, a universal panacea. As Sadler pointed out, education cannot really be seen in isolation from other social phenomena. It is, in fact, part of national life and aspirations.<sup>12</sup> In a sense, educational policy may represent a nation's attempt to manipulate its own future, to change itself, and yet the very pressures brought to bear on education owe so much to past influences and the basic set of assumptions which go to make up the national ethos or character that it is often cultural continuity rather than change which is fostered.

This problem of the equivocal nature of education as both key to the future<sup>13</sup> and heritage of the past is complicated by four further difficulties which surround any study of education at the turn of the century. Firstly, there is the difficulty of definitions, which bedevilled much of the late nineteenth century writing on the subject. Does education merely consist of the subjects in the curriculum or does it also include everything that the teacher, perhaps subconsciously, passes on to his pupils? Does education include training of the body, the morals, the character as well as of the mind? Where do the boundaries lie between education and self-improvement, between education and job training? Beyond these lie the definitions and demarcations of specific types of education. The arguments and counter-arguments can become bewildering. The bland, dictionary-style definition of education as "the acquisition of knowledge, or faculty under guidance and authority"<sup>14</sup> is exceptional. More often definitions are tinged by varying aims which in the late nineteenth century might range from the inclusion of specific subjects in the curriculum, to Huxley's introduction of a "capacity-catching net" for the brightest pupils, and on to the rather vague notion of producing the character of a gentleman.<sup>15</sup>

Thus the second problem is one of variety of educational aims and ideals, some in conflict with one another. It is perhaps a mere academic exercise to separate out the 'pure essences' of such aims. They can be the development of the individual, the social/political group or the nation; they can be concerned with work or leisure, with the needs of industry or an escape from its dictates; they can emphasise social progress or social control. At the turn of the century the reasons put forward for stressing education were equally varied. To many like Alfred Mosely education was a "moral policeman",<sup>16</sup> keeping the lower classes out of public houses, workhouses and prisons. To others it was merely a question of sound investment and good economy.<sup>17</sup> To yet others it opened up a possible solution to more general social problems.<sup>18</sup> It was very seldom, however, that such educational aims were pure ones. More often pressures on education were hybrid concoctions made up of various interests, both self-seeking and altruistic.



Taking these types of pressure into consideration and also the varied components of education which range from society's set of assumptions about what should be taught in the schools to the more concrete elements of curricula and administration, it is obviously very difficult to trace the means by which educational change is effected. This constitutes the third problem. Since even by the late nineteenth century education was becoming a subject upon which almost everyone felt qualified to give an opinion, the insider/outsider distinction was becoming blurred and it was difficult to say whether change originated and gained momentum inside, or outside, the educational fold.

The fourth problem is, in fact, a continuation of the third and possibly even a result of it. It is that slowness of educational change remarked upon by H. G. Wells in his book on Sanderson of Oundle.<sup>19</sup> Possibly the most effective educational changes come about as the result of years of planning and gradual modifications. Nevertheless dramatic setbacks, particularly defeat in war, can lead to radical re-thinking about the direction in which a nation is travelling. In such circumstances there is often a flurry of activity in educational theory<sup>20</sup> seemingly in accordance with Humboldt's maxim that "What you would put into the state you must first put into the school."<sup>21</sup> The most obvious examples of this in the nineteenth century were in Prussia after her defeat by Napoleon and in France after the Franco-Prussian war. In Britain the soul-searching in educational matters at the turn of the century was part of a general mood of criticism inspired by the Boer War reverses mentioned earlier in this chapter but was also the culmination of years of discontent about educational organisation and orientation.

The aim of this thesis is, at its most general, to show the way in which the turn-of-the-century uncertainties in Britain worked their way through the educational scene. In more particular terms it is an attempt to show that between the years 1895 and 1905 a resurgence of interest in mainly 'technical' and later 'imperial' types of education took place, that this resurgence was mainly due to increased awareness of foreign competition and/

and/ of the magnitude of Britain's imperial responsibilities - an awareness stimulated by revelations of German commercial successes, and by Boer War reverses - and that the overall effect of the agitation was one not completely in accord with its aims.

To lessen the risk of meandering intrusions into the minutiae of Education Codes and day-to-day educational administration, the attempt was made to link education specifically with the twin themes of national efficiency and imperialism. 'National efficiency' was a slogan prominent on public platforms during and immediately after the Boer War. It can be argued that in itself it constituted nothing more than political cliché-mongering. On the other hand, at its most virulent it marked the culmination of some years of discontent with the way in which various organisations and institutions in British public life were administered, in particular as compared with foreign examples. It is in this broad sense that I have used the term national efficiency. Similar difficulties arise when dealing with the term Imperialism. Various books have been written on the subject, some stressing the moral and inflammatory aspects of the term.<sup>22</sup> The idea of Imperialism as 'empire-building' is eschewed in this thesis. British imperialism at this time was essentially a defensive phenomenon<sup>23</sup> and the term is used in its 'empire-retaining' sense. Hence education is dealt with in the thesis not only in the sense of a possible means by which Britain might emulate or overtake foreign rivals, but also as an instrument for the retention of Empire.

The concepts of education, imperialism and national efficiency are not completely isolated, nor are the links between them as strained as might at first appear. The ideas of Britain as an imperial and as a predominant power seemed at the time to be mutually dependent, and both aspects, as it came to be realised, depended to a great extent on education. British supremacy was dependent on the strength of her commerce and industry, and the power of her navy. In the rapidly changing circumstances of the turn-of-the-century world it became no longer sufficient to rely on skills handed down for generations, or on trial and error.<sup>24</sup>



Technological changes presupposed the trained intelligence to adapt to them and foreign competition the moral fibre to face it. Education was, for a time at least, seen as a solution to such problems.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries mark in some aspects a transition in British society between the Victorian and Edwardian eras and in other ways a continuance of old attitudes. The British Empire was, as has been already mentioned, at its most splendid in terms of extent and prosperity but was faced by challenges from without and within. The exact choice of dates for the thesis was a difficult one. The years 1895 to 1905 were a period of Conservative dominance, a period of political control by a party closely connected with the established Church and, in the main, dedicated to the support of Church of England schools. However, as is shown in the thesis, it is not always helpful to look at education in strictly party terms. 1895 and 1905 are equidistant from the turn of the century and more or less equidistant from the Boer War, during which national efficiency and the various means (including educational means) of securing it assumed great importance, and during which alarm about the future of the Empire reached a crescendo. 1895 marked the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education,<sup>25</sup> but the report emerged into a society apathetic about education, except in its sectarian sense. The initial enthusiasm over the Technical Instruction Acts of the late 1880's and early 1890's was waning, economic pressures for educational reform had faded, and the Liberal government was soon to be replaced by a Conservative one. By 1905 the educational world seemed to have come full circle. The major education act was over and a relative complacency in educational matters had replaced the Boer War alarms.

This thesis deals in the main with the intervening period, attempting to chart fluctuations in public opinion with regard to educational matters. Sometimes this can develop quite favourably. Balfour's attitude to education over these years was a neat summary of much of the public opinion of the time. In 1896 frankly indifferent about the progress of Gorst's education bill/

bill/ except in so far as it would help Church of England schools,<sup>26</sup> he became uncharacteristically enthusiastic about the need to counter German competition by educational measures in 1902,<sup>27</sup> but by 1905 could speak of the educational system as perfect.<sup>28</sup> But there are difficulties involved in dealing with such a relatively short period. Certain educational pressures were in evidence well before and after the dates given and although public opinion was at its most vocal between 1895 and 1905 the voices outwith the period were often very important ones. (Richard Haldane and Lyon Playfair, who were both prominent educational figures around the turn of the century are probably the most notable examples. Haldane's educational campaigning continued into the 1920's while Playfair's began in the 1850's.) Moreover, even when the tide was full in favour of educational reform, there were those who struck out against over-education on grounds of economy, of the need to preserve social status or even on grounds that an attempt to teach too much did not lead to educational improvement.<sup>29</sup>

On the other hand it is difficult to treat an eleven year period, during which many subtle changes took place in education, as a unit. The alternative approach of treating each "reform" in its development involves the danger of lapsing into educational narrative. An attempt has been made here, therefore, at a compromise. Although it is an approach which involves the inherent difficulty of failing to give certain events their proper emphasis - the 1896 Education Bill is probably not emphasised enough - chronology has been largely discarded within the eleven year time-span, except in so far as it relates to the pre- or post Boer War period. The first chapters of the thesis are an attempt to set the educational scene at the time, in particular emphasising the crucial problems, the search for educational information, and the varying approaches adopted by different pressure groups and personalities to solve these problems. The chapter on the Boer War forms the pivot of the thesis and most of the material subsequent to that shows the varying reactions to the impact of the war.



The areas of education studied were of necessity restricted to those which most fully reflected public concern about Britain's economic and military position. Thus, the emphasis falls on higher elementary, secondary and technical education, with different subjects acquiring relatively more importance at different stages. There was great concern about commercial education after the 1896 "Made in Germany" scare, about military and physical training during and after the Boer War, and about the teaching of cookery and hygiene after the publication of the Report on Physical Deterioration. The technical education movement, in particular, was the child of fears about Britain's standing in a way that no other educational movement was, and its progress, in a sense, charts the extent and direction of those fears.

The study has been restricted in the main to England, not out of any prejudice, but, firstly, because inclusion of the separate systems in Scotland and Wales would have involved complicated footnotes and caveats while contributing little to the overall picture, and, secondly, because when reform was advocated in these years it was nearly always in relation to English education, with Scottish education taking on the role of one of the foreign systems which should be emulated.<sup>30</sup>

Apart from the private papers of such persons as Haldane, Webb and Rosebery who had a notable involvement in educational work, and apart from various Colonial Office, War Office and Education Department files in the Public Record Office, the sources used for this thesis were in the main printed ones. Between 1890 and the First World War there was an unprecedented number of education bills and acts and a new interest in comparative education. Fortunately for the researcher, the increased public interest in education during the period and the concomitant search for information led to a flood of statistics and inquiries (both official and otherwise), numerous books, and articles in the popular and professional press. Even the pages of Hansard fairly bristle with references to education.

The reader may be forgiven for wondering what the function of such a thesis could be when so much research has already been/

been/ done in the field of educational history in this period and, in particular, into the 1902 Education Act. It can, however, be argued that other studies in this field have been concerned mainly with the administrative and legalistic,<sup>31</sup> or sociological,<sup>32</sup> aspects of the problem and that there is room for a study of education in this period and of the 1902 Act which looks at the problem from a different angle.

Moreover the thesis may contribute in a small way to the debate raised by Searle on the long-term effects of the movement for national efficiency.<sup>33</sup> Also, taking education as one of the most basic of social provisions, this thesis may provide an insight into, and a case study of, the extent to which public opinion, dedicated individuals, and the weight of established precedent and thought all influence social reforms. Of subsidiary importance in the thesis, but equal interest, is the process by which the original aims of some of the educational movements became distorted and produced in time completely alien results.

This thesis at times takes on a kaleidoscopic effect. It deals with an era of change; changing rulers and political parties, changing science and technology, changing attitudes to the role of the state and of various social classes. It deals with education, but an education which is continually expanding into other areas like industry, commerce, military training, and social welfare. It deals with educational figures, but educational figures who are at the same time active in other fields: among them politicians, scientists, civil servants, farmers, businessmen, clerics and newspaper publicists. Above all it deals with public opinion, a public opinion basing its judgements more on popular conceptions of education than on actual facts, and a public opinion as elusive as it could be contradictory.

The difficulty of tracing the links between education and ideas on imperialism and national efficiency through this maze is compounded by various educational cross-currents. Above all there is the religious difficulty. The "perfect porcupine of controversy"<sup>34/</sup>



controversy"<sup>34</sup> / was made up of various elements: the problem of the pressure put on church schools by the competition of the great board schools and by the increasing demands made by the Education Department for improved premises and equipment, the problem of the character of religious teaching in schools, the problem of rate aid to bodies over which the public had no effective control. This subject, although of overwhelming importance at the time, has really only a marginal connection with this thesis<sup>35</sup> but its tentacles have entangled themselves in nearly every aspect of it.

The other educational cross-currents are less bothersome and stem from purely educational sources. Among them are the efforts made by the teachers to improve their professional status<sup>36</sup> and by private schools to prevent the encroachment of state education.<sup>37</sup>

Despite all the complications, this thesis still proceeds on the assumption that education in England between 1895 and 1905 is, at the very least, a convenient and well-documented unit for study, a practically universal experience in the society of the time, and, at the very best, an interesting revelation of how a society tries to model its own future.

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2. Henry Birchenough. Nineteenth Century. Vol. 48 (1900). p. 1069.
3. G. Kitson Clark. The Making of Victorian England. London: Methuen, 1973. p. 277 and chapters 7 and 8 passim.
4. W. S. Lilly. "The Burden of Empire." Fortnightly Review. Vol. 68 (1900). pp. 533-543.

5. Lord Rosebery made mention of Imperial matters in most of his speeches during the Boer War period:
 

Bath	27 October 1899
Chatham	23 January 1900
Glasgow Rectorial Address	16 November 1900
Chesterfield	16 December 1901
Glasgow	16 March 1902
  
6. Rudyard Kipling's turn-of-the-century poems laid great stress on this theme, e.g.
  - The White Man's Burden (1899)
  - The Islanders (1902)
  
7. 'Calchas' (J. L. Garvin). "Will England last the Century?" Fortnightly Review. Vol. 69 (1901). pp. 20-34.  
 p. 34 "If we cannot keep our trade we cannot keep our Empire, and our population, should the commercial struggle become beyond our strength, would flock to Australia and Canada ..."
  
8. Donald Read. Documents from Edwardian England. London: Harrap, 1973. pp. 14-19.
  
9. For excerpts from the writings of the various scientific and not so scientific investigators see Peter Keating (ed.) Into Unknown England. Fontana/Collins, 1976.  
 See also Read. op. cit. pp. 200-269.
  
10. C. F. G. Masterman. The Condition of England. Edited edition. London: Methuen, 1960. p. 171.
  
11. "The first decade of the twentieth century was for the English a decade of badly strained optimism. Our Empire was nearly beaten by a handful of farmers amidst the jeering contempt of the world - and we felt it acutely for several years.  
 H. G. Wells. The Wife of Sir Isaac Harman. quoted in Samuel Hynes. The Edwardian Turn of Mind. London: Oxford University Press, 1968. p. 7.
  
12. M. E. Sadler. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 9. P.P. Cd. 836. pp. 160-162.
  
13. For an interesting discussion of education as the key to the future see Vernon Mallinson. An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education. London: Heinemann, 1961. pp. 1-11.
  
14. C. Colbeck. "The Limits of Education." Address delivered at Bedford College, 3 October 1889. Journal of Education. Vol. 12 (1890). p. 52.
  
15. "... the sound English tradition that the fundamental object of the school is the training of character and not the premature development of either commercial aptitude or industrial dexterity."  
 Duke of Devonshire. The Times. 15 January 1897.



16. Reports of the Mosely Educational Commission to the United States of America. London: 1904. p. ix.
17. "An excellent system of public education is one of the best forms of national investment. In commercial and industrial efficiency, in a higher level of civic duty, and, above all, in the wider diffusion of moral culture and religious feeling, the nation is amply repaid for what it spends." Last Report of the Committee of Council on Education quoted in T. J. Macnamara. "Joints in Our Educational Armour." Fortnightly Review. Vol 65 (1899). p. 918.
18. "Educate your people, and you have reduced to comparatively insignificant dimensions the problems of temperance, of housing, and of raising the condition of your masses." R. B. Haldane. Education and Empire. London: John Murray, 1902. p. 39.
19. H. G. Wells. The Story of a Great Schoolmaster. London: Chatto and Windus, 1924. pp. 5-6.  
See also Ivor Morrish. Aspects of Educational Change. London: Allen and Unwin, 1976. pp. 55-70.
20. "Educational theory has always appeared in times of upheaval and change, when men have been forced by circumstances to seek out new ways, to search beneath the surface for causes and cures, and to formulate some kind of panacea in the form of education."  
Elizabeth Lawrence. The Origins and Growth of Modern Education. Penguin, 1970. p. 25.
21. Quoted in W. O. Lester Smith. Education: An Introductory Survey. Penguin, 1973. p. 122.
22. Notably:  
J. A. Hobson. Imperialism. (1902)  
V. I. Lenin. Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism. (1916, English edition 1934)
23. G. R. Searle. The Quest for National Efficiency. Oxford: Blackwell, 1971. p. 10
24. "In English business there is practically only one rule: 'to do what was done the last time'. It is a safe and most brainsaving rule as long as the rest of the world marks time in the same manner; but when new conditions have to be faced, and new occasions risen to, it is suicidal."  
G. B. Shaw. "Fabianism and the Fiscal Question." Fabian Tract No. 116 (1904). p. 24.
25. Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. P.P. C. 7862 (1895) 9 volumes.  
C. 8077 (1896) Supplement.
26. Balfour's concession, so carelessly given, that county boroughs of more than 20,000 inhabitants could become/

become/ education authorities under the bill effectively sabotaged its chances.

Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 41. c. 896 ff. 11 June 1896.

27. See chapter VII.
28. Balfour at Newcastle. Reported in Journal of Education. Vol. 27 (1905). p. 805.
29. " ... there was too much concession to that spirit of the time which wanted to teach everybody a little of everything, and very often led on to teaching nobody very much of anything. This was the tendency of too much of our education in the present day, because there were many who desired to promote and improve education in every possible way and few who understood how to do it. The consequence was that encouragement was given to things which did not improve it at all."  
Bishop of London. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 32. c. 452-453. 29 March 1895.
30. Sir B. Samuelson at London County Council Technical Education Board prizegiving, April 1898. T.E.B. 65. London Technical Education Gazette. Vol. 4 (1899). p. 42.
31. Eric Eaglesham. From School Board to Local Authority. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956.  
P. L. P. Clarke. The Education Act of 1902: a study of its background, scope, and legislative problems. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. London: Institute of Education, 1964.
32. Olive Banks. Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955.
33. Searle. op. cit. pp. 171-204.
34. The Times. 5 March 1895.
35. For a very full discussion of the religious difficulty with regard to national education see Marjorie Cruickshank. Church and State in English Education. London: Macmillan, 1963.
36. Asher Tropp gives a good account of this in his The School Teachers. London: Heinemann, 1957.
37. The expansion of state education led to severe financial hardship and even bankruptcy for many schools.  
Return of Pupils in Public and Private Secondary and Other Schools. P.P. C. 8634. (1897) Introductory Memorandum. pp. 4-9.  
Organisations like the College of Preceptors tried to stem the tide by urging the case in favour of private secondary schools in its journal The Educational Times.



## CHAPTER I

### EDUCATION "MADE IN GERMANY"

"Your governess's fiance is a clerk in the City; but he also was made in Germany."

E. E. WILLIAMS.<sup>1</sup>

"We increase our naval armaments to keep pace with the development of foreign powers; it is just as wise and necessary a policy to increase our educational armaments, so that our industrial army shall not fall behind the standard of Germany's."

E. E. WILLIAMS.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER I

Education in England in 1895 was both praised and sharply criticised for its heterogeneity. To some, the schools under the direction of the locally elected school boards were stultifyingly uniform in their curricula and arid in their teaching methods, and compensated for only by the vigorous growth of private schools in the secondary sphere. To others the secondary "system" meant nothing but disorganised, inefficient chaos, in contrast to which the board schools seemed havens of government direction. The great dread on nearly all sides was that of uniformity<sup>3</sup> - a dread probably awakened by years of administration by Robert Lowe's Revised Code and payment by results<sup>4</sup> - and the result of this and the haphazard growth of educational provisions<sup>5</sup> was the lack of anything which could properly be called an educational system.

In the first place, education came under the supervision of various government departments and local authorities: the Committee of Council on Education, the Science and Art Department, the Charity Commission, the local school boards and voluntary schools associations, and the county council technical education boards.

A rather mysterious offshoot of the old Privy Council called the Committee of Council on Education was in charge of elementary education. When Gorst gave the composition of this committee in reply to a question in the House of Commons (i.e. Lord President of the Council, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Secretary of State for War, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Vice-President of the Committee of Council) he was greeted with incredulous laughter. He refused to divulge how often, or whether, it met.<sup>6</sup> The President of the Privy Council was nominal head of this department but since he was invariably a member of the House of/

of/ Lords, the real duties of office fell on the Vice-President of the Council. A Vice-President could be in a precarious situation. The Liberal, Acland, was a member of the Cabinet but his Conservative successor Gorst was not - a fact which may or may not account for much of his embarrassing cavorting in the post. The Committee of Council was served by a staff of permanent officials at Whitehall, busy churning out annual reports, the yearly changes in the Code of Regulations which governed the setting up and running of elementary and evening continuation schools, and the Revised Instructions to Inspectors. Although the days had passed when the examiners in the department (who inspected, while the inspectors examined) could while away most of their very short working day by reading the Times newspaper<sup>7</sup> the aura of quiet complacency continued. The reports for 1894-1895 and 1895-1896<sup>8</sup> reflect a feeling of lazy optimism and cautious progress which the appointment of the Duke of Devonshire as President of the Committee of Council on Education was certainly not going to disrupt. Devonshire, it seems, had never been known to get enthusiastic about anything. Kekewich, a great detractor, saw him as a "living wet blanket"<sup>9</sup> and he was infamous for his air of boredom. Kekewich himself, the permanent head of the department, although a great campaigner on behalf of the improvement of elementary teachers' pay and conditions, was already an old man who had been educated, and who had received his administrative training, under the old conditions.

The headquarters of the Science and Art Department, with which the Education Department shared a somewhat wary relationship, were at South Kensington, surrounded by such scientific preserves as the Royal College of Science and the Royal School of Mines. Starting from beginnings during the mood of national self-improvement after the Great Exhibition,<sup>10</sup> it had developed into a gigantic grant-giving and examining agency. By means of local committees and in accordance with the dictates of its Bible-like Directory, it doled out grants to science and art classes in schools or other institutions according to examination successes. The system of payment by results had been a valiant attempt to combat illiteracy as quickly, efficiently, and cheaply as/



as/ possible by providing children with a basic minimum of uniform knowledge. Science and Art grants, in a similar way, had grown up out of a need to provide a widespread and, for the most part, elementary, scientific education which had been shown to be lacking. Unfortunately, circumstances were changing. The Education Department had for some years been trying to clear away the vestiges of payment by results<sup>11</sup> and replace them with a more flexible system more in keeping with the demands for alert, developed brains, for boys and girls willing to learn, rather than possessing a store of facts which passed for knowledge.<sup>12</sup> However, the Science and Art Department was finding it harder to adapt, probably due to the very nature of its organisation. Opinion in scientific circles was tending to the view that "One thoroughly highly-trained research chemist was worth all the evening class instruction in the elements of chemistry put together."<sup>13</sup> But it was well-nigh impossible to encourage higher scientific studies by means of grants paid on examination results. The administration of the Science and Art Department was also in the hands of older men, particularly of the soldier turned scientist type. Sir William Abney, the director for science, although a great pioneer of practical work in science, had received his scientific training, old-style, in the Royal Engineers.

In comparison with the personalities in the Education and Science and Art Departments the officials of the Charity Commission<sup>14</sup> come over as rather faceless individuals. For years the Commissioners had been at work revising the original endowments of private secondary schools throughout the country to bring them into line with present needs. The presentation of such schemes for parliamentary sanction was probably the nearest the government came to having any direct control over secondary schools (as opposed to the indirect control exercised by the Science and Art Department grants).

Local administration of education was in many ways equally unsystematic. Under the Education Act of 1870 provision was made for School Boards to be elected in districts where there was not adequate educational provision and to raise a/

a/ school board rate for the provision and maintenance of schools.<sup>15</sup> Certainly by 1895 many school boards, particularly those in large cities like London and Birmingham had made remarkable progress and earned themselves a place in the educational vanguard. Nevertheless many other school boards, notably those in small rural districts, became notorious for their inefficiency. The principle of local democracy was perverted in many cases into an interminable wrangling between educational "faddists" and the farmers, who would fight any increase in the school board rate tooth and nail.<sup>16</sup> Some of the election addresses in small school board areas show an almost frightening, if at times laughable, ignorance of the true issues at stake.<sup>17</sup> Even in the larger school boards, sectarian disputes could take up a great deal of the time available for debate,<sup>18</sup> or there could be endless niggling over the smallest items of expenditure.<sup>19</sup>

The Church of England counterpart to the School Boards, the Voluntary Schools Associations, only really came into existence as a result of the Voluntary Schools Act of 1897.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, the Church of England had, for some time, been exerting local and national pressure against what it felt was the unfair, rate-aided competition of the board schools and the increasing pressure placed on them by the Education Department (particularly under the regime of Acland) to improve their premises, equipment and staff-pupil ratios. Thus, even elementary education, which to an outsider might seem the most highly organised aspect - or indeed the only organised aspect - of English education, was riven by numerous divisions of interest.

The County Councils had come into the field of education somewhat later. As a result of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889<sup>21</sup> they were empowered to levy a rate to aid the supply of technical education in their districts. It was, however, the unexpected surplus in the 1891 budget, due to the so-called "whisky money",<sup>22</sup> which gave the movement a fillip. As a result of strenuous efforts by Acland and several of his colleagues<sup>23</sup> in the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education (hereafter called the National Association),/



Association),/ a new Technical Instruction Act<sup>24</sup> was passed which gave county councils the option of using the money either to provide technical education or to keep the local rates down. The National Association conducted a vigorous campaign against the natural tendency on the part of county councils to divert the money to rate relief, by such means as the publication of black lists<sup>25</sup> of non educationally minded county councils. It also encouraged the hesitant to enter the fold by supplying them with information about how they could organise educational schemes and how they could make best use of the money available. By 1895 even London, the most notorious intransigent, had a Technical Education Board. The Councils faced many difficulties in what was essentially pioneer work. As one reviewer wrote:

So little has been done in England to promote technical education, so little is known of the way to give such instruction that County Councils have to buy their experience and a certain waste of money is inevitable.<sup>26</sup>

The tendency was to provide for specifically local needs and, initially at least, to spread the money available as widely as possible by means of peripatetic teachers<sup>27</sup> and evening lectures. The gradual development of county council scholarships, chronicled in rather exasperating detail in the pages of the Record of Technical and Secondary Education, forged a link between county council administration and various secondary schools. Nevertheless, except perhaps in the case of London where the committee of the county council which administered the technical education funds was unusually far-seeing, the secondary schools retained their independence intact and there was no really comprehensive organisation of educational provisions.

So much, then, for the various authorities which administered the patchwork of education in England seldom, if ever, taking the trouble to co-ordinate their efforts.

Concern over the confused state of English education, and over what subjects were the best to teach was not a phenomenon peculiar to the 1890's. There had been various educational scares previously. As a result of the series of international exhibitions in the 1850's and 1860's which/



which/ challenged British conceptions of her own unrivalled industrial supremacy, Lyon Playfair, with the assistance of stalwarts like Lubbock and Donnelly and the patronage of the Prince Consort, embarked on a crusade<sup>28</sup> to bring home to British manufacturers the connection between industrial training and industrial success. His theme was one which he was to reiterate over the years to come: that, in the past, Britain had relied on her plentiful natural resources and tremendous lead over her rivals, but that with the development of improved communications, of new manufacturing processes, and continental competition she would need to rely upon, and develop, a far greater natural resource - the brain-power and aptitudes of her population. British fears at this time were directed primarily towards the growth of heavy industry on the continent and the reactions to the 1860's campaign reflected such fears. The School of Science and College of Mines at South Kensington were reorganised to provide research into heavy industrial processes, the system of science exams set up under the aegis of the Science and Art Department to provide workmen with the basic scientific knowledge behind industrial procedures. Despite Playfair's pressures, however, nothing else was done.

A mood of relative complacency returned, only to be shattered by the revelations of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction<sup>29</sup> in the 1880's. Members of the Commission had made a self-financed trip to the continent to examine the provisions there for technical education and had been overwhelmed by what they had seen.<sup>30</sup>

A reaction to the concern expressed in the report was not slow to develop. The National Association was founded in 1887 and included many influential M.P.'s among its members.<sup>31</sup> The various Technical Instruction Acts provided the funds and the parliamentary sanction for the county councils to go ahead with their pet schemes, and, as mentioned before, should any prove laggard, the National Association, through the medium of its Record of Technical and Secondary Education,<sup>32</sup> was always at hand to provide examples and incentives.

In view of the panic which had gripped the country over the threat posed to Britain's industrial and commercial supremacy by her more technically educated rivals, it is somewhat surprising to find the first few issues of the Record placing great emphasis on evening classes and short courses of a few lectures. The founding of scholarships and the equipping of school laboratories were also high on the list of priorities. Considering the limited means at the County Council Technical Education Boards' disposal<sup>33</sup> it is perhaps understandable that they should want to spread their bounty widely by means of £25 a year courses and travelling teachers, rather than adopt a course similar to Lancashire which used most of its money in subsidies to the various institutions already at work in the field of technical education.<sup>34</sup>

Most of the prestige journals of education conjured up Technical Education columns and were always willing to publish "league tables" of progress in the distribution of the technical education grant. The London Chamber of Commerce was sufficiently alarmed to set up its own scheme of examinations for a commercial certificate in 1888<sup>35</sup> - rather a hazardous course considering the number of agencies already conducting examinations in secondary and evening schools.<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless by 1895 the urgency expressed in the late 1880's and early 1890's had faded. There had been considerable concern about 'technical education' but very little agreement over the exact definition of the term or the best means of furthering it. Although many realised that Britain's unrivalled industrial supremacy was a thing of the past, there was little of the alarm that characterised the late 1890's. John Bull, it could be argued, had been awakened to the danger and was making steady advances.<sup>37</sup> The Bishop of Hereford rather cogently summed up the pattern of reaction to educational alarm followed by educational complacency, in a speech at the annual meeting of the National Association in June 1906.

The English were a very curious people in regard to education. It could scarcely be said that the community at large exhibited at all continuously any real interest in educational/



educational/ progress. From time to time, probably owing to the utterances of some influential man, the public came to the conclusion that we were not doing what we ought in technical education, and that we were falling back, but it was soon forgotten again.<sup>38</sup>

In the same way as there had been periodic educational alarms prior to 1895, there had also been isolated warning voices. As early as 1859, Herbert Spencer, the philosopher, showed himself impatient with the 'mumblings of dead formulas in the ordained agencies for teaching' i.e. the teaching of classics in the public schools. He saw the purpose of education as the promotion of both the knowledge and the discipline necessary for leading a well-balanced life. Life, he categorised into five leading kinds of activity, with self- and social-preservation higher up the list than leisure pursuits. Without scientific knowledge, he felt, industries would cease, and mankind would be back in the Middle Ages. Hence, in accordance with his categorisation, he considered scientific knowledge to be of most worth and yet he complained of finding it taught in nooks and corners, subordinated to the mere decoration of a classical education.<sup>39</sup>

Distinguished scientists like Henry Armstrong took up this war cry, stressing the need for more and better scientific education if Britain were to hold her own.<sup>40</sup> And a pioneer of manual training like Sir Philip Magnus could argue that Britain, in the final analysis, would have to rely on the skills of her artisan population.<sup>41</sup> Others insisted, less plausibly, that manual education could have an excellent moral influence on the working classes.<sup>42</sup>

Matthew Arnold, son of Arnold of Rugby and one of the most outspoken educationalists of his day, went beyond the confines of the advocacy of the teaching of a particular subject to the advocacy of a new organisation in education. As a rather individualistic school inspector his visits to schools on the continent in the 1860's had convinced him of the need to put secondary education on a sounder footing. However his plea to "Organise your secondary education" went largely unheeded in his/

his/ own day and probably attained more importance when seen in retrospect from the 1890's as a blazing reproach.<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless it is relatively easy to see why so little had been done in the field of education prior to the 1890's. Commissions and committees on various aspects of the education question had reported and retreated<sup>44</sup> but, except in cases where the issues at stake amounted almost to a national scandal (as with the Clarendon Report on the public schools), the only changes made were slow and gradual ones. The 1870 act had stirred up a hornet's nest of religious controversy and governments were naturally loth to deal with such a potentially explosive subject as elementary education if they could avoid it. There was also always the danger of alienating powerful vested interests, no matter which aspect of the problem was dealt with. The interests of School Boards, the Church of England and, later, the County Councils had to be considered. There were the numerous private schools who complained that the encroachment of state education was a death blow to their livelihood and put forward demands to the government through the College of Preceptors, the association for teachers in private schools.<sup>45</sup> There were the demands made by the National Union of Teachers for better conditions in elementary schools.<sup>46</sup> There were the occasional demands by particular groups and individuals that their pet subject receive due attention. To satisfy most of these interests without alienating too many of them would have entailed a miracle of legislation. Since governments did not know exactly what to do, it is understandable that they should avoid the subject of education in their legislative programmes. The subject was certainly not one from which party advantage could be gained. Moreover, education was considered by most people to be one of the last refuges of the bore and the fanatic and there was little public interest in the topic to give any government the requisite breeze for its legislative sails.

The problem of public apathy was exacerbated by the problem of definition. If few people could agree over what they wanted out of education, even fewer could agree over the boundaries/



boundaries/ between different types of education, over what should be taught in each and what aims should be pursued. Even as late as 1904, Robert Morant was reluctant to define secondary education, preferring in his Regulations for Secondary Schools to expound upon the term secondary school.<sup>47</sup> Definitions could be conveniently expanded or restricted according to one's own particular point of view. Sidney Webb went so far as to describe technical education as "legally all instruction above the level of the elementary school with the exception of Greek and literature."<sup>48</sup> Sir Henry Roscoe went one further by saying that "technical instruction may be considered to cover all that is meant by Modern, Secondary, or Intermediate Education"<sup>49</sup> but others could go to the opposite extreme by embarking upon a discussion on the fine distinctions between technical education and technical instruction.<sup>50</sup>

The situation is hardly any clearer when seen in retrospect and, indeed, the vagueness over definitions, which was probably seen at its worst in the 1895-1905 period, has caused more than a few problems in this thesis. To take a few of the difficulties: Elementary education might seem at first a fairly clear-cut aspect of education consisting basically of the 3 R's and a few extras as sanctioned in the Code. But the Code was continually changing and becoming more flexible and pressures were being put on it for the inclusion of certain subjects which had hitherto existed only in the province of higher and evening education. Magnus was advocating the inclusion of some form of manual training, not so much as a preparation for a particular trade but as a means of developing accuracy and dexterity.<sup>51</sup> Armstrong was urging the advantages of the 'heuristic' approach to science teaching even for quite young children.<sup>52</sup> Jesse Collings for several years had attempted to bring a bill into parliament which would enable provision to be made for the teaching of agriculture in rural elementary schools.<sup>53</sup>

There was also pressure for upward expansion in the elementary schools. Many of the larger school boards, illegally as it later turned out,<sup>54</sup> had been responding to demands for a new type of more readily available secondary education by the/

the/ creation of higher grade departments. These opened up endless discussions on the boundaries of elementary, intermediate and secondary education.

The idea of secondary education was equally indistinct. Apart from the great public schools, which were perpetually in the public spotlight, there was little accurate information about the vast majority of secondary schools in England. When inquiries were eventually made into them,<sup>55</sup> it was found that many were providing what was essentially an elementary education and some indignantly rejected the epithet "secondary" for an education which they saw as "first-rate".<sup>56</sup> Most were providing a classical type of education even for those who left too early to benefit from it. In some the emphasis was on the 'modern', although this seldom consisted of a balanced curriculum but more often the inclusion, willy-nilly of courses in 'technical' subjects in response to the various grant-giving bodies. In fact the reference to the modern side of a school was often derogatory.

Professor Huxley was probably right when in 1887 he said that " ... at this present moment it passes the wit of man, so far as I know, to give a legal definition of technical education."<sup>57</sup> The problem was not solved by the rather elliptical wording of the Technical Instruction Acts,<sup>58</sup> which seemed mainly concerned with avoidance of the state provision of a form of apprenticeship. The basic idea behind technical education might seem to be education in its relation to industry. Indeed the emblem on the pamphlets published by the National Association was a picture of two figures, one a workman resting on his spade and the other a laurel-wreathed female surrounded by books, scientific instruments and globe, both dressed in pseudo-Roman style and holding hands across a small stream while behind them is the rising sun. The emblem was entitled "Industry with knowledge". The original meaning was soon to be expanded to include manual training,<sup>59</sup> commercial education,<sup>60</sup> science,<sup>61</sup> and eventually general culture.<sup>62</sup> The National Association for the Promotion of Technical Education felt obliged to add the words 'and Secondary' to its title in 1889. Even a separate periodical like the Technical World changed its/



its/ title to Education: Secondary and Technical in 1896 in order, as it put it,

... to indicate a widening of the educational outlook whereby technical education is seen in its widest and most comprehensive aspect as covering the practical work, and as forming an important branch of what is generally known as Secondary Education.<sup>63</sup>

The original idea of technical education as something for artisans expanded, particularly in the years dealt with in this thesis, and finally technical education concerned itself with elementary, secondary and higher education.

Higher education suffered less from broad diffuse definitions than from a prevalent attitude which considered Oxford and Cambridge as being the only true universities and all the other places mere colleges.<sup>64</sup> Haldane in particular fought against "The old-fashioned view ... that Oxford and Cambridge could not be reproduced and ought not to be even imitated",<sup>65</sup> the idea that modern scientific and technical forms of University education were, per se second-rate.

The educational scene in 1895 was thus a very confused one. There was confusion over the exact spheres of influence of the various authorities. There was confusion over where one type of education ended and the next began. There was confusion over the exact state of, and provision for, education in England.

Even more alarming, however, was the lack of public interest in education, which seems to have plummeted to the depths in the mid-1890's. It took the form almost of an educational reaction. Many of the County Councils had for long suspected that they had been lumbered with a white elephant in the form of the technical education money.<sup>66</sup> Some had found dubious, and at times comical, methods of extracting funds for other purposes.<sup>67</sup> But by 1895 the National Association was greatly concerned about the way in which many county councils were beginning to swing backwards and devote the technical education money to purposes of rate relief.<sup>68</sup>

Much of the instruction given at night classes on the elements of such subjects as plumbing, ploughing, poultry- and/

and/ bee-keeping could at times verge on the ludicrous. The almost comic-opera attempts by certain Technical Education Committees to save the day for Britain by starting lectures on the kings of Assyria,<sup>69</sup> or even by attempting to open a bacon factory,<sup>70</sup> were stressed in the educational press rather than their solid achievements.

The reactionary movement gained momentum. The provincial press was full of complaints about county council expenditure and the agricultural element, the "Varmers and their Friends" railed against "this 'ere technical business".<sup>71</sup>

The arguments spilled over into Parliament. Devonshire, over the next few years, ably defended the county councils against charges of wasting money, insisting that they were doing very useful work,<sup>72</sup> but in the Commons the pin-pricks grew into a frontal attack when Lowther, insisting that the craze for technical education had gone too far, called upon the Chancellor to take the money back. His speech was a sharp critique of technical education and educationalists.

He would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he did not think the revenue from beer was raised in a manner which was objectionable, and that it was egregiously misspent - he referred especially to the sum which the right hon. Member for St. George's (i.e. Goschen, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer), in despair of what to do with it, threw at the heads of the County Councils, to be by them spent on what was called technical instruction. That money had, in his opinion, been squandered and wasted in a great many districts to which it had been sent ... the doctrinaires and the crochet-mongers had been allowed to have their way, and the money granted by Parliament with the view of enabling agricultural communities to make themselves acquainted with various subjects that would assist agriculture, had been absolutely wasted, and a mischievous system of expenditure encouraged ...<sup>73</sup>

A technical education conference held in June 1895 was a failure.<sup>74</sup> Even the commercial exams inaugurated by the London Chamber of Commerce were dwindling in importance.<sup>75</sup>

But the reaction went beyond dissatisfaction with county council expenditure into other fields. The Technical World was urging that what was needed was not elementary technical education/



education/ but higher scientific education.

Hoads (sic) of skilled agricultural labourers, hedgers, thatchers, and ditchers will never make this country prosperous, however much they may do to make country life pleasant and to conduce to "blessing the squire and his relations". One even second or third rate chemist or mechanician (presumably of middle class origin) taught on right lines and attached to every appropriate industrial enterprise would be worth whole hosts of handymen or dabblers in village industries.<sup>76</sup>

Nevertheless, at almost the same time, one M.P. was insisting that the Science and Art Department was "a luxury which could be very well dispensed with".<sup>77</sup>

Advocates of a more general, secondary type of education might hope that attention would be transferred to the provision of a secondary system<sup>78</sup> but even their aspirations were to founder on the obstacle of public indifference. Hanbury, in the Commons, was sympathetic but pessimistic.

The ultimate difficulty that would have to be encountered would be the expense of setting up a new system ... A further difficulty ... was that the bulk of the people were hardly awake to the necessity for the organisation of secondary education.<sup>79</sup>

The agricultural element were savage in their opposition to increased taxation and the schemes of educational "cranks", the two of which they saw as indissolubly linked. Major Rasch, their representative in the Commons, put forward the traditional arguments when opposing the Agricultural Education Bill.

The other day the Chancellor of the Exchequer declaimed very strongly about hon. Gentlemen in the House, some of whom he said were faddists and cranks ... when the Chancellor of the Exchequer protested against scientific theorists bringing forward schemes which required large sums of money to be spent from the National Exchequer, and put extra taxation on the backs of those people who were already sufficiently taxed, he evidently must have had some such proposal as this in mind.<sup>80</sup>

Even the Times, in a long series of leaders, denounced London School Board expenditure, continually insisting that the cost of education could be lessened without impairing its efficiency.<sup>81</sup>

The Bryce Report on Secondary Education<sup>82</sup> long awaited and seen as the possible herald of educational change, emerged therefore at an inauspicious time. The Edinburgh Review remarked that its/

its/ publication "coincided with a period both of reaction and of conflict in educational matters".<sup>83</sup> Educational conflict possibly was nothing new. Ever since the 1870 act arguments had been raging over religious teaching in board and voluntary schools, and over the state contributions to each type of school. But in the mid-1890's the arguments were mainly secular ones; over how much money should be spent on education, whether the education given was not over-specialised, whether the money already being spent was being wasted, and whether retrenchment was a reasonable answer to the problem.

The reasons for the reaction are not hard to find. Many of the county councils carried their pet schemes to extremes and laid themselves open to criticism. Others were unsure exactly what to do<sup>84</sup> and their pioneering efforts were mercilessly lampooned. Educationalists as a breed tended to draw up schemes for educational provisions which at times showed no connection with practical necessities or the dictates of economy. Any expansion of the state into education was traditionally hailed as the extension of bureaucratic interference.<sup>85</sup> Above all, British trade, for long in the doldrums, had revived. The Times, in January 1896, was uncharacteristically optimistic in an article on "Trade in 1895".

A year ago the feeling was distinctly evident that the cycle of adverse years had given place to a more prosperous era, and the experience of 1895 has fully justified this, as in many trades the improvement then being felt has become more marked, and in some a return to the activity of the "good old times" has been recorded.<sup>86</sup>

A series of articles in the Economic Journal in 1894<sup>87</sup> had emphasised that much of the alarm about British loss of markets was exaggerated.

It was in this climate of public apathy towards, or distrust of, education that a series of events occurred which was to awaken a fair degree of interest in educational matters and silence, for the time being at least, the critics of educational expenditure. In summary form they included the publication of the Bryce Commission Report, the coming to power of the Conservatives with a concomitant growth of voluntary school appeals for help,/



help,/ the introduction of an Education Bill, the publication of E. E. Williams' influential book "Made in Germany" and the reaction to it which included Lord Rosebery's Ipsom speech and the "Ostwald letter" in the Times, an exhibition of foreign made goods at the London Chamber of Commerce and the revealing of German technical education successes in the open "Letter to the Duke of Devonshire".

The recurring publication of various volumes of the Secondary Education Report gradually had a cumulative effect on educational opinion. The educational journals were, for the most part, lavish in their praise of the Commission's efforts and urged that proposals for a secondary scheme be set on foot at once. Lavish extracts were published in numerous periodicals. Even the Times was complimentary and called the report "a public document of the highest importance".<sup>88</sup>

The complaints of the voluntary schools, above all of those represented by the Church of England, which had been growing during the years of Liberal rule, grew more insistent with the advent to power of the Conservatives in the summer of 1895. Deputations to the government increased in number, hoping for some help from the traditional supporter of the Church of England, and some alleviation of the double burden of board school competition and Education Department directives.

The result of the double pressure was the 1896 Education Bill. As was made clear in the Queen's speech<sup>89</sup> at the opening of parliament it was essentially a measure to aid the voluntary schools. However, Sir John Gorst, in his introductory speech, stressed the national importance of saving these schools from extinction and also the vast educational problems towards the solution of which the bill was a first step.<sup>90</sup> The bill in fact included a provision for a secondary education scheme under the county councils<sup>91</sup> and trailed behind it a sister measure for the registration of teachers.<sup>92</sup> Acland was somewhat flabbergasted by the implied scope of the bill. On its first reading he remarked " ... if he understood the Bill rightly it was - he was going to/

to/ say the greatest upheaval - certainly the most enormous change in the educational system, which this country had ever seen".<sup>93</sup>

Initially, opinion about the bill was mainly optimistic. The Times practically assumed its passage and, even after Balfour's acceptance of Rollit's county borough amendment had rung its death knell, used up a good deal of leader space in urging the government to press on. Some observers, however, were wary of what they felt might turn out to be an ill-considered measure, were riddled with

... anxiety lest, in attempting by second class means to solve a first class problem, the Government may find itself in the position of the raw medical student who "pours into a body of which he knows little a drug of whose effects he knows nothing".<sup>94</sup>

Such fears proved unnecessary. With over a thousand amendments tabled,<sup>95</sup> the Government dropped the bill and contented itself with a simple voluntary schools aid measure the next year<sup>96</sup> and promises of a more comprehensive scheme some time in the future.<sup>97</sup> The 1896 bill in fact highlighted much of the nineteenth century confusion in educational matters. Despite the ostensibly progressive nature of the bill it was really intended to further Church of England interests and many of the arguments employed during the debates on it were almost throwbacks to 1870. But the bill, although abortive, had served a useful purpose. True, the failure of one of the most important Conservative measures of the session in rather ignominious circumstances might make the government wary of touching the subject of education,<sup>98</sup> but, on the other hand, public and parliamentary discussion on the topic had been considerably widened. As Ernest Gray, one of the teachers' representatives in the Commons, somewhat philosophically remarked two years later

I have always regretted that we have not the Bill of 1896, but though that Bill did not find its place on the Statute Book, I am convinced it did a great deal of good. It not only succeeded in educating the country, but it largely educated the House of Commons itself.<sup>99</sup>

Even before the failure of the educational measure other events had been arousing interest in education in the sense of/



of/ its relation to foreign competition. In the early summer of 1896 E. E. Williams published his book "Made in Germany".<sup>100</sup> It was by no means a novel book. Six of its eight chapters had already been published anonymously as articles in the New Review and the idea of the German menace was sketched out by Maxse in his National Review.<sup>101</sup> The Times reviewer of the book was condescending and not overly impressed.

Mr. Williams draws a gloomy picture of the growing rivalry of German with English trade, and no doubt his exhortations to the British trader to mend his ways are salutary enough. But, though he has evidently been at much pains to collect his facts, he is not always very convincing in their exposition and interpretation, and he has no very firm grasp of the larger issues, commercial, industrial, financial and statistical, involved in the subject he discusses.<sup>102</sup>

The book was not really very well written. Some of the sentences are strained and pompously old-fashioned, some of the metaphors faulty.<sup>103</sup> Its economic arguments were not sophisticated ones. But as an instrument of propaganda, as a means of hammering home certain catch phrases and ideas into public talking and thinking, as an expression of unvoiced fears, it was unrivalled. The book began by building up a rather frightening picture of the ordinary Englishman surrounded by articles "Made in Germany" and went on to a systematic treatment of the way in which various industries were suffering from German and other continental competition. Williams effectively demolished the old standby arguments that the German manufacturers beat their English counterparts because they were able to insist on lower wages and longer hours for their workers<sup>104</sup> or because their goods were cheap and nasty,<sup>105</sup> and gave alternative reasons for the German successes, among them citing education as "a factor of prime importance".<sup>106</sup> He went into great detail about German education,<sup>107</sup> in particular its relation to commerce and industry, its categorisation as a form of state aid, the money spent on it, and the emphasis on day rather than evening instruction, but was unrepentant about belabouring a point.

I have been tempted to go thus far into detail on the subject of German Technical Education (as a fact the temptation has been to go still further) because I wished to bring home to my reader the splendid system of industrial education which obtains in Germany, a system which is an integral factor/



factor/ in Germany's industrial success, and which, compared with anything in the nature of technical education to be found in England, is as an electric lamp to a rush-light.<sup>108</sup>

Williams seemed at times to have taken on the role of crusader or biblical prophet. His phraseology could be very revealing. After cataloguing the decline in various industries he wrote "Here ends the tale of England's industrial shame".<sup>109</sup> His final chapter was entitled "What we must do to be saved".<sup>110</sup> His solutions included fair trade and the federation of the empire, subsidised transport, the appointment of commercial consuls, and, above all, the promotion of technical and trade education even in elementary schools. On page 169 he wrote:

We must give our people a sound practical and theoretical acquaintance with the industries in which they are to work ... We have already Technical Education of a kind in England, and Mr. Ritchie estimates that we spend four millions a year upon it; but it is insignificant and half-hearted.

and on page 170:

We increase our naval armaments to keep pace with the development of foreign powers; it is just as wise and necessary a policy to increase our educational armaments, so that our industrial army shall not fall below the standard of Germany's. As a fact it has fallen very far below. We have now to make up lee-way, and the best endeavours of statesmen and educational experts should be devoted to the task. There is none more pressing.

The reaction to Williams' revelations was remarkably strong. Lord Rosebery, who had already been stressing the vast sums of money being spent by Germany on education,<sup>111</sup> was in the fighting van when he made a speech at the opening of a technical institute and art school at Epsom in July. Emphasising the need for a sound system of technical education to replace the old, decaying system of apprenticeship and also to enable Britain to meet foreign industrial competition, he waxed eloquent on the dire threat posed by Germany, in particular, in the approaching industrial warfare, and as revealed by the consular and board of trade reports and "Made in Germany". His final warning note was to set the tone of many other speeches.

Ever since the conquest by Germany of Austria she has silently and quietly fitted herself for two great wars. One of these she has accomplished. The war she has accomplished was the great war for the consolidation of Germany. The war/



war/ which she is accomplishing, and which, in my opinion, is the only meritorious war in which any nation can engage, except under pressure of necessity is an industrial war. (Cheers) And in that I think and fear, though with the heartiest wishes for her welfare, that unless we take precautions in time she is not unlikely to succeed also.<sup>112</sup>

Although he had now retired from the official Liberal party leadership, Lord Rosebery's personal influence in the country was immense. He was still "one of the most formidable and impressive men in England".<sup>113</sup> and his suggestion of a small commission of inquiry on the causes of the decline of British trade was bandied about for some time in the columns of the Times.<sup>114</sup>

The educational implications of Lord Rosebery's speech might well have faded quickly - prospects of government legislation were very slim<sup>115</sup> - had not a letter in the Times of 25th August brought the scientific big guns into the fray. Dr. William Ramsay, the eminent chemist, wrote enclosing a letter from Dr. Ostwald, the professor of physical chemistry at the University of Leipzig. The "Ostwald letter"<sup>116</sup> was a lengthy expose of the means by which science was applied to industry in Germany, and laid particular stress on the way in which German manufacturers understood the practical usefulness of a theoretical or purely scientific training, and in which practical assistance was given by the government. Ostwald also wrote that, far from wishing to boast about German achievements in this field, he was merely writing in the interests of science.

The Times, in a somewhat muddle-headed leader of the same day, drew the conclusion that what was needed was more private enterprise rather than state aid in this field,<sup>117</sup> but during the late summer months its columns opened to a discussion over such questions as which type of scientific education was of most use, whether or not science 'graduates' found it easy to get a position and whether the older universities were catering sufficiently for the needs of science. The correspondents were, in the main, very distinguished academic figures favouring discussion on higher scientific education, although there were/

were/ anonymous letters from such as the German who styled himself "A True Friend" of Britain and embarked upon a devastating critique of the English school curriculum.<sup>118</sup> Samuelson even wrote that he saw the moral as the need for a liberal education for the young.<sup>119</sup>

The impact of many of the disclosures was heightened by another event which took place in August 1896. In connection with a circular sent out by Joseph Chamberlain in late 1895 to inquire into the exact position of British and foreign trade in the colonies, an exhibition of foreign-made goods was held in London under the auspices of the London Chamber of Commerce<sup>120</sup> and British merchants were introduced to the fact that foreign-made need not necessarily mean inferior.

The confused state of education in England was reflected in the confusion of the arguments which were bandied back and forth during the late summer months. The only links between most of those writing letters and making speeches were a common fear of Germany and the progress she was making - a fear essentially of the unknown - an insistence that something must be done by someone,<sup>121</sup> and an appeal for more concrete information about the subject. H. G. Wells described a similar type of nameless fear in his New Machiavelli.

It set me worrying of nights ... Under Kipling's sway I had a little forgotten the continent of Europe, treated it as a mere envious echo to our world-wide display. I began now to have a disturbing sense as it were of busy search-lights over the horizon.<sup>122</sup>

For some years there had been concern about the number of foreigners employed in London businesses. French and Spaniards had been included as well as Germans. But now the figure of the German clerk began to assume the proportions of a bogey in the popular mind.<sup>123</sup> He became symbolic of German competition in general. It was no longer enough to explain away his presence by his willingness to accept lower wages. Account had to be taken of his superior commercial education.<sup>124</sup>



Even Arthur Balfour, somewhat belatedly, joined in the chorus by making a speech at Sheffield in November on "Germany's Example in Scientific Education".<sup>125</sup> The speech was almost a postscript to the alarms of late summer and early autumn. Balfour talked vaguely of John Bull profiting from the occasional panic, of an inquiry being made, and of having no doubts that Great Britain could hold her position if she learnt her lesson, and in effect promised very little, although even what he did say was enough to make the Times warn politicians not to go too fast.<sup>126</sup> A week later, a deputation to Devonshire in favour of technical and secondary education was told that the government would deal with the matter next session.

In December 1896 the report of several former members of the Samuelson Commission on Technical Instruction, who had made a visit to Germany to review the recent progress of technical education there and been amazed at what they saw, was published in the form of a letter to the Duke of Devonshire.<sup>127</sup> It stressed how much progress Germany had made in the sphere of higher technical education since their last visit ten years previously, how both businessmen and the state were aware of the close relationship between commerce and industry and education, and how England must move quickly if she were to catch up. Although non-alarmist, the report was a fairly stern one and was signed by such influential figures as Sir Philip Magnus, Gilbert Redgrave, Swire Smith and William Woodall. However their revelations came slightly too late to catch the tide of public opinion at its fullest.

By the end of the year the alarm was well past its peak. Ross Hoffman has suggested that its short life was due to unfortunate timing, and that had parliament been in session the arguments would have had a far wider platform.<sup>128</sup> This is possibly true of the scientific controversy, but E. E. Williams' revelations had come before then and both Yoxall<sup>129</sup> and Rollit had dilated on German competition in the Commons without much result, the latter going into detail about the need for commercial education.<sup>130</sup>

Parliament would perhaps have been too busy with the details of the education bills even had it been interested in, or capable of dealing with, the confused and often vague arguments of the time. There was little concrete information about German education and its relation to industry, and even authorities on education could differ over exactly how much German commercial successes were due to her system of education. The Journal of Education, in advocating the adoption of the Prussian curriculum in toto was the exception. Others were more wary. Robert Morant, assistant to the Director of Special Inquiries and Reports, inclined to the view that education was only one of the conditions of such success.

... we have by no means explained the causes of the increased commercial successes of (say) Germany when we have described her educational methods; and that these same methods could only produce these successes when certain other national and social conditions are at work, which may, or may not, exist in the peoples with whom Germany is waging successful commercial competition.<sup>131</sup>

On the other hand, Sadler, the Director, placed more emphasis on higher education in particular as a necessity of modern life, as one of the new rules in the commercial 'game', although even he stressed the need for knowledge to be combined with ethics and initiative if the Empire were to be upheld.<sup>132</sup>

It was thus extremely unlikely that the government would respond with immediate legislation, considering how confused opinion was over the magnitude of the German threat, the extent to which it was due to education, and the type of education which was required to counter it.

In the short term, the results of the German panic were not many in number. It was accompanied by a flurry of speeches on educational subjects and a lull in the attacks upon the technical education money. The pages of the Record of Technical and Secondary Education show some technical instruction committees moving away from a tendency to divert the money to rate relief towards a greater appreciation of their duties in this sphere. The National Union of Teachers set up their own commercial syllabus (1897) and, later, commercial examinations (1898) for/



for/ elementary teachers, which became increasingly popular in the following years,<sup>133</sup> and the commercial examinations run by the London Chamber of Commerce, which had been languishing for some years for lack of candidates, took on a new vigour.<sup>134</sup> Although the fact that most of the pre-1902 educational policy documents in the Public Record Office have suffered destruction makes it very difficult to say what was the main impetus behind any educational change at this time, it is interesting to note that quite a substantial reform was made in the Evening Continuation School Code for 1897.<sup>135</sup> A new section of commercial subjects was introduced, apparently almost as a direct result of the 1896 educational panic.

Even contemporaries were aware of the possible long-term effects of Williams' book and of the 1896 discussions. Sir Swire Smith, although wary of Williams' economic leanings was grateful to him for giving the technical education movement a much needed boost.

I have to thank the author of "Made in Germany" for so successfully rousing the country to the consideration of these questions (i.e. of education and commercial prosperity) by his book. In my admiration for the vigour and smartness with which he has 'cracked the whip', I am disposed to overlook the bias which he has shown in favour of economic heresies (i.e. protection), which, by being exposed will do but little harm.<sup>136</sup>

Hobhouse was grateful for the useful way in which British deficiencies had been exposed.

He had no desire to unduly magnify the "German bogey", but he thought that its exhibition had been useful in impressing our fellow countrymen with a due sense of their shortcomings as a commercial nation.<sup>137</sup>

After all, the remnants of a belief that Britain had risen to the occasion and would pull through against foreign competition were shattered by the revelations of 1896, imprecise in many cases though they might be. The keynote of industrial and commercial warfare was set by the alarmist articles which became increasingly evident in the press in following years, under titles like "'Made in Germany' and How to Stop It"<sup>138</sup> and "Joints in Our Educational Armour".<sup>139</sup> T. J. Macnamara argued that/

that/ " ... what this country doesn't recognise, is this: that the next great European War is now on! and that Great Britain is getting badly left behind."<sup>140</sup> Dire warnings about the future of Britain and her Empire were common.

Germany had emerged as Britain's great rival. The growing interest in German achievements from this period on seems to illustrate vividly the dictum that we always, consciously or unconsciously, imitate our greatest enemies. Moreover, the fact that Germany had fewer natural resources than Britain meant that attention was shifted to her other advantages: her educational system and state aid to industry in the form of tariffs and subsidies. For some years attempts had been made to discuss the question of protection<sup>141</sup> and Williams had advocated it in his book, but it was a subject anathema to traditional British free-trade economists, and its implementation would have entailed not only tremendous opposition but also a degree of state intervention in the economy which would have been considered both dangerous and completely unnecessary, even had the government been rash enough to attempt it. The alternative might be a concern with the educational foundations of commercial and industrial success. There were so many problems in English education crying out for solution: lack of co-ordination of the various agencies, lack of a comprehensive system, the dearth of good secondary and rural education, the dearth of teacher training provisions, and so on ad infinitum. Moreover, they could be dealt with in an infinite variety of ways ranging from state intervention to private enterprise.

The events of late 1896 had thus raised the questions of British commercial backwardness, of German trade rivalry and of education, the last particularly in the twin aspects of higher scientific training as applied to industry and of commercial education. But it had also raised the more fundamental question of information. "Made in Germany" might be an effective cry but it hid an essential vagueness. Statistics about how Germany was overtaking Britain were not enough. The public needed to know why it was happening. The call for education would die out if it/



it/ could not be shown in what way the educational systems of Britain's rivals were superior, how, if at all, they contributed to industrial and commercial efficiency, where Britain's main educational shortcomings lay and how they could be best eradicated. The education debate required such raw material of discussion for its continuance. In the ensuing years it was to be overwhelmed by a plenitude of such information.

#### REFERENCES

1. E. E. Williams. Made in Germany. London: Heinemann, 1896. p. 11.
2. ibid. p. 170.
3. Henry Hobhouse. "Secondary Education in England." Edinburgh Review. Vol. 189 (1899). p. 153.
4. Robert Lowe, as Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, had, in his Revised Code of 1862, introduced the principle of payment by results, by which grants would be paid on the basis of each pupil who passed inspection in a specific grade of a specific subject. The system did lead to the abuses of cramming and concentration on a few grant-earning subjects. However, it was never quite so rigidly enforced as its critics maintained.
5. In elementary education the state did not have any long-term plans and merely acted due to the pressure of necessity. The 1833 parliamentary grants to the two main charitable educational societies, led to the creation of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in 1839, and state inspection of schools in receipt of a grant. The Education Act of 1870 was in the main an attempt to plug the gaps in the system which the voluntary schools could not fill, by the creation of board schools. In secondary education there was even less intervention apart from the Royal Commission into the public schools (Clarendon Report, 1864) and the appointment of commissioners, by the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, to bring old endowments up to date. The old universities had merely been tinkered with, mainly in the sense of revisions in their method of governing themselves, the abolition of religious restrictions and the opening of scholarships to competition (Oxford University Act, 1854. Cambridge University Act, 1856), but were still very much laws unto themselves.

6. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 47. c. 196-197. 8 March 1897.
7. Sir G. W. Kekewich. The Education Department and After. London: Constable, 1920. p. 16.
8. Annual Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1894-95. P.P. C. 7776. (1895) Introductory. pp. ix-1.  
Annual Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1895-96. P.P. C. 8249. (1896) Introductory. pp. i-xl.
9. Kekewich. op. cit. p. 96.
10. For details see Wemyss Reid. Memoirs and Correspondence of Lyon Playfair. London: Cassell, 1899. pp. 130-144.
11. The Code of 1890 introduced the beginnings of a block grant system rather than grants for specific pupils. See Kekewich. op. cit. pp. 53-54.
12. As aptly satirised in a poem some years later in the Journal of Education. Vol. 29 (1907). p. 247. which included the lines  
     Ram it in, jam it in,  
     Children's heads are hollow;  
     Slam it in, cram it in,  
     Still there's more to follow! ...
13. Professor Thompson quoted in the Journal of Education. Vol. 19 (1897). p. 423.
14. The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 provided for the creation of endowed schools commissioners who were in fact absorbed into the Charity Commission in 1874.
15. Elementary Education Act, 1870. 33 and 34 Vict. ch. 75. paras. 6, 54, 56.
16. Fist-fighting even broke out in the riotous Feltham School Board. Schoolmaster. Vol. 48 (1895). p. 276.
17. For a humorous view of a school board candidate, see "An Undertaker on Education." in the Schoolmaster. Vol. 47 (1895). pp. 376-377.
18. The column in The Times dealing with the weekly meetings of the London School Board gives evidence of this over a long period of time. See also Stuart Maclure. One Hundred Years of London Education. London: Allen Lane, 1970. p. 20.
19. As an example, there was considerable debate in the London School Board over the expenditure of £5 on sewing machines for schools - an expenditure seen by certain members as needlessly extravagant.  
The Times. 19 July 1895.
20. Voluntary Schools Act, 1897. 60 Vict. ch. 5



21. Technical Instruction Act, 1889. 52 and 53 Vict. ch. 76.
22. The money had already been voted in the budget of 1890 for compensation to public-house licence holders whose premises might be closed under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Bill. However, the plan was defeated and the government was left with a surplus.
23. For a summarised account of the moves in parliament during these years see A.H.D. Acland and H. Llewellyn Smith. Studies in Secondary Education. London: Percival, 1892. Appendix.  
Acland's original aim had been a comprehensive measure for secondary education.
24. Technical Instruction Act, 1891. 54 Vict. ch. 4.
25. The National Association continually harangued the London County Council in particular on its alleged neglect of its duty.  
Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 1 (1891-1892). p. 105.  
By September 1892, 122 out of the 124 counties and county boroughs qualified were carrying out schemes of technical education. ibid. p. 533.
26. Review of Major Craigie report on agricultural education.  
Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 1 (1891-1892). p. 97.
27. One such lecturer gave a very amusing account of his muddied experiences under the pseudonym of 'Canereposse' in "The Humours of Village Technical Instruction." Journal of Education. Vol. 18 (1896). pp. 248-249.
28. Wemyss Reid. op. cit. pp. 148-153.
29. Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction. P.P. C. 3171. (1882) C. 3981. (1884) 5 vols.
30. Frank Foden. Philip Magnus. London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1970. pp. 159-175.
31. Acland and Roscoe were the two general secretaries. The Duke of Devonshire, then Lord Hartington, was president. For an account of the formation of the association see Acland and Llewellyn Smith. op. cit. Appendix.
32. The Record, the first number of which appeared in November 1891 was "A bi-monthly journal of the progress made by county-councils and other local authorities in the administration of the technical instruction acts." (Title.) It was essentially a vehicle for the transmission of information about technical education at home and abroad to the various county councils which now faced the unenviable task of drawing up schemes for the distribution of the "whisky money". Hartington, in an article on/

- on/ "The Objects of the Record" hinted that the Record was merely a temporary prop to help the county councils over their initial difficulties. Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 1 (1891-1892). pp. 3-4.
33. See the table in "Notes on the Work of the Counties and County Boroughs." Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 1 (1891-1892). pp. 63-77.  
Lancashire was the largest with approximately £40,000 per annum. Most were around £4,000.
34. ibid. pp. 45-46.
35. Dr. Ivan Zolger. Das kommerzielle Bildungswesen in England. Vienna: Hölder, 1903. p. 8.
36. The examinations scene was even more bewildering than the administrative one. See Graham Balfour. The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898. pp. 183-189.  
In any one school there could be exams conducted by the Science and Art Department, the county councils, the Education Department, the universities' joint board, the College of Preceptors, London University (its matriculation exam was a useful school certificate), the army, the civil service, professional institutions, and so on.
37. Charles Schwann M.P. at Teachers Guild annual conference. Journal of Education. Vol. 13 (1891). p. 603.
38. Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 15 (1906). p. 205.
39. Herbert Spencer. "What Knowledge is of Most Worth?" Essays on Education. Edited edition. London: J.M. Dent, 1911. pp. 1-44.
40. See J. Vargas Eyre. Henry Edward Armstrong. London: Butterworth, 1958. pp. 263-296 on Armstrong's educational work.
41. Sir Philip Magnus presidential address at the Association of Manual Training Teachers, November 1894. "Manual Training in Schools: its Origin and Purpose." reproduced in Sir Philip Magnus. Educational Aims and Efforts. London: Longmans Green, 1910. pp. 145-158.
42. Willis Walker. "Manual Instruction." Education: Secondary and Technical. Vol. 3 (1897). pp. 69-70.
43. See Gillian Sutherland (ed.) Matthew Arnold on Education. Penguin, 1973. for further details.
44. The most prominent of the Royal Commissions were:  
Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. (1852-1853)  
The Newcastle Report on Elementary Education. (1861)



The Clarendon Report on the Public Schools. (1864)  
 The Taunton Report on the Endowed Schools. (1868)  
 The Devonshire Report on Scientific Education. (1872-1875)  
 The Samuelson Report on Technical Instruction. (1882-1884)  
 The Cross Report on Elementary Education. (1888)

45. See Introduction p. 14 Note 37.
46. See Introduction p. 14 Note 36.
47. P.P. Cd. 2128. (1904) Prefatory Memorandum. pp. 6-7.
48. Sidney Webb at a Leeds conference of Socialist members of local bodies, April 1899. Education: Secondary and Technical. Vol. 6 (1899). p. 136.  
 Also quoted in Elie Halévy. A History of the English People. Vol. 4. Epilogue. London: Ernest Benn, 1929. pp. 162-163.
49. Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 2 (1892-1893). p. 105.
50. Edward R. Taylor. ibid. p. 154.
51. See p. 44 Note 41.
52. See Eyre. op. cit. pp. 263-284 for Armstrong's ideas on science teaching in schools.
53. The bill in 1895 (Bill 15) was widely debated on its second reading. Those much later in 1904 (Bill 67) and 1905 (Bill 91) got no further than a first reading.
54. Successive Vice-Presidents of the Committee of Council had presided quite happily at the opening of such schools and it was only in the new climate of codification and definition after the Boer War that their unknowing misdemeanours were discovered. See T. J. Macnamara. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 96. c. 1191. 8 July 1901.
55. Return of Pupils in Public and Private Secondary and other schools. P.P. C. 8634. (1897).
56. ibid. Introductory Memorandum. p. 7.
57. Address delivered by Professor Huxley in Manchester, November 1889. National Association pamphlet. p. 8.
58. Technical Instruction Act, 1889. 52 and 53 Vict. ch. 76. para. 8.  
 The expression "technical instruction" shall mean instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries, and in the application of special branches of science and art to specific industries or employments. It shall not include teaching the practice of any trade or industry or employment, but, save as aforesaid, shall include instruction in the branches of science and art/

art/ with respect to which grants are for the time being made by the Department of Science and Art, and any other form of instruction (including modern languages and commercial and agricultural subjects), which may for the time being be sanctioned by this Department by a minute laid before Parliament and made on the representation of a local authority that such a form of instruction is required by the circumstances of its district.

The expression "manual instruction" shall mean instruction in the use of tools, processes of agriculture, and modelling in clay, wood, or other material.

Technical Instruction Act, 1891. 54 Vict. ch. 4. para. 3.

The expression "technical education" in section one of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, shall be deemed to include both technical and manual instruction within the meaning of the Technical Instruction Acts, 1889 and 1891.

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60. Hartington. Report of the Proceedings of the Conference between the Executive Committee (of the National Association) and Representatives of County Councils and Others to discuss the Working of the Education Clauses of the Local Taxation Act, 1890. National Association Pamphlet. p. 3.
61. Sir Michael Foster. Nineteenth Century. Vol. 50 (1901). p. 681.
62. William Mather. Presidential Address at first general meeting of the Association of Technical Institutions, January 1895. Technical World. Vol. 5 (1895). p. 39.
63. Technical World. Vol. 6 (1895-1896). p. 400
64. 'Country personage' quoted by Walter Frewen Lord. Nineteenth Century. Vol. 55 (1904). p. 467.
65. R. B. Haldane. Autobiography. London: John Murray, 1929.
66. Journal of Education. Vol. 13 (1891). p. 466.
67. "Technical education is an indefinite term of wide connotation, but it would never have occurred to us that it could be extended so as to include park palings ..." the Journal of Education remarked coyly when telling of how one county council had diverted money from the fund to fence in the local park - "'this being of a technical education nature.'" Journal of Education. Vol. 15 (1893). p. 248.
68. Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 4 (1895). p. 325.
69. Technical World. Vol. 6 (1896). p. 90.
70. ibid. p. 93.



71. ibid. p. 150.
72. e.g. Parl Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 49. c. 1019. 21 May 1897.  
Vol. 70. c. 353. 24 April 1899.
73. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 33. c. 1354-1355. 16 May 1895.
74. Journal of Education. Vol. 18 (1896). p. 110.
75. Journal of Education. Vol. 16 (1894). pp. 17-18.
76. Technical World. Vol. 5 (1895). p. 256.
77. Gibson Bowles. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 36. c. 1049.  
28 August 1895.
78. The periodical Education: Secondary and Technical. Vol. 1  
(1896). p. 210. in a rather strained metaphor likened  
secondary education to an orphan in search of a father,  
an orphan whose younger half-brother, technical education,  
had been well provided for.
79. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 31. c. 1426. 19 March 1895.
80. Parl Deb. 4th Series. Vol 34. c. 25. 22 May 1895.
81. The Times. 5 July 1895, 6 December 1895, 10 March 1896,  
26 June 1896.
82. For full details see chapter II pp. 61-62.
83. Edinburgh Review. Vol. 189 (1899). p. 149.
84. "The whole experiment in regard to technical education was  
in a most unsatisfactory position. They were feeling  
their way, not knowing where they were going or what they  
ought to do. The only hope they had was that the commission  
which had been appointed would make a report that would  
lead to something being done.  
Earl of Kimberley, speaking at a meeting of the Norfolk  
County Council. The Times. 8 October 1895.
85. G. Kitson Clark. The Making of Victorian England. London:  
Methuen, 1973. pp. 193-194.
86. The Times. 3 January 1896.
87. A. W. Flux. "The Commercial Supremacy of Great Britain."  
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89. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 37. c. 5-6. 1 February 1896.
90. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 39. c. 526-580. 31 March 1896.
91. In the form of supplementing, not supplanting, existing/

existing/ institutions.

A Bill to make further provision for Education in England and Wales. Bill 172. 1896. Clause 2.

92. Teachers Registration Bill. Bill 173. 1896. Introduced on 31 March it was withdrawn on 20 July without even a second reading.
93. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 39. c. 544. 31 March 1896.
94. Education: Secondary and Technical. Vol. 1 (1896). p. 153.
95. As Balfour explained, there were 1,238 amendments on paper. Supposing it took 10 minutes to divide on each, the House would be faced with 40 8-hour days of division!  
Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 41. c. 1574. 22 June 1896.  
See also Appendix A.
96. Voluntary Schools Act, 1897. 60 Vict. ch. 5.
97. Devonshire in the Lords. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 49. c. 1020. 21 May 1897.
98. The Times. 27 April, 1901.
99. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 56. c. 505. 19 April 1898.
100. E. E. Williams. Made in Germany. London: Heinemann, 1896.
101. See L. J. Maxse. Germany on the Brain. London: National Review Office, 1915. for later anti-German gleanings from the Review.
102. The Times. 20 June 1896.
103. The dry rot in English Iron and Steel has ... spread to what are known as the Allied Trades. (!)  
E. E. Williams. op. cit. p. 46.
104. ibid. p. 132.
105. ibid. p. 135.
106. ibid. p. 151.
107. ibid. pp. 151-156.
108. ibid. p. 156.
109. ibid. p. 129.
110. ibid. pp. 164-175.
111. Lord Rosebery at Rochdale. The Times. 29 April 1896.
112. The Times. 25 July 1896.
113. Haldane. op. cit. p. 100.



114. The Times. 7 August 1896
115. John Gorst at Cambridge. "He should like to offer a word of warning and suggest that they should not rely too much, if at all, on the interference or assistance of the Government." The Times. 10 August 1896.
116. Reprinted in Norman Lockyer. Education and National Progress. London: Macmillan, 1906. pp. 69-74.
117. The Times. 25 August 1896.
118. The Times. 17 September 1896.
119. The Times. 10 September 1896.
120. The Times. 26 August 1896.
121. Lord Rosebery in a speech at Colchester appealed for someone to take the matter up, ignoring the fact that he himself was probably the most promising candidate for the post. The Times. 21 October 1896.
122. H. G. Wells. The New Machiavelli. New ed. Penguin, 1970. pp. 103-104.
123. W. H. G. Armytage. The German Influence on English Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969. pp. 64-67.
124. J. J. Findlay. "The Genesis of a German Clerk." Fortnightly Review. Vol. 66 (1899). pp. 533-536.
125. The Times. 20 November 1896.
126. ibid.
127. Report on the Recent Progress of Technical Education in Germany. P.P. C. 8301. (1897).
128. Ross Hoffmann. Great Britain and the German Trade Rivalry. New York: Russell and Russell, 1964. p. 252.
129. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 40. c. 663. 6 May 1896.
130. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 40. c. 682. 6 May 1896.
131. R. L. Morant. "The National Organisation of Education of all grades as practised in Switzerland." Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 3. P.P. C. 8988. (1898) Footnote to p. 7.
132. M. E. Sadler. "Problems in Prussian Secondary Education for Boys, with special reference to similar questions in England." ibid. p. 199.
133. The Times. 29 August 1901, 22 August 1903, 1 September 1904.

134. Zolger. op. cit. p. 8.
135. Report of the Committee of Council on Education for the Year 1896-1897. P.P. C. 8545. (1897) p. 579. Article 2(f).
136. Sir Swire Smith address to members of the Textile Society of the Bradford Technical College, November 1896. Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 6 (1897). p. 87.
137. Henry Hobhouse at annual meeting of the Association of Technical Institutions. ibid. p. 263.
138. Rev. H. de B. Gibbins. "'Made in Germany' and How to Stop It." Fortnightly Review. Vol. 65 (1899). pp. 1004-1011.
139. T. J. Macnamara. "Joints in Our Educational Armour." ibid. pp. 917-930.
140. ibid. p. 923.
141. There were numerous articles on protection in the Economic Journal in the early 1890's.  
See also Barry Turner. Free Trade and Protection. London: Longmans, 1971. pp. 19-27 on the Fair Trade League and the revival of interest in protection in the late nineteenth century.



## CHAPTER II

### THE SEARCH FOR INFORMATION

"There were those who, speaking of education, declare themselves sick of hearing what was done on the Continent of Europe. He could not help hearing it, and what he heard was extremely disquieting to any patriotic Englishman ... "

J. E. GORST.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER II

The search for educational information which took place during the period 1895-1905 was unparalleled in scope and thoroughness. It is true that much of the forreting for facts about education at home and abroad represented merely the growth of a trend which had started some time earlier. Traditionally, if a large problem caught the public eye the answer might be the appointment of a Royal Commission, and such commissions in the later nineteenth century dealt with the questions of the public schools,<sup>2</sup> science teaching,<sup>3</sup> technical instruction,<sup>4</sup> elementary education<sup>5</sup> and secondary education.<sup>6</sup> Inquiries within a government department were the norm before any changes of policy. In more specific terms the National Association had for some time been distributing and correlating information about the county councils' implementation of the technical instruction acts, and when the London County Council decided to appoint a Technical Instruction Committee it commissioned Llewellyn Smith to make a preliminary survey in London<sup>7</sup> - a survey which earned a good deal of praise from informed opinion.

But most of these inquiries were one-off occurrences, often strictly limited in scope and invariably esoteric. After 1896 there was an increasing intensity about the investigations, as revelations about continental and transatlantic commercial and industrial successes elicited the feeling in many quarters that Britain must move fast if she were not to be left behind in the race. Educational inquiries also began to have a greater effect on public opinion. Some maintained an adherence to scientific impartiality, others were little more than exaggerated educational propaganda. Few restricted themselves to purely educational considerations, most were concerned with education as a means of maintaining national prosperity and the empire.



Perhaps it was this link between education and the national welfare, so well forged during the debates of 1896 and so often iterated in the ensuing years as to become a cliché, that brought education in a new guise to the forefront of public attention. An outcry similar to that for Dreadnoughts in 1909 might be easy to foster if education was seen as "the third line of national defence".<sup>8</sup> Another characteristic of the various inquiries was their self-perpetuating nature. One inquiry would reveal gaps of knowledge which would have to be filled in by another inquiry. At times it seemed almost as if inquiries were being justified as having a rationale in themselves, without any reference to the solution of a particular problem. Sadler was verging on this when he insisted on having discretionary powers to follow any line of inquiry he might see as important.<sup>9</sup>

The search for educational information at this time is not just a historical hobby-horse. Contemporaries were bemused and at times annoyed by the sheer plenitude of such information and advice. One wrote somewhat scathingly in 1899

... it might be said that 'we are all educationalists now'; for the time has come when everybody thinks he knows a little about education and can say more; when Commissions and Conferences shower forth light and leading - more especially the latter - and the voice of the faddist is loud in the land.<sup>10</sup>

The reasons behind the research activity in the years after 1896 are probably fairly straightforward: an awareness of ignorance about educational matters, the need for a preliminary, or an alternative, to legislation, and pressure from various groups and personalities.

The educational discussions in 1896 in parliament and in the press had revealed how vague and inaccurate knowledge about education was in general. Even the Times, not wholly blameless itself, sought some sort of check to the "wild and wandering words in and out of Parliament".<sup>11</sup> Interest had, however, been stimulated in education, be it only in the vaguest of senses. As one educational journal put it in 1896

There is, as our Transatlantic friends would call it, a/

a/ distinct "boom" in educational matters; Peers galore and M.P.'s not a few speak at school prize givings; journals, magazines, and reviews tire not of impressing on a somewhat lethargic public the painful fact that our educational condition is unsatisfactory. The party, too, in power is "a large one", and requires its attention to be called to the matter "with some pressure." "The schoolmaster is abroad", and the public, too, is abroad - in some cases very much abroad, so far. We still need a Socratic gadfly to rouse us to a consciousness of our duty in the sphere of education. it is true that many of the attempts to stimulate intelligence are limited to such complaints as "We do not get such good clerks as we expect", or "The Germans are outrunning us" ... But it is a healthy sign that so many people are calling attention to our national deficiencies, and urging that they be met.<sup>12</sup>

Such interest in education and awareness of ignorance in educational matters could be a stimulus to the information gathering.

In addition, if the possibility of educational legislation were in the air, it was logical to undertake inquiries as a preliminary. The 1896 bill was the dire warning against legislation without adequate preparation. Although it had the Bryce proposals as a background it alienated too many vested interests even on the government side, by an apparent ignorance of what the true ramifications of its proposals would be.

The ambitious Education Bill of 1896 perished, partly because it challenged too many contests at once, and partly because its backers were not sufficiently well informed as to the quarters from which, and the strength in which, they ought to expect opposition.<sup>13</sup>

J. R. Hay has noted how in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries surveys of foreign practices preceded most major legislation.<sup>14</sup> This was very much the case with regard to education, although the inquiry-legislation link was always rather tenuous and many inquiries into foreign systems were undertaken purely to provide background information or material for future reference. It may even be argued that the inquiries into foreign systems of education provided a model for subsequent inquiries, particularly in the social field. In any case, a first conscious effort was being made by Britain to break out from an attitude of insularity.



But educational information-gathering could also provide an alternative, as well as a preliminary, to legislation. This had its dangers, as D. R. Fearon, the Secretary of the Charity Commission, realised

We are familiar in England with that kind of enthusiasm for a cause which exhausts itself in the process of preliminary investigation. It not infrequently happens that the desire for a measure of legislation is sufficiently strong to induce a Government to direct an inquiry, by means of a Royal Commission or otherwise, and then evaporates.<sup>16</sup>

After all, information-gathering is a deceptively energetic activity and perhaps here lies another reason for its popularity in these years. Vested interests might block the way to educational legislation but the public might feel, for a time at least, that something concrete was being done if the newspapers were full of educational investigations. The investigators themselves might also be tempted into thinking that inquiry was an end in itself, rather than a means to an end.

The final reason behind the growth of educational research is the existence of various educational pressure groups and personalities.<sup>17</sup> Reports and statistics proved themselves to be remarkably versatile. They could provide a stick with which to beat one's political opponents or a solid basis of 'fact' for one's arguments. Some associations set about their own information-gathering - or more accurately opinion-gathering - with the publication of collected studies.<sup>18</sup> The opportunities for axe-grinding or proselytising were manifold.

An article in the Journal of Education for 1894 had bemoaned the fact that "At present the educational requirements of the country are known only in a vague and general way, but detailed information is entirely lacking."<sup>19</sup> The numerous educational inquiries of the period 1895-1905 were ostensibly aimed at providing a detailed breakdown of what England's educational requirements were and, through a study of foreign examples, providing a means of meeting them. That the aims of the inquiries were sometimes distorted, that the inquiries themselves often went off at tangents, are secondary to the basic thinking underlying their existence.

The vehicles of the educational information gathering and information distribution were extremely varied. They ranged from the official remit of government departments, parliamentary investigations and local authorities, to educational, political, commercial and scientific associations, and on to the realms of individual initiative and the vagaries of the popular press.

In the official sphere the Department of Special Inquiries and Reports, a branch of the Education Department, had the specific function of reporting on education at home and abroad in order to provide the Department with background information.<sup>20</sup> Numerous reports originating from the Education Department itself or from the Education Department in conjunction with some other department of state made their appearance. Routine statistical information such as that incorporated in the annual reports of the Committee of Council on Education assumed a new significance. Educational references could increasingly be gleaned from Board of Trade Reports. In the wider public sense, questions asked in parliament could entail a great deal of civil service research which sometimes culminated in the publication of a parliamentary paper.<sup>21</sup> While, on the local authority scene, county councils or other local authorities sometimes sent deputations abroad<sup>22</sup> or set on foot their own inquiries at home.<sup>23</sup>

Nevertheless, researches were not limited to those undertaken by official agencies. Many influential organisations undertook the task of gathering information relevant to their own particular field of activity. The numerous educational journals, pamphlets and conferences testify to their energy. The National Association continued for many years in its capacity as champion of technical and secondary education, urging the county councils on to new efforts. Its journal was to be a practical means of information distribution.

How long it (i.e. The Record of Technical and Secondary Education) will continue to be issued will depend, as we have always indicated, on the amount of new and important schemes, reports, and other documents bearing on the work of the county councils which may continue to appear from time to time. Our one object, in which we have evidence of considerable success, is to supply practical information to those engaged or/



or/ interested in the work of educational organisation - not to become an ordinary educational journal.<sup>24</sup>

Teachers' organisations were efficient in making their own inquiries into specific problems or presenting official information in a manner more acceptable to their members. The official organ of the National Union of Teachers, the Schoolmaster, specialised in lurid illustrated accounts of evils like that of the half-time system,<sup>25</sup> annotated versions of educational legislation, and graphic, if unreliable, representations of statistics in pictorial form. The Incorporated Association of Head Masters leaned more heavily on articles in various journals, distribution of its book "What is Secondary Education?"<sup>26</sup> and conferences for specific subjects.<sup>27</sup> The Teachers Guild and the College of Preceptors tried to enhance their influence by a front of impartiality in their respective journals the Journal of Education and Education: Secondary and Technical - a front which slipped at times to reveal their true aims. Those teachers' organisations not large or wealthy enough to afford their own publications departments could rest secure in the knowledge that considering the indiscriminating interest shown in 'education' in its most general sense, the discussions at their annual conferences would be reported in full in the educational press. Even the Headmasters' Conference, which represented the public schools, deigned at times to descend from the Olympian heights of Greek and Latin verse to discuss the part the schools could play in maintaining British prosperity.<sup>28</sup>

Even political organisations could be infected with the education "bug". The Liberal Eighty Club, the "... fighting vanguard of the young lions of the Radical party",<sup>29</sup> as the Journal of Education rather eloquently called it, instituted its own inquiries into<sup>30</sup> and took part in conferences on various aspects of the education question, in particular commercial education. The Fabian Society dealt with the need for better education, if England were to be able to meet foreign competition, in several of its Fabian Tracts. One Fabian summed up the lesson which

... the English democracy has yet to learn from the despised and spectacled Germans. Until we recognise that education is a boon, not a penalty, we may expect to slip behind in the race of nations.<sup>31</sup>

The Webbs, the most famous of the Fabians, became almost a human reference library in educational matters at the time of the 1902 and 1903 Education Bills, used without qualms by politicians on both sides of the house.<sup>32</sup>

The Chambers of Commerce, and in particular the London branch, with the energetic Rollit as one of its members, made various inquiries into the difficult subject of commercial education, and the numerous conferences held under its auspices<sup>33</sup> provided a useful forum for discussion of aspects of commercial education and how it could be better geared to national requirements. The great scientific association, the British Association, appointed a sub-committee to consider the subject of science teaching and in 1901 set up its own Educational Section which investigated broader areas of the subject of education.<sup>34</sup> This, apart from a few joint conferences, was probably the nearest any of the organisations came to a comprehensive, co-ordinated, and long-range treatment of education. Most were, naturally enough, interested only in one subject or type of education, and when they relied on official sources theirs could become very much a hand-to-mouth existence, feeding on scraps which might have very little link with overall planning.

If this was a dangerous trait with organisations it could be even worse with the third means by which information was collected and distributed - individual initiative. This idea of individuals indulging in their own researches and then placing their findings at the disposal of the government was peculiarly English and, at the turn-of-the-century, vaguely out of keeping with the conception of a modern state. In the 1895-1905 period such ventures ranged from the "Letter to the Duke of Devonshire" already mentioned in chapter I to the large-scale and regimentally planned Mosely Commission.<sup>35</sup> In between there were the numerous books, particularly around the very beginning of the twentieth century, which dealt in whole or in part with educational topics. They could be the result of years of experience in education,<sup>36</sup> of a desire to counter one type of education and put forward another,<sup>37</sup> or of a desire to enumerate the problems to be faced,<sup>38</sup> or to/



to/ emphasise the links between education and imperial prosperity whether it be by means of sane, rational argument<sup>39</sup> or almost hysterical warnings.<sup>40</sup> But they were all a response to a public desire for information about, and opinion on, education, and without public interest they would never have found a publisher.

The press was reasonably quick to respond to this demand and the Schoolmaster noticed this trend in 1898.

One of the surest signs of an awakening interest in the question of National Education is the number of 'Specials' on various phases of "The Education Problem" which appear from time to time nowadays in the daily and weekly press. For, after all, newspapers very largely give people what they want.<sup>41</sup>

It cited as examples the Daily Chronicle's concern about the problem of school attendance, the Manchester Guardian's about the village school, and the Saturday Review's about the chaos of the educational system. In the same year the Times produced a series of articles on Higher Commercial Education.<sup>42</sup> Leaders and articles on education made frequent appearances in the ensuing years. Those debating the merits and demerits of education bills were natural, but others went deeper to the roots of educational problems: Education and Industry;<sup>43</sup> Commercial Education Abroad;<sup>44</sup> Rural Education.<sup>45</sup> Fears of German industrial prowess were revealed by a series of articles on Industrial Germany in 1903.<sup>46</sup> The growth of public opinion with regard to the importance of educational information is vividly illustrated by the fact that the "Letter to the Duke of Devonshire" was only briefly mentioned by the Times in 1896, while the Mosely Commission to America, which was proclaimed even before its official inception and had its progress chronicled every step of the way, warranted a leading article and a detailed discussion of the salient features of the report.<sup>47</sup>

Distinguished general periodicals also took up the educational refrain, the Fortnightly Review and the Nineteenth Century perhaps being most notable in this respect, particularly during and after the Boer War period. It may be argued that the press in general, although responding to a demand for educational/

educational/ information, by distributing and moulding such information, in turn created an even greater demand for, and interest in, education.

The main fields of research were foreign educational systems, and the English educational system and its history, including such aspects as the growth of educational administration, legislation, and state intervention. The main questions asked in such investigations, and the main aspects and areas of education dealt with, were often revelatory of the main fears behind the search for information. The grades of English education which seemed to be furthest behind those in Germany and America were secondary, and higher professional and technical - so attention was focussed on those. The lack of an adequate commercial and technical curriculum was highlighted by foreign studies; the links between education and industry, so strong abroad and so tenuous in England were dealt with. Attention was directed on the one hand to the concrete aspects of buildings, staff, equipment, and administration of education, and on the other hand to the more amorphous realms of public and industrial attitudes to education and definitions of the respective types of education and their true aims. Some of the terms of reference for official investigations were more progressive than the actual reports they produced,<sup>48</sup> while others set almost crippling limitations to study.<sup>49</sup> It is, however, interesting that as time went on more and more of the investigators were willing to incorporate concrete suggestions and proposals, rather than shirk the issue.<sup>50</sup>

The investigators themselves, at least in the early stages, were characterised by their desire to achieve scientific impartiality. Sadler in particular was adamant on this point:

There was, behind and embodied in our way of working the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, the doctrine that the Office ought to tell the truth, disclose the strong and weak points of great educational policies, and behave with self restraint but unshakeable honesty in presenting matter to the Department of Education and in its published volumes of reports. At that stage this, I am sure as ever I was, was the right principle and policy.<sup>51</sup>

Nevertheless, it is difficult to see how such impartiality, if it ever did exist, could have been maintained in face of the/



the/ pressures from politicians, educationalists, and the public, for a clear lead. The reliability and credibility of much of the educational information might thus have been placed in jeopardy. However, what was perhaps surprising was the voracious appetite which the public and press showed, during most of the period, for educational statistics and reports, almost swallowing them whole, with very few questions about the validity of the methods employed, the questions being asked, or the conclusions reached. H. E. Armstrong might complain bitterly in 1901, when the suggestion of a commission to America was put forward, that "Surely we have made inquiries ad nauseam",<sup>52</sup> but his was, for the time being, an isolated complaint, and two years later the Mosely Report was attracting "widespread attention".<sup>53</sup>

The Bryce Commission of 1895 was to point the way to many further studies of secondary education which were to prove less limited in scope, less cautious in making suggestions, and less restricted in outlook. Consisting in the main of a distinguished array of classicists (including the well-known figures of Edward Lyttelton and Richard Jebb), the Commission was set up in response to pressures for an organised system of secondary education. Its terms of reference were limited, excluding many of the areas which were later to cause such controversy. As the Report put it:

The terms of that reference have been understood by us to confine our enquiries to the organisation of Secondary Education, and not to include either an examination and description of the instruction now actually given in secondary schools, or a consideration of what subjects such instruction ought to cover, and by what methods it should be given. These interesting topics we have accordingly dealt with only incidentally, and have in the main restricted ourselves to what may be called the external or administrative part of the subject.<sup>54</sup>

But even such apparently limited terms of reference were to produce 85 witnesses, 45 sittings, 9 volumes of evidence, and a comprehensive and thought-provoking survey of the chaotic state of the administration of secondary education. The inevitable attempt at definitions raised its head: secondary education was seen rather vaguely as consisting of/

consisting of/

... the education of the boy or girl not simply as a human being who needs to be instructed in the mere rudiments of knowledge, but ... a process of intellectual training and personal discipline conducted with special regard to the profession to be followed.<sup>55</sup>

The idea of an educational "system" was defined in a peculiarly English sense as implying "neither uniformity nor the control of a Central Department of Government".<sup>56</sup> In fact the Commission's attitude was very cautious. It shied away from the imposition of fresh taxation;<sup>57</sup> it emphasised the importance of voluntary effort, urging that new local education authorities be given supervisory but little co-ercive power;<sup>58</sup> it talked in very general terms about improved teaching standards,<sup>59</sup> and was wary even of committing itself to the notion that Englishmen suffered in industry and commerce because of superior foreign education, dwelling instead upon the need for moral strength.<sup>60</sup> When the Journal of Education called the Report "a comprehensive, judicial and statesmanlike document ... essentially in the nature of a compromise",<sup>61</sup> it was only emphasising the uneasy path which the Commission had had to tread to avoid stepping on the toes of the representatives of the independent secondary schools and the movement for government retrenchment. Its aim had been "to draw the outlines of a system which shall combine the maximum of simplicity with the minimum disturbance of existing arrangements",<sup>62</sup> and its conclusions reflected such an aim. But perhaps more important than the conclusions reached by the Commission, which despite their incorporation in the 1896 bill were soon to become outmoded, was its provision of a mine of detailed information about the organisation of secondary schools and their relations with numerous authorities for financial, administrative, and examining purposes.

The supply of such types of information was to become much more methodical in ensuing years through the publication and distribution of large volumes of reports on educational matters<sup>63</sup> by the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports. Set up in late 1894, the vicissitudes of this branch of the Education Department are almost indicative of the variations in public/



public/ opinion with regard to education. The appointment of Sadler as Director was not received with general approval even in the educational world.<sup>64</sup> Acland had to defend the appointment in the House of Commons against charges that it had been secured by nepotism,<sup>65</sup> and that it was in any case completely unnecessary.<sup>66</sup> Treasury sanction of the new expenditure was linked to the inevitable proviso that it should not be allowed to increase in the future.<sup>67</sup> Indeed, despite the powerful status which the Office attained under Sadler, there was a continual hassling about money and staff which flared up to crisis point in 1903.<sup>68</sup> Acland envisaged the Office, in a note of 27th November, 1894, as providing a reference section for the Education Department.

There are a large number of matters affecting education as to which the Department lives merely from hand to mouth, failing to record the knowledge it obtains for future use, and unable to obtain information as to what is being done elsewhere, whether at home or abroad, in an efficient manner. There is now much waste of power through this deficiency, and the appointment of an officer with a limited amount of help, whose duty it shall be to collect and supply information, and to make occasional reports on special matter under the direction of his chiefs, has become essential if the Education Department, including the Science and Art Department, whose <sup>69</sup> field of work is now so large, is to do its work efficiently.

Acland originally saw Sadler's title as 'Director of Educational Intelligence', analogous to the 'Director of Military Intelligence' in the War Office,<sup>70</sup> and this would have been in keeping with later ideas about educational weaponry to counter foreign competition, but he eventually dropped an appellation which he thought might have involved misunderstandings, in favour of the more mundane 'Director of Special Inquiries and Reports'.

The growth of the Education Library and its transference to Whitehall was very much in keeping with Acland's original intentions. It became a source of useful information for officials of the Education Department and educationalists in general. The help given by Sadler to Gorst in the drawing-up of clauses of the ill-fated 1896 Education Bill was, properly, outside Sadler's remit, and was looked at askance by Acland in opposition. But it was the publication of the Special Reports which was to make the reputation of the Office, bring it into the public eye, and eventually lead to its decline in importance.



What had originally been intended as "occasional reports on special matters"<sup>71</sup> soon snowballed under the impetus of public and educational interest and Sadler's personal energy. The appearance of the thick blue volumes became eagerly anticipated and they were, in sharp contrast to the attitude prevalent a few years earlier, singled out for praise. The Times saw the Reports as "a wholesome corrective to random statements and inaccurate knowledge",<sup>72</sup> and, at a later date, pressure was put on the government to secure their free distribution to educational organisations and authorities, so useful were they considered.<sup>73</sup>

The original procedure adopted for the collection of information was that Sadler and his associates made visits abroad or drew on their own knowledge for elucidations of the English system of education. The German example was in the forefront of attention, particularly in its secondary and commercial aspects. In fact, both Sadler and his assistant Morant worried that their lack of an adequate knowledge of German might disqualify them for their positions and took considerable pains to remedy this defect.<sup>74</sup> In time, however, they relied increasingly on educationalists with knowledge of a particular field, on the commissioning of experts to go abroad, on influencing suitable people who might just "happen" to be going to an interesting area to produce a report on their return, and on obtaining information from colonial sources. Volumes 4 and 5, which appeared in 1900, were extremely interesting in this last respect. The information collected was in response to a letter of 1897 from Joseph Chamberlain to the self-governing colonies, asking for their co-operation in the preparation of a series of reports on Colonial Education. In detailing the main categories of information required, the Colonial Secretary was reciting the main areas of educational interest at the time: the problems of administration, finance, private schools, inspection, extraneous subjects, religious instruction and teacher training and conditions; the provision of school meals and continuation schools; the problem of higher and secondary education and its relation to the state; the arrangements made for technical, commercial and agricultural instruction and for disturbed or handicapped children.<sup>75</sup> The/



The/ list was a long one and was not always adhered to faithfully, particularly since there was a considerable time lapse before some of the replies arrive. Sadler's summary was in almost all respects a predictable one. Interest in education had been growing in nearly all parts of the Empire; there was an awareness of the danger of bookishness; secondary education was almost universally weak. But perhaps it was wishful thinking that made him see a trend towards imperial unity in education.<sup>76</sup>

The early years of the Special Reports show almost an obsession with German models: Realschulen in Berlin, Oberrealschulen in Prussia, the teaching of modern languages in German schools. The emphasis in general in the Reports was on the modern type of curriculum and on educational provisions above the elementary stage, from the French Higher Primary Schools to the London School of Economics. Criticism of the English system was initially implied rather than stated outright. Powerful educational interests could not be alienated. Instead of stating that the curriculum of the preparatory and public school was an anachronism, totally out of touch with the modern world, Sadler disguised his suggestions of moderate reform with what was perhaps unconscious flattery.

If in addition to all the noble work which the Preparatory and Public Schools do at present, they felt free to take the lead together in cautiously but extensively reforming their curriculum, the benefits conferred by them on the nation, already so great as to excite our admiration and gratitude, would be considerably increased.<sup>77</sup>

The descriptions of rural education in France were really attempts to come to terms with the same problem in Great Britain.<sup>78</sup> When Norway virtually abolished Latin in secondary schools and Sweden made her elementary education more practical the procedures were described in an oblique way which made it seem almost as if remedies were being put forward for English problems.<sup>79</sup>

The Boer War seems to have introduced a more urgent note into the Reports. The idea of education as training for commercial warfare had already been vividly described by a Japanese writer, who insisted that "if trade be the war of peace, the training and/

and/ equipment of efficient soldiers for it must be of vital importance to any commercial nation ..."<sup>80</sup> Impatience was being shown over "the profitless and interminable lament over what we daily own we lack"<sup>81</sup> and concern over foreign rivals had been expanded to cover American competition. Sadler saw the educational issue now in dire terms, as one of national and imperial survival.

Every other great nation is making unexampled efforts to improve its system of education. In some important respects we in England have dropped behind in the race. We need much more and much better secondary education for boys who will leave school for business at the age of sixteen. We need better teaching of living languages including our own mother-tongue. We need much more ample provision for organised research in nearly every branch of knowledge. And we need much more of the highest kinds of professional and technical training. We cannot afford to be indifferent to what is being done abroad. Germany and the United States of America are conspicuous in the struggle for educational supremacy. Both nations are convinced that educational efficiency is a necessary part of the foundation of national greatness and of commercial success. What they and other nations have done, and are preparing to do, has made searching educational reform in England a pressing national need.<sup>82</sup>

In a phrase reminiscent of Devonshire's 'third line of defence' utterance and which was soon to become almost a cliché, he insisted that "The very existence of the Empire depends on sea-power and school-power."<sup>83</sup>

The idea of the national importance of education was given a great deal of attention in the reports set in motion by Sadler before his resignation.<sup>84</sup> Education in America was, for a time, in the forefront, with particular emphasis on the teaching of patriotism, the enthusiastic interest shown in education, and the links between education and commercial supremacy. Volume 11 of the Special Reports was, in fact, dominated by two articles on "Education and Industry in the United States", and "Commercial Education in the United States".<sup>85</sup> The concern about physical deterioration and household management current after the Boer War was reflected in the Special Reports on Domestic Economy Teaching.<sup>86</sup>



The Office of Special Inquiries and Reports was a unique information collecting and distributing agency. Working with only a very small staff, Sadler was yet able to produce Reports of extremely high calibre which became, in all but name, the educational bible in and outside parliament, continually referred to and quoted from. Contributors were often very distinguished figures in the educational field. Despite some very tangential investigations (the enquiries into education in some of the smallest colonial dependencies were hardly likely to make any important contribution),<sup>87</sup> the Reports were broad and far-seeing. Unlike individual investigators, the Office did not need to restrict itself to one country or type of education, but had the official status to obtain the entrée to types of information closed to private or association initiative. The very smallness of the Office was an advantage so long as Sadler could rely on its essential flexibility and draw on information wherever he found it. The Office could not afford to sacrifice an influence so laboriously built up by offending powerful sections of the educational world, so any criticisms or suggestions it made had to be mild ones. But since it was not committed to taking part in the everyday policy-making of the Education Department it could take a broader view of educational questions. Nevertheless, in the final analysis, it was only a very small adjunct of the much larger Department, having to justify its existence by proving its usefulness to the Department and shut out from having all but the most indirect influence on policy.

The other official agencies were potentially in a much more powerful position. Any investigations they made could be acted upon even if only through administrative change. On the other hand the investigations themselves were often made to solve pressing immediate problems and nothing more. Broad comprehensive surveys were often a luxury. In Gorst's speech on the Education Estimates of 1898 he dilated, with an "amazing and embarrassing candour",<sup>88</sup> upon the immense problems being faced in education, but even he seemed to know that such problems could be surveyed and dealt with only in a piece-meal and long-term fashion.<sup>89</sup>

The annual reports of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education and later of the Board of Education were to provide a mine of information about education. Originally voicing a reasonable content with the progress of education, they eventually showed an awareness of the immensity of the problem to be faced and of the growth of public interest in the subject. The sheer volume of the reports gradually expanded, probably in response both to the general desire for educational information and to the growth of administrative machinery within the Department. Statistics began to be published in an extended form in a separate volume in 1897 and were much quoted. Even before Morant, the format was completely revised and the reports divided into a general report and separate volumes dealing with such matters as elementary, secondary and technical education, and under Morant the new procedure expanded even further and became well-established.

The Education Department, in its information-gathering capacity, was concerned mainly with quantification of existing provisions and solutions for immediate pressing problems, leaving more general inquiries to Sadler's department. (There were, however, two exceptions to this. The first was James Barker's Report on Technical and Commercial Education in East Prussia, Poland, Galicia, Silesia, and Bohemia<sup>90</sup> which was not strictly speaking a Special Report, although it was introduced by a letter from Sadler to Kekewich. Although providing a reasonably thorough treatment of centres in eastern Europe, the report was rather an equivocal one, stressing the importance of higher technical education, but giving few details about this, and concentrating instead on the education of artisans in small towns and villages. The second was an unpublished inquiry into schools in France (actually Schools of Art as applied to manufactures) by Abney and Cole.<sup>91</sup>) The Return of Pupils in Public and Private Secondary and Other Schools<sup>92</sup> published in 1897 was perhaps the most famous of the statements of information of the Education Department. Bristling with incomplete statistics it nevertheless represented

... the first attempt which has been made in this country to give a statistical survey of the schools in the great province of national education which is intermediate between the/



the/ public elementary schools and institutions of academic rank or for technical training.<sup>93</sup>

The inquiry had been set on foot "In view of the increasing importance of secondary education, from the point of view of the public welfare ...",<sup>94</sup> in other words in response to the relatively new idea of secondary education as a national issue. It was necessarily limited, dealing only with the control and ownership of secondary schools and not with their curriculum or efficiency, but was intended as a stimulus to further studies. As was pointed out in the Introductory Memorandum

It will indicate, to those unfamiliar with the subject, the complexity of the problem and the obscurity in which many of its details are still involved. And it may provide a basis for further inquiries, each in turn more complete than a first essay can ever be.<sup>95</sup>

The Return was extensively quoted in the educational press and in parliament. Even as late as 1906-1907 Board of Education returns could still awaken some interest, even though they might be as bland as The Feeding of School Children in Continental and American Cities. Statement of Information,<sup>96</sup> Statement as to the age at which Compulsory Education begins in certain Foreign Countries,<sup>97</sup> Statement as to the age at which Compulsory Education ceases in certain Foreign Countries and British colonies.<sup>98</sup>

The attitude to the various departmental inquiries on educational problems changed subtly over the years. The inquiry into Teachers' Superannuation,<sup>99</sup> published in 1895, came about only after years of lobbying in parliament, and, with its stress on thrift and limitation of any scheme only to provision against want and nothing more,<sup>100</sup> was almost a paradigm of the idea of self-help. The Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System,<sup>101</sup> which was set up in December 1896, perhaps coincidentally just after the educational outcries, was much broader in its perspective. A volume of minutes of evidence was included<sup>102</sup> which incorporated some very far-sighted views on teacher training in general. In time, the conception of education was widening: inter-departmental inquiries became more common and inquiries came about more obviously as a result of public pressure. Moreover, particularly in the period during and immediately after the Boer/

Boer/ War, public interest in such inquiries grew immeasurably until they merited an attention in the press which would have been unheard of in 1895.<sup>103</sup> In a sense, for a time, the processes of one Government Department had been opened wide, and although this was a temporary phenomenon it might provide a portent for the future, when other offices of government would feel a similar pressure.

The Science and Art Department was merged with the Committee of Council on Education by the Board of Education Act,<sup>104</sup> but before it disappeared from view it had made its contribution to the search for information, not by means of its annual tomes of calendars and directories, which were more works of reference than rousers of public opinion, but through a report by C. C. Perry on Technical Schools in France. The Times summarised the report in the summer of 1898,<sup>105</sup> but despite rather puzzled letters to the papers asking where it could be obtained,<sup>106</sup> and despite questions in parliament,<sup>107</sup> it was never published as a Command paper<sup>108</sup> or widely distributed. It might be suggested that the report gained from the air of mystery which surrounded it. Commentators were able to draw whatever conclusions they wished from it without having to refer too much to facts. Moreover, the furore which surrounded its 'invisible' appearance showed that the public were ready to swallow a good deal of educational information and feel thwarted if it did not obtain it.

As far as the more general investigations undertaken by the Board of Trade into foreign competition were concerned, the original note was one of non-alarmism and reluctance to involve the state in any assistance venture. In August 1896 Ritchie, the President of the Board of Trade, wrote to Sir Courtenay Boyle

I should be glad if you would undertake, as early in the autumn as possible, an examination of the statistics of our home and foreign trade in recent years, compared with similar statistics of leading foreign countries, such as France and Germany.<sup>109</sup>

(The timing of the minute and its stress on having the information as quickly as possible are interesting.) The ensuing Memorandum on British and Foreign Trade<sup>110</sup> showed that in terms of export/



export/ potential Britain was still very much ahead of America and Germany but that foreign competition would become more serious unless exports were energetically concentrated upon. The state was seen in a subsidiary role. "The solution of the question of how best to develop and increase our competing power" was "one to which the State can only give limited assistance" in terms of "encouragement and help".<sup>111</sup> In his final paragraph, Sir Courtenay joined the general chorus on the need for information.

What the Government can do is to facilitate the supply of accurate and carefully collected information and in the discharge of this duty I venture to think we are somewhat behindhand.<sup>112</sup>

The Board of Trade memorandum which was compiled in response to Joseph Chamberlain's despatch of 1895<sup>113</sup> emerged in the same year as the above. It too insisted there was no need to panic and used a mountain of statistics, this time covering 31 colonies, to back up its argument. But the general causes of the 'Displacement of British Goods' were enumerated,<sup>114</sup> including the operation of the Merchandise Marks Act and the shortcomings of British manufacturers and traders. The part played by technical and commercial education was not touched upon in either of these reports.

Nevertheless, the reports of consular officials on British trade methods, which had been drawing increasing attention, stressed, among other things, this very aspect. The Commercial, Labour and Statistical Department of the Board of Trade "in view of the widespread interest taken in the subject"<sup>115</sup> collected over a hundred extracts from these reports and printed them with a prefatory memorandum giving its general conclusions. The general impression given was that British traders would need to take greater pains to adapt themselves to their customers. One German advantage was given in full. This was

The development of technical education ... and the greater attention paid in schools to modern languages, added to the system of sending young Germans all over the world to acquire a practical knowledge of the language, business habits, etc., of other countries, by means of which they are afterwards able to compete with those countries with a greater chance of success.<sup>116</sup>

Technical education was seen as being not necessarily better in Germany but applied in a more practical and useful way. The Consul at Stettin was scathing about the low status of "modern" school studies in Britain.

... in Great Britain there are numerous public and private schools having a modern side in their curriculum which is an excellent adaptation of what is termed in Germany the 'real gymnasium', but in how many English schools is the modern side looked down upon by the head master and consequently by the boys themselves; and the classic side held up as the education which befits a gentleman!<sup>117</sup>

The inquiries into British trade and British trading methods gained momentum in the following years. The Worthington mission dealt in six reports with the South American market,<sup>118</sup> where prospects looked particularly bleak for Britain. Consular reports continued to flourish. Sir Courtenay Boyle's 1897 memorandum was brought up to date in 1902,<sup>119</sup> although this time the note was a more urgent one. Although Britain was still ahead, Germany, and now the United States, were making rapid upward movement which could only be countered by strenuous effort. But once again it was stressed that "the assistance which the State can give in the matter must necessarily be of a limited character."<sup>120</sup>

Thus, trade reports, although written in a tone of pseudo-optimism, painted a grim picture of Britain's potential trading position, while failing to suggest more than the most cliched and small scale solutions.<sup>121</sup> to a very large problem. Although very few direct references were made in them to the contribution of educational systems to trade, many of the apologists of technical and commercial education seem to have drawn the immediate conclusion that if countries like Germany and the United States were pulling ahead it must be due to the superiority of their education, which had already been proven. Even the general public, reading the second-hand accounts of the alarming revelations and the news that the state intended to do very little in the matter, must have been seduced by the cry for education put forward by such distinguished personages and offering a ready, if rather vague, solution to Britain's problems.



Trips abroad on fact-finding missions were becoming fashionable<sup>122</sup> rather than featuring as the hobby of cranks. Germany was, initially at least, the Mecca of educationalists, officials and scientists. Magnus and his colleagues went there in 1896. Manchester City Council sent a deputation to visit the German and Austrian technical schools in 1897 which reported that

The future of the manufacturing industry depended entirely upon the application of the highest scientific skill and experience in developing natural resources and products, and those nations which realized this and provided for the training of the leaders and organizers of industry would surely win the day.<sup>123</sup>

When the idea of the establishment of a National Physical Laboratory was mooted in 1897 for the construction of standards of measurement and scientific testing, visits were made by the Treasury Committee to similar institutions in Charlottenburg and Potsdam.<sup>124</sup>

As awareness of American competition grew, attention was directed across the Atlantic. Here, however, the practical difficulties of investigation were more numerous, but were, in one instance at least, overcome by the generosity of a millionaire. Alfred Mosely had first put forward the idea of a Commission whose object would be "to ascertain how far education in the United States is responsible for her industrial progress"<sup>125</sup> at the height of the concern about education in 1901, but its organisation was postponed due to unsettlement in the country over the education bill. After a great deal of preliminary preparation, the Commission, made up of various experts, mainly in the field of technical education,<sup>126</sup> eventually sailed for America in October 1903. As Mosely pointed out, the basic question it sought to answer was "How is it that the United States can afford to pay half a dollar in wages where we pay a shilling, and yet compete with us in the markets of the world?"<sup>127</sup> The Commission, in its report, emphasised in general terms the way in which the Americans had a graded and co-ordinated educational system, the fact that links between industry, commerce and education were close ones, the practical character of the instruction given, with manual training being stressed and commercial departments in operation in many schools, the higher aspirations of American children, the/

the/ immense amounts of money spent almost ungrudgingly on education, and the lack of class prejudices and a "religious difficulty". But above all the Commission were impressed by the widespread belief in education in the United States from which all else seemed to stem - an "absolute belief in the value of education both to the community at large and to agriculture, commerce, manufactures and the service of the state".<sup>128</sup> This belief, the Commissioners admitted, had originally been rather the effect of industrial progress than its cause, but was now assuming an increasing importance as a cause of industrial and commercial prosperity. The Mosely Report was probably novel in its acceptance of the notion that what England needed was a new attitude to the whole problem, that

... the solution of the problem of technical education, as of that of education will be partial and incomplete unless the problem is attacked from the psychological as well as from the industrial and commercial point of view.<sup>129</sup>

It was perhaps unfortunate that the Commission took place almost two years later than originally planned, when the main surge of interest in education was already waning.

At home, the National Association was instrumental in the publication of many local authority reports and statistics in its journal, the Record of Technical and Secondary Education - reports which might otherwise have reached only a very limited audience. Although initially most of the reports laid an emphasis on municipal rather than national effort as far as technical and secondary education were concerned, they did provide useful incentives and examples.

The London County Council Technical Education Board, which was set up in 1893, was to become the most famous of the local authorities to come into being in connection with the Technical Instruction Acts, and an educational information-gathering and distributing agency in its own right. Any actions on its part were preceded by a process of methodical research. Even before the Board was set up, Hubert Llewellyn Smith was commissioned to make a large scale inquiry into provisions for technical education in London. The 184-page report<sup>130</sup> of an/



an/ investigation which ranged very widely in the limited time available, was to become a minor classic in the field of technical education. Its definition of technical education as incorporating both an industrial and a commercial side and as overlapping with other spheres of education<sup>131</sup> was to provide the keynote for many of the Board's activities in the ensuing years.<sup>132</sup>

Many of the reports, and in particular the sub-committee reports, published by the London Technical Education Board before its demise in 1903 were, whether it be consciously or unconsciously, reflective of public interest in particular aspects of education, and indeed most were widely publicised in the press. In early 1895 it was decided

That it be referred to a sub-committee to consider the extent and efficiency of the instruction in chemistry now being provided in evening class institutions and secondary and continuation schools in London, with a view to reporting in what manner the instruction might be made more thorough and better adapted to the needs of London industries, and that it report to the Science, Art and Technology Sub-Committee in due course.<sup>133</sup>

The emphasis on the links between chemistry and local industry was interesting. The sub-committee included such stalwarts as Magnus, Mond, Ramsay (of Ostwald letter fame), and Sidney Webb, and reported, very appropriately, in late 1896. Although the recommendations in the report were not ing novel - that general education should be encouraged in the schools, that scholarships should be given to the best science students at higher institutions, that statistics relating to English and foreign trade should be collected, that efforts should be made to induce manufacturers to employ trained chemists and report on their usefulness, that emphasis should be placed on the teaching of specific branches of chemistry geared to local needs - their discussion in local government, rather than scientific, circles was.

The interest in commercial education which had been stimulated by the revelations of consular reports, by the energy of the Chambers of Commerce, and by various conferences on the subject was channelled into specific recommendations by another Special Sub-Committee Report on Commercial Education<sup>134</sup> which/

which/ made its appearance in 1899. The members of the committee seemed acutely aware of the part played by education in commercial prosperity and how much London depended upon British commercial prosperity.

In conducting our investigations upon the subject of commercial education we have been greatly impressed with the feeling that the matter is one of supreme national importance. The great increase of foreign competition which has been felt by those engaged in almost every branch of commerce and manufacture has aroused a wide-spread feeling of alarm in the community. It is becoming more and more clear that among the principal causes which are threatening us with a grave diminution of international trade must be placed the better education enjoyed by many of our competitors. The reports of British consuls, numerous extracts from which have been submitted for our consideration, speak with an almost unanimous voice upon the injury which is being done to British trade by the want of linguistic training, of local knowledge, of insight and adaptability, which is shown by British manufacturers and commercial firms, and especially by their representatives abroad.<sup>135</sup>

The Report was quite vigorous in its advocacy of a good modern-type general education and various specific provisions for the encouragement of commercial education.

The Report, three years later, on the Application of Science to Industry,<sup>136</sup> was even more vigorous. A note of alarm had crept in, and when the committee members looked at the way in which Britain had lost the aniline dye industry,<sup>137</sup> their conclusions were strongly worded. They felt

... that various branches of industry have, during the past twenty or thirty years, been lost to this country owing to the competition of foreign countries; that in many others our manufacturers have fallen seriously behind their foreign rivals; that London, in particular, has distinctly suffered; and that these losses are to be attributed in no small degree to the superior scientific education in foreign countries.<sup>138</sup>

This time there was no suggestion of further inquiries. The sub-committee, like a great deal of public opinion in 1902, felt that sufficient inquiries had been made and that any delay would be dangerous.<sup>139</sup> This time, however, unlike previously, the Board was confessing that its resources were insufficient to tackle what was really a national problem. Instead, it highlighted the main causes of failure.



The cause of the want of vitality in our scientific industries is not far to seek: it is due to defects in secondary education, and the lack of adequate provision for training in research. If secondary education can be more widely extended; if general and scientific education, both in secondary schools and schools of University standing, can be made more thorough; and if further opportunities can be provided to enable post-graduate and advanced students to obtain adequate training in technological research, there is no reason to fear for the future prosperity of our scientific industries.<sup>140</sup>

The London Technical Education Board, in addition to numerous reports, also published its own journal The London Technical Education Gazette,<sup>141</sup> which from 1894-1904 circulated information about the board, its classes and activities. It, like the Record of Technical and Secondary Education, was to provide grist for the educationalists' mill and a wider distribution of many of the reports.

Interest in education was not exclusively exhibited in printed matter - the increasing number of conferences convened for the discussion of one particular topic vouch for this. The Chambers of Commerce in particular were very active in this field. An International Congress on Technical Education was held in London in 1897. Another International Congress on Commercial Education was held at Antwerp in July 1898 and the Guildhall Conference in London in the same summer, held under the auspices of the London Chamber of Commerce, considered what steps could be taken to further commercial education in the metropolis. At the 1899 meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce there was a resolution on the agenda that the association should appoint a committee to draw up a scheme of commercial education and examinations for the entire kingdom. Unfortunately the association did not possess the necessary administrative machinery to implement such a suggestion.<sup>142</sup>

In a slightly more elevated sphere, parliament provided a forum for the discussion and diffusion of educational ideas. The general rise of interest in foreign competition, foreign systems of education and education in general was reproduced in many of the debates and parliamentary questions. Dilke began by asking/

asking/ leading questions about educational expenditure in America.<sup>143</sup> The pages of Hansard for 1897 show the question of British trade and foreign competition assuming a new importance in the House.<sup>144</sup> Not only Courtenay Boyle's Report but also the administration of education<sup>145</sup> were being quizzed into. Hobhouse singled out the Special Reports for praise in 1900<sup>146</sup> and suggested a free distribution to educationalists, and in the same year the need for educational information was stressed by demands for an "open window"<sup>147</sup> at the Education Office. The interest in education probably reached its climax in 1901 when there was an unparalleled debate on education<sup>148</sup> but even in 1903 the announcement of Sadler's resignation aroused a parliamentary indignation which could only be appeased by the publication of details of the circumstances surrounding the case.<sup>149</sup> Although parliament might eventually lapse into lethargy with regard to educational matters,<sup>150</sup> it would probably never again be as completely ignorant about the subject as in the days before 1895 when education was represented by isolated faddists ably countered by the agricultural interest. As Haldane wrote from personal experience: "The House of Commons from 1885 to 1892 ... was of the old fashioned sort and did not care much about education, especially of Continental types."<sup>151</sup> By 1905, that very House had been bombarded with information about Continental education.

The educational bombardment was probably at its most intense shortly before and during the introduction of the 1902 Education Bill.<sup>152</sup> Pamphlets and books galore,<sup>153</sup> covering a wide spectrum of educational life, made their appearance and were eagerly snatched upon; conferences, particularly on aspects of higher education, abounded.<sup>154</sup> By about 1905 the demand had probably been satiated. Other issues like the tariff question had emerged to claim attention. Indeed it might be argued that the desire for information, first evinced on the educational front, spilled over into the tariff debates. In many respects, too, education seemed a solved problem.<sup>155</sup>

The search for information had begun as an attempt to fill in vast areas of ignorance about the extent of foreign/



foreign/ competition and educational provisions at home and abroad. In time it almost acquired a momentum of its own with investigations uncovering areas about which little was known, areas which had to be probed by further investigations. Particularly in the initial stages the conclusions reached by official researches were often very weak and vague. Again and again the minimum disturbance of existing educational arrangements was advocated, the minimum of State intervention in industry and trade, the most gradual of reform. But many of the facts presented were used in the press and in parliamentary debates to put forward far more scathing criticisms of the existing system and far more radical ideas of reform. The investigations made by unofficial agencies and private individuals were necessarily more limited in scope and less reliable, but few of the investigators were chary of expressing opinions and suggesting far-reaching solutions to the educational problem. As time went by, more concrete suggestions were incorporated, even in the official reports, and less fear was shown of offending vested interests. The educational investigations in the period immediately after the Boer War are extremely relevant in this respect.<sup>156</sup> Indeed after 1902 the search for information was directed more effectively into official channels, into the solution of particular problems. There was much less scope for the Sadler-style, wide-ranging inquiry.

Possibly the most significant result of the great search for information was the education of public opinion with regard to education and the growth of public interest in education. In 1892, Acland and Llewellyn Smith, writing in their Studies in Secondary Education, observed that the great stumbling block to educational reform was public apathy towards the subject.<sup>157</sup> By 1901, interest in education was at fever-heat, partly because of the Boer War reverses but also because the public had been educated through numerous reports and articles to see a close connection between education and national prosperity. Education had emerged, for a time at least, from the realms of the 'faddist and the crank'.

Education would even, by virtue of the sheer amount of material being written about it, have had claims on parliamentary attention. It is interesting to notice the increasing interest being reflected in the pages of Hansard. An emphasis on the cost of education gave way to an emphasis on its benefits, and on what subjects could be incorporated into the curriculum to further the national interest. The suggestion was even made in 1904 of taking the unprecedented step of publishing the results of the Mosely inquiry, a private inquiry, in the form of a parliamentary paper<sup>158</sup> - a far cry from the economy strictures of 1895.

The inquiries also showed in an incontrovertible way that educational reform, postulated in the vaguest of senses for decades and then neatly brushed aside, was absolutely necessary. It was possible to argue against the disturbance of existing arrangements when little was known about them, but when the full chaos and inefficiency was laid bare by careful investigation the arguments in favour of variety and individuality became shaky. Even such a bland document as the Return of Secondary Schools was to provoke a furore.<sup>159</sup> A headmaster like R. P. Scott could insist that what was needed was an educational Domesday book,<sup>160</sup> and through time the various reports and statistics, taken as a whole, were beginning to provide that very type of survey.

Although, eventually, some of the demands for educational information gathering seem to have overreached themselves and a distaste for the whole process was evinced in certain quarters, the procedure had an aura of status about it. Sadler was probably better known than his superior Kekewich; Mosely hit the headlines by means of his Commission. The status aspect must have encouraged others to participate. Even the French were so impressed by the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports that they set up their own educational inquiries department.

In its most basic sense the information about foreign competition was to provide a useful lever for various pressure groups and personalities. Some, like Haldane, had for long/



long/ been stressing the relationship between education and national prosperity, and the revelations confirmed them in their way of thinking; others must, consciously or unconsciously, have used the national prosperity argument to further their own particular arguments and ideas which had been languishing for years.

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49. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Inspection and Feeding of Children attending Public Elementary Schools. P.P. Cd. 2779. (1906). Cd. 2784. (1906).
50. See chapter V pp. 163-203 passim for details.
51. M. E. Sadler quoted in Sadleir. op. cit. pp. 194-195.
52. The Times. 19 December 1901.
53. Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 13 (1904). p. 224.
54. Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. Vol. 1. P.P. C. 7862. (1895). p. 1.
55. ibid. pp. 135-136.
56. ibid. p. 326.
57. ibid. p. 325.
58. ibid. p. 324.
59. ibid. p. 326.
60. ibid. p. 328.
61. Journal of Education. Vol. 17 (1895). p. 645.
62. Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. op. cit. p. 324.
63. The so-called Special Reports on Educational Subjects.
64. As Sir Henry Roscoe pointed out in Parliament.  
Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 30. c. 1101. 19 February 1895.
65. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 30. c. 1100-1101. 19 February 1895 and Vol. 31. c. 386. 5 March 1895.
66. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 30. c. 1270-1271. 21 February 1895.
67. Papers relating to the Resignation of the Director of Special Inquiries and Reports. op. cit. pp. 5-6. Treasury letter to Acland, 31 December 1894.



68. See chapter V. pp. 172-173.
69. Papers relating to the Resignation, etc. op. cit. p. 3.  
Note by the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education (Mr. Acland) filed at the commencement of the series of papers leading to Mr. Sadler's appointment, 27 November 1894.
70. ibid. p. 4. Draft of Letter to Treasury prepared by the Vice-President's (Mr. Acland's) Instructions, 26 December 1894.
71. ibid. p. 3. Acland note of 27 November 1894.
72. The Times. 23 August 1897.
73. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 78. c. 924. 8 February 1900.
74. Sadler - J. H. Higginson. "Sadler's German Studies."  
British Journal of Educational Studies. Vol. 6 (1957-58).  
pp. 119-127.  
Morant - Sadleir. op. cit. p. 149. Morant's visit to Switzerland was partly to remedy this.
75. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 4. P.P.  
Cd. 416. (1900). Introductory letter. pp. iii-iv.
76. ibid. p. v.
77. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 6. P.P.  
Cd. 418. (1900). p. 90.
78. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 7. P.P.  
Cd. 834. (1902).
79. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 8. P.P.  
Cd. 835. (1902). Introductory letter, p. iii and  
pp. 1-142.
80. ibid. p. 567.
81. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Supplement to Vol.  
8. P.P. Cd. 1157. (1902). p. 65. J. C. Medd.
82. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 9. P.P.  
Cd. 836. (1902). p. 160.
83. ibid. p. 163.
84. For the details of Sadler's resignation and the circumstances surrounding what was the virtual transformation of the Office of Special Inquiries see chapter V. pp. 172-173.
85. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 11. P.P.  
Cd. 1156. (1902).  
pp. 101-228. Thiselton Mark.  
pp. 229-418. P. J. Hartog.

86. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vols. 15 and 16.  
P.P. Cd. 2498. (1905).  
P.P. Cd. 2963. (1906).
87. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vols. 12, 13 and 14.  
P.P. Cd. 2377. (1905).  
P.P. Cd. 2378. (1905).  
P.P. Cd. 2379. (1905).
88. The Times. 18 June 1898.
89. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 59. c. 587-605. 17 June 1898.
90. P.P. Cd. 419. (1900).
91. Mentioned in Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1899-1900.  
Vol. II. P.P. Cd. 329. (1900). pp. 11-14.
92. P.P. C. 8634. (1897).
93. ibid. p. 10.
94. ibid. p. 3.
95. ibid. p. 10.
96. P.P. Cd. 2926. (1906).
97. P.P. Cd. 2968. (1906).
98. P.P. Cd. 4132. (1908).
99. Report of the Departmental Committee on Teachers' Superannuation. P.P. C. 7636. (1895).
100. ibid. p. 10.
101. P.P. C. 8761. (1898).
102. P.P. C. 8762. (1898).
103. See chapter VI. pp. 204-248. *passim*.
104. Board of Education Act, 1899. 62 and 63 Vict. ch. 33.
105. The Times. 2 June 1898.
106. The Times. 20 June 1898.
107. Arnold-Forster question to Gorst. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 59. c. 573-574. 17 June 1898. Gorst promised to lay the Report on the table of the House.
108. Nevertheless it was published for the use of the Commons. H.C. 246 (1898)  
Perry's conclusions were not really novel ones. He summed up his arguments on p. 59 of his report:



"If the history of the recent progress in French technical instruction has any lesson to teach, it would appear to be that the time has arrived for us also to adopt a bolder and more consistent policy as regards industrial education, and by giving greater prominence to practical, special, and scholastic, as opposed to theoretical, scientific, and supplemental requirements, to render our system of technical instruction, so far as it is intended to help us to meet foreign trade competition, 'un enseignement veritablement professionnel'."

109. Board of Trade Memorandum on British and Foreign Trade.  
P.P. C. 8322. (1897). p. 3.
110. ibid.
111. ibid. p. 29.
112. ibid. p. 29
113. See chapter I. p. 36.
114. Trade of the British Empire and Foreign Competition. P.P.  
C. 8447. (1897). Introductory Memorandum by C. Alexander Harris, July 1897. pp. 7-11.
115. Foreign Trade Competition. Opinions by H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officials on British Trade Methods. P.P.  
C. 9078. (1899). A. E. Bateman to Secretary of the Board of Trade, October 1898. p. iii.
116. ibid. p. 8.
117. ibid. p. 8 and pp. 26-27. October 1897.
118. Commercial Mission to South America.  
Reports received from Mr. T. Worthington, the Special Commissioner appointed by the Board of Trade to inquire into and report upon the conditions and prospects of British trade in certain South American countries.  
P.P. C. 9100 (1898) 1st and 2nd Reports Chile  
P.P. C. 9101 (1898) 3rd Report The Argentine  
P.P. C. 9160 (1898) 4th Report Brazil Part I  
P.P. C. 9161 (1899) 5th Report Brazil Part II  
P.P. C. 9298 (1899) 6th Report Uruguay
119. Board of Trade Memorandum on British and Foreign Trade. P.P.  
Cd. 1199. (1902).
120. ibid. p. 30
121. Better packing was one of these.  
Foreign Trade Competition. Opinions, etc. op. cit.  
p. 6. III. The Inferiority of the British to the German and American methods of packing.

122. In 1891 there were deputations by Manchester Corporation and Manchester Technical School to the Continent. Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 1 (1891-92). pp. 176-192. In 1893 a representative of the Bedfordshire County Council had been sent to the Continent. Record. Vol. 2 (1893). pp. 601-628. And in 1894 Lancashire County Council appointed a deputation to visit silk, horological and mining schools there. Record. Vol. 3 (1894). p. 904. After 1896, however, the deputations were more numerous and more widely publicised. In 1900 even the Essex agriculturists caught the bug and sped off - this time to Holland. Record. Vol. 9 (1900). pp. 128-138.
123. Journal of Education. Vol. 19 (1897). p. 645.  
For a more detailed account of the trip see Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 7 (1898). pp. 51-69.
124. Treasury Committee Report on the Desirability of establishing a National Physical Laboratory. P.P. C. 8976. (1898).
125. Reports of the Mosely Educational Commission. op. cit. p. xv.
126. ibid. Frontispiece for list of members which included H. E. Armstrong.
127. ibid. Preface. p. vii.
128. ibid. Joint Report. p. xxiii.
129. R. Blair. ibid. p. 63.
130. Report to the Special Committee on Technical Education by H. Llewellyn Smith, M.A., D.Sc., 1892.  
Being the result of an Inquiry into the needs of London with regard to Technical Education, the existing provision for such education, and the best means to be taken by the London County Council, under the Technical Instruction Acts, 1889 and 1891, and the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890.  
T.E.B. 79a.  
See also H. Llewellyn Smith. "The Teaching of London. 1. A Scheme for Technical Instruction." Contemporary Review. Vol. 61 (1892). pp. 741-753.
131. Report to the Special Committee, etc. op. cit. p. 5.
132. See chapter III. p. 96.
133. Report on the Teaching of Chemistry by a Special Subcommittee appointed by the Technical Education Board of the London County Council, 1896.  
T.E.B. 79c. p. 1. Terms of Reference.



134. Report of the Special Sub-Committee on Commercial Education.  
1899. T.E.B. 79d.
135. ibid. p. iii.
136. Report of the Special Sub-Committee on the Application of  
Science to Industry, 1902. T.E.B. 79e.
137. The sad tale of a British discovery being exploited by  
another country was to become symbolic of Britain's lack  
of higher scientific education just as the German clerk  
was symbolic of her lack of commercial education.  
See E. J. Hobsbawm. Industry and Empire. Penguin, 1971.  
p. 173. for the aniline dye industry.
138. op. cit. p. 3.
139. ibid. p. 8.
140. ibid. p. 8.
141. T.E.B. 62-71. 10 volumes.
142. Dr. Ivan Zolger. Das kommerzielle Bildungswesen in England.  
Vienna: Hölder, 1903. pp. 14-16. gives details of the  
work of the Chambers of Commerce in this field.
143. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 40. c. 1426. 15 May 1896.
144. Sir Howard Vincent in particular tabled numerous parliamentary  
questions on the subject.  
Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 45. c. 884. 29 January 1897.  
Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 46. c. 24-25. 9 February  
1897.
145. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 47. c. 196-197. 8 March 1897.  
Mr. Carvell Williams on the composition of the Committee  
of Council on Education.  
Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 47. c. 1553-1554.  
29 March 1897. Mr. Flynn on the proceedings of the  
Committee of Council on Education.
146. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 78. c. 924. 8 February 1900.
147. Lord Reay in the Lords. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 86  
c. 817. 23 July 1900.
148. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 122. c. 694. 14 May 1903.  
See also chapter V. p. 145.
149. Papers relating to the Resignation of the Director of  
Special Inquiries and Reports. op. cit.
150. See Conclusion. pp. 275-300 passim.
151. R. B. Haldane. Autobiography. London: Hodder and Stoughton,  
1929. p. 88.

152. See chapter VII. p. 264 for details of the public interest in the bill.
153. Some examples are:  
 F. Hooper and James Graham. Commercial Education at Home and Abroad. London: Macmillan, 1901.  
 R. D. Roberts (ed.) Education in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge University Press, 1901.  
 Fabian Ware. Educational Foundations of Trade and Industry. London: Harper and Bros., 1901.  
 J. E. G. de Montmorency. State Intervention in English Education. Cambridge University Press, 1902.
154. To name but two:  
 The Cambridge University Extension Conference in August 1900 led to the publication of R. D. Roberts (ed.) Education in the Nineteenth Century. op. cit.  
 In 1902 a conference on Higher Education was held under the auspices of the National Association.
155. For further details see Conclusion pp. 275-300 (particularly p. 290) and chapter VII. p. 268.
156. Most of the post-1902 official investigations are dealt with in chapters V and VI.
157. A. H. D. Acland and H. Llewellyn Smith (eds.) Studies in Secondary Education. London: Percival, 1892.  
 Introduction. p. xxvii.  
 "A word remains to be said upon the greatest difficulty which the reformers of secondary education have to confront. It is the apathy of the public."
158. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 133. c. 395. 18 April 1904.
159. The Times. 1 June 1898.
160. Fortnightly Review. Vol. 67 (1900). p. 305.



## CHAPTER III

### PRESSURE GROUPS AND PERSONALITIES

"Few problems connected with life and legislation have of late years exercised a greater number of tongues and pens than that of education."

LORD ROSEBERRY.<sup>1</sup>

"The trend of public opinion as regards organization is unmistakable. Organization is in the air ..."

EDUCATION: SECONDARY AND TECHNICAL.<sup>2</sup>

### CHAPTER III

In the years between the "Made in Germany" panic and the Boer War the educational scene in England was a complicated one. Most people, even though increasingly accepting the argument that education and success in industry and commerce were somehow linked, were wary of condoning the expense and bureaucratic interference involved in further state intervention in the field. This chapter attempts to show how even although the pressures for educational change were steadily building up, the actual reforms achieved, at least in the pre-Boer War period, were often tentative and vague,<sup>3</sup> or the culmination of processes for long in the pipeline.<sup>4</sup>

Any attempt to chart the influence of some of the personalities and pressure groups at work in the field of education is hampered by the facts that such groups were extremely heterogeneous in their character and differed greatly in their aims, that with almost any legislative or administrative changes it is extremely difficult to trace a direct link between pressure and the end result through a maze of intervening circumstances, and that change in education comes about so slowly that it is well-nigh impossible to say where in the long process the essential stimulants lie.

Nevertheless, such an attempt seems worthwhile in a study of the growth of awareness of the education/prosperity link, for these individuals and groups, by reiterating the theme of education as part of national defence, made it almost a cliché and brought the subject before the public in numerous guises.

Certain personalities were prominent in educational work at this time. Perhaps the most famous was Richard Burdon Haldane, /



Haldane, / philosopher, lawyer, Liberal M.P., and later to become War Minister and Lord Chancellor. But his first interest was education, particularly in the sense of University and higher technological education. His were the brains behind the later schemes for a teaching University for London and the Imperial Charlottenburg idea. Indeed his attempts to influence figures in both parties and in civil service circles to secure his schemes earned him the reputation of being devious.<sup>5</sup> This was probably the penalty Haldane had to pay for being essentially a non-party figure, as most of the true educationalists tended to be. (Haldane, like T. J. Macnamara, even voted against his own party over the Education Bill of 1902.) In fact he seems to have been proud of his role of general advisor in educational matters. As he wrote to his mother "In opposition I have blossomed out into the person to whom they seem all to turn." - no idle boast, apparently, for Devonshire a little later allegedly complained in a jocular way about the way in which the Conservative government relied on Haldane.<sup>7</sup> In an age when Members of Parliament were not really equipped to discuss the scientific or technological aspects of certain questions, when the problem of the National Physical Laboratory was discussed in its aspect of whether or not it would spoil the view of Kew Gardens for local residents,<sup>8</sup> Haldane was an "expert". In an age when little was known first-hand about Germany, when few people could, in any case, speak German, Haldane, with his knowledge of the German language and his yearly visits to Germany was again the expert.

Unlike most of the main educational figures of his day, Haldane was educated away from the public school, Oxford/Cambridge atmosphere, under the Scottish and German systems. The aspect of Haldane's German education has been greatly exaggerated. He attended classes at Göttingen University for only a few months at the age of 17. But the German influence on his thinking and on his schemes was a great one, if rather exaggerated in the popular mind.<sup>9</sup> A. G. Gardiner was clear on this point: "For Mr. Haldane is Teutonic in his love of abstract thinking, and in his enthusiasm for thoroughness and exactness. He turns always to Germany for inspiration."<sup>10</sup>

Haldane was emphatic upon one point which he had learnt from the German system - the need for more high-grade scientific research to enable Britain to hold her own against foreign competition - but even he was wary of reckless wasted expenditure, insisting instead on the co-ordination of existing facilities.<sup>11</sup> The idea of education as a weapon in the trade competition of nations was taken up in Haldane's widely reported speeches, and although Haldane's poor speaking voice and lack of platform magnetism disqualified him for the role of demagogue, his many influential connections, frequent attendance at, and giving of, selective dinner parties, his thorough researching of subjects with which he was dealing, his assiduous letter-writing to key figures inside and outside Parliament, all made for an influence which seems to have been considerable, even though impossible to quantify in practical terms.

Another figure who initially seemed to be even more interested in educational matters than Haldane but who appears to have had far less influence in the long-term, was Lord Rosebery. Immensely popular in the country, the retired Liberal chief was constantly under pressure from younger Liberals like Haldane and Asquith to resume the leadership. Occasionally Rosebery would make a magnificent speech to loud acclaim, which would encourage them in their hopes, only to retreat from public view. These "strange exits and entrances"<sup>12</sup> hampered any steady pressure which he might have exerted for educational change, although any mention of education in a speech by such a well-known personage, who in many ways attempted to combine "the prospects of a party-leader with a genial vogue resembling that of the Prince of Wales",<sup>13</sup> was practically certain to provoke discussion of the subject. Lord Rosebery became a familiar figure at the opening of technical colleges. His Epsom speech on technical education in 1896<sup>14</sup> had made a significant contribution to the popularisation of E. E. Williams' "Made in Germany" and education in general. His references to education in speeches made during the Boer War had a similar impact, but by then critics, fed now for years on the food of educational information, were becoming aware of just how vague these speeches were and how Lord Rosebery, while urging/



urging/ that a statesman should take the matter of education in hand, neatly shirked the notion of himself as being the most suitable for such a responsibility. Plagued by insomnia and self-doubts, he was kind and friendly to his erstwhile colleagues, but frankly bewildered by their pleas that he resume office.<sup>15</sup>

Although an excellent public speaker, Rosebery never possessed Haldane's infinite capacity for taking pains or for facing the consequences of his own actions. It might even be argued that his interest in education was only a superficial response to a swing in public interest, dealing more with a temporary mood than with information and schemes. Rosebery's jocular letter to Haldane in which the unfortunate Haldane is rebuked for mentioning that Rosebery was about to make a speech on education and hence opening the gates to a flood of pamphlets on the subject,<sup>16</sup> is revealing in this respect. Haldane might influence Rosebery towards the incorporation of a few significant ideas in his speeches but little more. R. P. Scott attempted to influence Rosebery, whom he assumed from public speeches to be a great exponent of education, by a book gift and a long covering letter.<sup>17</sup> Rosebery was, as always, completely gracious. He agreed with most of what R. P. Scott said; he emphasised that Britain could never hold her own in international competition, could not retain her Empire, if the best education which she could give consisted of a training in dead languages which was a preparation for nothing and which was forgotten immediately the recipients left school.<sup>18</sup> In fact his letter was little more than a well-written rehash of ideas current at the time which were critical of the public school system.

If Rosebery's ideas on education were for the most part rather clichéd and suitable for use only on public platforms, Sidney Webb's were the type from which concrete schemes arise. A great friend of Haldane's, with whom he was in close collaboration over London University matters, a leading member of the executive of the Fabian Society, and for most of the life of the London Technical Education Board either its chairman or vice-chairman, Webb saw education as a great feature in his plans for the betterment of society through its organization along scientific lines.

He and his wife Beatrice, those "two active, self-centred people, excessively devoted to the public service"<sup>19</sup> were probably thinking in terms of national efficiency in education well before the term acquired such wide currency during and immediately after the Boer War period. Unlike most of their Socialist colleagues, the Webbs saw the Empire as being an essential concomitant of national prosperity, and the links between education and the Empire were eventually spelt out by them in social-Darwinist terms: "It is in the class-rooms of these (i.e. elementary) schools that the future battles of the Empire for commercial prosperity are already being lost."<sup>20</sup>

Webb's influence over the Technical Education Board in London was considerable. His attendance record was almost unparalleled; he was on nearly every sub-committee; he was acknowledged within the Board as the great expert in educational matters. Much of the work done by the Board and the procedures adopted by it bear the Webb stamp: the way in which preliminary investigations were made before any steps taken, the way in which grants to various institutions like local secondary schools were used as a lever to secure greater efficiency and provisions for a specific type of curriculum, the encouragement of junior and senior county scholarships along the rather elitist lines of Huxley's "capacity-catching net" to make it possible for the brightest scholars to climb upwards, the gradual co-ordination of provisions for technical education, and the setting-up of educational institutions where a specific need was shown for them. (The domestic training colleges, the London Day Teacher Training College and the Normal School of Science all met a public demand in areas where provision was noticeably lacking.)<sup>21</sup> It can be argued that it was the achievements of the Technical Education Boards and that of the London Technical Education Board in particular which finally decided the Government in favour of using the county councils as the local education authorities in 1902. The very fact that the county councils, unlike the School Boards, covered the whole country, made them obvious contenders for the role of Local Education Authority under the new act.<sup>22</sup>



The Webbs as individuals certainly exerted themselves to influence established and upcoming political figures by their permeation tactics. Beatrice, in the second volume of her autobiography,<sup>23</sup> goes into great detail about the Machiavellian methods adopted. But few people seem to have been in any doubt as to what was going on, and this may have lessened the influence of such tactics. W. A. S. Hewins was well warned by his friends before he took up the post of Director to the London School of Economics about the dangers of working with the Webbs, dangers which he found to be greatly exaggerated.<sup>24</sup> Lord Rosebery, much to Beatrice's rather virulent chagrin, was apparently oblivious to the Webb magic.<sup>25</sup> Morant's letters to Sidney, while praising the older man's educational work and suggesting possible avenues of influence, do not betray any tendency to fall under such influence.<sup>26</sup> Only Haldane worked systematically with the Webbs for several years and his ideas on education were probably set on lines close to theirs well before this period. Even Beatrice does not suggest that Haldane was influenced by the Webbs.

What bound us together as associates was our common faith in a deliberately organised society: our common belief in the application of science to human relations with a view to betterment.<sup>27</sup>

In the period before the 1902 Education Bill, the Webbs were evidently in great demand as suppliers of ideas and schemes on education. Sidney's pamphlet on "The Education Muddle and the Way Out"<sup>28</sup> had a wide distribution among politicians, but the Government scheme was only in selective areas akin to Webb's. W. A. S. Hewins was asked to help Balfour in the preparation of some of his speeches on education at the time,<sup>29</sup> but, in the final analysis, curricula were influenced not so much by legislation as by administrative processes. As long as the tide of public opinion was running in their favour the Webbs were used by politicians and educationalists as much as they could influence them. When public opinion flowed along different channels, their influence declined. Webb and Haldane, despite their efforts, were not altogether satisfied with the 1902 and 1903 Education Acts, although they were prepared to make the most of them. Webb himself, who had alienated his Progressive colleagues by his non-support of the/

the/ School Board system, found himself relegated to the sidelines in the new county council education committee. By 1909, Acland was writing somewhat sorrowfully that it was a great pity that the Webbs could not be involved more in education.<sup>30</sup>

It might be all too easy to over-emphasise the pressure exerted by the Webbs in the years 1895 to 1905. Although they enjoyed a kind of intimacy with Haldane, they had few other solid connections in the government or civil service. Although Beatrice boasts in her autobiography of connections with such civil servants as Kekewich and politicians as Gorst,<sup>31</sup> it is difficult to see how the latter could have avoided having dealings with the chairman of the London County Council Technical Education Board. In fact Sidney's influence on the framing of the 1896 bill was probably no more than any other educational expert, and Gorst, in any case, was a rather isolated figure in the Government, lacking even a seat in the Cabinet.

Nevertheless in one important aspect the Webbs achieved a success which was peculiarly their own - the foundation in 1895 of the London School of Economics, "this new laboratory of sociological research"<sup>32</sup> as Beatrice was to call it. The use of money left in the will of the late Fabian, Henry Hutchinson, 'to further the aims of socialism', for the foundation of a school whose main aims were the furtherance of higher teaching and research in the fields of economics and political science was a difficult one to justify,<sup>33</sup> and really only became possible through the mediary of the rather equivocal legal advice of Haldane.<sup>34</sup> Certainly a glance at the syllabus shows series of lectures which probably owed much more to Webb-style ideas on national efficiency than to Socialist propaganda.<sup>35</sup> The School was not an uninterrupted success story from its inception. It teetered for many years on the verge of serious financial difficulties. The rumour of the withdrawal of the Technical Education Board Grant was enough to provoke a minor crisis.<sup>36</sup> Although the numbers of students increased gradually, and accommodation had to be increased to accommodate them, the status of the school did not apparently increase as much as Webb would have liked.<sup>37</sup> In fact it suffered from the lack of prestige/



prestige/ accorded to commercial education in general. Moreover the close association of the Webbs with the school, with its possible connotations of subversive influence for ulterior purposes, was always a potential danger and a handle for opponents of the project. In fact there was a serious challenge along such lines in late 1902 and early 1903 which caused considerable anxiety before it was thwarted.<sup>38</sup>

The educational pressures even within the Education Department itself were equally difficult to analyse. The Duke of Devonshire, its nominal head, had been in politics for generations and his status as elder statesman, doyen of one of the great ruling families of England, and eccentric in the almost eighteenth century sense, made him a very popular figure. But his indolence was proverbial. Any suggestion that this was due to some illness from which he suffered is hardly doing justice to what was surely a trait deliberately cultivated in order to make life less troublesome. Exasperating his colleagues by insisting on having information on half a sheet of notepaper, invariably pictured in cartoons as being asleep, appearing at Cabinet meetings only when it seemed as if matters would proceed smoothly, peppering his public utterances with clichés which called forth the inevitable cheers, and perpetually disclaiming any knowledge on the subject upon which he was supposed to be talking,<sup>39</sup> Devonshire hardly gives the picture of an effective education minister. On the other hand, much of this was a pose. Devonshire was very much a man of principle: an absolute refusal to accept the principle of Irish home rule had led, after a good deal of soul-searching, to the severance of long-standing ties with the Liberal party; a belief in free trade led to his resignation from the Conservative government in 1903. Devonshire was seen by his contemporaries above all as incorruptible, and his belief in education was a genuine one. His speeches on educational matters were frequent occurrences even before he took up office as education minister. He defended the interests of education in the Lords with lethargic thoroughness over the years. Even although his knowledge of the details of his department was scanty to say the least,<sup>40</sup> he could often see the essentials of a problem. In the early part of the/

the/ period under discussion, Devonshire was probably important as a figurehead, a means of arousing interest in education in general and making an interest in education something respectable. But when greater interest began to be shown in educational administration during and after the Boer War, the writing appeared on the wall for Devonshire. He was able in 1899, during the debates on the Board of Education Bill, to state quite candidly that he could not remember the reasons why the title of board rather than council had been adopted<sup>41</sup> and get away with it. By 1901 his role was being widely scrutinised.<sup>42</sup> It was becoming increasingly obvious that Devonshire would not fit well into an atmosphere of administrative efficiency.

The figure of Gorst, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, was even more problematic. He was in many respects a troublemaker,<sup>43</sup> intriguing within the Education Department against Devonshire, against Sadler and Kekewich, after the Board of Education Act playing the Science and Art Department off against the Education Office, intriguing against his own front-bench colleagues whom he felt had slighted him by not including him in the cabinet, unable to resist the temptation of unleashing his biting wit in Parliament and then, when the inevitable backlash of offended interests followed, attempting to hide behind his own lack of authority. As public and parliamentary interest in education grew, it became increasingly obvious that Gorst was unsuited for a post which involved the conciliation and not the arousal of opposing interests. After one particularly flippant and offensive sally on his part, the Liberals even made an attempt to force his resignation.<sup>44</sup> Even by 1902 Gorst had apparently not mellowed. One threat which Arthur Balfour used to bring his cabinet colleagues round to his way of thinking about the Education Bill was that if they did not follow his line he might leave the Bill to be steered through Parliament by Gorst - obviously a recipe for disaster.<sup>45</sup> The very fact that Gorst stayed so long in an office for which he was, temperamentally at least, unsuited, highlights less Gorst's gifts than the Government inability to find a replacement for him and a lack of interest in what constituted one of the less prestigious offices of government.



Nevertheless Gorst was, despite his temperamental failings, intellectually and emotionally interested in the subject of education. He was aware, to a much greater extent than Devonshire, of the exact areas where reform was most needed. His speeches on the education votes are concise and knowledgeable resumes of the problems to be faced.<sup>46</sup> But opinion grew restless as the speeches remained much the same in format over the years and there was little word of detailed schemes of reform emerging.<sup>47</sup> This lack of a comprehensive education policy was probably less Gorst's fault than a result of his deference to governmental and administrative feelings on the subject. Certainly, when out of office and unfettered, Gorst wrote, spoke and pressurised widely on the subject of education as a wide-ranging social provision,<sup>48</sup> and fought with no holds barred on behalf of school feeding. Gorst was in fact probably less expressing his own views than trying to make capital out of state inaction when he emphasised, in many of his speeches, that normal administrative procedures would prove too slow and that local and voluntary effort must lead the way in educational reform.<sup>49</sup>

It seems unlikely, considering the nature of the educational administrative machinery<sup>50</sup> and the nature of the two personalities at its head, that effective pressure for reform would come from that direction. Although both Devonshire and Gorst were interested in education (Devonshire probably as much as it was possible for him to be interested in anything), Devonshire was a lethargic, and Gorst an isolated, figure in the government. Kekewich, although a teachers' champion, had served his apprenticeship under the old system and was hardly likely to suggest sweeping changes without the initiative coming from his superiors. The initial impetus would need to come from elsewhere.

The most obvious candidates were the various educational pressure groups: teachers, local authorities for education (particularly in the London area), businessmen, scientists, agriculturists, churchmen, and certain political figures. The chief among these were the various teachers' associations which can be roughly categorised according to the institutions where the/

the/ teachers taught, the subject they taught, and their place in the hierarchy within a school.<sup>51</sup> Nearly all were involved to a greater or lesser extent in the bringing of educational pressure to bear on the government and the public, even if it be only through the medium of speeches on the national importance of education at their annual conferences, conferences which, particularly in the period after 1899, began to be widely reported in the Times. They were able, to an unprecedented extent, to take advantage of the tide of public opinion flowing in their favour. Two were in the forefront: the N.U.T. and the Incorporated Association of Headmasters.

The National Union of (Elementary) Teachers was in an extremely good position to put forward its ideas about teachers' conditions and education in general. Not only did it have its own weekly newspaper The Schoolmaster which, under the able editorship of T. J. Macnamara, specialised in pictorial articles on various aspects of the education problem,<sup>52</sup> but two of the members of its executive, Yoxall and Ernest Gray, sat in parliament, one on either side of the house. Yoxall in particular saw his role in parliament as a very wide one, boasting of representing not only his constituency and the N.U.T. teachers, but also several million schoolchildren.<sup>53</sup> He and Gray asked numerous parliamentary questions about particular aspects of education, from the special pensions given to particular teachers, to the conditions of army schoolmasters. They argued about education in a broader sense in the education debates, Yoxall in particular stressing the links between continental education and success in industry and commerce.<sup>54</sup> It is perhaps rather a subtle argument but a logical one that if education were to acquire a national role then teachers would need to be dealt with in a manner befitting their enhanced status.<sup>55</sup> Yoxall and Gray were joined in Parliament in 1902 by Macnamara. Yoxall and Macnamara together had formed the "Indefatigables" in the N.U.T. who had done much to increase the union's membership. Macnamara's attitude to education was very much an 'efficiency' one. He objected to the voluntary school system on grounds that it was ridiculous in a modern age to finance education by means of ping/



ping/ pong tournaments and jumble sales.<sup>56</sup> He insisted that school feeding would not only benefit the children themselves but also the Empire.<sup>57</sup> Above all, he was a firm exponent of the idea of education as part of national defence. He wrote in the Fortnightly Review along lines very reminiscent of Sadler's, pleading for improvements in primary education.

To strengthen the Army and Navy and leave the schools weak is to perpetuate a gaping joint in our armour of National Defence. And no man realises the "higher patriotism" which constitutes Lord Rosebery's "true imperialism" who fails to recognise this fact.<sup>58</sup>

The Incorporated Association of Head Masters (i.e. headmasters in private, secondary schools) under the chairmanship of the ubiquitous R. P. Scott, headmaster of Parmiters School, also attempted to construct a pressure group within its ranks. In November 1898 a committee was set up whose aim was to be

To consider ways and means of conducting, through the Press and otherwise, a movement for the purpose of placing before the country the claims of Secondary Education to national aid and recognition, and to take steps accordingly; the expenses incurred by the Committee to be defrayed out of a special Press fund, and not out of the general funds of the Association.<sup>59</sup>

In other words, the committee was to place the claims of secondary education before the public and by this means to secure fair treatment from a legislative angle. To this end the committee published various pamphlets and in 1899 a book called 'What is Secondary Education?'<sup>60</sup> consisting of essays by educational experts on various aspects of the secondary education problem, the then all important questions of co-ordination and the proper place of science, commercial subjects, and imperial teaching in the secondary school curriculum. The Times was not overly impressed by the book, considering it to be rather complicated and esoteric.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, despite the committee's stated aims, it was hardly a book for general consumption, but R. P. Scott ensured that it was distributed to influential figures. R. P. Scott himself entered into correspondence with important figures in public life. He appears in the Rosebery and Webb correspondence/

correspondence/ in the latter again speaking of the means by which parliamentary opinion could be pressurised and of doing Webb's bidding in the matter.<sup>62</sup>

The Incorporated Association even went so far as to organise a joint conference with the headmasters of higher grade schools and to work out with them in memorandum form a scheme setting out the function, co-ordination of, and demarcation lines between, higher grade schools and secondary schools. The Joint Memorandum was so widely publicised that it was eventually published as a parliamentary paper.<sup>63</sup>

Although the N.U.T. and the Incorporated Association of Head Masters were the most prominent of the teachers' groups to utilise the arguments of national and imperial welfare to justify their educational lines, the same note might emerge in what would apparently seem the most unlikely places. The defender of the interests of the private schools, the College of Preceptors, while urging that the government do nothing to undercut their interests, stressed with an altruism that was hardly convincing, that only by a flowering of the private schools could the nation keep its educational economy and efficiency.<sup>64</sup>

The local authorities for education were also very active in the realm of providing, or pressurising for, a type of education better fitted to enable Great Britain to meet foreign competition on equal terms. Despite periodic alarms about its expenditure, the London School Board had for some time been expanding its provision of higher grade schools,<sup>65</sup> and in 1898 had set up its first evening commercial schools which were to become increasingly popular. The London County Council Technical Education Board was able, by deft manipulation of its monetary resources and the opportune proffering of monetary incentive, to wield a great deal of influence. It produced its own scheme for the constitution of a teaching University of London, hinting that it could not give financial support unless reform were along similar lines.<sup>66</sup> It was, shortly before its demise, prominent in the schemes for an Imperial Charlottenburg. If its/



its/ squabbles with the School Board, particularly over such matters as who was to become responsible for the administration of Science and Art instruction in the city,<sup>67</sup> tended to be counter-productive, at least they opened up a new educational aspect to the public view.

It is interesting, however, that much of the educational pressure came from groups which were, properly speaking, outside the true province of education. The world of business was prominent in this respect. The Chambers of Commerce had been extremely worried about the Board of Trade and consular revelations concerning foreign competition and their activities now began to point up the growing urgency of the demands for a more modern type of education. In the years between about 1896 (after the impact of the "Made in Germany" scare) and 1902 (just before Joseph Chamberlain's tariff reform crusade ousted all other considerations) nearly all their conferences and important meetings contain references to the need for more commercial education and a better secondary education with more emphasis on modern languages. The London Chamber of Commerce was particularly active. Its own system of commercial certificates was now flourishing.<sup>68</sup> Its former chairman Rollit, as M.P. for Islington (South) was stressing the need for commercial education in secondary schools in Parliament.<sup>69</sup> But the Chambers were aware that this in itself was not enough. At a meeting of the influential Association of Chambers of Commerce at Middlesbrough in September 1897, the resolution was passed

That in the opinion of this Association, it is desirable that young persons intended for commercial careers should, besides passing through the ordinary curriculum of a Secondary School, be specially instructed in subjects appertaining to commerce; and that in order to encourage the provision of such instruction, and with a view to securing that the facilities for commercial education in the United Kingdom shall not be inferior to those of any Continental country it is urgently necessary that government aid should be extended to the teaching of commercial subjects, as it now is to the teaching of Science and Art.<sup>70</sup>

The idea of a special grant for commercial subjects was put forward in parliament, but it was becoming increasingly obvious that the idea of systematic doles to particular subjects was/

was/ becoming an outmoded concept, and little headway was made. The London Chamber of Commerce formulated a new commercial education scheme in 1898,<sup>71</sup> but although the commercial education furore of the late 1890's had its converts in the N.U.T.,<sup>72</sup> the London School Board and various local technical education boards, it made little impact on the almost Kafkaesque imperviousness of the Education Department.

The City and Guilds Institute made far less impact in the educational field in the period. Set up in 1878 on the initiative of the City Companies, it administered, under the aegis of Sir Philip Magnus, numerous trade classes, an extensive system of technical examinations and the Finsbury Institute. Although Magnus, as an acknowledged educational expert of long standing, was able to arouse some kind of interest in the benefits of manual training,<sup>73</sup> the Institute, in an age when commercial, secondary and higher scientific education were the great warcries, was not really prominent as a pressure group. Much the same is true of individual manufacturers and businessmen. The influence of figures like Samuelson and Swire Smith, who had been prominent in the 1880's demand for technical education, had faded. In fact, seen in the individual, businessmen were often very hard to convince that education, and particularly education in its higher grades, might be of benefit to them. Haldane tells of a highly skilled research chemist unable to find a post outside London,<sup>74</sup> Lady Darwin of a manufacturer refusing to speak at a technical school because he simply did not believe it could offer any advantages to its students.<sup>75</sup>

Many groups recognised this basic problem, but perhaps none more completely than the group of distinguished scientists who advocated reforms in science teaching. H. E. Armstrong argued continually that what was needed was not more provisions for higher scientific research but more demand for its practitioners, what was needed was not more science teaching at the lower grades but more effective science teaching.<sup>76</sup> A British Association sub-committee on the teaching of science in elementary schools reached much the same conclusions.<sup>77</sup> Professor Withers insisted/



insisted/ that science was not equivalent to natural science alone but consisted of the whole body of scientific knowledge.<sup>78</sup> But the demands for original research and a scientific method of teaching were unfortunately often distorted by public misconceptions into a demand for science in general - a demand which could lay itself open to savage repudiation. Fabian Ware saw science as an encroachment on other subjects of the curriculum. He argued that "In our modern secondary schools science has been allowed to oust other subjects, on the plea that they will not be 'useful' in industrial occupations."<sup>79</sup> Some years earlier, a writer in the Fortnightly Review had inveighed against the "positive furore for scientific training", insisting that "It is magnificent, this rage for science, but it is not education."<sup>80</sup> Businessmen complained that elementary science was completely useless to most students in later life.<sup>81</sup>

Nevertheless, the full-scale reaction against over-emphasis on science was not to come until some time later. Meanwhile, the emphasis on the links between science and industry continued. As Llewellyn Smith pointed out, there were three sections of science teaching : at its most basic the object lessons and nature study of the elementary school, at its most advanced the higher teaching and research of the University College, with a very disordered realm in the middle.<sup>82</sup> It was quite logical that public opinion on science should polarise. Most attention was focussed by people like Haldane and Lockyer on the higher grades of science, probably because it was here that German provisions were so obviously superior to England's. The ideas for a National Physical Laboratory and later an Imperial Charlottenburg were only two of the many schemes put forward. But there was also an upsurge of interest in Nature Study around the year 1902 with an exhibition and conferences being held, schemes being drawn up and the importance of the subject for the public welfare being stressed.<sup>83</sup>

If the attitude of the scientific group to education was problematic, so equally was that of the agriculturalists. The Agricultural Education in Elementary Schools Bill of 1895 had met/

met/ with little support in Parliament.<sup>84</sup> Even Hobhouse admitted that progress in agricultural education had been delayed by "the lukewarm and incredulous attitude adopted by some agricultural societies and many farmers in England towards any scientific instruction bearing on agriculture."<sup>85</sup> But by 1899 opinion about agricultural education had been roused sufficiently to support the setting up of an Agricultural Education Committee.<sup>6</sup> The committee had as its honorary secretary the M.P. and expert on local government administration, Hobhouse, and Sir William Hart Dyke as its chairman. By a programme of tactics which consisted of numerous deputations to the Board of Education and various meetings and conferences, it sought to further its aims of a syllabus in rural schools geared to the requirements of the locality, improved general standards of rural education, more provisions for teachers in rural districts at the training colleges, and better facilities for agricultural research.<sup>37</sup> Agriculture was becoming increasingly seen in the light of being Britain's largest industry. The Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression in 1897 had shown that something needed to be done to prevent a further agricultural slump and exodus from the countryside,<sup>38</sup> and agricultural education was a possible solution to the problem. E. E. Williams' book "The Foreigner in the Farmyard"<sup>89</sup> did not make the same impact as his earlier "Made in Germany", but it illustrated vividly, if in a somewhat exaggerated way, the dangers of foreign competition in agriculture, dangers which must somehow be met. Even Lady Warwick made her contribution to rural education by setting up her own college for agricultural education. She herself had acquired a great interest in the more general field of technical education and "As a distinguished heuristic scientist (presumably Armstrong) remarked 'when ladies in hats like that begin to talk about Technical Education its future is assured.'"<sup>90</sup>

The role of the various church groups in education was an equivocal one. Although both Church of England and Nonconformist spokesmen argued that they merely sought an educational system which had the interests of the children and the nation at heart,/



heart,/ their ulterior motives were suspect. The Church of England representatives must, subconsciously or otherwise, have longed for the propagation of their own religious creed in as many schools as possible, the Nonconformists for the gradual elimination of all Church of England schools. The arguments were becoming particularly virulent in the late 1890's, with the rise of ritualism in the Church of England and Nonconformist concern about such things as the teaching of the catechism in voluntary schools which Nonconformist children had to attend when there was no other in their area. Lloyd George adopted rather an interesting line of argument in this respect in a debate on the teaching of the catechism.

The country is pretty sick of this sort of doctrine, and the scandal of it is that it is getting worse and worse year by year. The educational efficiency of the country is being lowered at a moment when our commercial supremacy has been undermined and imperilled by nations who are better educated than we are, and educated in a way which does not outrage the consciences of the majority of the population. Whilst priests are wrangling as to who shall be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven, the children are suffering.<sup>91</sup>

In one paragraph he manages to unite views about the encroaching Papist nature of Church of England education, education in England as being inferior to that abroad, and education as constituting a commercial weapon, with a humanitarian concern for the welfare of children - quite an achievement!

Unfortunately, although the church groups might mouth the now rather cliched phrases about efficiency in education, their attitude to all but the most superficial of educational reform would be an obstructive one. The Church of England was hardly likely to condone any measure which would imperil the status or position of the voluntary schools; the Nonconformists would not stand by quietly if they saw the School Boards, which they looked upon as their particular domain, in danger. Even without due cause, the religious difficulty could be imported into the most innocent of educational measures,<sup>92</sup> and it would be a brave or reckless politician who would rouse the Furies by attempting to carry through fundamental changes in the educational system. The former Conservative minister for education, Hart Dyke, was particularly aware of this problem./

problem./

I do not think that he (i.e. Harcourt, who had been critical of the government's attitude to education) nor any other man, whatever his political power may be in this country, would attempt to disturb the educational compromise. That is the difficulty that is checking us on every side.<sup>93</sup>

In parliament and politics in general there was no specific educational group or interest. Various individuals concerned with particular aspects of the educational problem put forward their case: Yoxall and Gray on elementary education and teachers' conditions, Rollit on commercial education and foreign languages, Samuel Smith on evening continuation schools, Hobhouse on rural education, Haldane on higher scientific and university education, Lloyd George on religious education. Occasionally large sections of the House were sufficiently moved on an educational issue to put pressure on the government. In 1898 the pressure for secondary education legislation built up in Parliament, as did concern about commercial education, and numerous complaints were made about the lack of government policy and initiative. Yoxall even made the suggestion of the appointment of a committee to consider commercial education in schools.<sup>94</sup> But educational pressure could quite easily be diverted should some crisis arise in another field. There was no systematic and permanent pressure group to look after the interests of education in general. The group of young Liberals led by Haldane, Asquith and Grey who looked to Rosebery as their spiritual leader and who were to form the nucleus of the Liberal Imperialist group were concerned with the issues of education and social welfare,<sup>95</sup> but education thus constituted only one of the interests of a minor group which often alienated itself from the majority of the Liberal party. Moreover, education was an essentially supra-party issue (hence perhaps its appeal for Haldane) but traditional Liberal party allegiances were with the Nonconformists and Conservative allegiances with the Church of England. Hence it would prove exceedingly difficult for either party to come to grips with the problem as a whole.



To complicate matters still further, even during the years when it must have seemed that almost everyone was convinced of the value of education, there were vociferous individuals and groups who were wary of educational expense and change, and willing to defend the existing system against attack. The agricultural interest inside and outside Parliament squirmed under the threat of more money being extracted from them for the purposes of education, and were sharply chastised by Yoxall.<sup>96</sup> Lowther, who had some years earlier suggested the return of the technical education money to the Treasury, had now to water down his expressions slightly but spoke along the same lines of a denunciation of educational extravagance and faddism. He was particularly scathing about the Committee of Council on Education.

That mysterious body appears to have an enormous gullet wherein to bestow the taxation of the people; and any attempt to reduce our educational expenditure is denounced from all parts of the House.<sup>97</sup>

The Upper Chamber was well represented by educational reactionaries. The Earl of Meath, later to become the champion of cadet corps and the Empire Day Movement, and at this time trying to encourage the flying of the flag in front of Board schools,<sup>98</sup> adopted a very reactionary line in an article in the Nineteenth Century, insisting that much of the money spent on education was completely wasted.<sup>99</sup> Lord Norton made a habit of making rather rambling speeches against the various secondary education bills<sup>100</sup> brought into the Lords by Devonshire, and hoped that the principle of free secondary education would not be introduced, as this would undermine the morale of the middle classes as well as inflict unnecessary expense on the country. Norton was impatient of hearing about the superior education on the Continent and often betrayed hints of the idea that education would disturb social ranking in arguments that were frankly chauvinist.

I believe there is no argument so persuasive in either House as "see how much better foreign countries are doing than we are." It is an argument by which I am never attracted. I say that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and I would much prefer an English lad turned out on our system, bad as it is, than a German or a French lad ... The object of the Report (i.e. on the Pupil Teacher System) is to turn labourers into clerks, as if the main purpose for which we were sent into the world were to get into a higher social position.<sup>101</sup>

The idea of 'My education, good or bad', almost a variant of 'My country, right or wrong', which Norton emphasised in his speeches and letters to the press, must have been an attractive if illogical one - after all it involved doing precisely nothing but defend the old system.

Those urging the merits of the contemporary English educational system must have been given a boost by the publication of a French book "A quoi tient la Superiorite des Anglo-Saxons" ("Anglo-Saxon superiority: to what is it due")<sup>102</sup> which was referred to in the Lords by Norton<sup>103</sup> and which argued that what gave the British their superior force of character was their school system and in particular the public schools, which turned out a race of rulers. The supporters of the public school system and classical studies were in any case making determined efforts to defend their position against the demands for a more modern curriculum. It was not so difficult a thing for them to do at this time as at a later date when the Boer War had shattered the rationale of their existence. The Times could argue in a leader on the study of Greek, which was then under attack, that

Hellenic studies in general have entered upon a period of great activity and freshness ... There has, of course, never been any question of the value of Greek studies as an instrument of liberal education.

The defenders of the old system were assisted in their efforts by what was perhaps a natural disinclination to push new subjects into the curriculum at the expense of tried old ones, even had the necessary teachers and equipment been available, by a disinclination to exalt subjects which had always been considered as second-rate over the elevated classics. The idea of commercial instruction as something only for clerks, of science as "stinks", lingered on. Even the most impecunious of secondary schools would be chary of relinquishing its one potential link with the public schools and Oxbridge - the teaching of classics - to adopt a modern curriculum. This educational snobbery and fear of change were significant and extended even outwith the school sector. When a suggestion was made in the House of Commons that it might be a good thing for naval officers to learn a foreign/



foreign/ language, since the lack of knowledge of French and Russian in a service whose chief seaborne enemy might be France or Russia was scandalous, one admiral dismissed it contemptuously.

The first duty of the naval officers is to learn their profession, and the second to qualify themselves in languages if they can be spared to go abroad. But they are much better employed in following their own profession than skittling in the boarding houses of Paris learning French.<sup>105</sup>

If all else failed, the advocates of the old education could argue that the moral and character training of the old system was infinitely better. Correspondence along these lines flourished in the Times in late 1897 after a rather impressive speech on this subject by Professor Mahaffy of Dublin University.<sup>106</sup> Such arguments on the respective moral merits of the old and the new education were nearly always weighted in favour of the former. After all the old system had existed for numerous years during which it would inevitably have had many successes, while the modern type of education had never really been given a chance to prove its worth. Even a progressive like R. P. Scott, who was very much in favour of a better organisation of secondary education, was wary of the idea of destroying old traditions to make way for a more practical type of education. "The shallow commercialism of the hour," he warned "with its passion for immediate gain, is imperilling many of the best traditions of English higher education."<sup>107</sup>

Nevertheless, educational reaction was, at this time, not as serious a factor as it was earlier, or was to prove later. For the most part it consisted of a desire to let things be, rather than a campaign on behalf of old ways and values. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the main areas where educational reform was advocated were mostly very vaguely sketched out, and educational pressures made very little headway before the Boer War. Reforms were mainly piecemeal, constituting more a pointer to changes to come than fundamental changes in themselves.

The main fields of educational interest at this time were relatively straightforward. Above all there was a concern about the need for better organisation and co-ordination of the educational system - a concern which culminated in the Board of Education Act.<sup>108</sup> It is obvious from a memo written by Devonshire for the Cabinet in 1898<sup>109</sup> that the idea of foreign industrial and commercial competition was a strong influence behind the decision to create a central authority for education, to which the duties and powers of the various departments concerned with education might be transferred by Orders in Council. The debates in Parliament show a similar concern, although few M.P.'s seem to have been aware of exactly how much of a tentative and outline measure the Bill was.<sup>110</sup> In fact, a committee on the reorganisation of the Science and Art and Education Departments was still sitting well after the passage of the Bill,<sup>111</sup> and the initial plan of having three sections for elementary, secondary and technical education was shelved in favour of a bi-partite division, much to the annoyance of the secondary schools.<sup>112</sup> Perhaps the most important aspect of the Act was not so much what it actually provided as what it could in the future provide. Its provisions for the inspection of secondary schools were permissive, but might they not eventually be made mandatory? Its provisions could possibly be widely extended in the future, although, as Gosden has pointed out, the Act made few far-reaching changes in the administrative structure of the Science and Art and Education Departments.<sup>113</sup> Kekewich, as head of the new dual department, had to ply his way between Whitehall and South Kensington, and Gorst's opportunities for intrigue were greatly increased,<sup>114</sup> but it was not really until the advent of Morant that the openings offered by the act were fully utilised. Gorst was still called the Vice-President in Parliament and the annual reports showed little change in format. Even the debates in Parliament during the passage of the Bill showed that few M.P.'s had a clear idea of what its provisions were.<sup>115</sup>

A second area of interest was that of the school curriculum. Pressures were mounting here for a greater flexibility of approach to new subjects and in particular to subjects which/



which/ seemed to have a practical bearing on national prosperity - subjects like science, commerce, foreign languages, and agricultural instruction. Moves had been afoot for some years in the Committee of Council on Education to break away from the rigid system of the 3 R's in favour of a wider choice of optional subjects, and to foster a better dialogue between inspectors and local managers. This process was speeded up in the years before the end of the Boer War. Commercial subjects were incorporated in the evening continuation school curriculum,<sup>116</sup> circulars were distributed on "Varied and suitable occupations",<sup>117</sup> new suggestions made as to manual instruction<sup>118</sup> and the teaching in rural schools.<sup>119</sup> The system of the block grant inaugurated in 1900<sup>120</sup> (a logical follow-up to the Code of 1890), by which grants were paid for the performance of the whole school instead of for performance in specific subjects, made flexibility of curricula a more practical concept. Unfortunately, most of the exponents of curriculum change were thinking in terms of secondary if not higher education, and the secondary schools were not amenable to the same type of direct pressure. An article in the British Journal of Educational Studies shows how science teaching was not really widespread in the secondary school curriculum at this time.<sup>121</sup> Much the same was true of commercial subjects, since the influence of the Chambers of Commerce was very limited outside their own exam system. In any case, few secondary schools had any links with trade or industry, and most were blissfully remote from such concerns. Most emphasised the classics, not merely because classics were seen objectively as a good foundation of a liberal education, but because parents demanded a subject which would open the gates to the highest posts and highest intellectual and social status for their offspring. To settle for a modern commercial or scientific education would be, in a sense, settling for the second-rate. The County Council Technical Education Boards had done good work in encouraging the growth of local classes in technical subjects and more modern subjects in specific secondary schools which accepted their grant. But, apart from a few exceptions, particularly in London, the most famous secondary schools would not need to compromise themselves by acceptance of a Technical Education Board grant.



A third emphasis was on the teacher, not only in the N.U.T. sense of his pay and conditions of service, but also in the sense of the training, supply and registration of teachers. The N.U.T. had emphasised the importance of the teacher, stressing that he must be better provided for if the efficiency of education, and hence national prosperity, were to be upheld. The concomitant argument was that if the teacher were such an important figure to the community then an adequate supply of well-trained recruits must be secured and some means found of excluding the inefficient from the profession. The pressures for these types of reforms came from nearly all directions and not just from the teaching profession itself. Lloyd George emphasised the need for more non-sectarian training colleges.<sup>122</sup> The Times, often so cautious in educational matters, was emphatic on this point.<sup>123</sup> Conservatives joined the refrain as well as Liberals. Plans for teachers' superannuation, so long shelved, were dusted off and brought out in the form of a Superannuation Act,<sup>124</sup> although the provision of forfeiture for misconduct even after retirement was a very Victorian one. The regulations governing the ratio of pupil teachers to certificated teachers were tightened up,<sup>125</sup> much to the chagrin of the voluntary schools,<sup>126</sup> and provisions for their training expanded.<sup>127</sup> Complaints about the article 68's (i.e. women over the age of 18 who, under article 68 in the Code, were permitted to teach if they could pass an elementary qualifying exam) were becoming more numerous. They were felt to be a costly economy and fewer were now being recruited.<sup>128</sup> Proposals for teachers' registration, which had perished so often, dragged down by the various secondary education bills, progressed a stage by the setting up of a Consultative Committee<sup>129</sup> by means of the Board of Education Act, a committee which was, among other things, designed to frame a register of teachers.

Unfortunately none of these provisions extended, nor could extend, to secondary schools, but the increased status of the teachers and extended conception of his role must have had its effect even there. Moreover, the highlighting of the various types of staffing difficulties in elementary schools must have illuminated similar problems in secondary schools.



A fourth area of concern was the rather indeterminate area of social welfare in education - an area which was to expand greatly after the Boer War but which at this stage still had unfortunate connotations of meddling with the freedom of the individual. The campaign against the half-time system of education<sup>130</sup> and excessive employment of school children was perhaps the best organised and most successful at this time. Although various other organisations put pressure on the government in favour of restricting the hours worked by school children,<sup>131</sup> it was the Committee on Wage-Earning Children which spearheaded the campaign, conducting its own inquiries into the subject and forcing an official government inquiry into the matter,<sup>132</sup> which precipitated the raising of the exemption age.<sup>133</sup> Despite the Committee's influence on public figures and its vigorous tactics, it is doubtful if it would have met with success had the climate of opinion not been favourable to change. In the debate in the House of Commons over the raising of the exemption age, the arguments most often heard were that Britain's industrial competitors did not need to make children work part-time to achieve success, that, on the contrary, they saw the value of keeping children at school for as long as possible.<sup>134</sup> The viewpoints that any changes would mean disaster for certain industries and would mean an end to what was really 'technical training' for children, were firmly quashed.<sup>135</sup>

This particular campaign was part of a more general concern voiced in the educational journals, the popular press and Parliament about poor school attendance and the early age at which children left school. In fact the school attendance figures were progressing reasonably well, and more children, particularly with the advent of the higher grade schools, were staying on for longer. It was just that figures were becoming more readily available and were alarming, particularly when compared with the situation on the Continent. Nevertheless, despite the clamour for reform in this area, very little was done, apart from the urging of inspectors to be more observant,<sup>136</sup> and the urging of local authorities to be more stringent in their enforcement of the attendance regulations.

The fifth, very scattered, sphere of interest was that which consisted of an emphasis on the furtherance of, or changes in, particular types of education. The greatest pressure was that for some type of reform of secondary education and was reflected by the debates in the House, particularly from 1898 onwards, and by the number of secondary education bills brought forward both by the government and by private individuals.<sup>138</sup> The main demand seems to have been for some means of co-ordinating secondary schools into a system, some means of guaranteeing their efficiency, without reducing them to cast-iron uniformity. The government position was clear on this matter. While eventually willing to set up a system by which secondary schools could ask to be inspected by inspectors of the Board of Education and receive a certificate of efficiency,<sup>139</sup> it could not envisage the setting up of a secondary system like the elementary system. As Devonshire rather pointedly put it:

I think I ought to make a reservation, and to state that it is not now, and never has been the intention of the Government to do anything in the nature of establishing secondary education throughout the country.<sup>140</sup>

The Times was clearer, if a little more exaggerated, on the difficulties surrounding any advocacy of secondary education reform.

It must be remembered that, although the country is at last awaking to the need of some better organisation of secondary education, and expressing dim and inarticulate desires for what it only half understands, there is not even yet among the mass of the people so keen an interest in education as would of itself be a motive force for reform. Parliament itself knows little, and sometimes cares less, about educational questions, and it is necessary in proposing an important measure for its acceptance to avoid, as far as possible, contentious side issues.<sup>141</sup>

As a result of the Board of Education Act, a secondary and technical section was set up, but a glance at the annual reports before 1902 shows very little that is "secondary" education under the heading secondary.<sup>142</sup>

The pressures for other types of education were never quite so general, nor were they quite so firmly linked with the ideas of efficiency in education and an emulation of Continental examples.



It is true that the advocates of the higher grade schools used the argument that this type of school was the best means of meeting foreign competition, to good effect. But the schools were now coming under attack as an illegal outgrowth of elementary education, and the insistence that their abolition would mean a blow to national prosperity was a main part of their defence.<sup>143</sup>

Samuel Smith, in urging the importance of the numerous evening continuation school bills with which he was connected,<sup>144</sup> dwelt increasingly on the aspect that some form of compulsory evening technical education for artisans was necessary if Britain were to hold her own industrially and commercially.<sup>145</sup> The idea was taken up by the Bishop of Hereford after the Boer War,<sup>146</sup> and even stressed from a domestic economy and physical training angle by the Report on Physical Deterioration.<sup>147</sup> But even then the compulsory element, which would have constituted the sine qua non of success, was looked at askance by the public. In many quarters the idea of continuation schools was seen as a rather unsatisfactory and small-scale solution to what was an extensive problem. Gorst was openly scathing in parliament of much of the evening class instruction undertaken by the school boards.<sup>148</sup> E. E. Williams wondered how students could learn really effectively after a full day's work.<sup>149</sup>

If the continuation school idea offered only a sop to the concept of efficiency in education along Continental lines, the pressure for better treatment of the voluntary schools was really far more concerned with sectarian interests than those of the nation. The arguments for subsidising the voluntary schools ran along lines that they had done good work in the past and that to replace them would entail enormous expenditure. Certainly, though, given the premise that the voluntary system could not be replaced, it was quite logical to help it reach a minimum of efficiency, even had old loyalties not come into the consideration of the Government. The attempt to help the voluntary schools in 1896 had perished with the failure of the Education Bill but was replaced by the Voluntary Schools Act,<sup>150</sup> which provided them with an aid grant and exemption from rates. A measure which/

which/ provided aid to necessitous School Boards<sup>151</sup> was seen by the Liberal Perks as " ... this small solatium - a sort of educational hush-money to the School Boards ..." and possibly an element of such thinking was involved, but, on the other hand, Gorst had for some time been stressing the contrast between the larger, more efficient school boards and the smaller school boards, particularly in rural districts.<sup>152</sup>

An aspect of education which provided similar controversy was that involving pressure for new universities, university colleges and faculties - a pressure which reached its peak after the Boer War with the presentation of royal charters to the newly constituted universities of Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds,<sup>153</sup> and the founding of a new faculty of commerce at Birmingham University.<sup>154</sup> The main figure in all this was probably Haldane. His letters to his mother reveal a relentless intriguing on behalf of university education in London and the provinces.<sup>155</sup> But before his death Lyon Playfair had been very much involved in the campaign for a teaching university for London, standing as sponsor to a government bill on the subject in May 1895 - a bill which died with the Liberal administration. Moreover, Joseph Chamberlain was a strong campaigner on behalf of the development of civic universities and Birmingham University in particular and castigated Haldane for lack of knowledge about how advanced the schemes were there.<sup>156</sup> All three were aware of the need for a newer type of technical university which would not attempt to compete with Oxford and Cambridge but which would achieve a status in its own right. All three had to face the view that "Nothing higher than University Colleges, of the type which already to some extent existed could be fashioned without detriment to the ideal of a University",<sup>157</sup> the argument that any other universities would merely be Lilliputian in comparison with the older, venerable institutions of Oxford and Cambridge.

A great deal of the criticism, even in parliament, was misinformed. When Haldane and his colleagues had finally urged upon the Conservative Government the necessity of introducing/



introducing/ another bill for abolishing the old examining agency which had hitherto constituted the University of London and amalgamating the various colleges scattered throughout the metropolis into a University proper, the bill, like most of its predecessors,<sup>158</sup> met with a rough reception. M.P.'s cavilled at the possible cost (Where was the money to be found for the buildings and equipment?) and at the loss of status. (Would the bill not turn what had been an imperial institution into a provincial college?)<sup>159</sup> It was probably Haldane's speech which turned the tide of opinion.<sup>160</sup> He argued that he was not so much advocating expenditure as co-ordination of existing resources, that the teaching would be undertaken by personages distinguished in their own field, that the matter was an urgent one, that, given time, the London University could become one of the greatest institutions in the world and a credit to the metropolis. The London University Bill was passed<sup>161</sup> and although the teaching university was slow to evolve, a commission was set up and the statutes sketched out, including provision for two new faculties of engineering and commerce.<sup>162</sup> But even before the granting of charters to provincial universities, attention had been focussed on them and the government grants to university colleges had been increased,<sup>163</sup> a portent of things to come.

A glance at the various pressure groups and personalities involved in the field of education at this time shows that most used the argument of education as an essential contributor to national prosperity. The idea of education as a factor in national defence was voiced, but was to become current after the Boer War. Most of the groups differed in their composition and tactics but even more so in their proposed solutions to the problems of education. Reform might be advocated in the sense of better organisation, changes in the curriculum, better conditions for teachers, more concern for the welfare of the child as the citizen of tomorrow, or even the furtherance of a particular type of education. But more basic divergences were becoming evident at this particular period and were to become more so as the twentieth century progressed. In education, ideas of economy/

economy/ were countered by those of expenditure, ideas of private enterprise and individualism by those of state intervention, ideas of a general, liberal education by those of specialization in subjects which would be of practical use.

Perhaps the most prominent characteristic of the educational scene at this time was its elitism and class consciousness which tended to work against the introduction of newer subjects into the more prestigious realms of education. T. H. Green was quoted as saying that

It is one of the inconveniences attaching to the present state of society in England that all questions of education are complicated by distinctions of class. It embarrasses all the schemes of school reformers ... 164

The outcry against the association of technical with secondary subjects in the proposed divisions of the Board of Education was symptomatic of the feeling that technical education was something only for the working classes. In fact, ideas of educational equality were completely alien to the Edwardians. While ideas of technical education met with wide acceptance in the sense of training the labouring classes for their station in life, and giving them a proper reverence for manual work, it was quite another matter to suggest that technical universities should be accorded as high a status as Oxford and Cambridge. Lord Cromer pointed out that foreign colonial servants might be superior in technical know-how, but the public schoolboy was superior in character.<sup>165</sup> Even Haldane saw only a relative equality as possible,<sup>166</sup> and Morant's educational prescription was mainly an elitist one.<sup>167</sup> In general terms, this attitude might well have been harmless and largely irrelevant, if the need of the country had been changes in lower-grade, elementary education. But increasingly it was change in secondary and university education which was seen as necessary, and in prestige terms the secondary schools tended to look to the great public schools, and the universities to Oxford and Cambridge, for their examples.

Nevertheless, even working within a framework of rigid conceptions about the role of various types of education, even/



even/ working against educational lethargy and reaction, the pressure groups made a considerable impact. They provided a means by which the educational information and statistics were distributed and popularised, while at the same time providing an impetus for the production of further information. They helped foster a greater awareness of the need for efficiency in education and of the links between education and national prosperity. They helped create a greater interest in, and knowledge of, education in general. M.P.'s who had fled like partridges at the start of a debate on the 1890 Education Code<sup>168</sup> were now present in greater numbers at education debates, although often, admittedly, only in order to score a sectarian point at their opponents' expense. Nevertheless, their educational faux-pas were becoming fewer as their knowledge of the subject increased.

The achievements of the pressure groups were not so great in practical terms. True, there was a great deal more educational legislation and attempted legislation over a wider field between 1896 and 1901 than there had been in earlier periods. But much of it was very piece-meal and tentative. The two largest measures, the University of London Act and the Board of Education Act, initially at least, were not quite so far-reaching as most people believed. The great problem of secondary education was, apart from the provision for voluntary inspection, largely left untouched. New subjects were making little headway in higher education. In fact the Government, although under considerable pressure, played a very limited role in education. It was much easier to skirt the subject, dealing only with the most obvious deficiencies, rather than to provoke sectarian controversy and inflame individualist sentiments by dealing thoroughly with an issue which would certainly not provide political returns.

The educational pressure groups and personalities, as will subsequently be shown, provided the germ of interests and ideas which were to grow under the influence of the Boer War. But it took the Boer War to make education an urgent national problem.

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4. e.g. University of London Act, 1898. 61 and 62 Vict. ch. 62.
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6. Haldane to mother, 30 October 1895. Haldane M.S. 5954. f. 127.
7. "One of the permanent officials told me last night of a saying of the Duke of Devonshire the other day 'This Govt (sic) does not seem to be able to do anything without Haldane.'" Haldane to mother, 19 January 1899. Haldane M.S. 5961. f. 17.
8. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 83. c. 1511. 28 May 1900.
9. Maxse saw Haldane's Germanophile role as a dangerous one. See L. J. Maxse. Germany on the Brain. London: The National Review Office, 1915. pp. 4, 7, 246-249.
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12. A. G. Gardiner. op. cit. p. 184.
13. Fortnightly Review. Vol. 66 (1899). p. 4.
14. The Times. 25 July 1896.
15. Even as late as 1904 Haldane wrote to Rosebery  
"I do feel the present situation in Liberal politics acutely. But I feel my own severance from it less, I think than I feel the withdrawal, along with the ideals for which I have cared most deeply, of your own personality. Liberalism in the hand into which it is passing away from yours is no longer the cause with which most of my life has been associated. And there comes in most heavily of all the sense that there is passing from the ship the/



the/ pilot who understands and for whom I care most deeply.  
Haldane M.S. 5906. f. 82. 23 March 1904.  
Rosebery in his reply was puzzled by all this, insisting  
"I don't in the least understand your allusions to me."  
Haldane M.S. 5906. f. 83. 23 March 1904.

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26. Passfield M.S.  
II. 4. b. f. 96 f-h, f. 213-214, f. 149-150.  
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27. Beatrice Webb. op. cit. p. 97.
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30. Acland to Beatrice Webb, 19 February 1909. Passfield M.S. II. 4. d. f. 60-61.
31. Beatrice Webb. op. cit. p. 133.
32. ibid. p. 89.
33. G. B. Shaw was wary of the possible loss of reputation involved in tampering with a trust. Passfield M.S. II. 4. a. f. 141. Shaw to Beatrice Webb, 1 July 1895. And there were difficulties within the Fabian Society.
34. Passfield M.S. X. 1. (i). f. 41-46. H. H. Hutchinson deceased. Case for the Opinion of Counsel.
35. Passfield M.S. X. 2. (i). f. 104-120. Brief Report of the Work of the School since 1895. 6 March 1899.
36. Hewins to Webb, 30 May 1898. Passfield M.S. X. 2. (i). f. 48. Hewins to Webb, 27 July 1898. Passfield M.S. X. 2. (i). f. 70-71.
37. "We undoubtedly lack status, as you say. But that plant can scarcely be forced, and on the whole we probably have as much as we ought to expect."  
Hewins to Webb, 30 May 1898. Passfield M.S. X. 2. (i). f. 51.
38. Passfield M.S. X. 2. (ii). Papers as to the attacks on the School in 1902-1903.  
The attacks on the Webb administration of the London School of Economics were initiated by Clara Collet in a circular letter. The great threat was that Technical Education Board funds might be withdrawn.
39. Birrell, at least, became exasperated by this endearing trait.  
"The Lord President always speaks when it is necessary for him to do so on educational matters in a manner which clearly shows how greatly disqualified he considers himself to be to speak upon such a subject."  
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Sir G. W. Kekewich. The Education Department and After. London: Constable, 1920. pp. 93-94.



41. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 70. c. 353. 24 April 1899.  
The Times commented on the Duke's "charming candour" the next day, 25 April 1899.
42. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 94. c. 463-466. 17 May 1901.  
Goddard motion for the reduction of the President's salary.
43. See Kekewich. op. cit. pp. 335-339 for a reprint of an article in "Truth" of 15 August 1901, "Chaos in the Education Department", which gives a critique of Gorst's manoeuvres.
44. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 70. c. 913-914. 28 April 1899.  
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ibid. c. 1062-1070. 1 May 1899. Debate on Gorst.
45. Sir Almeric Fitzroy. Memoirs. Vol. 1. London: Hutchinson, 1925. p. 69.
46. e.g. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 59. c. 587-605. 17 June 1898.
47. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 59. c. 605-606. 17 June 1898.
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49. Speech at London Technical Education Board prizegiving, November 1898. T.E.B. 65. London Technical Education Gazette. Vol. 4 (1898). pp. 234-235.
50. See Gillian Sutherland. Policy Making in Elementary Education. 1870-1895. London: Oxford University Press, 1973. particularly pp. 342-345. for details of the collective conservatism of the permanent officials and how new initiatives (at least in the period up to 1895) were most likely to come from politicians or local authorities.
51. Some examples of the three categories:  
(i) National Union of Teachers, Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions, College of Preceptors, Teachers' Guild.  
(ii) Association of Manual Training Teachers, Modern Language Association, Classical Association.  
(iii) Incorporated Association of Head Masters, Headmasters' Association.
52. The Schoolmaster. Vol. 47 (1895). pp. 255-264. Illustrated Supplement. "The Half-Timer."  
See also chapter II. p. 57.
53. Journal of Education. Vol. 18 (1896). p.72.
54. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 40. c. 658. 6 May 1896.

55. One M.P. at least was aware of the importance of the teachers' role. As Mr. W. Jones remarked "Let the teachers in both the elementary and secondary schools be men of culture, and they will train up the children to be capable citizens, upon whose intelligence and character will depend the future welfare of our Empire.  
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56. Fortnightly Review. Vol. 71 (1902). p. 834.  
The Times. 16 December 1905. Macnamara at Cardiff.
57. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 143. c. 872-873. 22 March 1905.
58. Fortnightly Review. Vol. 65 (1899). p. 930.
59. R. P. Scott (ed.) What is Secondary Education? London: Rivingtons, 1899. Introduction. p. v.
60. ibid.
61. "The average M.P., or his constituents will probably find the book too special and technical; but they will see what experts of the teaching profession think about educational problems which bewilder them."  
The Times. 5 October 1900.
62. R. P. Scott to Sidney Webb, 21 February 1903. Passfield M.S. II. 4. b. f. 180.
63. Joint Memorandum on the Relations of Primary and Secondary Schools to each other in a National System of Education. P.P. 1898 (381) LXX 533.
64. Educational Times. Vol. 51 (1898). pp. 129 ff. Resolutions of the College of Preceptors.
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J. Stuart Maclure. op. cit. p. 73.  
The Times. 10 February 1899 and ff.



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83. The Times. 24 July 1902.
84. Agricultural Education in Elementary Schools Bill (1895). Bill No. 15. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 34. c. 7-62. 22 May 1895. for the second reading debate on this bill.

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p. 443.
86. The Times. 13 October 1899.
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88. Report of the Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression.  
P.P. C. 7400. (1894). First Report.  
C. 7981. (1896). Second Report.  
C. 8540. (1897). Final Report.  
See also The Times. 5 August 1897 on the vagueness of the  
conclusions of the report.
89. The Times. 31 July 1897. Review.
90. Education: Secondary and Technical. Vol. 2 (1896-1897).  
p. 404.
91. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 56. c. 488. 19 April 1898.
92. During the debates on the Board of Education Bill in the  
Lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury managed to see a  
religious problem over the provisions for school  
inspection - a defect of understanding which was harshly  
commented on by Lord Kimberley.  
"It really almost drives me to despair that this question  
of inspection should forthwith raise a religious  
difficulty. It is possible, I believe, to import that  
most thorny matter into every possible subject connected  
with education. For my part, I wish people thought a  
little more of education and a little less of the religious  
difficulty."  
Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 70. c. 1094. 2 May 1899.
93. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 55. c. 611. 22 March 1898.
94. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 55. c. 1179. 31 March 1898.
95. See H. C. G. Matthew. The Liberal Imperialists. London:  
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of this group, and pp. 228-235 for their attitude to  
education.
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daughters of any country in Europe, and we have the least  
efficient and satisfactory system of elementary education  
for the labourers' sons and daughters, and every attempt  
that is made to improve the present condition is met  
with the opposition of the farmers, the farmers' friends,  
and the farmers' spokesmen in this house."  
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105. Admiral Field. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 69. c. 1221.
106. Reported in the Times of 2 October 1897. Professor Mahaffy was Professor of Ancient History at Dublin and gave his speech on education at Mason College, Birmingham.
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109. " ... In view of the increasing industrial and commercial competition with which we are threatened, the importance of the subject is beginning to be more and more widely recognised."  
P.R.O. Ed. 24/8. Memo by D. for Cabinet, 28 January 1898. p. 1.
110. Although Channing spoke of the bill as a skeleton without any flesh and blood upon it.  
Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 66. c. 122. 7 February 1899.
111. P.R.O. Ed. 24/62. (3 bundles) Committee on the Reorganisation of the Education and Science and Art Departments (Walpole Committee). 10 July 1899 - 16 March 1900. The committee produced 4 reports.
112. There were numerous criticisms of the eventual bipartite division, particularly from those who feared the/

- the/ subordination of secondary to technical education.  
viz.  
Jebb. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 74. c. 1005-1006.  
17 July 1899.  
Anson. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 75. c. 232-233.  
25 July 1899.
113. Peter Gosden. "The Board of Education Act, 1899." British Journal of Educational Studies. Vol. 11 (1962-1963).  
pp. 44-60.
114. Kekewich. op. cit. pp. 219-226.
115. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 81. c. 156-165. 23 March  
1900. (Lords)  
Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 82. c. 596-704. 3 May 1900.  
(Commons)
116. Annual Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1896-1897. P.P. C. 8545. (1897). Evening Continuation School Code, 1897. Article 2f and pp. 616-623 Detailed Schemes.  
Annual Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1898-1899. P.P. C. 9401. (1899). Evening Continuation School Code, 1899. Addition to Article 2(f) and pp. 775-777 Detailed Schemes.
117. Annual Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1896-1897. P.P. C. 8545. (1897). Revised Instructions, 1897. Circular 374. Varied and Suitable Occupations. pp. 567-569.  
Emphasis was placed on manual instruction for younger children.
118. Annual Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1897-1898. P.P. C. 8987. (1898). p. xx and Schedule M, Manual Instruction. p. 532.  
The grant for manual instruction in Article 101(1) of the Code was also new.
119. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1900-1901. Vol. III. P.P. Cd. 758. (1901). Specimen Courses of Object Lessons on Common Things connected with Rural Life and Industries for all classes in Rural Schools. pp. 185-208.
120. See Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 81. c. 156-165. 23 March 1900. (Lords) Vol. 82. c. 596-704. 3 May 1900. (Commons)
121. B. S. Cane. "Scientific and Technical Subjects in the Curriculum of English Secondary Schools at the Turn of the Century." British Journal of Educational Studies. Vol. 8 (1959-1960). pp. 52-64.
122. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 56. c. 479-488. 19 April 1898.



123. The Times. 8 December 1898, 16 June 1900, 14 October 1902.
124. Elementary School Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1898.  
61 and 62 Vict. ch. 57.
125. Annual Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1898-1899. P.P. C. 9401. (1899). The Day School Code, 1899. paras. 37, 40 and 42, and Schedule V, pp. 598-599. These changes came subsequent to the publication of the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System. P.P. C. 8761, C. 8762. (1898).
126. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 69. c. 1401-1420. 17 April 1899. Motion for the withholding of consent to certain articles in the Day School Code.
127. See Note 125 above.
128. After 1902, provisions were increasingly made for the training of the remaining article 68's. Provisional Code (1903) for Public Elementary Schools and Training Colleges. P.P. Cd. 1509. (1903). Article 68. "As a condition of recognition or continued recognition under this article, the Board may require such arrangements to be made for the training of the teacher as the circumstances of the case may render expedient."
129. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1899-1900. Vol. II P.P. Cd. 329. (1900). pp. 3-5. Draft of an Order in Council constituting a Consultative Committee of the Board of Education.
130. The half-time system was the system by which children who had reached a certain age (11) and who had passed a qualifying exam to show that they had attained a basic standard of education were exempted from school for half the day, during which time they could work for wages. At an International Congress on Education in Berlin in 1890, Gorst had promised the age of exemption would be raised, but the government refused to sanction this. The system was widely criticised as being harmful to the health and education of the half-timers and as producing an adverse moral effect on the other children with whom the half-timers came into contact. (See Willem van der Eyken. Education, the Child and Society. Penguin, 1973. pp. 164-172.) The system was not completely abolished until 1918.
131. See P.R.O. Ed. 10/12. Memorials, 1894-1899. for resolutions in favour of restricting the employment of school children particularly in late 1897 and early 1898.
132. This culminated in a House of Commons Return - Elementary Schools (Children Working for Wages). 1899. H.C. 205.
133. Elementary Education (School Attendance) Act (1893) Amendment Act, 1899. 62 and 63 Vict. ch. 13. para. 1. The age of exemption was raised from 11 to 12 although there were exceptions.

134. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 67. c. 920-997. 1 March 1899.  
for the debates on the bill.
135. "The truth is that the half-time system is the worst enemy  
of technical education that exists." Mr. Robson. Parl. Deb.  
4th Series. Vol. 67. c. 932. 1 March 1899.
136. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1899-1900. Vol. III.  
P.P. Cd. 330. (1900). p. 623. Revised Instructions,  
1900. New Instruction. "In any schools where you find  
the attendance is habitually bad you should report the  
facts to the Department, together with a statement of  
the reasons which appear to you to account for the low  
attendance."
137. ibid. p. 809. Circular 445, 21 May 1900, to Local  
Authorities. Revised Regulations of 23 April 1900 as to  
Certificates of Age, Proficiency, and School Attendance.
138. These included:  
\*Education Bill, 1896. Bill No. 172.  
Education (England and Wales) Bill, 1899. Bill No. 275.  
\*Education Bill, 1900. Bill No. 135.  
Education (Local Authorities) Bill, 1901. Bill No. 96.  
\*Education Bill, 1901. Bill No. 173.  
Higher Education (Local Authorities) Bill, 1902. Bill  
No. 78.  
\*Education (England and Wales) Bill, 1902. (led to Act)  
Education (England and Wales) (No. 2) Bill, 1902. Bill  
No. 241.  
(Those marked \* were government bills.)
139. Board of Education Act, 1899. 62 and 63 Vict. ch. 33.  
Section 3. para. 1.
140. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 54. c. 1186. 10 March 1898.
141. The Times. 3 August 1898.
142. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1899-1900. P.P.  
Cd. 328. (1900). pp. 86-87. Secondary Education  
Expenditure.
143. Mather dwelt on this at length. Parl. Deb. 4th Series.  
Vol. 82. c. 626-632.
144. These included:  
Elementary Education (Continuation Schools) Bill, 1897.  
Bill No. 276.  
Elementary Education (Continuation Schools) Bill, 1898.  
Bill No. 261,
145. Smith expounded the arguments in favour of compulsory  
continuation classes. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 55.  
c. 613-615. 22 March 1898.



146. Continuation Schools Bill (House of Lords), 1904. Bill No. 161.  
Continuation Schools Bill (House of Lords), 1905. Bill No. 20.
147. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Vol. I. P.P. Cd. 2175. (1904).  
para. 230. pp. 42-43. domestic economy.  
para. 380. p. 75. physical training.
148. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 93. c. 983-984. 7 May 1901.
149. E. E. Williams. Made in Germany. London: Heinemann, 1896.  
pp. 154-155.
150. Voluntary Schools Act, 1897. 60 Vict. ch. 5.
151. Elementary Education Act, 1897. 60 Vict. ch. 16.
152. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 49. c. 942. (20 May 1897)
153. See chapter V. pp. 184-185.
154. See chapter V. p. 185.  
The Times. 9 May 1902.  
Zolger. op. cit. pp. 108-110.
155. Particularly Haldane M.S. 5956, 5957, 5958, 5959, 5960.  
passim.  
Haldane's attitude to London University matters was very proprietorial. In January 1898 he spoke about "my University Bill" (Haldane to mother, 24 January 1898. Haldane M.S. 5959. f. 24.) and in August 1899 about "my London University". (Haldane to mother, 2 August 1899. Haldane M.S. 5962. f. 57.)
156. Haldane M.S. 5905. f. 235-236. Chamberlain to Haldane, 18 September 1902.
157. Haldane. Autobiography. op. cit. p. 139.
158. For a resume of the various bills and commissions on the subject see Sir Douglas Logan. Haldane and the University of London. Birbeck College, 1960. pp. 3-7.
159. e.g. Mr. Harwood. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 59. c. 248. 16 June 1898.
160. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 59. c. 257-267. 14 June 1898.  
Also quoted in Sir Frederick Maurice. Haldane. London: Faber and Faber, 1937. pp. 80-84.
161. University of London Act, 1898. 61 and 62 Vict. ch. 62.

162. Report to Accompany Statutes and Regulations made by the Commissioners appointed under the University of London Act, 1898, together with an Appendix of Correspondence. P.P. Cd. 83. (1900). para. 5. p. 5.
163. See chapter V. p. 202. Note 117.
164. A. H. D. Acland and H. Llewellyn Smith (eds.) Studies in Secondary Education. London: Percival, 1892. p. 304.
165. Lecture at Royal Society of Arts, January 1911. Quoted in P. J. Hartog. Examinations and their relation to Culture and Efficiency. London: Constable, 1918. pp. 40-41.
166. Haldane. Autobiography. op. cit. p. 295.
167. Morant, in an article read before a group of civil servants known as the Education Club in November 1898, advocated highly elitist "directive brain centres" to watch over educational developments and plan changes. Bernard Allen. Sir Robert Morant. London: Macmillan, 1934. pp. 124-127.
168. Kekewich. op. cit. p. 60. estimated that less than 30 M.P.'s waited to hear the debate.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE BOER WAR AND EDUCATION

"The supreme lesson of our national experience during the past few years is the need of educational reform. The stones are gathered, and the way is staked out; let us go on to make the path."

LAURIE MAGNUS.<sup>1</sup>

"Let us admit it fairly, as a business people should,

We have had no end of a lesson: it will do us no end of good."

RUDYARD KIPLING.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER IV

The Boer War constituted an unprecedented national humiliation for Great Britain. When the country went to war against the South African republics no one could possibly have foreseen that it would take nearly three years,<sup>3</sup> millions from the Exchequer,<sup>4</sup> and the draining of most of Britain's land forces<sup>5</sup> to effect a victory. Indeed there were fears that the war might be over too soon.<sup>6</sup>

News of disasters gradually began to filter through into the press - rumours of insufficient reconnaissance, of inadequate preparations and precautions, of sheer stupidity, which culminated in the disastrous Black Week<sup>7</sup> of December 1899 when defeat after defeat hit the headlines and effectively put a blight on Christmas and the coming of a new year. Leo Amery, the Times war correspondent, was appalled at what he saw:

All I saw during those weeks left on my mind an ineffaceable impression of the incapacity of many of our senior officers, of the uselessness of most of our then army training for the purposes of modern war, especially in South African conditions, and of the urgent need of complete revolutionary reform of the Army from top to bottom.<sup>8</sup>

General Buller seemed to have given in to despair and for a time at least it appeared as if the War Office was ready to follow him. In fact it was the politicians who had to take on themselves the awesome task of changing the higher command in the middle of a war, calling upon Lord Roberts, now in semi-retirement, to take ship for South Africa as Commander in Chief, accompanied by Lord Kitchener as his Chief of Staff.

The almost hysterical public concern about the minutest details of the Boer War even filtered down to the youngest classes of the elementary school. One school inspector commented rather/



rather/ wryly on this at the end of his report.

I cannot conclude this report without adverting for a moment to the war, which has been ever present in the minds of all. It has its awful evils, but in schools it has exercised a very educative influence.

Maps of South Africa hang on the walls marked with flags indicating position of friend and foe; the route to the Cape has often been traversed; the topography of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies has become familiar as that of Derbyshire; the names of the actors in the campaign, British or Boer, are -

"Familiar in his mouth as household words,  
Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,"  
and to show that even "babes and sucklings" have babbled of the war I must relate in conclusion one incident.

It occurred in a school in a remote Peak Village. The teacher was giving a lesson on Guy Fawkes to a first class of infants. She had forgotten a point and recovered herself with the query, "By the bye, children, where are the Houses of Parliament?"

Silence for a moment, and then in a high treble voice came the answer: "Please miss, at the Front!"<sup>10</sup>

In a more serious vein, the war provoked a storm of indignation abroad with widespread jeering, particularly in the Continental press, at the spectacle of the British Empire ponderously bringing its military might to bear on a handful of farmers. Even an American commentator could satirise the "valour of the elephant contending with the mouse" and affirm that "In that undertaking England stands as completely isolated as France stood in the persecution of Dreyfus".<sup>11</sup> Britain's isolation in the face of international opprobrium was a daunting prospect.

Much of the alarmism generated by the heightened feelings of insecurity was, it is true, of an ephemeral nature. Maxse's cloak-and-dagger German conspiracy talk<sup>12</sup> was blatantly exaggerated and faded with news of British victories. But the 'Phantom of Intervention'<sup>13</sup> by foreign powers was a real threat. The reliance on naval supremacy alone had been shown as a fallacy. As Sidney Low put it:

It has been conclusively proved that by dint of enormous sums of money, we are able to put into the field a force sufficient to fight - the Transvaal ... We could have fought any three naval powers with less trouble than it takes us to equip an army sufficient to master the mounted infantry of a population not equal to that of Leeds.<sup>14</sup>

In fact, ideas on the possibility of foreign invasion from now on began to be seriously considered, even in official and government circles.<sup>15</sup>

If fears for the safety of the homeland were evinced, those for the future of the Empire were even more vocal. For some years questions had been asked about the continuance of the Empire.

Are the central forces of the Empire which hold it together growing as rapidly as the Empire itself? The subject races are increasing; are those who govern them increasing in like proportion? How do the great political changes going on outside the Empire affect its stability?<sup>16</sup>

The answers which were now being given to those very questions were not very pleasant. The Empire had been shown in a precarious light. "What we looked upon as a mere pebble in our path has all but sufficed to shatter the wheels of our Empire."<sup>17</sup> The prospect of Britain without an empire was not agreeable to contemplate. Observers had spoken of Britain sinking to the status of a second or third rate power, of her population flocking to America and Canada and of her commerce and industry in ruins.<sup>18</sup> Even several years later the question was being posed whether the British people had not merely the physical and intellectual resources, but possessed the reserves of moral strength to sustain an Empire.<sup>19</sup>

The war had a sobering effect on the British population. Accustomed to hearing of easy victories, they must have been astonished to read of humiliating defeats. There were suggestions of 'A Day of National Humiliation and Prayer'<sup>20</sup> from some quarters, but from most quarters there came the inevitable flood of criticism, questionings and advice. As George Bernard Shaw succinctly remarked: "Whatever else the War may do or undo, it at least turns its fierce searchlights on official, administrative and military perfunctoriness."<sup>21</sup> The search for the causes of Britain's apparent decadence went beyond the blunders of the military to the society behind it. Deficiencies were mercilessly exposed to the glare of publicity. If the War Office administration was poor then the efficiency of other departments of government was open to question. If the/



the/ education and training of officers was sadly deficient, then the education of the country in general was even more so. If the physique of the troops was poor, what about the nation from which they were drawn? If the attitudes and values of the army had been discredited, then what about similar attitudes in trade and commerce and whence did they spring?

Writers and speakers of the time made the easy transition from the idea of physical warfare to that of industrial and commercial warfare - an idea for long current but now stated in clearer and more powerful language. The notion of education as a means of national defence was revived but now in a more markedly aggressive tone, with pointed references to Boer examples and relentless use of Boer War metaphors. The danger was clear.

As the great skill of the Boer marksmen - the effect of their training - enabled them to pick off our officers in every engagement, so in a great number of instances our well trained foreign competitors were picking off the best of our custom.<sup>22</sup>

The educational resources of the country were deficient.

To oppose such agencies to the modern German or French school with a definite and prolonged curriculum, with an absolutely practical and professional aim is to engage quick firing guns with bows and arrows.<sup>23</sup>

The need for action was imperative.

... we need clear strategy, thorough reconnaissance, appropriate and energetic tactics. Above all, we require, when the hour for action arrives, to subordinate any "political" or "official" ends to the educational end, just as, in another field, we ought to subordinate them to the military end.<sup>24</sup>

The dire prospect if such advice were not followed was a Majuba Hill in commerce and industry.<sup>25</sup>

The emergence, almost unwittingly, of a militaristic and biblical note in many of the writings of the time is an interesting one. They show at times the elements of a religious crusade, and many of the writers cast themselves in the roles of prophets of impending doom, offering, however, the solace that all was not lost if only the relevant advice be acted upon immediately. The military metaphors were not restricted to the voices and pens of/

of/ those educationalists who, for years, had been uttering their dire warnings - indeed many of them were lost in the plethora of educational writings from previous non-contributors in the educational field.

The periodical the Fineteenth Century, under its editor, James Knowles, in particular provided a forum for criticism, often of the educational kind. The main focus of attack was the habit of 'muddling through' shown in all departments of state. Brodrick sharply criticised the "Nation of Amateurs" who failed to deal even with military matters seriously and ensure adequate training and preparation, who were also amateurish in education, agriculture and commerce.<sup>26</sup> C. C. Perry, who had written the Science and Art Department Report on French technical schools several years earlier, made a savage indictment of the public school system, whose weaknesses, he felt, lay behind Britain's military disasters.<sup>27</sup> Everywhere the army met with sharp criticism, and question marks were placed above the outlook for British trade, the future of the empire, and the racial strength of the English. Henry Birchenough suggested that what was needed was local imperial defence on the Macclesfield model.<sup>28</sup> Others hoped that a leader might emerge to lead them out of the morass. The periodical itself even set plans on foot for an administrative reform association<sup>29</sup> which met with a great deal of support but which were dropped as the khaki election loomed.

Other periodicals, although less wide-ranging, adopted a similar approach. Cloudesley Brereton, in the Fortnightly Review, writing on the need for a co-ordinated national system of education, in an extended military metaphor saw such a system as helping us

... to present an undivided front to the steady phalanx-like pressure that better organised nations are already exercising on us, so much so, that in the world of trade, which is often the first in which the international struggle for existence makes itself manifest, we everywhere see our outposts being driven in, and our lines of communication threatened, while the general effects of this growing competition are beginning to make themselves felt in the United Kingdom itself.<sup>30</sup>

T. J. Macnamara continually stressed the links between education/



education/ and the maintenance of the Empire. Even an educational journal like the prestige Journal of Education could fall in with the general trend, publishing a letter from a colonial officer which supposedly showed that the defects of British army officers were due to their antecedent education.<sup>31</sup>

But criticism and suggestions were not confined to the press and periodicals of the day. Various books and pamphlets appeared which were often either devoted exclusively to education or had large sections on it within the diatribes on the need for efficiency and business-like methods. G. B. Shaw wrote a scathing essay on Fabianism and the Empire, postulating a new type of imperialism, a new type of military training for fighting civilians, and a new emphasis in education, consisting of

... the establishment of quite new subjects and methods having for their object the technical training of the public servants who will constitute the executive of the Empire, and the education in citizenship of those upon whose votes their authority will be based.<sup>32</sup>

Sidney Webb, although opposed in the Fabian Society by his colleagues Graham Wallas and Stewart Headlam, put forward far-reaching views on the need for educational reform in the Fabian tracts which he wrote at this time. For him the problem of education was a crucial one for national survival. As he put it: "The policy of National efficiency involves a great development of public education."<sup>33</sup>

The yellow press journalist Arnold White, in his book Efficiency and Empire, included a chapter on education, lent respectability by the memorandum attached to it by Yoxall.<sup>34</sup> Most of the chapter was merely a re-iteration of negativistic platitudes: the 'half' education of the ruling elite, the fact that Great Britain was falling behind Germany and the United States in higher education, the social divisiveness of schools. The real fact, White felt, was that the British nation was not yet awake to the necessity of education. In this he was at one with G. B. Shaw and also with Laurie Magnus, son of Sir Philip Magnus and editor of a collection of essays on National Education which appeared in 1901.<sup>35</sup> This latter book covered/

covered/ most of the then most salient educational topics - secondary schools, science in education, industrial needs, commercial and agricultural education - but linked them with an emphasis on the national importance of education, particularly in the sense of preventing the break-up of the Empire. Haldane's book on Education and Empire was widely distributed by him to influential acquaintances, was widely read and highly praised.<sup>36</sup>

Haldane's speeches on education claimed much more attention in the press now.<sup>37</sup> Even A. J. Balfour made what was seen by many as a rather belated recognition of the importance of scientific education in a speech in 1900.<sup>38</sup> But the man of the moment was definitely Lord Rosebery. His speeches during the war years were inspirational, if rather vague. Widely reported and quoted, they dealt mainly with imperial questions and the newer ideas of national efficiency. He spoke at Bath in October 1899 and at Chatham in January 1900, at the latter date stressing the importance of science and placing affairs on a business footing. But his two most famous speeches were his Glasgow Rectorial Address in November 1900 and his Chesterfield address of December 1901, after which he bolted for the Continent. He spoke about the Channel being no longer sufficient for national defence, that it would need to be replaced by attention to scientific methods, about the need for a national stock-taking and for a form of sane imperialism. Some of the speeches show the Haldane influence, but despite Haldane's hopes and promptings, it soon became obvious that Rosebery did not really intend to take up the challenge of leadership. His references to education were more critical than constructive. The Duke of Devonshire was much criticised for making a speech at Liverpool in 1901,<sup>39</sup> arguing that the Government required the requisite breeze of public opinion before it could set sail on a course of educational reform, but Lord Rosebery was in effect saying much the same thing. One critic, though a friendly one, wondered whether the Rosebery speeches indicated

... a spirit more intent on making one's flesh creep than on piloting the country through its political and educational difficulties ... Will not Lord Rosebery plough this furrow/



furrow/ towards the headland? He would not be ploughing it alone.<sup>40</sup>

In fact, the call for Rosebery to become the great educational statesman was largely in vain.

Perhaps more fruitful in the long run were the debates in parliament, particularly during the session of 1901. The argument that educational reform would entail an expense which could not possibly be borne by the tax- or rate-payer had been effectively discredited by Boer War extravagances. As George White remarked

It was a sad and awful thing to feel that when this war should terminate, for the two years it has existed it will have cost more than the whole of the money the State had expended on education since the Act of 1870 was passed.<sup>41</sup>

The system of army and naval education came under fire, as did the Government neglect of secondary education. Even the much-respected Devonshire was not immune from attack.<sup>42</sup> The various educational pressure groups in parliament now came into their own, but they were joined by most M.P.'s in stressing the need for a thorough enquiry into education and a more efficient organisation of the resources at the country's disposal. The very fact that they were able, in varying degrees of accuracy, to draw comparisons with foreign educational systems shows that much of the late nineteenth century information gathering had borne fruit.

The discussions reached a peak in March 1901,<sup>43</sup> in what was for Asquith one of the most remarkable debates on education seen in the House. What was in actual fact a debate on supply on account was turned into an educational forum during which nearly every aspect of the English educational system was savagely dissected, foreign examples paraded forth, and a solution called for from the Government forthwith. The unanimity of opinion expressed was remarkable, if ephemeral, and the debate in a sense marked a culmination of the educational agitations of the late 1890's.

It is a difficult undertaking to separate the criticisms of education from the more general ones of the conduct of national/

national/ affairs. Nevertheless it is just possible to see the educational expletives which were then current as falling into a number of main groups, according to where their attention was focussed.

The first category was concerned with education in its role as national defence of the most basic type, i.e. army and naval education and education for a better physique. The navy had always prided itself on being the better educated service and the publication in 1901 of the report of a committee which had been appointed in late 1897 to inquire into the training and examination of junior naval officers<sup>44</sup> helped silence a great deal of criticism. Its stress on practical and professional instruction, with due importance being attached to the teaching of colloquial French, met with a good deal of praise and the report itself was widely reported and discussed.<sup>45</sup> Many of the changes were put into effect in the years 1902-1905.<sup>46</sup>

The army found itself less able to divert criticism in this way. The Boer War failures had led to the appointment of a Committee on the Education and Training of Officers of the Army,<sup>47</sup> a committee which was much less of a closed shop than the navy inquiry and, in deference to the strong army/public school link and the criticisms which had been levelled at the defects of this link, included two public school headmasters among its members. The first of the committee's terms of reference was indeed wide:

To consider and report what changes, if any, are desirable in the system of training candidates for the Army at the Public Schools and Universities, and in the relationship between these bodies and the Military authorities, so as to ensure a supply of better trained candidates for the Army.<sup>48</sup>

Nearly all the witnesses examined<sup>49</sup> expressed dissatisfaction "with the present state of education, both military and general, among the officers of the Army as a class"<sup>50</sup> and the committee was critical of a desire for economy which had resulted in the abolition of the post of Director General of Military Education and critical of a system of entrance examinations which often led to candidates being oppressed by too many subjects and showing an/



an/ inadequate grounding in basics. The recommendations of the committee so far as the antecedent education of the young officer was concerned were interesting. The entrance exams, it was suggested, should be remodelled to encourage a general education with compulsory subjects being English (including the main facts of the history and geography of the British Empire), Mathematics, Latin,<sup>51</sup> Modern languages and Science.

The new syllabus was a step, if a small one, towards the full recognition of the more modern subjects. Science was even seen as "a necessary part of the intellectual equipment of every educated man."<sup>52</sup> There was some hope for the future, too, in the idea of the appointment of an Inspector General of Military Education who was to monitor textbooks and the progress of foreign armies and who was to be assisted by an Advisory Board.

The demand for better physical education as a means of providing the nation with a better physique was met during the Boer War to a certain extent by the issuing by the Board of Education of a Model Course of Physical Training in 1901,<sup>53</sup> although interest in this subject was to expand greatly after 1902.

The second focus of attention in educational matters was that of secondary national defence in the sense of commercial and industrial education. If Britain had shown herself to be vulnerable militarily, might she not be even more vulnerable to the insidious type of commercial warfare? The arguments in favour of better types of technical, commercial and higher scientific education were now more widely expressed and far more urgent. After all, the Empire was at stake and the very status of the British as a ruling population. As Haldane warned

We cannot afford to wait. Foreign competitors are threatening our industries, and with them the source of that national income on which our Fleet, our Empire, our life as a nation depend ... 54

The Associated Chambers of Commerce had sent a deputation to Gorst in late 1899, urging on him the importance of foreign languages,<sup>55</sup> but now their conferences had a more strident and/

and/ less apologetic note. The Mansion House meeting on commercial education in 1901 had Lord Rosebery and the Lord Mayor present.<sup>56</sup> Questions about commercial education and foreign languages came thick and fast in the House. The argument that secondary education was an essential basis for commercial and scientific education was probably very influential behind the 1900 proposals in the Queen's speech for more local aid to secondary and technical education.<sup>57</sup> In all, the attitude expressed was very much that the needs of commerce and industry had in the past been largely neglected at the expense of liberal education for the elite.

The third type of attack made was that on the whole set of attitudes and values which it was felt lay behind British inefficiency. The public schools bore the brunt of this attack. The scientist H. J. Armstrong thundered against their contempt for the modern subjects, their poor teaching methods, and their fostering of an attitude which was completely at odds with success in the modern world.<sup>58</sup> Now others took up the refrain. The main element of the public school curriculum, the classics, was also attacked, Greek in particular taking a heavy beating.<sup>59</sup> The public schools were seen by many as a public peril, influencing lesser secondary schools to adopt their feudalistic standards, and even their greatest products, the qualities of scholars and gentlemen, viewed as "medieval armour, graceful and charming, but useless against the modern weapons of precision on the Continent."<sup>61</sup>

Even what might seem such a harmless pastime as the national preoccupation with sport came in for sharp criticism.<sup>62</sup> In fact it was the attitudes of the ruling classes which were most severely disparaged. Trait after trait of the British character was analysed and shown as being at odds with the need for greater intellectualism and moral stamina.

The demand for a new and better type of education can be seen as constituting only one part of a host of measures projected during and after the Boer War to counter the supposed threats to the integrity of the British Empire. These included/



included/ army and administrative reform, naval building, imperial federation, ideas about conscription and volunteer forces, co-operation, particularly in agriculture, and, later, protection and social reforms.

The solution to Britain's problems was seen by many people as resting with the idea of "national efficiency". The vagueness of the term has been analysed quite thoroughly by historians. Semmel saw efficiency as having many meanings: "a sound industrial system, a united Empire, a vigorous people, a state of military and naval preparedness".<sup>63</sup> Searle summed up the ideology behind it as

... an attempt to discredit the habits, beliefs and institutions that put the British at a handicap in their competition with foreigners and to commend instead a social organisation that more closely followed the German model.<sup>64</sup>

If the idea of efficiency is vague to historians, it was equally vague and all-encompassing to contemporaries. Rosebery, never a man noted for detailed suggestions, saw it as "a condition of national fitness equal to the demands of the Empire".<sup>65</sup> This lack of precision left the term open to dismissal as a meaningless cliché, savouring "too much of the platform and political clap-trap".<sup>66</sup> As Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal leader pointed out, no one was going to take 'inefficiency' as his watchword.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, although the meaning of the word was vague, the thinking behind it was clear enough and remarkably novel. The term 'efficiency' presupposed a degree of stone-turning, information gathering, and bureaucratic interference unprecedented in British society. 'Efficiency' when carried to its logical conclusions, entailed a disregard for inherited traditions and a worship of the modern, the useful, the technocratic, the scientific. It was a war-cry undoubtedly German in its emphasis and for the most part uttered by Germanophiles like Haldane. By itself the efficiency formula might provide too strong a medicine for the British public. Only when united to notions of British imperialism could it be more palatable.

A. G. Gardiner made some interesting assumptions about the role of Haldane in the development of the slogan. As he later wrote in Prophets, Priests, and Kings

I am not sure whether Mr. Haldane invented the word "efficiency" which has become the hardest worked vocable in politics ... It represents the political gospel opposed to the fine old English doctrine of "muddling through", the phrase in which Lord Rosebery summed up the Boer War. But whether he invented it or not, Mr. Haldane is its recognised exponent.<sup>68</sup>

It was quite logical that such a doctrine would appeal to Haldane. Like Sidney Webb he had been educated outside the traditional sphere of public school and Oxbridge. He admired, and was familiar with, German examples. He was a great advocate of science and technology, particularly in the sense of higher technological universities. Above all, he was not a fervent party man, and it was clear that if 'national efficiency' were to be pursued as a policy it would have to be by means of a new alignment in politics, a new centre party. Sidney Webb, Haldane's helpmate in the advocacy of 'national efficiency' pressed forward his views in various articles and pamphlets including the famous "Twentieth Century Politics: A Policy of National Efficiency".<sup>69</sup> Both Haldane and Webb saw the possibility of introducing effective reforms in administration, education, and society, but both underestimated the difficulties they would have to face. Neither of them was a great leader of men, and the person on whom they placed their hopes - Lord Rosebery - proved to be a political will-o'-the-wisp. Much of the support on which they relied was of the newspaper-made variety which might turn out to be as ephemeral as the Boer War itself. Moreover, there was always the possibility that long-standing party ties and allegiances would be impossible to disrupt, or, if disrupted, would re-assert themselves in a time of political crisis.

If the Boer War provoked ideas for dealing with the country's ills in general, it also highlighted the areas where educational reform was most needed, and gave numerous educationalists an opportunity to discuss their solutions to problems. Secondary education, higher education, particularly in the sense of the application of science to industry, teacher training, and rural/



rural/ schools emerged as the most salient topics in discussions of civilian, as opposed to military, education. Much of this was part of an on-going process merely accelerated by the war and by other opportune revelations. The problem of secondary education had been for long in the forefront of attention, but now it became a national peril when it was considered that the majority of the army officers who had blundered so badly were drawn from these very schools. The idea of technological education gained in prestige as the threat which it was designed to counter became more of a reality. The findings of the Worthington mission to South America,<sup>70</sup> those of the London Technical Education Board on the Application of Science to Industry,<sup>71</sup> and news that trade seemed to be entering a recession,<sup>72</sup> must have given a boost to concern about both these types of training. As far as rural schools and teacher training were concerned, now that the administration of the Education Department had been ostensibly reformed, these presented the most blatant refuges of inefficiency and amateurism.

Chapters five and six in this thesis show the development of various lines of thinking about the role of efficiency and imperialism in education. In fact, it took some time for clear thinking on these topics to emerge out of the Boer War flux and panic. Initially there was some disagreement about the true educational lessons to be drawn from the War. "But, if education is the solution of all our troubles, how comes it that the Boer generals to whom they are due are uneducated, indeed, ignorant?"<sup>73</sup> pondered one observer. Another stated that the British generals who had done best were those who had not been to the Staff College.<sup>74</sup> Such arguments can be seen as naive in the extreme. Who, after all, could say that these Boer and British generals would not have done even better had they been thoroughly trained? On the other hand, what is often forgotten in discussions on the Boer War is that it took Roberts, a general trained in the guerilla-style tactics of the Indian frontier, to bring the situation under control. The majority of British officers had been trained for a European style of warfare which was out of place in South Africa and this, rather than their "ignorance" may/

may/ have been the cause of their initial blunders. Perhaps, then, contemporaries who pressed for the better education and organisation of the army were drawing the right conclusions from the wrong reasons.

There was also some initial disarray as to what exactly should be done in education. The traditional theme of information gathering was raised. The idea was put forward that the problem could be solved "by the strongest Royal Commission ever appointed upon the understanding that it should report within a certain time, and that its recommendations would be at once proposed as the basis of legislation"<sup>75</sup> but met with no real response. Gradually, however, a pattern of possible solutions began to emerge - the advocacy of particular types of schools, particular curricula.<sup>76</sup> What was new was the urgency of the demand for action and the stress on two elements: efficiency in the sense of business principles applied to education, and moral education for the citizenship of the Empire.

Several new associations which had come into existence during and immediately after the Boer War took up these themes. The British Association, which provided a forum for discussion for distinguished scientists, led the way by founding in 1901 an education section - Section "L". This was a recognition, if a rather controversial one, that education was a branch of science and should be dealt with by scientific methods. Among the first people to chair this section were Gorst and the Bishop of Hereford and during the first few years of its existence it gave evidence of an urgency of debate and a desire to come thoroughly to grips with the problems of education. Such was the enthusiasm that the Times talked benignly of the British Association being fascinated by its new toy.<sup>77</sup>

In a rather more subdued vein, the Liberal League,<sup>78</sup> instigated by Haldane and other Scottish M.P.'s as a political vehicle for ideas on efficiency and imperialism, also laid emphasis on education. This group within the Liberal Party relied greatly on Scottish support and was intended to a great/



great/ extent as a means of bringing Lord Rosebery back to active leadership. Haldane was particularly active on behalf of this organisation which he felt might be the signal for the new grouping in politics. His letters bristle with references to his fundraising activities, speeches and manoeuvrings, all on behalf of the League.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, although most of the leading figures of the League urged in very general terms the need for the improvement of education to meet foreign competition and emphasised the links between education and success in industry and commerce, when the Conservative government brought in a comprehensive education bill, which was at least a first step towards the solution of the problem, only Haldane and Munro-Ferguson from the group voted for it. The rest could not bring themselves to break the old ties with traditional Liberalism and Nonconformity, even for their newly found policy of educational efficiency.

Much the same is true of a group called the "Co-efficients", a dining club consisting of eminent politicians from both parties and some leading public figures,<sup>80</sup> and set up under the auspices of the Webbs in 1902. Each of the members was to represent some aspect of English life and the guiding principle was presumably that through general discussion a policy of national efficiency would be hammered out. H. G. Wells, himself a participant, later described the workings of the group under the alias of 'The Pentagon Circle' in his New Machiavelli,<sup>81</sup> but he, like the Webbs, probably overestimated the club's influence. Education, apparently, was a prominent topic in the club's discussions, particularly in the sense of the higher levels of education and research, but it was never more than a topic of discussion. As Leo Amery has pointed out, the composition of the group underwent considerable changes over the years, with few of the politicians involved feeling tied to it in any way.<sup>82</sup> Some of the new members, like Birchenough, were interesting figures, and Amery himself, in a situation outside the club, was able to press forward his ideas on the importance of imperial teaching at universities to a fruitful conclusion - the endowment by Alfred Beit of a chair of colonial history at Oxford University in 1904.<sup>83</sup>

Nevertheless the club was gradually to fade away with little to show for its activities.

The ideas of a link between education and imperialism found expression in a series of far more strident associations. Among these was the greatly publicised Lads Drill Association, set up by Lord Meath (Reginald Brabazon) in March 1899. Meath, a hard-liner old Etonian who saw the replacement of the birch by the cane at that establishment as a "soft" gesture,<sup>84</sup> was convinced that the training of youths in cadet corps was a necessity for national security and that such military training had a good moral influence on boys. His efforts to secure compulsory military training in schools, government aid to cadet corps, and the development and better organisation of cadet corps through the medium of the Lads' Drill Association, were faithfully chronicled over the next few years in the press.

Less militaristic but equally imperialist in emphasis was the Twentieth Century League, set up in February 1901 to counter the poor physique and hooliganism of big city life (which had emerged as possible internal national threats during the Boer War) by means of young persons' clubs. At these clubs, gymnastics and military training were to be encouraged.

The number of "leagues" was added to by the inception, about the same time, of the League of the Empire,<sup>85</sup> an organisation designed to promote better knowledge of, and communication between, various parts of the Empire. It was to lay particular emphasis on linking schools throughout the Empire, and its sister body, a women's branch called the Victoria League, also stressed the importance of imperial teaching.

Perhaps one small incident illustrates the way in which the Boer War brought the link between education and imperialism to the forefront of attention. In early 1901 the advent of a new educational periodical was heralded in the press. The/



The magazine itself proved to be a poor little specimen, intended for elementary school teachers, with numerous illustrations and naive comments on educational personalities. It went the way of many similar periodicals, dying after a year of existence, its editorial staff listed as having "gone away". But it was entitled flamboyantly, although not in the least aptly, The Imperial Teacher.<sup>86</sup>

It was not only the Boer War which was to produce traumatic soul-searching among the nation. The coming of a new century in 1901 and the death of a Queen who had seemed almost immortal and symbolic of the greatness and continuity of the Empire, were signals for talk about the death of Empires, the end of an era, the parting of the ways. In this type of climate, education as a preparation for the future might come into its own. The Countess of Warwick was particularly clear on this point. "For England stands at the parting of the ways, and on the education of the present generation depends the great question whether we shall take a step forward or backward."<sup>87</sup>

The Boer War excitements reflected a nation being pulled in two directions: towards the highly industrialised and efficient Britain of a Utopian future and back towards a supposedly idyllic rural age. Arnold White was Janus-like in this respect, speaking equivocally of the "higher education" of both the Boer farmers and the German technocrats.<sup>88</sup> The note of nostalgia for a bygone rural age is evident even in the writings of such intellectuals as Masterman.<sup>89</sup> One article in the Fortnightly Review a few years later consisted of "A Plea for the Small Yeoman".<sup>90</sup>

Much of the educational agitation showed a similar dichotomy. The tide was running very much in favour of the modernists but there were still those who argued that the return to the purity of the old system was what was required.

In general terms there was soon a reaction against the Boer War exaggerations and panic - a reaction which started with the appearance of various articles defending the intelligence of British army officers.<sup>91</sup> The British, after all, did win the war/

war/ and Beatrice Webb was remarkably astute when she remarked that it might be better for the country if the war were lost. She wrote in her diary in early 1900.

I sometimes wonder whether we could take a beating and be the better for it? This would be the real test of the heart and intellect of the British race: much more so than if we succeed after a long and costly conflict. If we win we shall soon forget the lessons of the war. Once again we shall have "muddled through". Pecuniary self-interest will be again rehabilitated as an Empire-building principle. Once again the English gentleman, with his so-called habit of command, will have proved to be the equal of the foreign expert with his scientific knowledge. Once again our politicians and staff officers will bask in the smiles of London "society", and will chatter bad metaphysics and worse economics in country house parties, imagining themselves to be men of the world because they have neither the knowledge nor the industry to be professional administrators and skilled soldiers.

... If we found ourselves faced with real disaster, should we as a nation have the nerve and persistency to stand up against it? That is the question that haunts me.<sup>92</sup>

It was a question which haunted a great deal of people. A war, no matter how long in the waging, need not always signal permanent and long-term changes in policy. As Arnold-Forster realised,<sup>93</sup> the lessons of the war might be forgotten in the complacency of a victorious peace. The question has now to be posed as to how great the changes in educational policy and emphasis were.

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CHAPTER V

EFFICIENCY IN EDUCATION

"The policy of National efficiency involves a great development of public education."

SIDNEY WEBB.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER V

If efficiency was a difficult concept to define in its most general sense, it was equally vague in its application to education at this period. What exactly constituted educational efficiency? For some it might be administrative thoroughness, the co-ordination and continuity of the existing system that Llewellyn Smith had urged earlier, the forging of commercial, scientific, and technical weapons, the training and development of the future soldier or worker. For others efficiency might entail a good liberal education or even the imbuing of the secondary schools with the public school spirit.

The word "efficiency" was very much a shibboleth. Education was to provide a means of maintaining British superiority and status. Nearly everyone agreed that something must be done to remedy educational deficiencies. In fact this consensus on efficiency and education effectively demolished the idea of using them as party slogans, as one Liberal M.P. pointed out in a letter to one of the local secretaries of the Liberal League.

Take "efficiency". Who is not for efficiency? Why should our side of politics imitate the other side in the presumption of capturing vague and sounding generalisations for party use? ... Take "education". Who is not in favour of education?

But if they agreed over the value of education, few could agree over where the emphasis should lie. Should it be on intellectual, moral or physical attainments, on the newer technological studies and methods or on the older ways of breeding rulers and men? Moreover, it is difficult to see exactly how State schools could be run 'along business principles'. If the answer were to be 'like factories', then criticism would surely be justified. Visions would be conjured up of a return to a system like that/



that/ under the revised code, this time with teachers turning out finished products of commercial and scientific knowledge from the raw material of pupils, turning "clever boys into cheap clerks" as Fabian Ware had warned.<sup>3</sup> True efficiency in education presupposed a degree of flexibility which was not always in accord with the basic ideas expressed by the exponents of the national efficiency movement.

Not all the educational changes and reforms dealt with in this chapter can be seen merely as responses to a pressure for efficiency. Many were in fact part of a natural on-going process which had, however, been speeded up by the Boer War revelations. Educational reform proved in many senses to be self-generating, with one reform by its very nature exposing other areas where further reform was necessary. The provision for the inspection of secondary schools in the Board of Education Act is probably the best example of this.

Nevertheless, although the term educational efficiency is a difficult one to define, although educational change was influenced by many other factors, it is possible to trace various links between efficiency and education in the period between the Boer War and the fall of the Conservative government.

For years, pressure groups had been urging the need for educational reform. The Boer War had made it a matter of urgent necessity. But it was the coming to power of a new set of personalities at the Education Department which helped ensure that the idea of educational efficiency became a well thought out policy and not a temporary panic reaction.

The most important of these changes was in that of permanent head of the department. Kekewich, although now in his sixties, did not fit the picture of a hidebound official and had shown himself willing to adapt to the new circumstances of public interest in, and demand for, educational reform. Nevertheless, he had lived out all his official existence under/

under/ the old system,<sup>4</sup> his reports were characterised by affability rather than trenchant criticism, and his soft-spot for the N.U.T. could cause embarrassment.<sup>5</sup> The setting up of a new educational system by the 1902 Act gave an excuse for his compulsory early retirement and replacement by a younger man, since it was argued that the man who would eventually have to administer the system should be in office at its inception. The haste with which Kekewich was despatched does not altogether bear out this long-term thinking. Probably even without an Education Act Kekewich would have been ousted in deference to public demands for a new broom in Departments of State, and a man brought in who could stretch the provisions of the Board of Education Act to the utmost.

The man who replaced Kekewich was the forty year old Robert Laurie Morant. Whether his promotion was the natural result of an ambitious career or was the result of rather more sinister manoeuvrings, he had certainly "gone up like a rocket in the official sphere".<sup>6</sup> He had entered the Department only six years previously as assistant to Sadler at the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, where he was very well thought of. A post as private secretary to Gorst in 1899 - a post which it was rumoured none of the Senior Examiners would have - and as assistant private secretary to Devonshire in 1902 gave him his opportunity. He was effectively Balfour's right hand man during the protracted discussions of 1902,<sup>7</sup> and his promotion a logical, if political, one.

In office, Morant was to combine the ruthlessness of the exponent of efficiency with the missionary zeal of the man who had once seriously considered going into holy orders and had given up a teaching post because of the lack of idealism in the conduct of the establishment.<sup>8</sup> The remorseless criticism of some of his subordinates in his private memoranda, the sermons on the moral duties of teachers and schools in his reports would never have flowed from the pen of Kekewich, altogether a more kindly and cynical individual, if a far less efficient official.



Sadler, whose initial affection for Morant had turned to wariness during the years when Morant clambered to the top, and outright dislike after Morant tried to bring the Office of Special Inquiries more into line with the general running of the Department, in retrospect saw traits of the Fascist mentality in Morant.<sup>9</sup> This, however, is hardly fair. Many of Morant's words and actions were merely those of a man frustrated on many sides by inefficiency and complacency and by the sheer magnitude of the task before him. When he eventually offended the sensibilities of a powerful section of the educational world he had to leave office.<sup>10</sup> It must be remembered that Sadler's criticism is that of a man who had had his pet project smashed, a man who seemed in later years to have been perpetually passed over for someone else and who was probably looking for reasons for his disappointment.<sup>11</sup>

Morant, at the beginning of his term in office, was in close contact with Haldane and the Webbs. It is, however, difficult to see him being influenced by them, except in the sense of using their ideas and schemes to bolster or develop his own. When Sidney Webb asked him to exert his influence over the London Education Bill, Morant told him blandly that he was taking nothing to do with that particular bill.<sup>12</sup>

Two other changes in educational administration took place as a result of the government reshuffle in July 1902. In the middle of the debates on the Education Bill Devonshire was replaced by the Marquis of Londonderry and Gorst by William Anson. Gorst for some time had been a liability in parliament, alienating members of both parties with his careless, often flippant, remarks. Balfour felt he could not be trusted to carry so important a measure as the 1902 Bill through the House and in fact undertook the task himself. Gorst's illness (influenza) must have been a convenient excuse for securing his retirement, with a considerable pension to temper the blow. His successor, Anson, was a former Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford, and M.P. for Oxford University - in Beatrice Webb's words " ... a pleasant subtle-minded don, a perfect head to a/

a/ college, but singularly out of place in an administrative position."<sup>13</sup> Anson embodied the best of university traditions and the benefits of a good, cultured education. His speeches as Vice-President of the Board of Education show his concern for the securing of a good liberal education as a sound basis for further types of technical education and as an antidote to premature specialization. It cannot have been a pleasant experience for him to be propelled into office in the midst of the passage of a very intricate bill and then to be entrusted with the follow-up measure,<sup>14</sup> while Morant busied himself with the application of the original act. Anson was apparently not completely satisfied with either measure, but the matter was very much outwith his control. Like Gorst, he did not have a seat in the Cabinet, and the permanent official nominally his subordinate was a great deal more experienced in general educational matters than he.

The problem of Devonshire, like that of Gorst, was now becoming embarrassing. Devonshire was now almost 70 years old. In the light of Boer War deficiencies, remarks which, a few years earlier, would have been treated as evidence of a charming naivete and candour were subjected to close scrutiny and commented on adversely. It was suggested that the post he held was merely a sinecure,<sup>15</sup> and his remarks that reform would come about only when the public wanted it<sup>16</sup> were seen as empty platitudes when the public demand was for immediate action. Devonshire must have been glad to be relieved of the burden of office, but his successor, Lord Londonderry, was somewhat diffident about his own ability to take it up as first President of the Board of Education.<sup>17</sup> The diffidence was borne out by a rather embarrassing occurrence in the Lords in December 1902 when Londonderry became somewhat muddled over the clauses of the Education Bill<sup>18</sup> and had to be rescued by Devonshire, but, in time, Londonderry was to prove a competent if hardly invigorating president, of whom Anson thought very highly.<sup>19</sup>

With Anson and Londonderry being very much novices in the educational field, the policies of the Board of Education/



Education/ over the ensuing years can be seen as greatly influenced by Morant's ideas.

The most immediate problem was the question of the reorganisation of the Board of Education and the co-ordination of its activities. Morant, writing to Haldane in 1902, was well aware of the task ahead of him.

Our marvellous old office in Whitehall never seems to get a glimpse of the width of the problem which it ought to be solving, and of which it is really touching the mere surface or edges. The dry old office gropes along, busy with minute details of doles of state money, only wearisomely giving in now and then to persistent pressure from outside and then and only then letting a few isolated new ideas and ways have a chance.<sup>20</sup>

Morant at times undertook his own investigations into problems which he felt to be particularly pressing,<sup>21</sup> notably the anomalous position of higher grade schools in the educational system, reform of the inspectorate, and the pupil teacher system, but also relied on more official types of departmental and inter-departmental inquiries. The Committee on the Reorganisation of the Education and the Science and Art Departments<sup>22</sup> had been set up as a result of the Board of Education Act to determine what was the best means of combining the administration of the two departments. Its findings were now being acted upon. A Committee on the Co-ordination of Technological Education<sup>23</sup> was an attempt, even before Morant's advent to power, to bring some order and central control into the chaos caused by the various technological schemes and examinations without, however, stifling individual initiative. Further committees were set up to report on training college courses of instruction<sup>24</sup> and on the Royal College of Science.<sup>25</sup> An inter-departmental committee investigated the employment of school-children.<sup>26</sup> Such investigations were very much symptomatic of the post-Boer war search for efficiency in administration. They had a striking parallel in Army investigations. The trend was also very much towards the setting up of advisory boards. The Advisory Board on Army Education was paralleled by the Board of Education Consultative Committee.

Provision had been made in the Board of Education Act for the setting up of a Consultative Committee<sup>27</sup> of educational experts, originally in order to frame a register of teachers. In time, however, it became internal inquiry and advice institutionalised, putting forward schemes not only for a teachers' register but also for a system of improved higher elementary schools<sup>28</sup> and of school certificates.<sup>29</sup>

The numerous inquiries were accompanied in the post-1902 period by what was almost a paper explosion. Board of Education regulations proliferated. Pamphlets, reports, minutes, memoranda and circulars were issued on all varieties of topics, many of them for teachers, or even public perusal. This was partly due to the provisions of the new Education Act, which required a great deal of administrative effort for its implementation, but also to the increased public demand for educational information and to Morant's determination that his moves should be thoroughly explained and as much guidance given as possible.

"Guidance" was very much the keynote. The old "Code" disappeared, to be replaced by the less rigid "Regulations". It would probably have burst apart in any case under the pressure of modifications. The greater freedom and flexibility in the new regulations were an attempt to banish the ghost of "payment by results" and the fears of secondary schoolteachers that they would be forced to submit to the cramping methods of the former Education Department. They also showed an awareness of the need to cater for local requirements. But although the regulations showed a great deal of flexibility with regard to the curriculum they were increasingly stringent about educational standards and building requirements, particularly with regard to secondary schools. All this involved a great deal of expenditure for the new local education authorities - a point commented on rather unfavourably by Lord Stanley of Alderley (formerly Lyulph Stanley of school board fame) in the Lords.

The Board of Education has shown a tendency, ever since the Education Act of 1902 came into force, to pile up/



up/ quite recklessly all kinds of demands in regard to those things, the cost of which falls on the ratepayer. I very much doubt whether Eton, Harrow, or any of the great public schools come up to the recent requirements of school planning of the Board of Education in regard to secondary schools. I do not wish to check the zeal of the noble Marquis (i.e. of Londonderry) for educational efficiency, but I would like him to go one step at a time.<sup>30</sup>

Apart from the work of remodelling and developing the various regulations contained in the Board's annual reports and directing them towards the building up of a co-ordinated, more efficient system, apart from the supervision of various inquiries and schemes, Morant was, from the very first, the instigator of changes in administration.

The first of these was the purging of the inspectorate of old and inefficient members. The impetus behind this was the setting up of new Inspectors' districts to conform with the areas supervised by the local education authorities. In a confidential minute to the President of the Board, Morant, who had only shortly before taken office, urged that the Board of Education set the example of efficiency in administration.

... there is a strong feeling in the country just now for the need of a much greater efficiency in the Public Service. It is notorious that many of our Inspectors up and down the country carry out their duties in an extremely lax way; and there are many more who carry out their duties in a manner singularly out of keeping with the needs of modern times and the very natural requirements of such people as County Councillors generally. It is in fact extremely necessary, if proper opportunity is to be given for the working of the new Act, that Local Authorities generally should be shown that the Board of Education are determined to increase the efficiency of their officers, both in Whitehall and the Inspectorate.<sup>31</sup>

Morant called a meeting of chief inspectors, ostensibly to explore their feelings on the subject of changes in districts and methods of inspection. The meeting in fact provided him with an opportunity to gauge which inspectors were the most reactionary, which the most obstructive, and which the most lethargic. His comments on them in the same private note are caustic to say the least, and the outcome of the meeting and/

and/ investigations into the age and pension entitlement of various inspectors was a logical one. Many of the inspectors received an early retirement and were replaced by younger, more enthusiastic men from the junior ranks of the inspectorate or even from outside.

Morant, in his minute to the President in 1903, had hinted that there were other steps which he would like to take to further administrative efficiency but that he was hampered by his very newness to the post. These in time proved to be many and varied: the setting up of new types of school and curricula, of improved teacher training facilities, of new special educational services. But it was his transformation of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports which was to create the greatest personal rancour. As early as 1901, Gorst, whether or not under the influence of Morant, hinted that the Office was not of very much practical use in the day to day administration of the Education Department.<sup>32</sup> Sadler, in fact, was very much hampered by lack of staff and felt that though he must attempt to be of every assistance to the parent department, the claims of keeping an up-to-date dossier on educational progress in foreign countries took priority.<sup>33</sup> To Morant, the idea of an Empire within an Empire, with Sadler pressing continually for greater financial assistance, and insisting that he was responsible only to the President, must have seemed extremely anomalous and a throwback to nineteenth century practice. His thinking in this respect is clear from a memo of late in 1904, some time after Sadler had been replaced by T. L. Heath.

The O of S I (sic) has become in the last ten months an extremely practical office: it has taken an active, effective, indispensable part in the daily administrative work of the office in a way that was never the case in Mr. Sadler's day.<sup>34</sup>

The office assumed a role of general administrative factotum and handmaiden of the Board, rather than an élite prestigious offshoot. Dr. Heath's name frequently cropped up as the Board's representative on various committees and inquiries;<sup>35</sup> his office was used as a means for organising teacher exchange between/



between/ Britain and abroad.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, the methods adopted by Morant to secure a streamlining of organisation were not altogether savoury nor completely free from the taint of personal malice. The financial restrictions placed on Sadler, the insistence that the Special Reports should now be self-financing, were petty curbs. Moreover, it must have been realised that Sadler, for long accustomed to working on his own initiative with very little interference, would find it difficult to bow to the dictates of administrative cohesion, even had the originator of that policy not been his erstwhile, and now estranged, subordinate. Morant's frequent insistence on how useful the new Office was, appears in the light of someone "protesting too much" when it is considered that the post-Sadler reports were never to achieve such universal acclaim and that Sadler had achieved a great deal in what was, after all, a pioneering task. It was rather ironic that the Office which had been prominent in proclaiming the efficiency of foreign educational systems and the need for similar efficiency in England should itself fall victim to the demand for efficiency and practical usefulness.

Other important changes, and ones for which the teachers' organisations like the N.U.T. had been pressing for some time, were those concerned with teacher training and conditions. Many of the elementary schools relied heavily on Article 68's, the "women over 18", and overworked pupil teachers who learnt the pitfalls of teaching by the simple expedient of falling into them, and who were also burdened by the need to study for the King's scholarship examination, success in which constituted the only passport to a training college education. The training colleges themselves were few, most of them strictly sectarian and residential,<sup>37</sup> the courses at them crammed with subjects. The teachers themselves complained vociferously about the frequent imposition on them of extraneous duties by voluntary school managers and about their lack of adequate protection against the prospect of unfair dismissal. Moreover, the supply of teachers was precarious, there being/

being/ insufficient incentives to attract many males into the elementary stages of the profession. Many of the secondary schools provided what was often essentially a refuge for incompetence. Even the quality of teaching at the public schools was open to question. But the power of State leverage on the secondary sphere, although growing, was still too limited to permit radical changes.

The moves with regard to elementary school teachers owed as much to a new public awareness of the importance of the teacher and the need for him to carry out his job efficiently and effectively if the country were to be capable of facing foreign competition, as to teacher pressure. Morant himself continually emphasised the value of teachers to the community. In a memo on teacher training he stressed that

The influence of a body of thoroughly competent, zealous and conscientious teachers in our 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.<sup>38</sup>

The attempt to draw up a teachers' register and bring some coherence into the profession had been foreshadowed by the bill<sup>39</sup> which fell in company with the Education Bill of 1896. But the second effort, after some years of valiant effort by the Consultative Committee foundered amid the shoals of which teacher was to be recognised under which heading.<sup>40</sup> A bill to secure teachers from unfair dismissal<sup>41</sup> likewise was withdrawn shortly after its introduction to parliament. Nevertheless the teachers' demands for freedom from the imposition of extraneous duties met with some degree of recognition in a new regulation by the Board of Education.<sup>42</sup> In fact the attitude of the Board to such matters in the early twentieth century was in sharp contrast to that evinced by the old Education Department in the late nineteenth century when Gorst's answers to parliamentary questions on educational subjects were marked by perpetual disclaimers of any responsibility for the teachers' welfare.



The new-found interest in teachers extended to their training. The Committee on Training College Courses of Instruction,<sup>43</sup> under its chairman Hobhouse, was instructed to report on how a new two year course might be constructed with opportunity for specialization and emphasis on subjects which would be of practical value in teaching. Their remit was extended to include study of the proposals by the Agricultural Education Committee that a special course be inaugurated for rural pupil teachers and that rural pupil teachers be enabled to spend their third year of study at an agricultural institution.<sup>43</sup> The scheme which eventually emerged was one which provided for equal grants for day and residential teacher training colleges, an examination only at the end of the course, an end to the system of grading, and rural studies as an optional subject. The scheme incorporated a hefty bundle of suggested syllabuses - both for those subjects which were considered essential prerequisites for a teacher<sup>44</sup> and for those which might be useful optional extras.<sup>45</sup>

Morant was enthusiastic about the scheme and incorporated it with his own findings on the pupil-teacher system into his memo on pupil teachers.<sup>46</sup> The pupil-teacher system, it was felt, was an evil but a necessary one, given the shortage of properly certificated teachers, and had to be hedged in by as many safeguards as possible. Strict ratios of pupil teachers to certificated teachers were established,<sup>47</sup> pupil teachers were not to be overburdened by a large work load or a responsibility for too many children and were to be allowed adequate time for private study. Above all, Local Education Authorities were encouraged to set up pupil teacher centres<sup>48</sup> where the pupil teachers would receive, from qualified teachers, a much better general education than could be imparted by the headmaster or mistress of the school in which they taught. The importance placed on a good general education as a preparation for an elementary teacher was emphasised by Morant's insistence that former pupils of secondary schools should receive every encouragement to enter the profession.

As far as the schools themselves were concerned, the greatest problem facing the officials of the Board of Education, apart from the immense question of the secondary school system, was that of higher grade schools. Morant's own researches had been borne out by the Cockerton judgement - the schools set up by many school boards as a kind of upper elitist level to their activities were illegal under the terms of the 1870 Education Act. Any idea, however, that this was some sort of confidence trick perpetrated on the public by the school boards was unjustified. The school boards had merely expanded into a vacuum and met a public demand for an inexpensive, lower-grade secondary education. As had been previously mentioned, the defenders of school board higher grade and evening continuation schools could argue quite effectively that their curriculum was very well suited to the maintenance of Britain's place in the international commercial conflict.<sup>49</sup> For years ministers of education had been blithely attending the opening of higher grade schools unaware of their illegality or willingly condoning it. Kekewich had almost actively encouraged their growth. In fact, the idea of efficiency in education, with its stress on a thorough study of the basis of existing institutions, had a great deal to do with the recognition of the illegality of the higher grade schools.

The Higher Elementary Schools Minute<sup>50</sup> was an attempt to answer the thorny question of what was to replace the higher grade schools. It set up the framework for a type of school which would have a predominantly scientific curriculum (probably in deference to the contemporary craze for science). Unfortunately, technological subjects were specifically excluded for grant purposes - which debarred most of the former higher grade schools from recognition. In London alone 79 higher grade schools applied but only 7 of them were recognised - a fact which drew considerable attention in Parliament, Corst at one point having to explain that the very popular commercial subjects were classed as technological subjects and inadmissible under the terms of the minute.<sup>51</sup> The new higher elementary schools were never even remotely as popular or as numerous as the higher grade schools and were a permanent thorn in the flesh of education officials.



The Consultative Committee 's report on higher elementary schools in 1906, with its emphasis on general education and the lower grade aspects of the schools which would make children "efficient members of the class to which they will belong",<sup>52</sup> raised a storm of protest particularly from the N.U.T. and although its proposals were put into operation the higher elementary schools slowly withered through lack of public support. Their more vigorous precursor, the higher grade schools, had, in a sense, been sacrificed to demands for clarity and co-ordination in the educational system, sacrificed, like the Office of Special Inquiries, to the equivocal nature of efficiency.

Ideas about secondary schools were also in flux for some years after 1900. The original setting-up of Division A and Division B schools<sup>53</sup> was very obviously a concession to the widespread demands for more science in education. Division A schools, the former Schools of Science, had a predominantly scientific curriculum and received a much higher grant<sup>54</sup> than the Division B schools, although the latter were also obliged to submit a certain quota of science instruction and manual training was obligatory in both. Morant himself seems to have condoned the distinction and seen it, for a time at least, as a useful one. Nevertheless the growth of fears within the Board of Education and among educationalists that the craze for science was being overdone, fears

... lest the education which was going to be given to our youth should be such as to turn them out superficially finished and competent for a time, but rotten at the core, unwilling to learn anything that did not pay, and unable to learn that because they had not kept their intelligence lively and in working order.<sup>55</sup>

... lest we should be hurried into schemes which involve premature specialization and which sacrifice sound education to momentary dexterity.<sup>56</sup>

led to a re-thinking of the Board's policy towards secondary schools. The change in emphasis was an easy one to make. Both Morant and Anson were convinced of the value of a good liberal education. Anson's speeches in the House were, in fact, almost an apologia of this type of education. It had been recognised some years earlier that the injection of general subjects into the curriculum of the older schools of science would be beneficial.<sup>57</sup>



Now the distinction between Division A and Division B schools was torn down and a more general curriculum proposed<sup>58</sup> although there was still a fair amount of compulsory science.

The desire for a greater efficiency in rural schools moved along a less tortuous, if more ambitious, path. It was recognised that the curriculum in country schools was often completely out of keeping with the needs of the locality and the future needs of the pupils. New emphasis was now being placed on the need to prevent the exodus from the country and on the countryside as the source of the best racial stock of the nation. The pressure exerted by people like Medd and Lady Warwick and groups like the Agricultural Education Committee eventually bore fruit in the rural schools circular of 1900,<sup>59</sup> and the appointment of the Board's first advisor on rural schools in 1905.<sup>60</sup> The Times was very enthusiastic about the former document. Its leader ran as follows:

It is impossible to praise too highly the aim and intention of this circular. It is an attempt to humanize and vivify rural education upon the broad and permanent principles which govern all real education whatever. It inculcates the training of a child's faculties instead of the mere burdening of his memory, and shows how the training can be got out of facts which are useful as easily as out of facts which lie far outside the sphere in which the countryman will probably move.<sup>61</sup>

Rural teachers were to bring out aspects of country life rather than rely on a curriculum designed for town schools, the Board hoping, rather ambitiously, that they could "get up" the subjects quite easily if they were not themselves country born.<sup>62</sup>

However, the circular and the appointment of the rural advisor were reflective of the growing trend towards flexibility of approach on the part of the Board.

The trend was equally evident with regard to evening continuation schools. Great emphasis was placed in many of the post-Boer War inquiries on the utilisation of continuation classes; attention was focussed on them in Parliament by the introduction of numerous bills on the subject,<sup>63</sup> some of them advocating compulsory continuation schools. The Board reacted by expanding the courses available, making them more suitable for/



for/ the needs of the locality and incorporating newer, more technological subjects. People at work in a specific trade were no longer debarred from attending classes applicable to that trade. Indeed, those undergoing training in a particular trade or industry could attend whichever classes fitted in best with that training, without being obliged to undergo a full course of instruction from the elementary to the advanced grades.<sup>64</sup>

The last report of the Committee of Council on Education had seen education as a public asset:

An excellent system of public education is one of the best forms of national investment. In commercial and industrial efficiency, in a higher level of civic duty, and, above all, in the wider diffusion of moral culture and religious feeling, the nation is amply repaid for what it spends.<sup>65</sup>

and after the Boer War this awareness of the value of well-educated children to the community had increased.<sup>66</sup> It was logical, therefore, to ensure that they should obtain as much benefit as possible from the education provided. The concern about school attendance and child employment as well as the rapid development of special educational services<sup>67</sup> over the following years can be seen in this light as well as in a humanitarian one. Local authorities were asked to tighten up their by-laws with respect to school attendance,<sup>68</sup> and the Employment of Children Act<sup>69</sup> not only empowered local authorities to make by-laws to regulate the employment of children but laid down general restrictions for that employment.

But if there was a tightening up with regard to school attendance and child employment, there was also greater variety and flexibility with regard to school curricula. In the elementary schools this was merely a continuance of existing trends, with efforts being made to banish the old ideas of class repetition and cramming the children full of as many facts as possible. Inspectors were gradually to take on the role of advisors rather than avenging angels, although the old fear of them lingers even today. The Educational Times had earlier summed up what many educationalists desired/

desired/

... educate the character rather than the memory, and the heart rather than the head. Let the future generation know how to read and write, to manufacture and to trade; but, above all, let them know the nation to which they belong, the victories which it has won at home and abroad, by peace as well as by war, the good name which it has earned, the guidance which it has given to the weak, and the work which it has done for humanity.<sup>70</sup>

Efforts were made by various agencies to introduce Imperial teaching into the elementary schools with varying degrees of success.<sup>71</sup> In the secondary schools under government inspection the Board tried to encourage a much broader general education than the old one based exclusively on Latin. English literature was emphasised as were science and modern languages,<sup>72</sup> the Board going to a great deal of trouble to encourage the better teaching of modern languages by organising schemes of teacher exchange and the appointment of foreign assistant teachers.<sup>73</sup> However, any suggestions of incorporating applied subjects met with a cool reception. Commercial subjects, despite pressure from the Chambers of Commerce, were never condoned and the idea of introducing a form of "Waarenkunde" (materials of trade) into the schools was firmly rebuffed.

The Board of Education, in fact, in its attempts to bring about "efficiency" in education had modified that very malleable concept to fit in with its own past experiences and the thinking of those in authority. The higher grade schools were quashed because they were illegal but also because they were a presumptuous offshoot of upstart school boards who were competing unfairly with traditional, and often vastly inferior, secondary schools. "Efficiency" involved the quashing of the higher grade schools but might equally well have involved their encouragement. "Efficiency" was seen in terms of the provision of a good general secondary education as the basis for subsequent studies, but it could equally well have implied a more career-oriented syllabus. The emphasis was the Board's.

The determination to foster efficiency in education was not confined to the central administration of the Board of Education.



Even before the great education debates of 1902 Parliament had shown itself to be extremely interested in the subject. M.P.'s embarked on lengthy discussions upon the 1900 Code<sup>74</sup> in a way which ten years earlier would have been unheard of. They put forward their own pet educational schemes, of greater or lesser feasibility. They quizzed into everything educational, seeking information even about such confidential matters as Gorst's address to school inspectors.<sup>75</sup> The wealth of legislation and attempted legislation in the period between 1900 and 1905 is a testimony to their interest, and determination to make some attempt to solve the problem.<sup>76</sup> It is interesting, too, to note that most of the speeches introducing educational legislation were peppered with references to the dire effects foreign competition was having on British trade and how this particular measure could alleviate it.

The fear of foreign competition had almost become a cliché, to be paraded forth on every convenient occasion. (Even the Times' advertisements for a concession offer of the Encyclopaedia Britannica in late 1903 incorporated several quotations about the usefulness of education as a weapon in the industrial, commercial and racial warfare of the future, the implication being, no doubt, buy the encyclopaedia and save the nation!) Nevertheless certain events apart from the Boer War had made its claims even more urgent. The Paris International Exhibition, so long prepared for and hassled over, was held in 1900. It was, as Swire Smith remarked,

The most stupendous object-lesson that has ever been presented of the manufacturing progress of the nation, although, in many important departments, this country, 'the workshop of the world,' is conspicuous by the meagreness of its display, or by absence altogether.<sup>77</sup>

Britain was, noticeably, opting out of certain types of science-based industry, and the reassurance given by some that "Man does not live by aniline dyes alone"<sup>78</sup> was hardly comforting when it was considered that the future might be with this very type of industry. Even on the educational front Paris was an eye-opener. The English Education Department was obviously very proud of its entry, showing the work done by school boards and county council technical education boards, and opened it to public display at the Imperial Institute in London before its departure/



departure/ for the continent.<sup>79</sup> But it paled in comparison with the American educational exhibit which depicted a well financed, well co-ordinated system with due emphasis on technical as well as general education and a prosperous aura about it which more than showed how much education was in tune with the needs of industry. The German exhibit was conspicuous by its absence,<sup>80</sup> and observers could only hazard exaggerated guesses about how impressive it would have been and presume that there must be ulterior motives behind its non-appearance.

Another revelation which heightened fears about foreign competition was the news that after a series of bumper years, when even the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not quite know what to do with the surplus money on his hands, trade appeared definitely to be entering a recession.<sup>81</sup> The, as it proved, temporary depression, which was to give impetus to the tariff reform movement, also gave impetus, initially at least, to ideas about educational reform.

For many of the local and private efforts made about this time to meet foreign competition by a fostering of educational efficiency the keynote was "science" - science in the sense not of test tubes and formulae but of a disciplined habit of mind. Beatrice Webb was very optimistic in this respect. As she wrote in her diary

It seems likely that the beginning of the twentieth century will be noted as the starting point of the new form of university training and university research - the application of the scientific method to the facts of everyday life, politics and business.<sup>82</sup>

The initial moves were tentative ones. The Association of Chambers of Commerce began to make plans for setting up a comprehensive commercial education scheme and unified certificate<sup>83</sup> and for taking up cudgels on behalf of commercial education in general. The Eighty Club set up a scheme of work for surveying the progress of education, publishing educational information and arranging deputations where necessary. Other associations interested in education like the British Association and the Agricultural Education Committee bandied the subject of education about in/



in/ endless debates and tried to bring pressure to bear on the Government and the Education Department.

However, gradually attention became firmly focussed on higher and, in particular, university education. Even the prestigious institutions of Oxford and Cambridge were not immune to criticism. The harshest types of this criticism show a lingering suspicion that the old Universities were too academic to deal with the needs of modern "science". As one rather irreverent and sarcastic observer remarked

Our most ancient and venerable universities are too venerable to reform. An attempt to adapt Oxford and Cambridge to modern industrial needs would be an act of Vandalism comparable to the turning of Westminster Abbey into a railway station. They are the only two institutions of their kind in the world; and though it is conceivable that in the future their undergraduates and dons may be represented by wax figures, and admission regulated by a turnstile, no real change is likely to be tolerated. It is none the less necessary to recognize the need for genuine modern universities consisting of technical schools, and making no attempt to compete with the older foundations in their professed work - hardly convincing in its results - of forming the character and enriching the minds of its students, relying rather on the moral and intellectual discipline of learning to do something under pressure of a conviction that the acquirement will presently have to stand the test of the markets of the world.<sup>84</sup>

Most of the criticism was in point of detail. The notion of Greek as a compulsory subject for entrance to Oxford and Cambridge came under attack both in the press<sup>85</sup> and within the governing bodies of the universities. In Cambridge a well planned move to demote Greek was only marginally defeated.<sup>86</sup>

The universities were also attacked on the grounds of their failure to incorporate newer subjects into their curriculum. In this respect the older universities, to be fair, made some valiant, if rather creaking, efforts to move with the times. Attempts were made to introduce the teaching of economics, attempts which made slightly more headway in Cambridge than in Oxford.<sup>87</sup>

Efforts to bring Oxford and Cambridge up to date would always come up against the problems of established traditions and vested interests. The newer universities could provide much greener pastures for politicians like Haldane and Joseph Chamberlain and social scientists like Sidney Webb. Haldane revelled in the atmosphere of these days. He wrote to his mother in 1903 "I am a sort of Evangelist stirring people up about this Education business, and it is interesting to see them beginning to move."<sup>88</sup> He provided the legal advice and assistance for many of the provincial university colleges in their attempts to achieve full university status by being granted a royal charter. He appeared as a witness for the defence for Liverpool when it appeared before the Privy Council to plead its case and when his own membership of the Privy Council debarred him from taking on the case in his legal capacity. In the ensuing years Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield were to follow closely behind.<sup>89</sup> Haldane worked closely with Webb over schemes for the University of London and in particular the "Imperial Charlottenburg". He scoured the country looking for suitably rich benefactors for his own plans and those he had taken under his wing<sup>90</sup> and he maintained an acquaintance with the very touchy Joseph Chamberlain.

Chamberlain himself was the leading figure in the movement for the creation of a fully fledged university in Birmingham out of the Mason University College.<sup>91</sup> After years of fund-raising and wranglings the scheme eventually came to fruition appropriately enough in 1900. The ideas behind the inception of the new university were very much in tune with those of national efficiency. The petition from Mason College stressed the benefits which the university would have for local industry and commerce<sup>92</sup> and Chamberlain, at the first congress of the university, stressed the need for better higher education and more original research in an influential speech.

The fact is that the more I study this question of higher education the more I am persuaded of its enormous importance to this country, the more I am convinced of our own deficiencies, both absolutely and in comparison with those other nations which are our competitors in the struggle, I will not say for existence, but at all events for a foremost place in the rank of the nations of the world. And I regard/



regard/ this opening time of the twentieth century as a critical time in the history of British education, and of the higher education which has hitherto been too much neglected, and I am convinced that, unless we overcome the innate conservatism of our people in regard to new discoveries, in regard to the application of the highest science to the commonest industries and manufactures in our land we shall certainly fall very far behind in the race.<sup>93</sup>

Chamberlain, who had twenty years earlier been forced to drop his championing of free education as an electoral issue because it was simply not a vote catcher, was now the defender of a newer conception of a university<sup>94</sup> which laid emphasis on the application of knowledge to industry and commerce. The press drooled over the facilities which were gradually being built up at Birmingham and, in the Boer War atmosphere, there were few critics of the immense expenditure involved.

One of the most important departures from established tradition in the new University was the setting up of a Faculty of Commerce<sup>95</sup> specifically to meet the need for higher commercial education, particularly among the ranks of commercial consuls and high government officials. Commercial education, which had been pushed out of the secondary schools, now found a small foothold in higher spheres. In 1904 the Victoria University of Manchester followed Birmingham by setting up its own faculty of commerce.<sup>96</sup> However, although the pressures for higher commercial education were strong,<sup>97</sup> these two faculties plus the London School of Economics, which was now a Faculty of the University of London and had expanded into new premises in Clare Market, were the only strongholds of the subject. Despite the valiant attempts of the Chambers of Commerce, the lower grades of commercial education had to find refuge where best they could in evening classes and technical colleges.

Joseph Chamberlain, although later side-tracked by the tariff reform issue, confessed to Haldane that he had had plans for extending the Birmingham scheme to other industrial centres and in particular the metropolis, although so far as fund-raising was concerned he must always be wary of having his name connected with South African millionaires.<sup>98</sup>

Haldane was not hampered by any such difficulties and, with Webb, had become convinced that London University should be an imperial centre for original research - a conviction well expressed in Webb's articles.<sup>99</sup> Haldane, who had been greatly impressed by the work of the *chamisch-technicalische Anstalt* at Charlottenburg in Prussia was sure that a similar institute of applied science was needed for London if England were to hold her own industrially. The machinations surrounding the inception of the "Imperial Charlottenburg" were extremely complex and involved a gallery of influential figures including not only Haldane and the Webbs but also Mowatt (the Permanent head of the Treasury), Morant, Lord Monkswell, the directors of Wernher Beit and Company, and Lord Rosebery as front-man. Haldane, with his political and business connections, Webb with his local government contacts made a formidable team in the cause of educational efficiency.

Haldane, with his ear to the ground, had found out that the firm of Wernher Beit and Company were considering handing over a gift of £100,000 to University College. He immediately brought his influence to bear to have the sum reduced to £10,000 with an option that the rest of the money be used to further his own schemes. Fortunately, at this time an inquiry was being projected into the working of the Royal School of Mines,<sup>100</sup> since the development of mining techniques in South Africa had made much of its teaching outmoded. The Royal College of Science had received a gift of land and was considering expansion and Morant, from his direction, urged that the inquiry be extended to cover the possible uses for the new buildings and the idea of a combined technological education scheme in the metropolis.<sup>101</sup>

Meanwhile Haldane and Webb had been canvassing support for their scheme from political and industrial figures and the London County Council. Eventually the scene was set and the fanfare sounded by Lord Rosebery's<sup>102</sup> letter to Lord Monkswell, chairman of the London County Council, which was printed as an open letter in the Times.<sup>103</sup> The letter followed the usual pattern. Britain was falling behind in the industrial conflict and if she were to hold her own it would need to be by means of the utilisation/



utilisation/ of applied science in higher technical colleges as was already being done in Germany. A group of influential figures including Lord Rosebery had become very concerned about this issue and had taken action. Certain business firms had promised about £200,000 which was to be administered by a Board of Trustees consisting of Rosebery, Haldane, A. J. Balfour, Sir Francis Mowatt, the Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University of London. The forthcoming inquiry into the Royal College of Science and Royal School of Mines would provide an opportunity for discussing the ramifications of this project for applied science in the metropolis. Could the County Council Technical Education Board promise an annual grant to the proposed institution which would help meet running costs?

The scheme was impressive if rather vague and, as was intended, provoked a chorus of comment in the press - not all of it complimentary. H. E. Armstrong stood out against the prevalent praise of the project. As he wrote in a letter to the Times

Lord Rosebery, like Mr. Sidney Webb, Mr. Haldane, and many others, has evidently suffered from an attack of Charlottenburg on the brain ... The scheme recently put forward - if indeed there be a scheme - is clearly the work of men who are not even amateurs.<sup>104</sup>

He felt that expert opinion (meaning presumably himself) had not been consulted on the subject and argued that the proposed new school was not even necessary. In a private letter to William Bousfield he wrote

No new school will recover our position for us. We need a change in the attitude of the employers and a vast improvement in our secondary schools. When these come about and existing schools are put on a sound footing, we shall have little difficulty in supplying trained men.<sup>105</sup>

The Journal of Education, in direct contrast to the Times' unquestioning paeans about the project, was rather sceptical about the whole thing. "We must not let ourselves be bewitched by the glamour of Rheingold" it cautioned its readers in 1904.<sup>106</sup>

Nevertheless the project, which had caught the public imagination, prospered. Haldane, its mentor, was appointed chairman<sup>107</sup> of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Science (including the Royal School of Mines)<sup>108</sup> which was set up/

up/ in April 1904 and which reported in record time by February 1905. Its terms of reference were wide in scope, dealing with future possibilities as well as present circumstances:

To inquire into the present and future working of the Royal College of Science including the School of Mines: to consider in what manner the Staff, together with the buildings and appliances now in occupation or in course of construction, may be utilized to the fullest extent for the promotion of higher scientific studies in connection with the work of existing or projected Institutions for instruction of the same character in the Metropolis or elsewhere: and to report on any changes which may be desirable to carry out such recommendations as they make.<sup>109</sup>

The Committee interviewed many distinguished scientific witnesses and emphasised even in its Preliminary Report that the time was ripe for a comprehensive scheme to deal with the problem of higher scientific education.<sup>110</sup> It detailed the conditions which would ensure its success, including sufficient capital and maintenance funds, the co-operation of the Board of Education, the University of London, the City and Guilds Institute and the various city livery companies. By the time the Final Report was signed in early 1906, the prospects were much brighter. The only difficulty, and one the consideration of which was eventually postponed,<sup>111</sup> was the question of the relation of the proposed conglomerate Imperial College of Science and Technology at South Kensington with the University of London. The Committee gave accounts of the development of technical education in Britain, Germany, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, France and Belgium. Rather surprisingly it argued that

A survey of the whole field of technical education would show that England compared not unfavourably with other countries in the provision made for what may be called the lower and intermediate grades of technical education, as well as for the technical training for the learned professions obtainable at many of our Universities.<sup>112</sup>

This must have been rather a blow to the technical education movement. The report went on

The principal deficiency, whether the resources and needs of this country are viewed by themselves, or whether the rapid strides made by other countries are considered with them, appears to lie in the sphere of the highest technological education.



While putting forward its scheme for more scientific research the committee was nevertheless aware that the main obstacle to the advancement of higher technological education was even yet the attitude of employers and parents.<sup>114</sup> In this it was at one with Armstrong and the report of the Mosely Commission. In its emphasis on a good general preceding education and on the avoidance of confusion between secondary and technical education it was at one with Morant and Anson. Like commercial education, technical education could find no place in secondary schools proper.

It can be argued that an opinion has become universally accepted when it is uttered by royalty. The Prince of Wales had been voicing a universal feeling when he urged England to "Wake up" in a speech during the Boer War. The new Prince of Wales was equally uncontroversial when he attended the opening of the National Physical Laboratory in 1902. His rhetorical question ran

Does it not show in a very practical way that the nation is beginning to recognize that if her commercial supremacy is to be maintained greater facilities must be given for furthering the application of science to commerce and manufacture.<sup>115</sup>

Similar claims were made at the opening of the new Manchester School of Technology,<sup>116</sup> although Balfour also stressed the danger of technical education becoming a fetish.

Nevertheless, despite the pressure to set up a national scheme on the German model for the fostering of higher technological education, the Government made no move towards the adoption of such an ambitious project. The expense involved would be phenomenal, the universities and colleges would probably bitterly resent any official interference, and the implementation of the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 was taking a great deal of effort. The most that could be done was to increase the University College grants significantly<sup>117</sup> and look benignly upon such local efforts as were being made in London and Birmingham.

Norman Lockyer made a rousing presidential speech at the British Association in 1903 in favour of higher scientific education.<sup>118</sup> His speech ran along the usual lines of dire warnings about the results of British deficiencies in this respect. But in contrast with many speakers on the subject he had a concrete scheme: £25 million to be used to endow science at the universities under the guidance of a Scientific National Council (presumably a branch of the Privy Council). £25 million was a formidable, but still feasible, sum of money in 1903. It would have been regarded with incredulity before the Boer War.<sup>119</sup> The scheme, although much bandied about, came to nothing, but it is perhaps symptomatic of even educated English attitudes at the time that by some it was completely misunderstood. One very enthusiastic "supporter" of Lockyer in the Times assumed that the Scientific National Council would be a voluntary body, run by the British Association, along the lines of the Navy League, and urged the importance of contributions.<sup>120</sup>

If there was a great deal of private effort and furore in the realm of higher education, this was equally the case with non-State school education.

For a few years the public schools were rocked by the criticism hurled at them. During the Boer War, the public school army classes, as the main source from which the officer corps were drawn, were attacked for their resort to cramming and unsuitable subjects. Even after the war had ended the criticism continued and expanded on to a wider front. Such dismay at the public school system and at its influence on lesser secondary schools<sup>121</sup> was nothing new. As early as 1894 Graham Wallas had written along similar lines.

If our existing secondary schools are to supply the thinkers and administrators of which the next generation will have such urgent need, they must cease to be places where childhood is continued to the age of nineteen. The real world of hard work and suffering and difficulty must break in upon the fairyland of graduses and cricket scores.<sup>122</sup>

His words now began to be echoed by those of not even remotely socialist tendencies as it was increasingly recognised that the shortcomings of the public schools which, after all, provided/



provided/ the education for the men who would one day be leaders and administrators were a threat to the nation. Sir Oliver Lodge, the scientist, made an incisive critique of the low intellectual standard and narrow curriculum of the public schools in an article in the Nineteenth Century and After.<sup>123</sup>

Criticism crystallised against two main elements in public school life: their championing of Greek even for those for whom it was manifestly an unsuitable subject, and their emphasis on athleticism and the cult of sports. Cloudesley Brereton, in an article for the Fortnightly Review,<sup>124</sup> summed up feeling on the subject when he stressed that although the study of Greek might be an invigorating experience for a few, for most boys the time spent on the subject was completely wasted and, what was worse,

At present far too many masters look on this fearful waste as something more or less perfectly normal, just in the same way as the denizens in some pestilential slum regard the high infant mortality of their area as a mere matter of course.<sup>125</sup>

Professor Westlake went further, arguing that the pottering over Greek in schools was not only cruel to the boys but also "... a waste of the resources which the nation ought to have in the efficiency of its members and in their respect for efficiency."<sup>126</sup> The traditional claims of Greek as a prestige subject which opened the gates of the doors to the learning of the ancients and could lead to posts of considerable emolument<sup>127</sup> had been routed by the concept of national efficiency.

Nor was the traditional reverence for sports and "playing the game" immune from attack. The figure of the athletics master at most public schools was held up to ridicule.<sup>128</sup> He was pictured as a figure of low intellectual standard who had, by mysterious means, passed through a university education and who now spread an atmosphere of anti-intellectualism among his pupils. Sadler had hinted at this lack of reverence for intellectual matters in his Special Report on preparatory schools.<sup>129</sup> Now the lack of patience with what seemed a feudal<sup>130</sup> attitude, totally out of keeping with the needs of a modern industrial nation in competition with other industrial nations, took shape as a virulent attack on athleticism in the press and educational periodicals.



The public schools were quick to react to the twofold criticism of their curriculum and ethos. Critical articles were immediately countered by letters and articles from public school teachers and headmasters and, inevitably, from former pupils. Some of the latter variety verged on the ludicrous and can have done little to help the public school cause.<sup>131</sup> But many of the letters from headmasters and others were remarkably intelligent statements in defence of the system. They argued that although the public school curriculum might have its failings attempts were being made to remedy these by the introduction of more modern subjects, that the way in which they helped form the character of their pupils would be of great assistance to the nation in days to come.<sup>132</sup> The Headmasters' Conferences in 1901 and 1902 were unusually introspective, soul-searching events and the Times had already sensed that change was in the air for the public schools.<sup>133</sup> Some significant alterations were made in staffing: the new headmaster of Marlborough was not, in a sharp break with tradition, a holder of, or potential candidate for, holy orders<sup>134</sup> and the newer style curriculum was not so obviously frowned upon.

The idea of efficiency in education had in fact, to a greater or lesser extent, exerted an influence on nearly all grades of education, from the teaching in state elementary schools to the course of study at the older universities. It was an idea which, in one or other of its aspects, might be of interest to different classes in the population. The Countess of Warwick insisted that the subject interested the working classes greatly.<sup>135</sup> More down-to-earth are Robert Roberts' reminiscences of his father's attitude to evening classes:

Father was all in favour of education - if one could get it after work. 'That's the way:' he said. 'Earn and learn!' He liked that slogan and repeated it often. We then heard again about the chances he had missed through a lack of formal knowledge, and, in general terms, how far 'them Germans' had got ahead of us through sending their lads to technical schools and how we had to catch up. I felt no desire to catch up with the Germans, but at fourteen took an English course with some thirty others in an old Board School across the borough ... 136

Evidently the idea of a German educational threat was filtering through to popular consciousness even in a vague distorted form.



The notion of educational efficiency was itself very much a response to the idea of potential threat, whether of a military, industrial or commercial nature. This perhaps helps explain its equivocal nature. Not only did exponents of efficiency vary in their definition of the term but also in their conception of where the greatest threat lay. Efficiency had as its prerequisite attack and action, hence the flurry of criticism and activity at this time.

Attacks were made on particular subjects (notably Greek) and particular attitudes (athleticism and anti-intellectualism) in education. Particular subjects, particular types of education and particular attitudes were promoted. Demands for the study of science, commercial subjects and modern languages were the warcry although science in particular and modern languages to a lesser extent were to fare much better than the rather amorphous "commerce". Support was given above all to higher scientific and commercial education, although the notion of a solid secondary education was not neglected. The attitude fostered was one of enthusiastic belief in the virtues of the "scientific habit of mind".

Efficiency involved not only much greater Government interference in education than had hitherto been the case but, initially at least, a development of local and voluntary activity. It was in time to expand into the field of secondary educational considerations, into the field of child welfare.

Nevertheless it is not sufficient to consider efficiency as an end in itself. Efficiency, for the majority of its exponents, involved a belief in the value of, and a determination to uphold, the Empire. As R. P. Scott remarked

... this (educational) efficiency is nothing more than a means to a still greater end, the training up of good men and women who shall be capable of answering to all the varied calls made upon the citizens of this great Empire.<sup>137</sup>

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69. Employment of Children Act, 1903. 3 Edw. 7. ch. 45.
70. Educational Times. Vol. 51 (1898). pp. 445-446.
71. See chapter VI. pp. 225-231.
72. Regulations for Secondary Schools, 1904-1905. P.P. Cd. 2128. (1904). p. 9. para. vii.



73. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1904-1905. P.P. Cd., 2783. (1906). pp. 10-11.
74. See chapter III. p. 132. Note 120.
75. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 92. c. 69. 28 March 1901.
76. e.g.  
 Board of Education Act, 1899.  
 Elementary Education Act, 1900.  
 Education (Provision of Working Balances) Act, 1900.  
 Education Act, 1902.  
 London Education Act, 1903.  
 Employment of Children Act, 1903.  
 University of Liverpool Act, 1904.  
 Leeds University Act, 1904.  
 etc.
77. Swire Smith address, 30 October 1900, to students of Birmingham Municipal Technical School. Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 10 (1901). p. 19.
78. W. H. D. Rouse. The Times. 1 October 1901.
79. The Times. 6 January 1900. The exhibition included such things as Gladstone's exam papers.  
The Times. 12 January 1900 lamented that the attendance at the technical education exhibit was very disappointing.
80. Education at the Paris Exhibition. Reports of Local Authorities. (A) Foreign Exhibits at the Exhibition. Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 10 (1901). pp. 70-78.
81. The Times. 8 January 1901. "The Prospects of Trade."  
 7 January 1902. "Trade in 1901."
82. Beatrice Webb. Our Partnership. op. cit. p. 247.
83. The plan for such a scheme came to nothing. The Congress of the Association found it had not the necessary administrative machinery to undertake the task. Dr. Ivan Zolger.  
Das kommerzielle Bildungswesen in England. Vienna: Hölzner, 1903. p. 13 ff.
84. G. B. Shaw. "Fabianism and the Fiscal Question. An Alternative Policy." Fabian Tract No. 116. p. 22. February 1904.
85. See the Times leaders on this subject:  
 25 October 1902 "The Universities and Educational Reform."  
 29 November 1904 "Greek at the Universities."  
 5 December 1904 "The Greek Question at Oxford and Cambridge."  
 6 March 1905 "Greek and the Universities."
86. The Times. 6 March 1905.

87. The Times. 18 April 1902. "The Study of Economics at Cambridge." 4 June 1903. "The Study of Economics at the Universities."
88. Haldane to mother, 4 July 1903. Haldane M.S. 5970. f. 7-8.
89. See W. H. G. Armytage. Civic Universities. London: Ernest Benn, 1955. pp. 243-248 for details.  
The dates when the various new universities received their charters were as follows:
- |            |              |
|------------|--------------|
| Birmingham | March 1900   |
| Manchester | October 1903 |
| Liverpool  | October 1903 |
| Leeds      | April 1904   |
| Sheffield  | May 1905     |
| Bristol    | May 1909.    |
90. Although he did not always meet with success viz. Haldane to Rosebery from Skibo Castle (home of Andrew Carnegie) 24 September 1902. Rosebery M.S. 10030. f. 50.  
"I have not done much good here - a vague semi-promise of a technological library for the new Institute when built, but that is the very outside ... I leave this place today. I have been carrying my cross."
91. Chamberlain was quick to scotch any underestimate by Haldane of the amount of work which was being done in Birmingham two years later. Letter to Haldane, 18 September 1902. Haldane M.S. 5905. f. 235-236.  
Also quoted in Eric Ashby and Mary Anderson. Portrait of Haldane at Work on Education. London: Macmillan, 1974. p. 72.
92. Copy of an Application from Mason University College for the Establishment of a University etc. together with a Copy of the Draft of the Charter applied for. P.P. 1900 (22). p. 1.
93. The Times. 8 July 1901. The speech was widely quoted.
94. Joseph Chamberlain in ibid saw the ideal University as having four main functions:
- (i) it should be an institution where all existing knowledge is taught.
  - (ii) a University is a place where the knowledge that has been acquired has to be tested.
  - (iii) a University should be a place where knowledge is increased and where the limits of learning are extended.
  - (iv) a University is a place where the application of knowledge must be indicated and directed.
95. The Times. 9 May 1902.
96. The Times. 8 July 1904.



97. The Times printed a series of articles on higher commercial education in 1901, beginning on 12 September and accompanied by a leader calling the question to the attention of the universities, wealthy men and the English people in general.
98. Letter to Haldane, quoted in Sir Frederick Maurice. Haldane Vol. 1. London: Faber and Faber, 1937. pp. 115-116.
99. e.g. "London University - a Policy and a Forecast." Nineteenth Century. Vol. 51 (1902). pp. 914-931.
100. For details of the circumstances leading up to the Departmental Report on the Royal College of Science (including the Royal School of Mines) and questions connected therewith see Final Report. P.P. Cd. 2872. (1906). p. 23. para. 75.
101. P.R.O. Ed. 24/529. Morant minute to Mowatt relating to the scope of the proposed committee, 25 October 1903.
102. The letter was actually drafted by Sidney Webb.
103. The Times. 29 June 1903. The letter was dated 27 June.
104. The Times. 2 September 1903.
105. H. E. Armstrong to Mr. William Bousfield, July 1903, quoted in J. Vargas Eyre. Henry Edward Armstrong. London: Butterworths, 1958. pp. 151-152.
106. Journal of Education. Vol. 26 (1904). p. 529.
107. Mowatt was the original chairman but had to resign owing to ill-health.
108. Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Science (including the Royal School of Mines) and questions connected therewith. P.P. Cd. 2610. (1905). Preliminary Report.  
Cd. 2956. (1906). Minutes of evidence.  
Cd. 2872. (1906). Final Report.  
  
Composition of the Committee: Haldane, Abney, Carbutt, Church, Leech, Magnus, McDermott, Mowatt, Ogilvie, Reay, Rücker, Webb, Wernher, White.
109. P.P. Cd. 2610. (1905). p. 2.
110. ibid. p. 5.
111. Until the later Royal Commission on University Education in London, 1910-1913.
112. P.P. Cd. 2872. (1906). p. 9. para. 27.
113. ibid. p. 9. para. 27.

114. ibid. p. 22. para. 73.
115. The Times. 20 March 1902.  
In fact, the laboratory was only for setting up standards of measurement and for testing certain classes of material for industry.
116. The Times. 16 October 1902.
117. By a Treasury minute of 30 March 1904, the university grant was doubled from £27,000 to £54,000 and a grants committee set up to supervise its distribution.  
W. H. G. Armytage. op. cit. p. 247.
118. Address to the British Association at Southport. "The Influence of Brain-Power on History." The Times. 10 September 1903.  
Reprinted in Norman Lockyer. Education and National Progress. London: Macmillan, 1906. pp. 172-215.
119. See J. R. Hay. The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reforms. London: Macmillan, 1975. p. 17 for a discussion of the links between war and post-war expenditure levels.
120. Lauriston Shaw letter. The Times. 14 September 1903.
121. Not all secondary schools modelled themselves on the great public schools. There were excellent modern secondary schools in certain areas. But schools like University College School in London (aided by Technical Education Board Funds) and the King Edward's Foundation Schools in Birmingham were exceptional. Many so-called secondary schools refused to compromise their adherence to the classics, their only similarity with the public schools, by accepting local county council lucre. The 1902 Education Act helped tear down this distinction, although the public schools still remained as an example to all.
122. Graham Wallas. "The Training of the Young in their Duty to the State." Journal of Education. Vol. 16 (1894). p. 303.
123. Oliver Lodge. "Our Public Schools as a Public Peril." Nineteenth Century and After. Vol. 52 (1903). pp. 941-950.
124. Cloudesley Brereton. "Greek and the Public Schools." Fortnightly Review. Vol. 75 (1904). pp. 481-488.
125. ibid. p. 488.
126. Professor J. Westlake. "Compulsory Greek as a National Question." Nineteenth Century and After. Vol. 57 (1905). p. 251.



127. Dean Gaisford humorously quoted by Kenelm Cotes in the Fortnightly Review. Vol. 79 (1906). p. 874.
128. H. J. Spenser. "The Athletics Master in Public Schools." Contemporary Review. Vol. 78 (1900). pp. 113-117.
129. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 6. Preparatory Schools for Boys: Their Place in English Secondary Education. P.P. Cd. 418 (1900). particularly p. 85.
130. Dr. J. Beattie Crozier. "The Condition of England Question." Fortnightly Review. Vol. 73 (1903). pp. 70-87 is an effective critique of the feudalistic ethos and "the cult of the gentleman". (p. 82.)  
Correlli Barnett has also argued that it was the survival of this ethos which was a contributing factor in Britain's difficulties even much later in the century. Correlli Barnett. The Collapse of British Power. London: Eyre Methuen, 1972. particularly chapter II pp. 19-68 "All that is Noble and Good."
131. e.g. Letter from 'An old Salopian'. The Times. 6 April 1901.
132. Lodge's attack on the public schools was countered by Arthur Benson and Frank Fletcher. "Sir Oliver Lodge and our Public Schools." Nineteenth Century and After. Vol. 53 (1903). pp. 41-47 and 48-53.  
See also Warre in a letter to the Times. 9 July 1900.
133. The Times. Leader. 25 May 1901.
134. The Times. 19 June 1903.
135. The Countess of Warwick. "The Cause of the Children." Nineteenth Century. Vol. 50 (1901). p. 69.
136. Robert Roberts. A Ragged Schooling. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976. p. 201.
137. "Secondary Education Legislation, with Special Reference to Problems awaiting Solution." in R. D. Roberts (ed.) Education in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge: University Press, 1901. p. 60.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE IMPERIAL SPIRIT

"An Empire such as ours requires as its first condition an imperial race - a race vigorous and industrious and intrepid."

LORD ROSEBERRY.<sup>1</sup>



## CHAPTER VI

The Boer War had cast grave doubts into the minds of the British public about the potential integrity of the Empire. If it had needed almost the full might of the British army and three years of fighting to subdue two small South African republics, then what would happen if the country were presented with a much greater threat? The fears of a break-up of Empire led to a greater appreciation of what Imperialism entailed. A consciousness which had been growing over previous years that Britain was faced with an awesome responsibility with regard to her Empire was now effectively rammed home. R. P. Scott presented the problem in the form of statistics:

During the sixty years of the Queen's reign the British Empire has increased in area by nearly three million square miles, and in population by nearly two hundred and thirty millions. These little islands, with less than forty million inhabitants, now hold in their hands the tremendous responsibility of the lives and prosperity and good government of some four hundred millions of human souls in every part of the globe.<sup>2</sup>

It was useless to argue, as the little Englander might, that the best course would be to lay down the burden of Empire with its responsibilities and expenditure and concentrate instead on social reform at home.<sup>3</sup> The concept of Empire as a passport to great power status was not yet discredited and the argument that without her Empire Britain would become a poor nation was a strong one. J. Lawson Watson put this case forward cogently in the Contemporary Review.

If the time ever comes when we are content to let our dominion slip or to cast it from us, the day of the departure of our country's prosperity will be at hand. We shall have then commenced our mournful and perhaps inevitable, passage into the region of history and tradition and perished splendour in which reside the great empires of the past.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, the emotional ties with Empire were extremely difficult/

difficult/ to break. The presence of Colonial troops in Britain during the Boer War and of Colonial heads of states during the Colonial Conference of 1902 was a sharp and, at times, exhilarating reminder of the tangible existence of the Empire. Nevertheless there was much less stress on Empire-building as a "happy, glorious occupation"<sup>5</sup> than on the duties involved in being at the hub of a great Empire. At times Imperialist thinking took on an almost mystic significance. Curzon saw his version of the "true" Imperialism as "a secular religion, embodying the most sacred duty of the present, and the brightest hope for the future".<sup>6</sup> The rather introspective talk of duties and responsibilities of Empire as a sacred trust for posterity, and on the distinction between the true and the spurious Imperialism<sup>7</sup> was a comparatively new phenomenon, ostensibly, if a little self-righteously, at odds with the aggressive and uncomplicated jingoism of fifty years earlier.

Talk of Imperial federation began to take on a new urgency. In some ways the efforts in this direction can be seen as an offshoot of the demands for national efficiency - attempts to codify and place on a more contractual basis what was, after all, a very vague relationship, to extend the co-ordination of administration overseas, to build up defensive walls against future military or commercial threats. There were, however, dangers inherent in this approach. Colonies who would willingly accept unwritten emotional ties might balk at chains of obligation and mutual aid<sup>8</sup> being slung around their necks. Also, the very talk of federation might imply that something was seriously wrong. Even contemporaries like Lord Thring recognised this. "Now, this vague talk about the unity of the Empire is most mischievous and misleading in so far as it indicates a doubt of its existing solidarity"<sup>9</sup> was his brisk comment.

The stress on Imperial federation, which was to be achieved in a confusing variety of ways, was accompanied by a stress on the federation of intellect and the inculcation of an Imperial spirit. For some observers Imperial "propaganda" was the basis on which Imperial unity would rest.



In order ... that Imperial Unity should be fully realised, it is imperative that the national mind should be educated to grasp the conditions upon which the Empire rests, and all sorts and classes of men made to understand the moral obligations of citizenship.<sup>10</sup>

wrote Sir Rowland Blennerhasset, doyen of the Imperial cause. Education was, for many, to assume a prominent role in the Imperial cause, some even going so far as to see "the future of British education and the future of the British Empire" as "very closely, and indeed indissolubly linked."<sup>11</sup>

This is not to say that the hopes of the Imperialists (who, after all, included the majority of the population) rested exclusively on a specifically Imperial type of education. Many of those who were pressing for a greater efficiency in education saw national efficiency as a prerequisite for the maintenance of Empire. Haldane argued that commerce was the foundation of Empire and that while education was not the sole determinant of commercial success, it was becoming increasingly important as science progressed.<sup>12</sup> The essays edited by Laurie Magnus on National Education<sup>13</sup> have a strong theme running through them of education as a possible means for maintaining the Empire. Norman Lockyer, the scientist, was insistent in his book on Education and National Progress that

... if England suffers Germany or any other nation to surpass her in the arts of peace - that is in the application of science to the needs of mankind - the fall of the Empire must come sooner or later.<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless Imperial education was a phenomenon in its own right, whether it consisted of attempts to foster Imperial federation by educational means, the teaching of specifically imperial subjects, or the inculcation of certain traits of character and values. Imperial education was seen by some as resting on a more elevated plane than the rather mercenary concerns about commercial and industrial competition. It is also an interesting case study of education being seen as a means of providing for the future and showed many Imperialists attempting to provide for the future needs of the Empire.

Concerns about threats to the Empire, coupled with fears that the British might prove too physically degenerate to sustain an Empire, resulted in an attempt to create what was essentially an Imperial race - "a race vigorous and industrious and intrepid".<sup>15</sup> This interest in physical efficiency was originally voiced in its military defence aspect. However, it soon strayed along paths of social reform. It can be argued that certain politicians might even have used imperial arguments in their advocacy of social reform, merely as a disguise for more humanitarian motives. This may be true to a certain extent of Gorst. For a man who was extremely distrustful of military influence<sup>16</sup> his arguments in favour of social reform are suspiciously well-gearred to imperial and military interests. He argued

How could they carry on this great Empire if they allowed causes of this kind (i.e. underfed schoolchildren) which affected the physical condition of the people to continue to operate, and thus prevent their having soldiers and sailors fit to serve for the protection of the Empire?<sup>17</sup>

Gorst and others like him had been insisting that children were a "valuable national asset"<sup>18</sup> and one not to be squandered away. Now the ever growing consciousness that the children of today would have to bear the ever increasing Imperial burden of to-morrow made the value of children to the community a popular cliché, particularly when fears about a declining birth rate increased their scarcity value.

Almost overnight, children had become the shuttlecock of various associations all trying to impart to them their particular emphasis or subject. The impression given during the years between about 1900 and 1905 is that of numerous voluntary committees and organisations, each inspired with a burning mission to save the Empire, and each trying in its own way to bring pressure on the Board of Education, the Local Education Authorities and Parliament. In most cases the aim was the introduction of their own pet subject, or emphasis, into the schools. The subjects ranged from modern languages, Imperial history and geography to military drill and rifle shooting; the emphases from better directed intellectual effort to physical soundness to moral stamina. The/



The/ most important of these voluntary patriotic associations dealt with in this chapter were Lord Meath's Lads Drill Association, the League of the Empire, with its sister organisation the Victoria League, which emphasised imperial education and imperial links, the Twentieth Century League with its aim of the reforming of the young hooligan, and the National Association for the Promotion of Physical Education and Improvement whose aim was self-explanatory. Very often the activities of the voluntary associations overlapped, not only with each other but with the work of government departments. Therefore the notion of an "Imperial" education has been considered in its various aspects: military defence, the fostering of an imperial race, the teaching of 'imperial' subjects and the fostering of imperial federation through education.

During and immediately after the Boer War one of the greatest preoccupations for Imperialists was with military defence. As has already been noted, although the British navy still reigned supreme, Britain had shown her military vulnerability. If the country were drained of regular troops, who would resist a potential invading force? The heads of the Admiralty might insist that invasion was impossible, but the very prospect was a daunting one.<sup>19</sup>

The logical response to such fears was the advocacy of conscription on the continental model. Lord Roberts, the popular hero of the historic march from Kabul to Kandahar and the veteran Boer War Commander, both alone and through the medium of the National Service League, made numerous speeches on behalf of a conscript army. Supporters of such a course paraded forth rather strained arguments in its favour - even insisting that youths would thereby be encouraged to stay on at school to obtain a full secondary education.<sup>20</sup> But the idea of universal military conscription was really a non-starter in British society, given the distrust of anything which smacked of compulsion and uniformity. Any government which introduced a bill along such lines would be met by a storm of opposition and would, in effect, be signing its own death warrant.



The alternatives to such a course were much more palatable: the utilisation of the existing volunteer force,<sup>21</sup> the encouragement of rifle shooting as a national pastime and, even more important, the development of a cadet corps system, by which boys would be trained to bear arms and would be able at any time, after a few weeks' 'refresher' training, to play a part in national defence. To a certain extent, the cadet corps idea which emerged after the Boer War was an attempt to copy the system which was current in some of the Dominions. The Special Reports on Colonial Education<sup>22</sup> had stressed that in many areas (particularly in Natal and Australia) such corps formed an important element in school life and proved of great use to the community. The most outstanding figure to be connected with the cadet corps movement in Britain was Lord Meath.<sup>23</sup> His was the motivating force behind the formation of the Lads Drill Association in March 1899. In a press campaign which was strident, if a little repetitive, he hammered home the aims of the Lads Drill Association - an association which he saw as "a sort of vigilance committee for the purpose of doing everything in its power to promote the teaching of military drill to our young lads irrespective of creed and station."<sup>24</sup> The aim was not only to secure the extension of the cadet corps movement throughout the country, and particularly throughout the schools of the country, but also to provide the corps and battalions with the necessary practice ranges and firearms by enlisting help from the public and the government. Lord Meath was tireless in his efforts to bring the corps into connection with the War Office and hence with the fountainhead of government money. Meath and his associates adopted the frontal assault tactics of introducing a Cadet Corps Bill<sup>25</sup> into parliament and tabling numerous questions and motions on the subject,<sup>26</sup> continually quoting Lord Roberts that

Lads who have been efficiently trained would probably become quite as effective soldiers in an equally short space of time as would reserve men after being absent from the colours three or four years.<sup>27</sup>

The call for the military training of youth had been taken up by various influential figures - indeed the list of Vice-Presidents of the Association makes very impressive reading.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless/



Nevertheless/ Parliament was more impressed by what the cost of grants to cadet corps would be.

Meath, undaunted, began to badger the War Office and the Board of Education with his demands. First Lansdowne and then Brodrick were at the receiving end of numerous letters and deputations asking for monetary or material aid in the form of uniforms, old weapons, the use of practice areas and training facilities. Brodrick's replies inevitably found their way into the columns of the Times<sup>29</sup> and they show a man wanting to encourage a pastime so beneficial to the military while attempting to avoid the issue of subsidies or to shift the onus onto the shoulders of some other Department. Officers commanding districts were directed to give assistance to local cadet corps and to help in the training of teachers as officers but very little else was done by the War Office.<sup>30</sup>

The Education Department was equally non-committal. The idea of making military drill compulsory in elementary schools could simply not be considered, as was stated in no uncertain terms in a letter to the War Office. Kekewich wrote

I am directed to state that the Education Department are not prepared to take any action for making military drill, to the exclusion of other forms of physical exercise, universal and compulsory in schools. The regulations of the Department, however, provide encouragement for military drill equally with other forms of suitable physical exercise.<sup>31</sup>

In fact, much of the physical training in elementary schools was to take on, at least temporarily, a very military colouring, much to the displeasure of Gorst. Gorst's anti-militarist views in this respect were embellished upon a few years after he left office.

The first idea in this country was that the drill in public elementary schools should be made military. The ruling classes see the need of breeding stout, well-developed youths as recruits for the Army, on the strength of which their power of intervention in foreign affairs so largely depends. Compulsory military service at 17 or 18 years of age is politically impossible; our rulers would gladly have it if they could; but as they cannot they fall back upon the little boys in the elementary schools of whom they have the control, and desire to drill them as soldiers and teach them to handle a rifle.<sup>32</sup>

The coming of a new regime at the Education Department might possibly have made it more amenable to military drill suggestions. Londonderry, the new president, was prominent in local affairs as a champion of rifle shooting as a national pastime and the encouragement of cadet corps. Petitions and requests from such prominent figures as Lords Lieutenant and Justices of the Peace<sup>33</sup> appeared at the offices, urging that military drill be made a compulsory subject in schools. Arnold-Forster, Brodrick's successor at the War Office, tried to play on what he thought would be Londonderry's weak spot and further the interests of his own Department by suggesting that the War Office and the Board of Education should co-operate in encouraging a system of military training for the youth of the country - only to meet with a sharp rebuff. Londonderry stressed that his private and official capacities were two completely separate entities and that while in his private capacity he might try to promote the cause of military training for the young this was not necessarily his policy as President of the Board of Education.<sup>34</sup>

In fact, the Board of Education, even had it been able to find the money after the needs of secondary education had been met, could never have considered the possibility of doling out money as subsidies for military training. The whole principle of the block grant was designed to abolish such subsidies and other pressure groups would have begging bowls at the ready were it broken. Moreover, attempts were being made to make the curriculum in the elementary school more flexible and less burdened with obligatory subjects - efforts which could not but be hindered by the introduction of another compulsory subject, even had it not been such a controversial one.

The War Office was much more enthusiastic about the idea of cadet corps and compulsory military drill in schools - which was logical since it stood to gain most. Already in the throes of reorganisation,<sup>35</sup> however, it tried frantically to shift most of the financial burden on to the shoulders of voluntary effort or even of the Education Department. Its efforts proved to be in vain and the whole cadet corps question was eventually referred,/



referred, / after a great deal of indecision, to the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers<sup>36</sup> well after the initial enthusiasm had faded. (The Lads Drill Association was wound up in 1906.)

If the official response to the idea of cadet corps and military training for youth was a rather non-committal one, the response from private schools and local organisations was much more positive. The public schools were to set the tone in this matter. Some of them already had cadet corps and most had army classes<sup>37</sup> but they now sought to bring the corps into much closer relationship with the War Office. Dr. Warre, the famous classical scholar and headmaster of Eton, put down his views on the subject in the form of a memorandum, the much publicised "Eton Memorandum" in which he urged, along the lines of the Cadet Corps Bill, that the corps should receive Government subsidies and War Office supervision and be better integrated into the general system of military training.<sup>38</sup> The memorandum was discreetly shelved by the War Office, who suggested that it might provide suitable material for discussion at the next Headmasters Conference. In fact, the Headmasters Conference of December 1900 was very much a "khaki conference"<sup>39</sup> in which the main topic of conversation was the problem of cadet corps. There was a burst of military style activity in many secondary schools over the next few years. The Boer War had shown up the lamentable failure of British marksmanship and so it was logical that many of the projects mooted involved the use of rifle ranges. Sometimes, however, the demands of the proponents of sharp-shooting could verge on the ludicrous. C. G. Gull, headmaster of the Grocers' Company School, in a letter to the Times in July 1904 enclosed a table of shooting scores as achieved by his pupils and wrote rather optimistically that

I hope this will open the eyes of the authorities to the value of this training in schools, and that the time may come when Morris-tube shooting will form an integral part of the school curriculum for all British boys.<sup>40</sup>

The rather Ruritarian idea of fencing classes at the public schools as a means of training quick observation and dexterity was firmly quashed.<sup>41</sup>

In fact, the military furore was remarkably short lived. Although the number of elementary schools in which military, as distinct from ordinary school, drill was taught had jumped dramatically in the years 1901 to 1902 from 3,014 to 6,437,<sup>42</sup> the policy of the Board of Education was never to encourage military drill at the expense of other subjects.<sup>43</sup> As more and more secondary schools, after the 1902 act, fell directly or indirectly under the Board's sway this attitude must have been extended to them even had there not been an inevitable gradual decline of interest in military matters as the war receded in time. In most of the public schools the emphasis continued and was to continue for many years, although there were hints that public school rifle clubs had been almost complete failures<sup>44</sup> and that sport was still more important than cadet corps arrangements.<sup>45</sup>

The gradual fading of interest was equally true of local effort. Henry Birchenough, friend of Meath and South African millionaire, had been one of the main forces behind the setting up of the Macclesfield Patriotic Association, a local association designed to integrate and actively promote all types of voluntary military activity. Birchenough himself was very much in favour of compulsory military training and evidently hoped, like Meath,<sup>46</sup> that the Macclesfield scheme would provide a model for local effort throughout the country. Nevertheless, despite his promptings in the Nineteenth Century<sup>47</sup> and the advertising of the association on public platforms, other localities failed to take the bait.

The ideas in general of military training in schools did not go completely unchallenged. The Board of Education, as has been seen, was wary, the Society of Friends circulated a memorandum against such forms of militarism<sup>48</sup> and there were rumblings in the press and parliament about the dangers of militarism.<sup>49</sup> Henry Armstrong, from the very first, was anxious that the critical spirit brought about by the war should not be diverted along the wrong channels. He wrote

Our many failures in South Africa are clearly ascribable to faulty display of intelligence. No amount of mere military training given in our schools or subsequently will ensure/



ensure/ better results being obtained hereafter unless the intelligence of our soldiers and of all who are in any way concerned in the conduct of military affairs be more fully developed in early years at school.<sup>50</sup>

There was a lingering suspicion that the emphasis on physical well-being and cadet corps was solely an alternative to the schemes of compulsory military service being advocated by organisations like the National Service League. Certainly, the exponents of military education in schools turned more and more to the defensive. The moral and physical benefits for the children were increasingly emphasised.<sup>51</sup> The compulsory element in the schemes, obviously a non-starter, disappeared, and advocacy of any scheme was accompanied by the reminder that this was not militarism or aggression - merely national defence.<sup>52</sup>

While groups like the Lads Drill Association took military training and national defence as their warcry, others argued that

The future of the Empire, the triumph in social progress, and the freedom of the British race depended not so much upon the strengthening of the Army as upon fortifying the children of the State for the battle of life.<sup>53</sup>

During the Boer War there had been a rush of recruits, many of whom had failed to come up to the fairly lax standards for entrance to the Army. General Maurice, in two rather alarmist articles in the Contemporary Review,<sup>54</sup> drew the rather debatable conclusion that the British race was deteriorating in physique. The articles from such a seemingly reliable source were followed by a spate of similar allegations and were made all the more credible when taken in conjunction with the report and evidence of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland).<sup>55</sup> Appointed in March 1902, the Commission's object was, significantly,

To enquire into the opportunities for physical training now available in the State-aided schools and other educational institutions of Scotland; and to suggest means by which such training may be made to conduce to the welfare of the pupils; and, further, how such opportunities may be increased by Continuation Classes and otherwise, so as to develop, in their practical application to the requirements of life, the faculties of those who have left the day schools.<sup>56</sup>



Although nominally restricted to Scotland, the Commission took evidence from the London School Board and conducted enquiries in London.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, its main concerns were equally applicable to England: the lack of any system of physical training in schools and dearth of suitably qualified teachers, the emphasis on games, the means by which cadet corps, boys brigades and continuation classes might be utilised. Its recommendations were also considerably in advance of thinking in England about the role of the state in education.<sup>58</sup>

So great was the public outcry about the possibility of national deterioration that the Government, in what had by now become a familiar response to criticism, set up an Inter-Departmental Committee<sup>59</sup> under Almeric Fitzroy to inquire into the matter. The original terms of reference show the committee in a preparatory light, clearing the ground for a Royal Commission. It was

To make a preliminary enquiry into the allegations concerning the deterioration of certain classes of the population as shown by the large percentage of rejections for physical causes of recruits for the Army and by other evidence, especially the Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland), and to consider in what manner the medical profession can best be consulted on the subject with a view to the appointment of a Royal Commission, and the terms of reference to such a Commission, if appointed.<sup>60</sup>

This rather tentative remit was, however, much extended. The idea of a burdensome Royal Commission was dropped and scope given for the Committee to give more concrete suggestions.

(1) To determine, with the aid of such counsel as the medical profession are able to give, the steps that should be taken to furnish the Government and the Nation at large with periodical data for an accurate comparative estimate of the health and physique of the people; (2) to indicate generally the causes of such physical deterioration as does exist in certain classes; and (3) to point out the means by which it can be most effectually diminished.<sup>61</sup>

The fact that General Maurice's allegations were firmly refuted by the report<sup>62</sup> went practically unnoticed in the mass of information and suggestions. The report dealt with social conditions which in general were detrimental to national health - conditions like overcrowding, poor sanitation and smoke pollution. But a great deal of it dealt with education in its bearing on/



on/ social conditions and the welfare of children generally. The emphasis on children might have its origins more in a desire to prepare the nation physically for the future than in humanitarian motives (however potent). The Bishop of Ripon had stated this rather cogently in the Fortnightly Review.

The children of today will be the strength and in a great degree the directing force of the nation to-morrow. Let us see to it that they are fitted for the high duties which will fall into their hands.<sup>63</sup>

The Committee was concerned with physical preparation for the future. Its report was emphatic about the need for some scheme of social education by which the elements of cookery, hygiene and domestic economy would be taught to girls at school. It recommended that games and physical exercises should be encouraged at school and later through the medium of clubs, cadet corps and compulsory continuation classes. School medical inspection and feeding were seen as highly desirable.

The Committee's recommendations were backed up by various voluntary associations now at work in the field of physical welfare. Two of these associations had been given a platform by the Report. The Twentieth Century League, at the time that the chairman of its executive committee gave his evidence,<sup>64</sup> had been in existence for about three years.<sup>65</sup> The Times had already described the League as one which sought to combat hooliganism and

... to promote the welfare of the younger proportion of the industrial population in and around London, by providing increased facilities for healthy recreation, social intercourse, and physical, mental and moral improvement.<sup>66</sup>

Mr. Eyre described the four aims of the League in greater detail to the Committee. They were: firstly, to strengthen and consolidate existing agencies; secondly, to encourage these agencies to reach the roughest classes; thirdly, to provide information, particularly with regard to health hazards like smoking, for the various clubs; and fourthly, to attract personal and financial assistance.<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, despite various public appeals through the medium of the Times newspaper,<sup>68</sup> the League never escaped from a financially parlous position.

Much more prestigious was Sir Lauder Brunton's National League for Physical Education and Improvement. This particular league was not, in fact, officially inaugurated until June 1905,<sup>69</sup> but meetings to consider its formation were held long before this and Sir Lauder Brunton, the eminent medical expert, was able to give details of the aims and projected work of the predominantly medical association to the committee. He sketched out the problem as he saw it.

After leaving school many youths have no proper opportunities for using their spare time, and they become loafers or hooligans, and being thrown much together with girls in the same predicament they contract early marriages which are productive of misery in themselves and injury to their progeny.<sup>70</sup>

He also suggested a solution.

... lectures, entertainments, gymnasias, and drill halls throughout all large towns, and all associations which tend to afford at the same time amusement, instruction, or physical training should be encouraged. More especially I think the volunteers should be encouraged instead of being neglected, for even leaving out of account the utility of the force in defending the country, the occupation and training, both mental and physical which it offers, are of the utmost utility. Associations should be formed for teaching mothers how to feed their children, and how to manage their houses, and this would probably do much to lessen the consumption of drink, for a clean fireside and a well cooked evening meal might keep many a man at home who would otherwise go to the public house.<sup>71</sup>

Brunton felt that the recommendations of the Inter-Departmental Committee and the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) could best be implemented by an "enormous organization" like the projected National League. He obviously conceived of this essentially voluntary organization as having a very wide remit and having "an almost incalculable influence for good upon the whole country."<sup>72</sup>

In fact, action to secure the better physical welfare of the young population was not to be confined to voluntary associations. Already the Board of Education had attempted to introduce a more efficient scheme of physical training into schools and was soon to embark on a course of quasi-social reforms.



It was mainly concern about the physical condition of the army which led to the adoption by the Board of a new scheme of physical training. After all, the argument that the children of today would be the citizens and soldiers of to-morrow was a powerful one. The Model Course<sup>73</sup> which made its appearance in 1901 in the form of a small 41 page printed book, bore all the hallmarks of a hastily concocted scheme heavily geared to military requirements. Army officers commanding districts were to arrange for the training of teachers in the details of the course and the Board admitted that the Model Course was adapted from the army scheme of physical training. Almost half the booklet gave details of words of command and the procedures of marching and squad drill. Significantly, one of the last paragraphs in the booklet on more advanced physical training runs

Schools in which it is desired to proceed to military drill are referred to "Infantry Drill, 1901", and the "Manual and Firing Exercise" (new edition), both published by the War Office. In the former of these publications will be found full instructions in "skirmishing", which should be attractive to boys in country schools.<sup>74</sup>

Gorst, in particular, was not at all impressed by the new course and commented rather acidly on Kekewich's draft circular to H.M.I.'s about it.

I agree to the Circular with a slight alteration: but I do not rejoice in the prospect of seeing all the youth of the country drilled to one type, however convenient that may be to the War Office.<sup>75</sup>

It subsequently emerged that many of the instructions had been taken almost word for word from the army manual, and criticisms on this score were rife, even in parliament. Moreover the Board was inundated by complaints from teachers who argued that the course was unsuited to the needs of children and extremely difficult to execute.<sup>76</sup>

The Inter-Departmental Committee on the Model Course of Physical Exercises,<sup>77</sup> appointed in 1903, was an attempt to review the Model Course in the light of these criticisms and in the light of the need to make physical training an integral part of the children's general education. Emphasis was laid by the Committee on the educative as well as the physical effect of physical training on the children, but the New Model Course it/

it/ prescribed still bore military overtones in its stress on the word of command and neat lines of children an arm's length apart.<sup>78</sup> The appointment of an army officer as Inspector of Physical Training<sup>79</sup> is, however, not quite as revealing as it might seem at first sight. Certificates of competence in physical instruction were hard to come by for civilians and, apart from a few voluntary associations, the army was the main source of such instructors. It was therefore logical to appoint a military man.

Increasingly it began to be felt that to subject weak, sickly and often undernourished children to a full education and even physical training was little less than cruelty and a waste of valuable national resources. A concern about underfed school children was nothing new. Various voluntary associations had been set up to help deal with the problem.<sup>80</sup> The London School Board under the Progressives in the late 1890's had set some experiments in feeding on foot, only to be sternly rebuked for wasting ratepayers' money. However, after the Boer War, the emphasis had changed slightly - more and more it began to be seen as a waste of ratepayers' money to attempt to educate hungry children. One Fabian Tract expounded this argument in a trenchant manner.

The initiation of that new policy (i.e. school feeding) is required less by our philanthropic instincts than by the most urgent demands of national husbandry. It is true that the hungry scholar is a crime; but it is the worst of national blunders too. Every day on which we suffer our children to go to our schools unfed we are stupidly squandering something more precious than money, and yet something that money will buy - good human material to wit, human brains and human muscles on which alone may be founded a commonwealth that shall endure.<sup>81</sup>

T. J. Macnamara's perennial turnip story, which he repeated on numerous occasions, began to take on a new slant. He reminisced

He well remembered seeing two brothers, with the hoar frost on the playground still white at mid-day, sharing between them a cold turnip for their mid-day meal. They could not build the Empire on that kind of thing.<sup>82</sup>

In the light of such fears for the national physique and the/



the/ future of the Empire school feeding began to emerge as a possible policy even although the counter arguments of unnecessary expense and damage to the notion of parental responsibility were still powerful ones.

Much the same was true of the idea of medical inspection. The post-Boer War passion for information gathering and inquiries made medical inspection in schools a logical means of ascertaining the true physical state of the child population. But there was considerable pressure, particularly from the medical profession, for a compulsory, comprehensive and government financed scheme.<sup>83</sup>

Difficulties in the implementation of the 1902 and 1903 Education Acts pushed the Board of Education's thinking along administrative lines, but the social aspect had not been entirely forgotten. The Physical Deterioration Committee Report had brought the question before the public and numerous questions had been raised in Parliament. Anson felt that the Government should promise legislation in the matter of feeding and recommended

... that some proposals for legislation should be put forth which might meet the necessities of the case without necessarily laying a burden upon the rates, and without making any concession to the demand formulated from some quarters for the State maintenance of children in our Elementary Schools.<sup>84</sup>

In March 1905 Londonderry appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Inspection and Feeding<sup>85</sup> consisting of representatives of the Board of Education and the Local Government Board. The terms of reference of the committee were extremely limited. It was

(1) To ascertain and report on what is now being done and with what result in respect of Medical Inspection of Children in Public Elementary Schools. (2) And further, to inquire into the methods employed, the sums expended, and the relief given by various voluntary agencies for the provision of meals for children at Public Elementary Schools, and to report whether relief of this character could be better organised, without any charge upon the public funds. (my emphasis) <sup>86</sup>

A draft Government Bill along these lines had been drawn up<sup>87</sup> but like a similar private bill which was rather more/

more/ far-reaching<sup>88</sup> it did not reach the statute book. Instead, the Government had to resort to the method of legislation by circular, empowering local Boards of Guardians to feed hungry school children.<sup>89</sup>

The Committee itself obviously felt very cramped and self conscious about its terms of reference, and although its description of the provisions made by voluntary organisations for the feeding of children and of the provisions made by some local authorities for medical inspection<sup>90</sup> was a comprehensive one and its recommendations for the better organisation of existing efforts logical under the circumstances, it obviously hankered for some kind of outside intervention.

We are confined by our reference to noting results; we are not bidden to make recommendations for improvements. We may, however, be permitted to say that in our view the results leave something to be desired, and that there is much opening for improvement.<sup>91</sup>

The Government, faced in 1905 by the double pressure of protests against the increasing burden of the education rate and demands for more action to secure child welfare, was anxious to tread warily. In the event the Conservatives were to lose office before more could be done about the matter and the inception of permissive school feeding and compulsory medical inspection was to be left to the Liberals.<sup>92</sup>

Board of Education concern about a suitable curriculum for young children had led to a more obviously social investigation into the position of children under five years of age in Public Elementary Schools.<sup>93</sup> Five women inspectors were invited in April 1904 to submit reports on this question. All agreed that children derived practically no intellectual benefit from traditional instruction in these years<sup>94</sup> and advocated a more kindergarten type of education. The Times, however, was not particularly impressed by the idea of maintaining creches at the national expense and wondered whether the State might not be carrying its social responsibilities too far.<sup>95</sup>



However, concern about the need to develop the physical, and eventually moral, resources of an imperial race did not have its outlet merely in the provision of the "social services" of education. Considerable pressure was placed on the Board of Education for the inclusion of new subjects in the curriculum specifically geared to the nurturing of a healthier population.<sup>96</sup>

Possibly the most vocal of the groups at work in this field was the medical profession which, after all, had a considerable interest in the promotion of the teaching of hygiene. In 1903 a Committee of the Medical Profession had been formed for the furtherance of the teaching of Hygiene and Temperance in Elementary Schools. In July 1904 a petition signed by nearly 15,000 doctors was presented to Londonderry asking

... whether it would not be possible to include in the curriculum of the public elementary schools, and to encourage in the secondary schools, such teaching as may, without developing any tendency to dwell on what is unwholesome, lead all the children to appreciate at their true value, healthful bodily conditions as regards cleanliness, pure air, food, drink etc.<sup>97</sup>

The agitation probably reached its peak in the period 1905-1906 with the founding of the National League for Physical Education and Improvement,<sup>98</sup> the holding of a large conference on school hygiene,<sup>99</sup> and numerous deputations and memoranda to the Board on the subject.<sup>100</sup> By 1906 the demand for the teaching of hygiene was becoming somewhat overblown. A deputation from the National League urged in its letter of thanks to the Board (presumably in Brunton's words)

... that the teaching of hygiene in school should be recognised as equally important with that of the three R's and if necessary room may be made for it by the omission of other subjects from the school curriculum and it should count with other subjects as a subject entitling teachers to a grant.<sup>101</sup>

It coupled this with demands for aid to clubs connected with physical training and for the introduction of compulsory medical inspection. The Committee of the Medical Profession for the furtherance of the teaching of Hygiene and Temperance in Elementary Schools, which included Brunton among its numbers, also pressed for the introduction of instruction in hygiene and temperance into the curriculum of the Code.<sup>102</sup> The Board of Education was/



was/ undoubtedly sympathetic but, in view of the claims of other subjects for curriculum time, could do little more than draw the attention of teachers to the importance of such instruction.<sup>103</sup>

The idea of temperance teaching in schools could meet with slightly less favourable consideration. Temperance had always been one of the dogmas of Liberal Party policy, if a little outmoded now. It had also been of great concern to the Church. With the opening out of education to the public view during and after the Boer War, temperance reformers, like so many others, saw an opportunity of gaining a foothold in the elementary schools. The Archbishop of Canterbury, addressing the National Temperance League in May 1900, stressed the importance of winning over the teachers in this respect.<sup>104</sup> The Board was again sympathetic. Londonderry, harried on all sides about the question of physical deterioration and the committee on medical inspection and school feeding, said in the House of Lords.

With regard to that (i.e. alcoholism) I can say that the Board have been giving very special attention to methods of instruction in temperance and some of the simpler points as regards the physiological effects of alcohol. With the co-operation of certain eminent medical and scientific men the Board will shortly issue suggestions for a syllabus for use in public elementary schools.<sup>105</sup>

Although the questions of hygiene and temperance were to meet with a great deal of sympathetic consideration, there was another subject which aroused the interest of the public and the Board much more - domestic science. The various social investigations (in particular the Physical Deterioration Report) had shown how much the welfare of a poorer family could depend on the figure of the mother. If she knew little of nothing about baby-rearing, cookery, nutrition, health and the need for cleanliness, and had no way of learning it, then the outcome for the family and hence the nation and the Empire could be disastrous. The London County Council Technical Education Board had itself set up schools of domestic science and, shortly before its demise, had set on foot an inquiry into the teaching of domestic in the metropolis. The Office of Special Inquiries churned out a volume of reports on the provisions for domestic science instruction in the United States./<sup>106</sup>



The Board of Education, which, in sharp contrast to its attitude 10 years previously, was extremely sensitive to the new pressures, undertook its own inquiries<sup>107</sup> and began to introduce changes.<sup>108</sup> Teacher training in cookery and domestic hygiene was dealt with first, training college courses being inspected and revised and five new women inspectors being appointed. The instruction in elementary schools was also revised to make it more obviously practical and useful, inspection was systematised here, and domestic economy, like physical exercises, was encouraged in the continuation classes.

Concern about education as it related to the future of the race and the Empire was not confined to its physical aspects but extended to emotional, intellectual and moral preparation for the tasks ahead. H. G. Wells rather effectively summed up the ideas and emotions behind this concept of an Imperial education in a passage from The History of Mr. Polly.

I remember seeing a picture of education - in some place. I think it was education, but quite conceivably it represented the Empire teaching her Sons ... It represented a glorious woman, with a wise and fearless face, stooping over her children and pointing them to far horizons. She was reminding them of their great heritage as English children, rulers of more than one-fifth of mankind, of the obligation to do and be the best that such a pride of Empire entails.<sup>109</sup>

The notion of an Imperial education was not new. In 1896 a letter to the Times had bemoaned the fact that the teaching of imperial matters was not included in the subjects under the technical education grant.<sup>110</sup> Lord Meath for many years had been campaigning for some form of flag flying over public elementary schools,<sup>111</sup> and during the Boer War the ideas were taken up in earnest of encouraging elementary schools to inscribe the roll of honour and the deeds of heroism of former pupils on their walls, very much along public school lines.<sup>112</sup> The Boer War had made it clear that jingoism would not be enough to secure the future of the Empire. As Lord Newton put it

The patriotism of many citizens of this country consists in singing songs about being absent-minded beggars, or being soldiers or sailors of the king - the thing which they have the very least idea of becoming themselves. In the future the British people would need to know more about their Empire and the duties involved in maintaining it.<sup>113</sup>



The new mood of rather ponderous soul-searching with regard to Imperial questions was reflected in Kipling's poems and, rather surprisingly, there was a fairly clear concensus about what an Imperial education should entail. Sadler saw it as "an organised effort to produce an attitude which was favourable to the maintenance of the unity of the British Empire."<sup>114</sup> A letter in the Times in late 1903 urged that

If the Englishman is to be a sound practical patriot, still more if he is to be a worthy inheritor of the greater Empire, his childish feet need guidance down the difficult paths of elementary Imperial knowledge, which under existing systems he is left to find and traverse for himself - if he do not, as generally happens, miss them altogether.<sup>115</sup>

And as "Ian Maclaren" (the Reverend John Watson) put it in a paper to the National Federation of Head Teachers Associations, the teachers could render immense service in this respect.

After all

... it lay with the teachers to make intelligent and loyal English citizens. Personally he would like to see the national flag raised every morning above the schools of the people, as in the United States. (Cheers) He would like to see every lad drilled, so that in the hour of danger he might be able to defend his home and country. But he pleaded for something deeper than that form of patriotism which exhausted itself in flag flying and Rule Britannia. One desired the children to understand what the flag meant and that they be drilled in the history of our nation.<sup>116</sup>

If interest in the question were waning by about 1904, there was an event which stressed once more the precariousness of Empire. The Russo-Japanese War<sup>117</sup> came almost as a second instalment to the lessons of the Boer War. As Britain's ally,<sup>118</sup> and as the victor against what must have seemed like overwhelming odds, Japan was suddenly headline news. It is true that articles had appeared previously in the press, particularly as concerned Japan's commercial achievements,<sup>119</sup> and the success of her modernization had already been proven against China.<sup>120</sup> But this was the first time that a non-European power had beaten a European by carrying European methods to a high degree of efficiency.

Japanese successes were paraded by the press before the British populace: her army and navy, her commerce and industry, her education,<sup>121</sup> and above all the means by which she fostered/



fostered/ the spirit of patriotism.<sup>122</sup> The Japanese example was one more stick with which to beat the backs of the supposedly lethargic British public.<sup>123</sup>

Various groups and associations rose to the bait of the need to inculcate British youth with the spirit of patriotism and the qualities of Imperial citizenship. The subjects of geography and history received a boost, the exponents of each arguing that it was a peculiarly "imperial subject". The Geographical Association was particularly active. Its secretary wrote, shortly after the Boer War disasters, that

Recent events have taught us, with painful emphasis, the costliness of neglecting a subject on a right understanding of which the creation, maintenance and successful administration of an empire ultimately depends. Thoughtful critics of our national educational policy are now alive to the fact that without an adequate geographical training we approach Imperial questions, military operations, and commercial problems in the dark.<sup>124</sup>

A later letter made the empire/geography link even clearer, urging that "To think imperially, with any profit, we must first think geographically."<sup>125</sup>

As far as history was concerned, Valerie Chancellor sees in history textbooks around this time a growing emphasis on the duties and obligations of imperial citizenship.<sup>126</sup> In general, there was considerable interest in imperial history, particularly as it concerned instances of self-sacrifice. The League of the Empire, by means of a bequest from one of its members, was eventually able to publish a series of three graded Imperial textbooks for use in elementary, secondary and further education centres.<sup>127</sup> There is a pervading emphasis in these books on the federal ideal, the burden of the past and the responsibilities of the future. After all "The chief problem of the future" was "how to strengthen the bonds of friendship which unite the many communities whose history and condition have now been described."<sup>128</sup>

The Board of Education appreciated the importance of geography and history in an imperial education and stressed in its Suggestions to Teachers that children should learn more about/



about/ the Empire to which they belonged,<sup>129</sup> but it was, above all, concerned with the development of a well-balanced general curriculum - a policy which could not admit of certain subjects being overly stressed at the expense of others. The Navy League sought an entrée to the schools to give lectures on the British navy but was rebuffed.<sup>130</sup> Lord Meath continued to press for the inclusion of imperial subjects into the school curriculum much later than other figures. Referring to his provision of maps for schools in his area in a letter to Morant, he thought it to be

... simply scandalous that it should be necessary for private individuals to have to find the money out of their own pockets in order that children of British subjects should have some elementary knowledge of their own Empire considering the public are so heavily taxed for educational purposes.<sup>131</sup>

His great and rather aristocratic fear was of an ignorant democracy eventually controlling the fate of the Empire.

To my mind it is terrifying to think that the fate of some 350 millions of coloured people throughout the Empire are in the near future to be in the hands of a democracy which knows nothing about these people, not even where they live!<sup>132</sup>

Morant's reply was rather vague - the matter was receiving attention but he could not say exactly what would be done about it.<sup>133</sup>

In fact in its most obvious sense the notion of the inculcation of youth with the imperial spirit was left to organisations and movements outwith the Board of Education.

One of the most widely supported of these was the League of the Empire. The original name had been the "League of the Children of the Empire" - an organisation designed

... to impress on the youth of the Empire the duty of loyalty and patriotism; to encourage and further their training in matters calculated to make them efficient citizens in any part of the Empire; and to promote friendly intercourse between children in different parts of the Empire.<sup>134</sup>

- but the "Children" part was dropped as tending to deter enrolment.<sup>135</sup> Over the years the League grew steadily in scope and importance. Its presidents included Lords Strathcona and Tennyson, its vice-presidents Meath and Canon Lyttelton. Henry Craik, secretary of the Scottish Education Department, was a member of the Federal Council in London, and the League's/



League's/ representative members throughout the Empire included a plethora of governors, superintendents of education and inspectors of schools. Various sections of the League blossomed, particularly the Correspondence Comrades Branch (the pen pal section). All types of co-operation and competition between schools in various parts of the Empire were encouraged: exhibitions and lectures organised, prizes given for essays on imperial subjects, imperial literature circulated, cadet corps encouraged, and even a Federal Conference on Education held.<sup>136</sup>

The assistance of the Colonial Office was obtained by both the League of the Empire and the School Board for London, when the Colonial Secretary forwarded their schemes for an exchange of letters between school children in various parts of the Empire. Chamberlain in a covering letter showed himself as tentatively in favour of such a scheme:

The establishment of more intimate relations between the schools and school children of the Colonies, and those of the Mother Country is an object to be encouraged; and while I can express no opinion on the methods by which this object can best be attained, and which must be left mainly to the discretion of the Educational Authorities concerned, I am confident that careful and favourable consideration will be given by the Colonial Governments to any reasonable suggestion, such as those outlined in the enclosure to this despatch.<sup>137</sup>

Chamberlain was also of indirect assistance to Lord Meath in his efforts to inaugurate an "Empire Day" for schools throughout the Empire<sup>138</sup> when he suggested that he contact the colonies individually in the matter. This exchange of letters was ably reported by Meath to the press as showing official approval of his enterprise, and the eventual favourable replies from many of the colonies were also reported, achieving a cumulative effect. After a great deal of organisation, the first British celebration of Empire Day (Queen Victoria's birthday on May 24th) was held in 1904. The celebration aroused a great deal more enthusiasm outside Britain than within it, and Meath harassed local authorities, publicising those schools which took part, and suggested a programme for the day itself.<sup>139</sup> The inception of the institution of Empire Day, indeed, proved to be Meath's greatest and longest/



longest/ lasting achievement, surviving long after the Lads Drill Association and his cadet corps schemes.

Joseph Chamberlain, however, did not confine his efforts on behalf of an imperial style of education to the encouragement of ventures by others. He appointed his own informal committee, which consisted mainly of educational experts, to consider Sadler's suggestion that a scheme of lectures illustrated by lantern slides be drawn up for use in the schools of the Empire, along the lines which had proved to be successful in the United States.<sup>140</sup> In line with the committee's recommendations, a small beginning was made in the form of a scheme for Ceylon, Hong Kong and the Straits. When Joseph Chamberlain retired from office to devote more time to his tariff reform campaign, his successor Alfred Lyttelton was equally enthusiastic about the imperial lectures scheme and Halford Mackinder of the London School of Economics was engaged to prepare the pilot scheme which could be adapted later for use in various categories of colonies.<sup>141</sup> However, even the Colonial Office was very tentative about the idea of extending the lecture scheme to British schools. Lyttelton wrote

I may add in conclusion that it is hoped to supplement these lectures on the United Kingdom by lectures on the Colonies for use in the Schools of the United Kingdom, but I am not prepared to enlarge upon the details of this side of the scheme in this despatch, and it has to be considered by whom, and from what source any initial expenditure for this latter purpose should be provided. I would only suggest that if and when such lectures are taken in hand, it would be well that their preparation, or at any rate their final supervision should be entrusted to Mr. Mackinder in order to preserve uniformity.<sup>142</sup>

The whole question of imperial education in England as distinct from in the colonies was bedevilled by difficulties. The scope of voluntary organisations was necessarily limited. The Colonial Office, although enthusiastic, was restricted in its remit to colonial schools. The Board of Education was slightly less sympathetic. Since, arguably, the province was really that of the Local Education Authorities, the Board could provide nothing but guidelines. But the Local Education Authorities were involved in the problems of implementing the new education acts and keeping the education rates from soaring. What was seen/



seen/ as a burning matter of concern for the British public could find no official status as a subject in its own right, although the imperial emphasis was all pervasive.

Of equal importance with the moulding of imperial ideas was the formation of the character of the future citizens of the Empire. This was very much in line with public school conceptions of the main aim of a school, and some critics saw the diffusion of this public school spirit as the answer to the Empire's ills.<sup>143</sup> Sadler laid the emphasis on the development of individual character:

As the power of individual initiative in danger or difficulty is one of the chief assets of empire, it is essential that, while encouraging the corporate influences of school life, we should develop though our education individuality of character combined with self control.<sup>144</sup>

And Graham Balfour, in his book on The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland stressed that intellectual abilities must not be pursued at the expense of all else.

The struggle between nations is becoming more intense, and the accomplishments necessary for success are more numerous and more elaborate than they were. We cannot afford to neglect the cultivation of any faculty of our minds, but in developing intellectual qualities we must beware lest we lose, for the few to whom it is open, that discipline of character which, being infinitely rarer and harder of attainment, is the admiration of foreign critics, who anxiously seek for the causes of the success of our ruling classes and the subtle reasons that underlie the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons.<sup>145</sup>

In a sense, this assigning of an important role in the international struggle to accomplishments of the moral fibre type was part of the reaction against Boer War hysteria and part of the public school reaction against criticism. Articles in various periodicals began to indicate that perhaps British army officers had been unfairly criticised.<sup>146</sup> They had, after all, shown great force of character as they adapted themselves to completely novel circumstances. It would be folly to meddle with the public school training which foreigners so much admired.<sup>147</sup> After all, did it not produce "that almost indefinable mixture of pluck, knowledge, good humour, self-reliance, self-restraint, loyalty to institutions and readiness to 'play the game according to the rules'",<sup>148</sup> and was it not worthy of imitation?

Most of the voluntary organisations concerned with the inculcation of an imperial spirit were interested in character building and the fostering of morality in its broadest supra-Christian sense of responsibility and right conduct. The Boys Empire League,<sup>149</sup> a very much smaller organisation than the League of the Empire, was particularly strong in its emphasis on duty and honour, as was indicated in the Times report on its third annual meeting.

According to the statement issued by the league it has done excellent work in inculcating in boys the highest ideals of British citizenship, beginning with the elementary notions of courtesy and honour, and rising into questions of education, physical fitness and the moral responsibilities of Empire. The league has not sought to enrol members indiscriminately, but has endeavoured rather to get hold of boys to whom an ideal meant something.<sup>150</sup>

By 1905 there was something akin to a moral education crusade, inspired once more by stalwarts like Meath and Roberts. Various influential figures<sup>151</sup> made an appeal to the local authorities for moral education in schools in very dignified pseudo oldworld phraseology. Their main interests were clear

We approach the matter in the interests of no denomination, but in the interests of the nation and on behalf of the children who will be the men and women of the next generation, and on whose moral fibre and character the welfare of the Empire will depend ... <sup>152</sup>

They sought the encouragement of the subject at the training colleges, and the encouragement of conferences, for

Inasmuch as great advantage has resulted from conferences designed to promote intellectual and technical efficiency, we hope that like conferences may be promoted to secure co-operation and efficiency in the moral training in our schools on a Christian basis and inspired by Christian motives.<sup>153</sup>

They also hoped that a committee might be formed to co-operate with the local authorities in carrying out the objects of the appeal, which were six in number:

1. The reading books should be of a kind which hold up high ideals of conduct; they should contain stories of heroism, self denial and integrity, and thus give the teacher the opportunity of teaching the value of character.
2. Songs which stir the noblest emotions should be encouraged; songs tend to form the character of the young.
3. Pictures which illustrate heroic deeds might be placed on the walls.



4. Scholars should have their attention drawn to the laws of health and Christian conduct, from which the evils of intemperance and other vices which degrade national character could be pointed out.

5. Teachers could, by superintending games in the playground, promote manliness of character, self-control, and a love of fair play.

6. The formation of an old scholars' association cultivates loyalty to the school and a wholesome esprit de corps.<sup>154</sup>

Apparently, however, little response was made to the appeal. The whole question of moral education, although ostensibly non-sectarian, appeared to carry with it such hints of theological disputes that it could not but be approached with the greatest timidity. Moreover, it was not exactly clear whether it was the Board of Education or the Local Education Authorities who were responsible in this sphere. The Moral Instruction League,<sup>155</sup> two years later, was still seeking a clear definition of the Board's position in the matter<sup>156</sup> and urging that the time had arrived

... for the Board of Education to require that one moral lesson a week be given to all classes in the ordinary secular curriculum of all public elementary schools, and to require at the same time that student-teachers in training be trained in the Training Colleges to give these moral lessons and to be fitted also for their wider mission as moral educators.<sup>157</sup>

The League secured an interview with McKenna, the then President of the Board, but Morant's letter to them in reply was sharply dismissive. Although he had already shown himself as very interested in the fostering of a moral spirit in schools<sup>158</sup> he could not reduce this to a clear programme or condone the idea of introducing a new subject into the curriculum. In a rather exasperated letter he referred to the pressure of work in connection with the latest Education Bill and concluded that he simply had to say "that my duties here absolutely compel me to take up various subjects with strict regard to their relative urgency from the point of view of the needs and instructions of my Chiefs from day to day."<sup>159</sup>

The imperialist emphasis in education had thus manifested itself in the desire for a race physically strong enough and well enough equipped to meet any challenge, and in the desire for the fostering of imperial subjects and imperial qualities. However,/

However, / what is overshadowed by the tariff reform campaign, with its stress on imperial federation, and may perhaps be overlooked, is the fact that there were several schemes at this time which sought, if not Imperial federation, at least closer Imperial ties, by educational means.

The scheme of Rhodes scholarships was perhaps the most blatant of these. Set up in 1902 by the will of the arch-imperialist Cecil Rhodes, it provided for the education of specially selected Rhodes scholars from the colonies for three years at Oxford, presumably in the hope that they might become imbued with English upper class culture and ideals of Empire.<sup>160</sup>

The Universities in general were anxious to promote closer ties between the colonies and the Mother country. As before mentioned, a chair of colonial history was set up at Oxford in 1904<sup>161</sup> and two years earlier the University of Oxford had suggested that the presence in England of colonial representatives on the occasion of the coronation might be a good opportunity for convening an informal Colonial Universities Conference for

... the discussion of questions bearing on the education at Oxford of Indian and Colonial students destined for the professions and the higher ranks of the Civil Service, and generally on the establishment of a closer connection between Oxford and the Indian and Colonial Universities.<sup>162</sup>

In some ways, this was quite a logical follow-up to the terms of the Rhodes' bequest which would increase the number of undergraduates coming to Oxford from the colonies. The Conference was eventually held on July 10th, 1902 at the Colonial Office, with the Earl of Onslow, under Secretary for the Colonies, presiding and representatives from Oxford and the colonial universities present. The minutes of the Conference show the University of Oxford very tentatively attempting to accommodate itself to some colonial requirements<sup>163</sup> and although the conference was very much an informal one, with the main object of supplying information for, and obtaining information about, the colonies, there were hints of future conferences with a wider remit. Certain colonial representatives were very enthusiastic. Professor H. E. S. Fremantle had already written:



I have always thought that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge ought to be without question the two points of convergence for the intellectual and social aristocracy of the whole Empire.<sup>164</sup>

The Principal of McGill University was enthusiastic about the possibility of closer inter-University ties - a sentiment echoed in the Colonial Office circular which accompanied a memorandum on the conference and was sent to all colonies.<sup>165</sup>

The very tentative nature of the Conference was overlooked by many in their enthusiasm about Imperial unity. One writer in the Nineteenth Century and After considered that

The real significance of this Federation of Universities is not its relation to education, though that is of immense importance, but its relation to a problem of more vital and pressing concern to us than any other problem which has defined itself in our time - the consolidation and unification of our Empire.<sup>166</sup>

This rather exaggerated approach towards the significance of education for empire was not altogether uncommon. The idea was even mooted in the columns of the Times of organising Colonial Classes in the public schools.<sup>167</sup> These, like the Army classes, were to prepare the boys for a specific - in this case Imperial - career. However, there was savage criticism of such a scheme. In particular, one letter from a Canadian headmaster held out against a scheme for giving boys a book-knowledge of the colonial situation without any practical experience and suggested instead that they spend a few years of their school life being educated in a particular Colony.<sup>168</sup>

This was not an isolated suggestion. Numerous such schemes of exchange of teachers and reciprocal education were postulated in the years after the Boer War. The Board of Education, through the remodelled Office of Special Inquiries and Reports began to organise schemes of teacher visits and exchange.<sup>169</sup> The League of the Empire Correspondence Comrades branch began to gain momentum and a magazine was even brought out for children in schools.<sup>170</sup> The Conference convened by the League in 1907 was concerned among other things with finding a means by which British teachers and school inspectors could achieve better experience of the colonial situation and vice versa.

Thus, in the years after the Boer War, the links between Imperialism and education had become much stronger. Various types of imperialists had seen school children in a role of future soldiers for the defence of the nation, life-blood of the race, messengers of the Imperial ideal, or even helpers in the moves towards Imperial unity. Not all the educational developments were carried out for purely Imperialist motives. The development of the social services aspect of education was also impelled by reasons of social conscience. Macnamara, in a rather interesting passage, combined the two. "All this sounds like rank Socialism ... But as a matter of fact it is, in reality, first class imperialism."<sup>171</sup>

Moreover, Imperialism was sometimes seen as a rival to education for funds rather than an end product of education.<sup>172</sup> As the years passed and increasing emphasis was placed on the intangible personal qualities for the preservation of Empire (such as a sense of duty) rather than intellectual training, there was criticism from such figures as H. E. Armstrong that stress on the adoration of the flag was a distraction from intellectual efficiency.<sup>173</sup>

Although there were genuine anti-Imperialists, Imperialism, in its vaguest sense of a determination to maintain British great power status by a preservation of the Empire, was the sine qua non of the public creed. De Montmorency wrote in the preface to his State Intervention in English Education in 1902 that

If once it is realised that Education is an Imperial question and one that will vitally affect the near future of the Empire, it will rank in interest with those problems of foreign affairs which so vividly occupy the average Englishman.<sup>174</sup>

For a time at least the links between Imperialism and education had been vividly recognised. But might they not, like the links between education and national efficiency, prove to be tenuous - an impossible union between a high-sounding ideal and the day-to-day necessities of a branch of administration?



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3. viz. Robert Wallace. "The Seamy Side of Imperialism." Contemporary Review. Vol. 75 (1899). pp. 782-799.
4. J. Lawson Watson. "Imperialism." Contemporary Review. Vol. 75 (1899). p. 310.
5. P. A. Vaile. "A New Scheme for Imperial Scholarships." Fortnightly Review. Vol. 84 (1908). p. 721.
6. Lord Curzon. "The True Imperialism." Nineteenth Century and After. Vol. 63 (1908). p. 151.
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Mr. Charles McArthur. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 129. c. 1414-1415. 15 February 1904.  
Meath was also constantly at pains to stress how little his efforts to promote imperial thinking had in common with jingoism.
8. Joseph Chamberlain's idea of a *Kriegsverein* (military alliance) met with a very cool reception. See Alfred Gollin. Balfour's Burden. London: Anthony Blond, 1965. pp. 19-20, 23.
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11. R. P. Scott. "The New Education Office and the Interests of the Empire." Fortnightly Review. Vol. 67 (1900). pp. 303-304.
12. R. B. Haldane. Education and Empire. London: John Murray, 1902. p. 28.
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15. See Note 1.
16. See p. 211 for his views on military drill in elementary schools, and p. 219 for his attitude to the Model Course.

17. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 141. c. 145. 14 February 1905.
18. Sir John E. Gorst. The Children of the Nation. London: Methuen, 1906. p. 17.
19. See P.R.O. W.O. 105/55. Roberts Papers: Possibility of Invasion.
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'M'. 26 January 1904.  
James Blyth. 7 October 1902.
21. Soon to become the Territorial Army. See Hugh Cunningham. The Volunteer Force. London: Croom Helm, 1975. for a discussion of the role of the volunteers.
22. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 5. P.P. Cd. 417. (1900). pp. 204 (Natal), 240-243 (New South Wales), 419 (Queensland), and 645 (New Zealand).
23. See J. O. Springhall. "Lord Meath, Youth and Empire." Journal of Contemporary History. Vol. 5 (1970). pp. 97-111.
24. The Times. 12 February 1900.
25. Military Instruction (Schools and Cadets) Bill, 1901. Bill No. 102.
26. e.g. Physical and Military Instruction in State-Aided Schools. Sir James Ferguson Notice. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 81. c. 831-848. 30 March 1900.  
Sir James Ferguson and Mr. Louis Sinclair were the main figures in this respect in the Commons and Viscount Frankfort de Montmorency and Lord Meath himself in the Lords.
27. Quoted by Viscount Frankfort de Montmorency on the second reading of the Cadet Corps Bill in the Lords.  
Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 93. c. 6. 29 April 1901.
28. The original list of Vice-Presidents included Lord Roberts, the Marquis of Lothian, Viscount Frankfort de Montmorency, and Sir James Ferguson M.P., although it soon snowballed.
29. e.g. The Times. 27 November 1902.
30. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1902-1903. P.P. Cd. 1763. (1903). pp. 11-12.  
Parl. Deb. 4th Series. School Cadet Corps and Rifle Clubs. Vol. 150. c. 593. 27 July 1905.



31. Letter of 21 August 1899 to War Office in reply to War Office (R. H. Knox) letter of 7 July 1899. The Times. 2 January 1900.
32. Gorst. op. cit. pp. 203-204.
33. P.R.O. Ed. 24/408. Petitions. Military Instruction.
34. P.R.O. Ed. 24/408. Arnold-Forster to Londonderry, 30 June 1905. Londonderry to Arnold-Forster, 1 July 1905. Arnold-Forster's scheme was quite a detailed one but the main burden of the organisation was to be borne by the Education Department.
35. This was an on-going process, first under Brodrick, then Arnold-Forster, and most spectacularly under Haldane. See Correlli Barnett. Britain and Her Army. London: Allen Lane, 1970. chapter 15. Radical Reform. pp. 353-370.
36. Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers. P.P. Cd. 2061 (1904). pp. 19 and 37.
37. The Army classes at public schools were designed specifically for those boys, often less able in the 'classical' sense, who wished to gain entry to one of the military academies. Winston Churchill was one of the most famous pupils of such a class.
38. The Eton Memorandum is described in a paper on "The Relation of Public Secondary Schools to the Organisation of National Defence" at the United Service Institution. The Times. 28 June 1900.
39. Journal of Education. Vol. 23 (1901). p. 19.
40. The Times. 26 July 1904.
41. The Times. 26 December 1903.
42. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1902-1903. P.P. Cd. 1763 (1903). p. 29.
43. A letter from the Inspector C. W. Nitchins to Morant dated 4 June 1907 (P.R.O. Ed. 24/408) is interesting in this respect. In it Nitchins insists that rifle shooting in schools has practically nothing to recommend it and would, if pursued, be detrimental to more important subjects.
44. The Times. 10 December 1903.
45. The Times. 21 June 1905. Correspondence between Meath and Gow re the inability of the Westminster cadet corps to attend a cadet corps review because of a cricket match.
46. Meath evidence to Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland). Vol. II. P.P. Cd. 1508. (1903). p. 339.

47. "Local Beginnings of Imperial Defence: an Example." Nineteenth Century. Vol. 47 (1900). pp. 728-733.
48. Memorandum against military training in schools. The Times. 3 April 1903.
49. The main figures in this were H. E. Armstrong, T. J. Macnamara, Gorst and Yoxall.
50. The Times. 5 July 1900.
51. Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland). Vol. II. Minutes of Evidence. P.P. Cd. 1508. (1903). pp. 151-159. Mr. T. Chesterton. Organising Teacher of Physical Education to the London School Board.
52. Sir Lauder Brunton. Paper on "The Proposed National League for Physical Education and Improvement." The Times. 6 February 1905.
53. Mr. Slack. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 145. c. 539. 18 April 1905.
54. Contemporary Review.  
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55. Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland). P.P. Cd. 1507-8. (1903). 2 Vols.
56. ibid. Vol. I. Cd. 1507. p. 4.
57. ibid. p. 7.
58. It advocated medical inspection in schools and a form of compulsory continuation classes. ibid. p. 36. paras. 5 and 6.
59. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. 3 Vols. P.P. Cd. 2175, Cd. 2210, Cd. 2186. (1904).
60. ibid. Part I. Cd. 2175. p. v.
61. ibid.
62. ibid. p. 1. para. 5. p. 13. para. 68.  
 In fact, although degeneracy was obvious in many cases, there was no real evidence of general progressive physical deterioration.
63. Bishop of Ripon. "The Education Question." Fortnightly Review. Vol. 79 (1906). p. 1001.
64. Mr. Douglas Eyre. P.P. Cd. 2210. (1904). paras. 3532-3581.



65. It was formed at a public meeting on 22 February 1901.
66. The Times. 29 January 1903.
67. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Vol. II. P.P. Cd. 2210. (1904). paras. 3564, 3567, 3578, 3580.
68. In one of these Henry Burdett appealed both for helpers and funds. The Times. 2 April 1904.
69. At a meeting in the Mansion House at which, among others, the Bishop of Ripon, the Lord Chief Justice and Haldane were present. The Times. 29 June 1905.  
See also the Times. 29 May 1905.  
"The objects of this movement may be summed up as:- 1. The stimulating of public interest in the various societies which make the improvement of the physical condition of the people their special care. 2. The bringing into close association and, if possible, the federation of such societies, so that they may have increased strength, financial and other. 3. The encouragement of and the advising of societies which find it difficult to hold their own under present conditions. 4. Assistance towards the starting of organizations for the benefit of physical health and well-being wherever they exist - as, for instance, in remote and poor districts."
70. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Vol. II. P.P. Cd. 2210. (1904). para. 2430.
71. ibid.
72. ibid.
73. P.R.O. Ed. 22/3B. Model Course of Physical Training and Circular 452.
74. ibid. p. 41.
75. ibid. 20 May 1901. 'J.E.G.'
76. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1902-1903. P.P. Cd. 1763. (1903). p. 12. mentions this criticism.
77. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Model Course of Physical Exercises. P.P. Cd. 2032. (1904). P.R.O. Ed. 24/168. includes correspondence.
78. An earlier four page committee report on the Model Course in 1901 had provided for military inspectors on loan from the army but the report was deferred due to Gorst's non-approval.  
P.R.O. Ed. 24/37A. Report of the Physical Training Committee.

79. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1902-1903. P.P. Cd. 1763. (1903). p. 12. Colonel G. Malcolm Fox.
80. For a summary of the methods employed by these voluntary agencies see Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Inspection and Feeding. Vol. I. Cd. 2779. (1906). pp. 34-53.
81. Hubert Bland. "After Bread, Education." Fabian Tract No. 120. April 1905. p. 15.
82. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 143. c. 871. 22 March 1905.
83. P.R.O. Ed. 24/279. Medical inspection file. Gives details of numerous deputations and memoranda from the medical profession on this subject.
84. P.R.O. Ed. 24/105. Anson confidential memo prepared for Londonderry for Cabinet. Printed 3 February 1905.
85. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Inspection and Feeding. 2 Vols. P.P. Cd. 2779, Cd. 2784. (1906).
86. ibid. Cd. 2779. (1906). p. vii.
87. See P.R.O. Ed. 24/105.
88. Education (Provision of Meals) Bill, 1905. Bill No. 132. See also Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 143. c. 1543. 29 March 1905.
89. P.P. Cd. 2505. (1905). Circulars issued in April 1905 by the Local Government Board as to the Cases of Children attending Public Elementary Schools who are without adequate nourishment. (The association of feeding with the Poor Law was, however, an unfortunate one.)
90. The committee was more concerned about the question of feeding than medical inspection. 44 witnesses were called, of whom 2 gave evidence on inspection and feeding, 9 on medical inspection alone, and 33 on feeding alone. This was probably because the idea of inspection was then very much in its infancy.
91. P.P. Cd. 2779. p. 31. para. 113.
92. See Postscript. p. 304.
93. Reports on Children under Five Years of Age in Public Elementary Schools by Women Inspectors of the Board of Education. P.P. Cd. 2726. (1906).
94. Kitty Bathurst sailed very close to the wind with her rather sensational revelations (ibid. pp. 35-93.) and indeed left the inspectorate before the reports were published.



95. The Times. 3 October 1905.
96. P.R.O. Ed. 24/279 nominally a file on medical inspection, gives details of the pressure for the inclusion of hygiene as a school subject. See in particular f. 6 and 12.
97. The Times. 12 July 1904.
98. The inaugural meeting was on 28 June 1905. The Times. 29 June 1905.
99. The conference was held at London University in February 1905. See the Times. 8-11 February 1905.
100. P.R.O. Ed. 24/279. f. 6, 12, 20.
101. ibid. f. 6. Letter of thanks to Board of Education for reception of deputation from National League on 27 February 1906. (Brunton was rather out-of-date. The block grant had practically abolished the idea of "subjects entitling teachers to a grant.")
102. ibid. f. 12. (This was also out-of-date. The Education "Code", as such, no longer existed.)
103. Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers. P.P. Cd. 2638. (1905). pp. 86-87 and Appendix VIII pp. 138-152. "Outline Scheme for Teaching Hygiene and Temperance."
104. The Times. 2 May 1900.
105. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 149. c. 1337. 20 July 1905.
106. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vols. 15 and 16. P.P. Cd. 2498. (1905). Cd. 2963. (1906).
107. Into the teaching of cookery. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1904-1905. P.P. Cd. 2783. (1906). p. 10.
108. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 149. c. 1338. 20 July 1905. (Londonderry).  
Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1905-1906. P.P. Cd. 3270. (1906). p. 9.
109. H. G. Wells. The History of Mr. Polly. Pan books. New ed. 1975. p. 22.
110. Kenelm D. Cotes. The Times. 9 January 1896.
111. Lord Meath. Memories of the Nineteenth Century. London: John Murray, 1923. pp. 328-332.
112. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1899-1900. Vol. III. Appendix. P.P. Cd. 330. (1900). Revised Instructions to Inspectors, 1900. p. 633. para. 28.

"The practice of inscribing on the walls of a school the name and record of any former scholars who have distinguished themselves by acts of heroism and self-sacrifice, or who have earned in other ways a high place in their country's regard, is one which Their Lordships view with approval, and you will recommend its adoption by managers and teachers." See also P.R.O. Ed. 11/35 for the correspondence between the War Office and the Board in 1904 regarding the erection of memorial tablets in schools. The Board of Education neatly avoided the financial responsibility by suggesting that the promoters of the scheme apply direct to the Local Education Authorities.

113. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 136. c. 1182. 27 June 1904.
114. M. E. Sadler on Imperial education at Victoria League annual meeting. The Times. 3 July 1903.
115. 'JRC' letter. The Times. 28 December 1903.
116. "The service a Teacher can render to patriotism." The Times. 3 January 1903.
117. February 1904 to September 1905. The war was followed closely in the British press.
118. By the agreement of 30 January 1902.
119. The Times. 27 August 1897. "Commercial Education in Japan." 30 August 1897. "The Rise of Japan." See also Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 8 P.P. Cd. 835. (1902). Commercial Education in Japan. pp. 555-568.
120. During the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) for the control of Korea when the Japanese showed their superiority over an old rival.
121. The Times. 2 November 1905. "Educational Notes."
122. A series of lectures was given at the London School of Economics on the "Japanese Spirit". The Times. 18 February 1905. See also P.R.O. W.O. 33/407. General Report on the Japanese System of Military Education and Training, 1906. A lecture was also given under the auspices of the League of the Empire on "The Imperial Spirit of our Japanese Allies." The Times. 21 February 1905.
123. The London Chamber of Commerce monthly dinner in February 1904 included a discussion on "British Industrial Neglect of Applied Science" in which H. E. Armstrong talked about Port Arthur as an object lesson. The Times. 12 February 1904. See also Lord Rosebery's speech at Esher. The Times. 20 March 1905.



124. The Times. 17 April 1900.
125. Douglas Freshfield. The Times. 28 November 1904.
126. V. E. Chancellor. History for their Masters. Bath: Adams and Dart, 1970. pp. 112-138.
127. League of the Empire Text-Books. General editor. A. F. Pollard.  
 1. The British Empire: Its Past, Its Present and Its Future. A. F. Pollard (ed.) London: John Murray, 1909.  
 2. The British Empire and Its History. Edward G. Hawke. London: John Murray, 1911.  
 3. The Story of the Empire. Gerald T. Hankin. London: John Murray, 1911.
128. The British Empire and Its History. Edward G. Hawke. op. cit. p. 407.
129. Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers. P.P. Cd. 2638. (1905). p. 61.
130. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 123. c. 317. 9 June 1903. Board of Education and the Navy League.
131. P.R.O. Ed. 24/261. Meath to Morant. 15 February 1907.
132. ibid.
133. ibid. Morant to Meath. 27 February 1907.
134. The Times. 31 May 1902.
135. P.R.O. C.O. 854/39. Joseph Chamberlain circular to Non-Responsible Government Colonies, 4 September 1903. Enclosure 2. League of the Empire Memorandum.
136. Annual General Report of the League of the Empire, 1906-1907. pp. 5-6, 16-28.
137. P.R.O. C.O. 854/39. Joseph Chamberlain circular to Non-Responsible Government Colonies, 4 September 1903.
138. Lord Meath. Memories of the Nineteenth Century. London: John Murray, 1923. pp. 227-338 for the germ of the idea. Lord Meath. Memories of the Twentieth Century. London: John Murray, 1924. pp. 43-44, 56-57, 75-79 for the beginnings of the movement.
139. The Times. 27 April 1904.  
 1. Assembly of local dignitaries, officials, military, Volunteers, cadet corps, or schools.  
 2. Hoisting of the Union Jack.  
 3. National Anthem.  
 4. "Saluting the Flag" and singing of the "Flag of Britain".

5. An address on the duties and responsibilities attached to British citizenship.
  6. A short lecture on the Empire, illustrated by the "Howard Vincent" or "Navy League" map.
  7. A lecture illustrated by magic lantern views of some colony or dependency of the Empire.
  8. The recitation of some poem illustrative of heroic duty and self sacrifice on behalf of the nation.
  9. The recitation of Rudyard Kipling's recessional hymn "Lest we forget".
  10. The National Anthem and final salute.
140. Referred to in P.R.O. C.O. 854/41. "School Children in the Empire." Alfred Lyttelton Circular of 13 April 1905.
  141. ibid. Enclosure Miscellaneous No. 174.
  142. ibid. Lyttelton circular.
  143. "The expansion of the Empire carries with it the need for the diffusion, throughout all our Secondary Schools, of intellectual thoroughness plus the Public School Spirit." R. P. Scott. Fortnightly Review. Vol. 67 (1900). p. 302.
  144. Sadler address on "The School in some of its Relations to Social organization and to National Life." quoted in Educational Times. Vol. 58 (1905). p. 30.
  145. Graham Balfour. The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland. Oxford: Clarendon, 1898. Preface. p. xxiv.
  146. Articles like that by Arthur Griffiths on "Modern Officers". Fortnightly Review. Vol. 78 (1905). pp. 270-279.
  147. e.g. Pierre de Coubertin. "Are the Public Schools a Failure? A French View." Fortnightly Review. Vol. 72 (1902). pp. 979-986.  
(It can, however, be argued that it was the very aura of elitism and tradition surrounding the public schools which evoked admiration rather than the training itself, which could always be reproduced.)
  148. R. P. Scott. Fortnightly Review. Vol. 67 (1900). p. 313.
  149. The League held its first annual gathering in 1901 (The Times. 25 October 1901) and by 1904 it had 7,000 members and 60 branches.
  150. The Times. 21 May 1904.
  151. The signatories of the appeal included Meath, Rosebery, Roberts, Fowler, Ritchie (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), several university and clerical figures, General F. D. Maurice (the former Inspector-General of Recruiting), Booth (of the Salvation Army), Cadbury, Morley and Samuel Smith.



152. The Times. 21 February 1905.
153. ibid.
154. ibid.
155. On its letterheads the Moral Instruction League gave as its object "To introduce systematic non-theological Moral Instruction into all schools, and to make the formation of character the chief aim of school life."
156. P.R.O. Ed. 24/409. Letter to the Board of Education. 25 October 1907.
157. ibid. p. 3.
158. P.R.O. Ed. 24/409. A letter from J. B. Paton to Morant dated 6 February 1906 included a precis of a conversation with the latter along these lines, but Morant was emphatic about the confidentiality of this.
159. P.R.O. Ed. 24/409. Morant letter of 26 November 1907.
160. See Sir Lewis Mitchell. Life of Cecil Rhodes. Vol. II. London: Arnold, 1910. Appendix. pp. 313-333 for transcript of will. (The will provided for 162 scholarships of £300 for 3 years.) viz. p. 318. Clause 16. "Whereas I consider that the education of young Colonists at one of the Universities in the United Kingdom is of great advantage to them for giving breadth to their views for their instruction in life and manners and for instilling into their minds the advantage to the Colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire ..."
161. Endowed by Alfred Beit. See Leo Amery. My Political Life. Vol. 1. London: Hutchinson, 1953. pp. 184-185.
162. P.R.O. C.O. 854/38. Circulars 1902. Onslow for Secretary of State to all colonies. 27 December 1902.
163. P.R.O. C.O. 854/38. Miscellaneous 147. Minutes of a Conference on Educational Questions held at the Colonial Office on 10 July 1902.
164. ibid. pp. 4-5. Letter of 8 April 1902 quoted by Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.
165. P.R.O. C.O. 854/38. Onslow circular of 27 December 1902. "It was considered that no suitable opportunity for drawing closer the relationships between Educational Centres in the Mother Country and in the Empire should be lost ..."
166. J. Churton Collins. "The Rhodes Bequest and University Federation." Nineteenth Century and After. Vol. 56 (1904). p. 984.

167. A letter from Sir William Magnay in the Times of 7 September 1904 evoked a lively correspondence on the subject.
168. The Times. 31 October 1904. See also the Times. 28 May 1904 for details of a similar Canadian scheme.
169. Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1904-1905. P.P. Cd. 2783. (1906). p. 11. (Most of the exchanges were to the continent but some were colonial.)
170. Called, rather poetically, "Our Jabberwock".
171. T. J. Macnamara. Nineteenth Century and After. Vol 56 (1904). p. 311.
172. Journal of Education. Vol. 23 (1901). p. 144.
173. H. E. Armstrong. "Common Sense in Education". Letter to Times. 12 January 1904.
174. J. E. G. de Montmorency. State Intervention in English Education. Cambridge: University Press, 1902. Preface. p. vii.



## CHAPTER VII

1902 - AND AFTER

"The position of our Empire half a century hence in the world of nations will be largely decided at St. Stephen's in 1902."

JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.<sup>1</sup>

"On hearing of a death by suicide, the Lord President grimly remarked, 'Had \_\_\_ anything to do with the Education Bill?'"

SIR ALMERIC FITZROY.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER VII

Any attempt to trace the effects of the Boer War panic and the ideals of efficiency and imperialism on educational policy at the beginning of the twentieth century is somewhat frustrated by the cross-influence of the 1902 Education Act - the motives behind it, the preparations for it and the reactions to it. The Bill was introduced not merely to secure greater educational efficiency and enable Great Britain to compete on a more favourable basis with her continental rivals, but also to rescue the Church of England from the intolerable strain of the upkeep of voluntary schools.<sup>3</sup> Decisions made in 1901 and 1902 were influenced not only by public pressure for some kind of educational reform but also by the cumulative effect of bills, acts, administrative and legal decisions over the previous years. The act was to create a furore which was to negate much of the interest in education which the act was designed to channel. The 1902 statute in effect was both a reflection of, and a distraction from, the Boer War panic.

The act indeed was to prove a scorpion's nest of difficulties both for contemporaries and educational historians. As had been feared, the Nonconformists proceeded to "dig up the hatchet"<sup>4</sup> and, in what was almost a revival of Nonconformist religion as a political force,<sup>5</sup> began to conduct a virulent campaign against clericalism and in defence of the school boards - a campaign which unleashed all the theological squabbles kept so tightly in rein since 1870. Moreover, the wholesale destruction of the school board system with its stress on ad hoc, local democracy and higher grade education, and its replacement by a system of elementary and secondary education bearing the public school imprint has engendered a great deal of controversy. Arguments that the act and the administrative decisions which/



which/ secured its implementation were part of a conspiracy against working class rights<sup>6</sup> are countered by theories that they were little more than a logical reaction to an administrative predicament and to public feeling on the subject of secondary education.<sup>7</sup>

The 1902 Act has, of course been treated in considerable depth by such writers as Eaglesham<sup>8</sup> and Clarke.<sup>9</sup> Such a study would, then be superfluous and outwith the bounds of this thesis. Nevertheless, they have tended to approach the Act from a purely legislative and administrative angle - so perhaps there remains scope for considering the Act in its broader sense and, ignoring the religious squabbles which bedevilled it at the time, for relating it to the trends of imperialism and national efficiency.

As a first step it might be worth while considering the preceding legislation and administrative steps which coloured government decisions. The most famous of these was, of course, that cause célèbre the Cockerton judgement which had succeeded in creating an administrative impasse by pronouncing the school board higher grade work illegal under the terms of the 1870 Education Act. Whether the whole ruling was part of a carefully hatched conspiracy between Morant and Garnett of the London County Council Technical Education Board is still open to question. What perhaps is more important is that the Cockerton decision, as mentioned in a previous chapter, was very much a product of the search for information about education - a search which laid bare the exact limitations of existing statutes. It was also a result of the demand for efficiency in education. Although many of the higher grade schools were in themselves efficient, the principle on which they rested was highly inefficient, involving a duplication of effort, lack of educational co-ordination, unfair competition with existing secondary schools, and what Morant even saw as a fraudulent misuse of ratepayers' money.<sup>10</sup> Suddenly, the schools which Kekewich had encouraged, his "little pile of carefully constructed card-houses",<sup>11</sup> toppled over and something had to be done to plug the gap.



The higher elementary schools minute of 1900<sup>12</sup> was an administrative move in this direction. But it was geared to the recognition of schools with a curriculum very much akin to schools of science, and the more commercially oriented curriculum of most of the higher grade schools could not find an entrée.<sup>13</sup> The government had already in 1900 introduced a rather halting Secondary Education Bill<sup>14</sup> which had given limited powers with regard to secondary education to the County Councils and County Boroughs, leaving elementary education untouched, but it got no further than its second reading. Now, in 1901, it brought out an education bill designed to set up a new educational committee exclusively for secondary education, a committee which would be financed by means of the whisky money, an education rate which would be strictly limited to 2d in the pound, and borrowing.<sup>15</sup> There were very few compliments about this bill. The nearest approach to it was a rather grudging acknowledgement that something was better than nothing. Ernest Gray wrote in the Fornightly Review:

Viewed then as a complete Scheme standing alone without supplement, the Education Bill is a failure: viewed as a proposal for organising Secondary Education, and as the foundation for one single authority, it is a distinct step in the right direction.<sup>16</sup>

Even the Times, which urged the government to continue with the Bill long after controversy and adverse criticism<sup>17</sup> had reduced its chances of a safe passage to practically zero, was not completely uncritical.

The Education Bill ... if not in all respects adequate to the educational opportunity and the expectations of those most interested in the question, appears to be an honest attempt, more welcome because too long deferred, to introduce something like harmony into chaos.<sup>18</sup>

And when the bill was withdrawn in early July some observers warned that if the government were to save face the bill's successor in the next session would need to be bold and comprehensive and not just "another inept and peddling set of proposals similar to those which wasted Parliament's time and the Government's reputation in 1901."<sup>19</sup> The Education (No. 2) Bill of 1901<sup>20</sup> which merely granted a temporary year-long reprieve for the school board higher grade work made it practically certain that the government would need to introduce a measure the next year.



But even had the government not committed itself, by a series of rather inept attempts at legislation, to dealing with the subject more effectively, even had it not eventually fallen into a trap of its own making, it is doubtful whether, given the terms of the Board of Education Act and the gradual expansion of educational administration, it could for long have postponed the question of secondary education and the creation of a comprehensive educational system. The provision in the Board of Education Act that secondary schools could voluntarily submit themselves to inspection<sup>21</sup> was gradually expanding, and laying bare the inadequacy of much of the existing secondary education. It is debatable how long the government could have remained indifferent in the face of such revelations. Moreover, the very setting-up of the secondary education branch<sup>22</sup> of the Board of Education might have eventually encouraged administrative empire-building in that direction. The streamlining of elementary education might have fostered a desire for streamlining in other spheres. Demands for the extension of administrative control might eventually have made legislation a necessity.

Certainly, by 1902, educational legislation was considered very much a necessity by a great deal of people. The matter was felt to be one of urgency. Too many attempts had been made in the past to solve the problem and they had failed miserably through lack of public interest. Now the Boer War had shown the dangers of such apathy and public opinion, mindful of the well-worn warnings by educationalists, had been aroused. Even Campbell-Bannerman insisted that "There is nothing upon which the country is more united, and indeed, more enthusiastic, at the present moment than this question of education."<sup>23</sup> Something must be done quickly before the great opportunity, "the golden time",<sup>24</sup> was lost. Gorst argued that "It is ... no exaggeration to call the state of public instruction in England an emergency. The danger is imminent. There is no time to lose."<sup>25</sup> Haldane, a renegade to his party over the matter, justified his course by insisting that:

The Education question is urgent. We cannot afford to wait. In the interests of the Public, in the interests of the Nonconformists themselves, this Bill had better pass ...



It will for the first time make a gap in the thicket which shuts us in as a nation in educational affairs, and open a practicable way for the wider and larger schemes which are essential if Great Britain is to keep her place in the general advance of the twentieth century.<sup>26</sup>

Liberals and Conservatives were, in fact, agreed that there could be no question of delay, they merely differed over exactly what should be done.

The public and parliamentary demand for action in the educational sphere, the administrative impasse created by the Cockerton Judgement, the financial straits of the voluntary schools, the solid footing upon which the "khaki election"<sup>27</sup> had placed the Conservative Party, the ignominious failure of previous measures, all made it logical to see 1902 as an auspicious year for educational reform. What, above all, was required was a pilot to take on the responsibility of steering the educational cargo through the shark-infested waters of Parliament, and, in a rather surprising decision to forsake the easy way out, A. J. Balfour took on the job. His motives were not exactly clear-cut. Possibly he may have seen the credibility, or even the future, of his party as being at stake. It might bode ill for a strong Conservative government if, after having been taught a sharp lesson by the Boer War, it were to shirk what many now saw as its duty of providing a national necessity. Certainly, in a startling testimony to the increased importance attached to education, the whole issue was made one of confidence in the government.<sup>28</sup> Failure of the Bill would entail the resignation of the government. Possibly Balfour's candidature was more by default than anything else. With Gorst unfitted by temperament and a rather convenient bout of influenza for piloting the bill through the Commons it was logical for Balfour to take on the responsibility. Balfour himself was not very knowledgeable in educational matters - throughout the long debates he relied greatly on Morant<sup>29</sup> and for at least one of his public speeches on education was "instructed" by Hewins of the London School of Economics<sup>30</sup> - but was a master of the rules and procedures of the Commons.<sup>31</sup> Balfour as the scion of the Cecil Family was also very sensitive to appeals from the Established Church. His cousin was Sir Hugh Cecil, the bogey/



bogey/ man to most Nonconformists. Possibly it was such appeals and old loyalties which brought Balfour into the arena of parliamentary conflict. Nevertheless, the role of the concept of efficiency and imperialism must not be forgotten. It is debatable how much Morant's private meetings with Balfour, supplying him with information and making visits to his country home at Whittinghame with draft bills,<sup>32</sup> influenced the latter's decision to take the weight of Atlas on his shoulders. Certainly Morant, the apostle of efficiency, must have shown that a settlement of the education question was, if not easy, at least feasible. Eric Eaglesham pictures Morant and Balfour as being in league against the school boards and higher grade education.<sup>33</sup> It is perhaps more realistic to see them as united in a more constructive attempt to solve a pressing national problem.

Even if efficiency and imperialism were not the main motivating forces behind the introduction of the 1902 Bill, Balfour in any case thought them powerful arguments to back up the measure. His public speeches showed a strong, if rather belated, awareness of foreign competition in the educational field. He appealed constantly to national pride, insisting that the English system of education had made her the "laughing stock of Europe".<sup>34</sup> His speech introducing the bill,<sup>35</sup> (a speech which lasted for almost an hour and a half) although it laid stress on the need to prevent the starvation of voluntary schools, was very much a speech in favour of educational efficiency. The reasons for the introduction of the bill were given:

It is only because we feel that the necessity with which this Bill is intended to deal is a pressing necessity, it is only because we are of the opinion that it cannot with national credit be much longer delayed, that we have resolved to lay before the House our solution of the great problem which, for so many years past, has embarrassed the Legislature and the reformer.<sup>36</sup>

The gaps in the 1870 education settlement were elucidated, as well as the need for a sound system of general secondary education on which higher technical education could be based. Dual control of education, and in particular the unlimited power given to school boards of drawing on the rates, was seen as highly inefficient and/



and/ "not a system we should tolerate in any other administrative branch of our business."<sup>37</sup> The school boards themselves, by setting up a system of higher grade education, were unfortunately attempting a task they were not really qualified to perform. A better system of secondary education must be set up and also a better system of teacher training. Balfour's survey of education had led him to a conclusion reached by educationalists many years earlier.

We spend £18,000,000 a year on elementary education. Can anyone believe that under the system I have described we get the best results or can expect to get the best results for so vast an expenditure? For my own part, reasoning either from theory or from the example of America, or Germany or France, or any other country which devotes itself to educational problems, I am forced to the conclusion that ours is the most antiquated, the most ineffectual and the most wasteful method yet invented for providing a national education.<sup>38</sup>

Reform would, in Balfour's view, have to meet certain propositions.

Our reform, if it is to be adequate, must, in the first place, establish one authority for education - technical, secondary, primary - possessed of powers which may enable it to provide for the adequate training of teachers, and for the welding of higher technical and higher secondary education on to the university system. In the second place, I conclude that this one authority for education, being as it is, responsible for a heavy cost to the ratepayers, should be the rating authority of the district. In the third place, I lay down that the voluntary schools must be placed in a position in which they can worthily play their necessary and inevitable part in the scheme of national education. These are debatable propositions. I add to them two others which, as I conceive, are not debatable - namely, that, as far as we can, our system should be one which will not encourage for the future the perpetual introduction of denominational squabbles into our local and municipal life; and that the education authority should have at its disposal all the educational skill which the district over which it presides can supply.<sup>39</sup>

Most of Balfour's propositions, and the arguments he used to back them up had much in common with those of exponents of efficiency in education. The idea of a single educational authority, of the organisation of secondary education and better teacher training were basic tenets of educational faith, and the stress on value for money and the superior achievements of foreign countries was very much in tune with the general emphasis on business methods at the time. In fact, after he had countered the possible objections of various groups, and towards the end of/



of/ his speech, Balfour paraded the weaponry of the efficiency argument once more.

No other scheme - be it what you like - will give to the educational evils of this country the complete, radical and final cure which this Bill will give. I count upon the support of our countrymen to enable us to close for ever these barren controversies which for too long have occupied our time, and in the interest alike of parental liberty and of educational efficiency to terminate the present system of costly confusion.<sup>40</sup>

Balfour's speech was a well-reasoned and highly diplomatic utterance by a politician who, six years earlier, had shown himself as disinterested in the whole question of education.<sup>41</sup> Indeed his conduct during the 68 parliamentary days of the Bill's passage was exemplary.<sup>42</sup> Never flustered or obviously impatient, always tactful and anxious to avoid offending the school board sector, he was determined on his course, only temporarily surprised by the Nonconformist outcry in the country, and eventually brought the new parliamentary standing orders to bear by arranging for a closure of the bill by compartments.

The Bill proved to be a massive piece of legislation. Through the medium of the King's speech at the end of the session, the government stressed that it was "perhaps the most difficult, and ... certainly not the least important of all the questions of domestic legislation which can engage your (i.e. Parliament's) attention."<sup>43</sup> The timing of the introduction of the Bill was appropriate. Lloyd George was quoted as saying that "It was as difficult to carry a great measure during the progress of a war as to repair a house tenanted by an invalid."<sup>44</sup> But by the time of the Bill's introduction in March 1902 the Boer War was drawing to a close<sup>45</sup> although the lessons taught by it were not so far distant as to lose their impact. The Bill took eight months to pass through Parliament and the calling back of Parliament for a second session was only avoided by the expedient of compressing the debates in the Lords and squeezing in the Royal Assent on the last day of Parliament.

Before the introduction of the Bill the Cabinet itself was apparently riven with dissension. Morant, writing to Sidney Webb in the early part of the year remarked that

We are in great difficulties still. The differences within the Cabinet are acute. The difficulties of getting a Bill thro' this Cabinet are even greater than getting a Bill thro' Parlt.<sup>46</sup>

The Cabinet divisions, it seems, continued throughout much of the 1902 session, one of the longest at that time on record.<sup>47</sup> Sir Almeric Fitzroy makes reference to these in his memoirs.<sup>48</sup> There was the difficulty posed by Chamberlain the former Liberal who, even though anxious to promote educational efficiency, was equally anxious to avoid offending Nonconformist sentiments. Morant, obviously relishing such intrigues, paid him a secret visit and was, it seems, able to appeal to the efficiency streak in him.<sup>49</sup> Less easy to pacify were the voices within the Cabinet calling for a modified or shorter bill. There was evidently a serious split over whether or not the bill should include the highly controversial area of elementary education.<sup>50</sup> Chamberlain, Ritchie and Salisbury, the former out of principle, the latter out of timidity, pressed for a smaller measure, but Devonshire and Balfour, buttressed by Morant, stood out against them. Indeed Balfour, speaking on the committee stage of the Bill in the House, at one point gave what was almost a dig at his critics in the Cabinet.

We have heard, as we usually do in these debates, a good deal about what Germany and America have done in the cause of secondary education. Let me say that they have never been so idiotic as to suppose that they can carry out an efficient system of secondary education without making the system of elementary efficient also.<sup>51</sup>

The Bill itself, very much a Morant/Balfour creation, was gradually modified to meet practical exigencies. The permissive element was the first to be discarded when it was realised how it would imperil the practical implementation of any act.<sup>52</sup> In deference to the feelings of educationalists a clause allowing for the inclusion of women in the new Local Education Authorities was inserted,<sup>53</sup> although women were not eligible for County Council membership.



In Parliament the Bill not only meant the opening of the Pandora's box of religious squabbles, with Lloyd George in particular hot on the trail of any priestly influence, but also more detailed debates about education and educational policy than had ever been seen in the House. The provisions of the Bill were discussed in great detail in a much more knowledgeable way than six years previously and there was also a spin-off from the Bill in the form of numerous questions about educational policy in general. The way in which public interest had been aroused was manifested by the avalanche of petitions for and against the measure, arriving daily on the tables of both Houses.

It is interesting that the Liberals who, apart from renegades like Haldane and Munro-Ferguson, were united in their opposition to the government bill, stressed that their objections were based on the fact that the bill did nothing to promote educational efficiency. Lloyd George, the inveterate rabble-rouser, felt obliged to concede that "It was a great misfortune that there could not be an agreement between Members on both sides of the House who simply desired educational efficiency."<sup>54</sup> In one famous quotation he even combined the themes of foreign competition, educational efficiency and distrust of the Church of England clergy. He insisted:

Education was the weapon with which we were going to hold our position among the nations. We talked of improving our education in order to get abreast of Switzerland, Germany and the United States. A great country like this should talk, not of getting abreast, but of going ahead, of other countries. For the sake of teaching dogmas to children who could not understand them, we, in the midst of our difficulties and the rocks that surrounded us, proposed to put the chaplain on the bridge. It was a mad proposal. Let us, in a business-like spirit, clear the parsons out of the way, or, if they wanted to help to save the ship, let them take off their coats and work at the pumps like any ordinary seaman on board.<sup>55</sup>

A list of the reasons for Nonconformist opposition to the education bill printed in the Educational Times included not only the obvious grievances that sectarianism was encouraged, the new authorities were not elected ad hoc and that the school boards were destroyed, but also that there were insufficient guarantees/



guarantees/ of efficiency, educational unification was not achieved, not enough provision was made for higher education and the extinction of the school boards would not "tend to the advance in primary education urgently called for by the necessities of the times."<sup>56</sup>

The Nonconformist/Liberal argument was a clear one: that the bill as before Parliament was not an educational measure but rather a Voluntary Schools Relief Bill<sup>57</sup> and that a superior piece of legislation was needed to secure efficiency in education. Campbell-Bannerman, in early 1901, had hoped for a "large and sweeping measure"<sup>58</sup> but by late 1902 the Liberals felt that this had not been achieved and that, as a result, the nation's future was imperilled. Bryce was clear on this. Writing on "The Problem of National Education" in a Liberal party publication on the 1902 Act, he remarked

We are very far behind other countries if, in this year 1902, we are allowing our educational arrangements to be prescribed and their system determined, not by the will of the people at large, not even by the will of the laity of the Church of England, not even perhaps by the will of the clergy as a whole, but by a section of the clergy which has unhappily secured the ear of the Government and induced it to compel its Parliamentary majority to pass the measure.<sup>59</sup>

He emphasised, in rather vague terms, the need for preparation for the struggle to come - a struggle "for the accomplishment of a task upon which the future of England and of her Empire will for ages to come depend".<sup>60</sup>

Even during the darkest days of passive resistance to the act, some Nonconformists continued to argue that only the repeal of the act could help secure the future welfare of the nation. The Reverend Spriggs Smith, in the preface to his tiny pamphlet which put forward the Nonconformist case in the form of a "Dialogue between Two Schoolmasters" posed what he felt to be the crucial question

Are we justified, as a nation, in burdening the minds of our children with our unhappy sectarian divisions? Certainly not. To persist in so doing, which appears to me to be the main object of the 1902 Education Act, is an injustice to the children, a trespass on the rights of parents, and imperils our nation's future.<sup>61</sup>



In general the Parliamentary debates on the bill ranged widely over numerous aspects of the educational problem. Various streams of educational thought coalesced or were made evident. Nearly all the speakers agreed that the problem was urgently in need of solution and that public opinion had been roused on the subject of the links between education and national supremacy.<sup>62</sup> References to foreign examples and foreign competition, to the Imperial aspects of the education question and to the need for educational efficiency<sup>63</sup> were common. Numerous M.P.'s trundled out their own educational schemes or particular hobby-horses. Some put forward the old demand for information and statistics, particularly about secondary education,<sup>64</sup> others tried to secure amendments not only in the controversial field of religious teaching but also to ensure that subjects like military training<sup>65</sup> and technical education<sup>66</sup> received adequate attention. Many expressed a sense of shame<sup>67</sup> and a sense of mission with regard to education, although there were hints, as yet heavily veiled, of a possible reaction: complaints about the undue emphasis on technical education and about the possible cost of the implementation of the act.

In particular, many of the agriculturists were sceptical about the value of education and saw it only in terms of a dreaded increase in the education rate. As David Maciver rather scathingly remarked

They all knew the old story of the man who proposed pills as a remedy against earthquakes. He thought the suggestion ... that technical instruction could cure agricultural depression was just as absurd.<sup>69</sup>

Major Rasch gave a clear expose of the agriculturists' attitude to education:

I venture to say that in the agricultural districts we have no objection to education. We are as well able to talk platitudes about it as any hon. Member. What we resent very much is the statement ... that we are Tony Lumpkins sheltering behind the President of the Council. We deny that. We do not object to education. We can stand a certain amount of it ... but we draw the line somewhere. We draw the line where education ceases to be of the slightest use to the children, and imposes a heavy burden on the rates ... What is the sense of this megalomania for teaching, in Shakesperian phrase, the musical glasses to agricultural labourers' children and/

and/ cramming them with useless knowledge with the one hand, and taking the bread and cheese out of their mouths with the other? What do hon. Members think of agricultural labourers' children? Do they imagine that when they leave school they turn into professors or Members of Parliament? They do not want your higher education; they do not want your curriculum, or whatever hon. Members choose to call it.<sup>70</sup>

Such an attitude in a less extreme form was not confined to the agricultural interest. Compton Rickett remarked that "We hear a great deal about the great value of technical education. May I suggest, although it is not a popular opinion, that we are overrating it?"<sup>71</sup> And while an enthusiast like Mather argued that "Money is the last thing that should be considered in relation to education ..."<sup>72</sup> others countered with the view that "... nothing was more likely to retard the cause of education than to make the ratepayers dread a largely increased rate."<sup>73</sup>

Such opinions were, however, largely drowned out by the more vociferous demands for educational efficiency and by the sectarian disputes over exactly what form religious teaching in schools should take.

Haldane, writing to his mother in June, showed himself rather impatient with the Nonconformist attitude to the bill.

The Education Bill is really not the oppressive measure the nonconformists are making out. It treats them on just the same footing as the Church people. The difference is that they have not so many schools. These controversies over a national necessity are sickening.<sup>74</sup>

In fact the outcry over religious teaching in schools was out of proportion to its importance in the Act in its final form.

Haldane felt that the conscience clauses were adequate, and the Kenyon Slaney clause in fact gave a great deal of freedom in the matter of religious teaching to school managers.<sup>75</sup> But the Nonconformists still cavilled at the idea of voluntary schools, for the first time, receiving rate aid.<sup>76</sup>

This latter move, although of great help to the Church of England, also assisted the cause of educational efficiency. It/



It would cost too much to replace the voluntary school system completely and it was therefore logical to make the voluntary schools as efficient as those maintained by public funds.

The Act gave county councils and county boroughs a new role as local education authorities. These authorities were not to be confined to elementary education but were empowered to survey and aid higher education and "promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education".<sup>77</sup> They were obliged to "maintain and keep efficient all public elementary schools within their area which are necessary"<sup>78</sup> and aid and inspect other schools. The education committees of the county councils and county boroughs were to include not only county council members but representatives of other bodies and persons experienced in education (including women). As far as finance was concerned, recourse was to be made to the rates, the parliamentary aid grant, and the Customs and Excise Residue.

With regard to secondary education, the thorn in the flesh of educationalists for so many years, the Act was really extremely tentative. But at least a beginning had been made. The State had at last acknowledged some responsibility in the field and, as Sidney Webb enthused in an article in the Nineteenth Century "For the first time in our history education is dealt with as a whole".<sup>79</sup>

It is difficult to determine in exactly what ways the Education Act of 1902 marked the fruition in one particular area of a policy of national efficiency, as distinct from a culmination of existing trends or an attempt to bolster the Church of England. The provisions for some form of co-ordination of secondary education and for a single local authority in education had for long been demanded by educationalists, as had some form of permanent state aid to the voluntary schools. But it was the public outcry provoked by Boer War revelations, together with the assumption that a government worthy of the name should be able to deal with the vast problem, which eventually forced Balfour to grasp the nettle. Moreover, the final Act was very much Morant's -

Morant the exponent of streamlining in education and of the elevated responsibilities of the teaching process. The arguments used to back up the bill were mainly those that the future of the English nation and, even more, of the British Empire, was dependent on such a measure. The arguments used against it were often that it jeopardised these very things.

It is still debatable whether the Act was the only one possible under the circumstances. Haldane thought so<sup>80</sup> but the Liberals in general did not. Was the 1902 Act merely an attempt to concede the least possible, to throw an offering to public opinion in return for saving the voluntary schools? The energy with which Balfour threw himself into the general, and not just the specifically voluntary school, clauses of the bill argues against this. The Act was probably more an attempt to provide a common denominator of reform.

The immediate impact of the bill as it made its way through Parliament was in the form of a feeling that education was in the air and being talked about by everyone. Education had become a popular topic even before the introduction of the government bill but it was logical that a subject which formed the basis of the largest measure of the session should receive a boost after the introduction of that measure. Macnamara was exultant

During the eight months it has been before the country it (i.e. the Education Bill) has aroused the English people to something approaching a sense of interest in the question of National Education. Such an achievement is by way of being a modern miracle.<sup>81</sup>

and thought that the new-found interest in education would last a decade. Others showed an equally fervent, if rather misplaced, enthusiasm. Cloudesley Brereton, also writing in the Fortnightly Review, saw a rosy future ahead for secondary education:

The thorough organisation of secondary education will enable it to make its aims and its claims thoroughly known to those in authority, whether locally or at the centre. The happy moment so long awaited in vain by Matthew Arnold has at length arrived. The present Code represents its articles of incorporation, the charter under which it takes its place in the fighting line among the organised spiritual forces that/



that/ the country recognises as indispensable factors in the great Weltkrieg for national existence.<sup>82</sup>

Jebb, speaking on the first reading of the bill in Parliament, saw it almost in terms of a potential universal panacea. He lyricised

May this auspicious year be remembered as one which added to the national strength in a province not less vital for our defence than the provision of fleets and armies: may it give us at last a system of national education which shall be at once comprehensive and just, and which shall carry with it the pledges, too long deferred, of efficiency, stability and permanence.<sup>83</sup>

The hopes of continued public interest in education and thankfulness for the benefits conferred by the act were soon to be shattered. Ideas of national efficiency in education were submerged by the sectarian disputes evoked by the 1902 Act. Defeated in Parliament, the Nonconformists carried the conflict into the arena of passive resistance to the implementation of the act and the strength of the outcry seems to have taken Balfour somewhat by surprise.<sup>84</sup> The movement was strongest in Wales where it was led by Dr. John Clifford and Lloyd George. Nonconformists refused to pay rates towards the upkeep of voluntary schools which, in certain areas, would be the only schools available for their children, and refused to set up the local education authorities required by the terms of the act. In certain areas the rates war resulted in a distraint of goods in lieu of rates. Kingsley Martin described how his father, a Nonconformist minister, watched his possessions being loaded on to a cart outside his home and how he gave his verdict on the eventual failure of the campaign.

My father held that if the passive resisters had remained firm and united they might have beaten the Bill, and that they allowed Joseph Chamberlain to swamp them by diverting attention to the more exciting topic of tariffs.<sup>85</sup>

Another reason for the eventual failure of the campaign was the attitude adopted by the Board of Education, which refused to be panicked and quietly set about putting the new act into operation in as non-controversial a way as possible. It instituted full-scale inquiries into the implementation of the act in certain counties<sup>86</sup> and eventually made use of the new Local Authority/



Authority/ Default Act of 1904<sup>87</sup> to set up local education authorities and deduct the cost from the parliamentary grant to the local authority. Eventually passive resistance faded, although a good deal of animosity remained. It can be argued that one rather unfortunate victim of the campaign was the general public interest in education aroused by the Boer War and by the introduction of the government education bill. Education gradually became coupled with the idea of esoteric and rather boring sectarian wranglings - a subject to be discretely avoided at all costs.

The 1902 Act had not dealt with the problem of London education and a bill was brought forward to cope with this omission. Anson, still inexperienced, was given the task of steering a bill with which he was not altogether satisfied, through Parliament. Some of his critics were scathing about what was, after all, a brave performance. "The right hon. Gentleman," Mr. Middlemore remarked, "seemed to grope his way along the technicalities and husks of life like a snail without its horns."<sup>88</sup> Morant, hard at work on the implementation of his own bill, was unable and unwilling to render assistance. His attitude, voiced in letters to Sidney Webb was that of keeping out of a rather messy business. In January 1903 he wrote "They are still all over the place as to London. As it has come to be pure (or impure) politics, I am keeping out of it."<sup>89</sup> and in May

... I have been almost killed with work on my own Bill and the Office organisation; and for two months past I have had to cut all connection with the London Bill ... From what I have vaguely seen or heard it looks to me as if they were making a fearful mess of it.<sup>90</sup>

It was left to outsiders like Webb and Haldane, themselves not altogether convinced that the bill was the best in the circumstances, but aware that any bill was better than none, to campaign for support.<sup>91</sup> As shown in the Passfield Papers, the main difficulty (and one even greater than school board opposition) seems to have lain with the hard-liner London members within the Conservative Party itself. Thwarted by years of Progressive ascendancy in the London County Council and London School Board, they wanted to see the setting up of a new borough council local education authority which they hoped would not contain the old Progressive elements.



Helped behind the scenes by Sir Hugh Cecil, Webb sought systematically to counter the arguments in favour of a borough council authority. His memorandum on the subject<sup>92</sup> was an impressive document and in many ways an apologia of the efficiency argument. He wrote that

To supersede the experienced members of the School Board and Technical Education Board, who have learnt this lesson (i.e. the importance of higher education), by raw recruits from the Borough Councils, who would have to begin over again, would be as regards all forms of higher education, to put the clock back by many years. It would mean that London would have to wait indefinitely for its great popular university, genuinely accessible to the poor student; for any chance of the effective cultivation by the university spirit of its great army (sic of?) teachers; and for the establishment of those opportunities for post-graduate study and scientific and technological research in which Germany so much excels us.<sup>93</sup>

After a great deal of haggling, the bill was eventually passed.

But the passing of both bills was merely a beginning. Numerous difficulties, many of them unforeseen, presented themselves as the acts were implemented. Sidney Webb found himself faced by a hostile combination of Progressives in the new London education authority, many of them Nonconformists and bitterly resentful of the way in which the school boards had been destroyed.<sup>94</sup> He was never again to achieve the same influence he had exerted in the old London County Council Technical Education Board, and had initially to impress upon his colleagues the need to make the best of the London Act and work with it.

The Board of Education was hampered by the passive resistance campaign, the need to gear internal office administration to the new system and the need to supply the county councils with information and advice. The county councils themselves, hitherto only experienced in dealing with technical education, found themselves faced with the need to survey all education under their control,<sup>95</sup> and with the vast unknown problems of secondary and, more especially, elementary education. It was quite logical that, faced with this immense task, the local education authorities should largely restrict their educational interests to the process of day-to-day administration.

The Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 were in a sense the apotheosis of the policy of national efficiency. They came about as a result of public demands for action after the Boer War revelations and of a long-standing campaign by educationalists on behalf of greater efficiency in education. Unfortunately the 1902 Act was equivocal in the extreme. The furore it engendered went far towards destroying the public interest in education which had been its original impetus. It opened up new fields of State intervention, but by its very passing set limits to that intervention. The death knell was rung for many of the comprehensive schemes which had been bandied about in the years immediately preceding. There must have been the all too human feeling that now that something had been done at last, educationalists could relax or devote themselves to implementation of the act.

Even as early as 1902 it is possible to trace signs of a reaction against what was felt to be an over-emphasis on education in general or on particular aspects of education. This trend was to become much more pronounced in following years, particularly as educational expenditure began to climb far beyond all the conservative estimates.

This however is a topic which deserves broader attention and is dealt with, accordingly, in the next chapter.

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41. See chapter I. p. 32.
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67. e.g. Sir Edward Grey. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 107. c. 824. 6 May 1902. and Sir William Hart Dyke. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 107. c. 811. 6 May 1902.
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72. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 107. c. 866. 6 May 1902.
73. Earl Percy. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 109. c. 1610. 24 June 1902.
74. Haldane M.S. 5967. f. 188. Haldane to mother dated 6 June 1902 (really 7 June).
75. "Religious instruction shall be given in a public elementary school not provided by the Local Education Authority in accordance with the tenor of the provisions (if any) of the trust deed relating thereto and shall be under the/



- the/ control of the managers ..."  
Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 113. c. 1303. 30 October 1902.  
Education Act, 1902. 2 Edw. 7. ch. 42. para. 7 (6).  
(Kenyon Slaney was the Conservative member for the Newport division of Shropshire.)
- Para. 4 (1) of the Education Act also established that local education authority money was not to be used to aid denominational instruction.
76. This was in lieu of the previous parliamentary grants.  
Voluntary Schools Act, 1897. 60 Vict. ch. 5. para. 10.
77. Education Act, 1902. 2 Edw. 7. ch. 42. para. 2 (1).
78. ibid. para. 7 (1).
79. Nineteenth Century. Vol. 52 (1902). p. 604.
80. "I do not see any practicable alternative to some such proposal as the present. If the Liberal party were in power to-morrow, they would be wrecked over any attempt to set up a universal school board system such as prevails in Scotland. What Mr. Gladstone could not do in 1870 with a great majority, the ratepayers will not let us do now." P.R.O. Ed. 24/28. Haldane letter on the education bill (clipping from Primrose League Gazette Educational Supplement, 1 November 1902).  
"I saw that no alternative course was open to the Conservative Government of the day, and I thought that the importance of developing the national system of education was so great that the Bill which contained conscience clauses, ought to be passed. As the result I differed from nearly the whole of my party, and supported it." R. B. Haldane. Autobiography. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929. p. 148.
81. Fortnightly Review. Vol. 73. (1903). p. 88. "The New Education Act at Work."
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84. "His surprise at the passionate indignation of the Nonconformists in regard to the Education Act was not affected. He still believes that these good people - honest, but dull and unenlightened - did not know their blessings. It is not that he deliberately outrages a sentiment that he does not share: it is that he is insensible to it."  
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## CONCLUSION

### THE EDUCATIONAL REACTION

"In my opinion there's too much of this 'ere eddication, nowadays," remarked old Linden. "Wot the 'ell's the good of eddication to the likes of us?"

"None whatever," said Crass, "it just puts foolish idears into people's 'eds and makes 'em too lazy to work."

ROBERT TRESSELL.<sup>1</sup>

An experienced observer in Cheshire once remarked, "If the average farmer had to choose between the Colorado beetle and a School Board, he wouldn't know which way to go."

E. M. SNEYD-KYNNERSLEY.<sup>2</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In the years between the passing of the 1902 and 1903 acts and the downfall of the Conservative Government perhaps the most salient feature in the educational world, apart from the implementation of the education acts, was the cost of education. Halevy suggests that Balfour was rather naively unaware that the 1902 act would entail any additional expenditure<sup>3</sup> - at any rate the Prime Minister must have felt certain that any expenditure could be kept firmly in check. Unfortunately this was not to be.<sup>4</sup> The county councils had been faced with the need to survey all education under their control and then make provisions to secure its efficiency. Even Lord Stanley (formerly Lyulph Stanley of London School Board fame) complained bitterly about what he felt to be the unnecessarily stringent demands made by the Board of Education on secondary schools,<sup>5</sup> and gradually a feeling of revolt arose against the increased education rate made necessary by the need to keep schools up to a required level and make some provision for teacher training.

Major Coates, the chairman of the Surrey county council, could see the possible danger only too clearly. He

... warned those who were responsible for educational outlay in the country to be careful, lest by undue haste in seeking to perfect the system they were led to make such demands upon the public purse as would have the effect of provoking a reaction against the demands for educational efficiency, and so hinder the cause which they desired to promote.<sup>6</sup>

Others, particularly members of the agricultural interest, were not so cautious in their utterances. Sir Carne Rasch even discerned what was almost a plot on the part of educationalists  
He

... could not understand why people in agricultural districts should pay for education by direct taxation, and he protested with all the force of which he was capable against the/



the/ ruinous charges which were put upon them simply to carry out the wishes of faddists or fanatics who thought about nothing but education, and who were only too glad if they could make the cost as much as possible.<sup>7</sup>

Others even went so far as to suggest that teachers pay the full cost of their own training.<sup>8</sup>

Balfour was harassed by various petitions and deputations from county councils and county boroughs in favour of a reduced education rate, for the rate was felt acutely at a time of agricultural and industrial depression. The agitation reached a climax throughout 1905 when a huge meeting was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel<sup>9</sup> by representatives of the county councils. But the demand for educational economy did not merely come from hard-pressed local authorities but was also part of a much more general demand for administrative economy which in itself was a product of the demand for national efficiency. Winston Churchill emerged as the champion of "economy" and carried on a war of words with Balfour in the pages of the Times.<sup>10</sup> In parliament itself there was a suggestion in some of the debates that the country was not getting value for money as far as the £25 million spent annually on education was concerned.<sup>11</sup>

The main complaint about the educational rate was that it fell very much more severely on some areas than on others, and in October 1905 a Treasury Departmental Committee was appointed

... to inquire into the expenditure on public education in England and Wales from Exchequer grants, local rates, and other sources, with a view to ascertaining the various causes for the existing diversity in the amount of rate levied for education by local authorities, and the varying relation which this amount bears to the total local rates in each area.<sup>12</sup>

The task proved to be a much more difficult one than originally anticipated. The Committee obtained a series of returns from local authorities on their receipts and expenditure, but most of these related to a period of transition and flux in educational matters and it was extremely difficult to draw conclusions from them. Moreover by 1906 a Liberal Government had come to power - a Liberal Government pledged to replace the 1902 Act with an alternative measure of its own, and therefore the Committee suggested in a Report of August 1906 that further investigations/



investigations/ might not be worth while. The Treasury, in December, agreed. However the Committee did publish some findings, many of them highly conservative and perhaps typically "Treasury". It admitted that there were almost insurmountable difficulties in areas with a rapidly growing population and large numbers of children at school but also suggested that the absence of a pressure to keep the rates down in districts with a high valuation was a contributory factor, as was the educational policy adopted in various localities. And while the Committee trod a wary path by insisting that "it would not be fair to assume the existence of extravagance or negligence"<sup>13</sup> on the part of the local authorities, it was obviously hinting that this might well be the case. There even seems to be a trace of nostalgia in its emphasis that prior to 1902 the voluntary school managers were more economical than the school boards.

If the fears of the increasing cost of education led to a reaction against education, so too did many of the educational exaggerations current at the time. This was particularly true as far as technical education was concerned. J. L. Bashford, writing in the Fortnightly Review in 1905, remarked that

Impulsive efforts to wake up (i.e. as far as technical education was concerned) are made from time to time; but the agitation to do so, like movements for the reform of the army, generally fizzles out in exaggerations.<sup>14</sup>

Who can argue that the idea of technical education for grocers, put forward by one serious-minded speaker, was not rather exaggerated? The audience, anyway, became very restive.<sup>15</sup> The old commercial supremacy arguments were trundled out to justify what were often highly ludicrous schemes. One writer in the Nineteenth Century and After, advocating the fostering of ancient village industries, used overblown arguments about the future of Britain and of the Empire. The Empire, presumably, was to be saved by the introduction of hoopmaking classes.<sup>16</sup> There were ominous signs that technical education had become a fetish. The question can be put. Did the very fact that the technical education movement was too well-proclaimed lead to over-exposure in the press and eventual public distrust of, and reaction against, what had become a cliché? It is debatable whether the exponents of technical education, by moving too fast and carrying their arguments to extremes, in/



in/ effect sabotaged their own cause, or whether they suffered from the inevitable reaction against the Boer War panic and their own hazy definitions both of their aims and purposes and of the boundary between technical and secondary education.

The exaggerations, however, were not confined to the realms of technical education. For almost every aspect of education in the post Boer War period there would be some league or association urging its claims with single-minded enthusiasm. There were individuals urging for "Scientific" Temperance Teaching, the compulsory teaching of hygiene, the teaching of Waarenkunde (the materials of commerce) and even the compulsory use of firearms. It was all rather bewildering. One teacher became impatient with the ubiquitous interference. He wrote:

... we (i.e. the teachers) should have the right to tell medical men, commercial men, and all other non-educators, to mind their own business before minding ours.<sup>17</sup>

Even the new educational section of the British Association began to be seen as somewhat excessively garrulous.<sup>18</sup>

Even before the public interest in education reached a climax, there were voices raised against education in general or against aspects of the new type of education being advocated. Gorst's son Harold Gorst was the author of a rather perplexing book called "The Curse of Education" which appeared in 1901 and constituted what one M.P. termed a form of "literary parricide".<sup>19</sup> In it he was to argue that

... the foundations of all existing education systems are absolutely false in principle; and that teaching itself, as opposed to natural development and self culture, is the greatest obstacle to human progress that social evolution has ever had to encounter.<sup>20</sup>

and produced a list of great men who had been self-educated to support this fallacy. He even challenged the credo that education was necessary as a weapon in the industrial struggle of the future.

Is it international commercial rivalry that produces the necessity of a State system of education to equip the nation for the struggle? Or is it the State system of education, with its organized attempt to manufacture a race of traders, which has artificially created the state of/



of/ commercial warfare into which we are rapidly drifting.<sup>21</sup> Otto Elzbacher wrote at considerable length in the Nineteenth Century and After on "The Disadvantages of Education".<sup>22</sup> Lord Norton appealed to chauvinistic sentiments by asserting English educational superiority.

We are perpetually being referred to the Continent for higher models of education. I altogether demur to this constant reference to the Continent. I prefer to judge by the results of the education given in England as compared with the results of the education given in Germany, and I prefer the turn-out of the English youth to the turn-out of German prigs.<sup>23</sup>

Science, once the golden subject of the curriculum, now came in for a fair amount of criticism. It was even pictured in emotive metaphorical terms as "a terribly exclusive and oppressive goddess ... like a servant introduced into a house and speedily usurping the place of its mistress."<sup>24</sup>

Considering this reaction against the excessive claims of science and technical education, it is quite logical to agree with Olive Banks that the 1904 Regulations were more the result of the general climate of educational opinion at the time than a specifically Morantian decision.<sup>25</sup> It is true that there was an almost general reaction against premature specialisation in the educational world at this time - a reaction which gained its raw material from Inspectors' reports on secondary schools.<sup>26</sup> What must not be forgotten, however, is that most of the posts in the higher ranks of the Board of Education and most of the posts in the school inspectorate, for that matter, were filled by ex-public school boys, most of them acting, be it unconsciously, in accordance with public school traditions.<sup>27</sup> Kekewich referred jokingly at the Marlborough College Speech Day in 1899 to the number of ex-public school men in the upper echelons of the Education Office and how the public school interest would thereby be safeguarded,<sup>28</sup> but this could be disastrous if the nation were going to rely on science and technical education for its salvation. Even although the public schools now paid lip service to newer scientific methods, the public school spirit, by its emphasis on classical studies, on games, on character and on Oxford and/



and/ Cambridge as a logical follow-up, by default dealt a death blow in prestige terms to specifically modern subjects, the training of intellect rather than morals, and modern technological universities.

The "Notes on Education" by "An Old Fogey" which appeared in the Journal of Education are exaggerated parody but reflect the underlying assumptions of an ex-public or ex-grammar school type - the distrust of "well meaning young men from South Kensington" determining the curriculum of the old school; the feeling that the old system, whatever its defects, had produced "mothering girls and governing men".<sup>29</sup> Both Asquith and Anson stressed that what was required in secondary schools was a broad liberal education and Asquith, speaking on the function of a University, argued "It never was and never should become a technological institute for the creation and equipment of specialists."<sup>30</sup> Even Haldane fell victim to the prestigious aura around the public schools and at a dinner of the Clothworkers told of a German friend who wanted his son educated at Eton and who insisted that

... we Germans have, no doubt, better educational methods than you; but there is a school called Eton which has something which does not exist on the Continent, and that is a method of training rulers of men.<sup>31</sup>

Thus Haldane, although in a sense a foreigner, was bewitched by the public school ethos, Morant was trapped in its unexpressed assumptions and only Sidney Webb, self-made man and owing nothing to them, could break free, although even he stressed a liberal rather than a strictly utilitarian education.

It can even be argued that the 1902 Education Act was a masterly attempt to ensure the survival of the British Empire by providing the basis of modern education while yet safeguarding the aura round an elite who provided the "tone" of society. The question can be posed whether it is possible for a society to attain a peak of technological efficiency without sublimating the cult of technological efficiency?<sup>32</sup> Brian Simon pictures Haldane as assigning the university and grammar school men the role of men/



men/ of silver, slightly beneath the public school men of gold,<sup>33</sup> but was second place enough? Was this the stumbling block of national efficiency - the inability to carry the concept to its logical conclusions, to apply the ideas implied not merely into the realms of administration and concrete reforms but also into those of social values?

After taking a heavy beating from their critics during and immediately after the Boer War, the old guard at the public schools fought back, gradually regaining much of the initiative it had lost in the educational sphere.<sup>34</sup> As the reaction against the rather indiscriminate Boer War panic grew, so too did the reaction against the blanket criticism of British army officers and against the public school system which spawned them. The public schools had shown themselves willing to adopt more modern subjects and now they fell back on traditional, if slightly modified, arguments to justify their existence. If the public schools were to lose their prestige and essential guiding spirit, what would replace them in their functions of providing an education for the elite governing classes and a salutary influence on secondary schools in general? Could Latin and Greek, generally acknowledged to be the best instruments of intellectual training, possibly be adequately replaced by lesser subjects? Did not the public schools provide an unrivalled and much envied means of developing character and training boys in the habit of command?

The formation of the Classical Association in late 1903 marked the beginning of an organised attempt to counter the demands of more utilitarian subjects by pressing forward the claims of the older classics. The feeling was common that science was an idol with feet of clay and that only a classical education could impart moral and character training. Gradually, too, it began to be stressed that the public schools were in their own way helping the cause of imperialism by providing a governing elite for the Empire. As J. C. Tarver had written in a letter to the Times of 1 April 1899.

If we surpass - and we do surpass - all other nations in our capacity for colonization and for governing dependencies, and we may add in governing ourselves, we owe everything to the schools which develop or, at the least maintain certain/



certain/ high ideals of life, and which are admitted on all hands to have solved the problem of practically training our boys in the arts of governing and being governed.<sup>35</sup>

It was perhaps in the public school sphere that the eventual conflict in education between the needs of Imperialism and national efficiency emerged most clearly. The public schools were seen by many as the centres for the training of great imperial administrators, by others as needing to be reformed in order to provide the intellectual leadership needed by industry and commerce. While imperialism was very much the concomitant of national efficiency - the eventual rationale of the policy of national efficiency was, after all, for most people the preservation of the empire - the two stemmed from different sources. Imperialism was inevitably associated with the heritage of the past while the concept of national efficiency (despite the Administrative Reform Movement earlier) owed more to modern ideas.

It can be argued that in the end it was the old, essentially imperialist, guard which emerged triumphant, basing its long-term plans on the assumption that the empire would be retained. There were objectors, of course, particularly among those who had championed the modern higher grade type of school. Yoxall complained in Parliament "that upon the higher-grade school - the modern type of secondary school - the hon. Baronet (i.e. Anson) wished to impose the old form, the cramping form, of the endowed grammar school."<sup>36</sup> In many ways after 1902 it was a case of the old type of liberal education being made more efficient in administrative terms and extended more widely rather than the newer emphasis on technological training securing more than a tenuous foothold. Even the educational reformers were in a sense trapped by their own upbringing and the Boer War gradually receded in time, its lessons perhaps not entirely forgotten but somewhat blurred by the victorious peace.

The interest shown in education by the English public at various stages throughout this period was in some ways an attempt to find a concrete, tangible reason for the British/



British/ losing their industrial and commercial lead. It was a most attractive reason to fasten upon - after all, prior to 1902, or to 1900 anyway, educational provision was chaotic and yet could, as the would-be reformers urged, easily be put right with a modicum of Government intervention. It was much more attractive than other, vaguer economic theories. Nevertheless there were for contemporaries and there are today numerous alternative explanations for Britain's poor performance, and as educational debates became bogged down these alternative explanations emerged with new vigour.

Sir John Wolfe Barry, the engineer, was wary even in 1903 about overrating the importance of education.

He wanted ... to use a word of caution against any exaggeration in the estimates of the influence of technical education on trade competition. It was of the greatest weight; but unquestionably there were other very important economic reasons for the great development of German and American commerce during the past twenty or thirty years.<sup>37</sup>

One of the most bitterly dogmatic economic explanations given at the time was that trade union restrictions were hampering British industry to such an extent as to imperil its competitiveness. Henry Wilson put this argument very cogently in a letter to the Times in 1898 when he insisted that what gave the Germans an advantage was not so much that they knew more as that they were willing to work harder.

It is not King Rule-of-Thumb who is endangering our position, but King Eight-hours-day, King Limitation-of-Output, King Picketing, and the other royalties, far worse than any landlords' royalties, who I am afraid will soon

"be monarchs of all they survey,  
And lords of the foul and the brute."<sup>38</sup>

- a descant taken up enthusiastically by the Times in many of its leaders.

Other contemporary explanations were that Britain was suffering from her adherence to free trade doctrines while her rivals were raising protective tariffs,<sup>39</sup> that there was a lack of an efficient state back-up for commerce in the form of such personages as commercial consuls,<sup>40</sup> that British industrial/



industrial/ methods compared with those, say, in America left a great deal to be desired,<sup>41</sup> that the delay in implementing the change-over to the metric system was prejudicial to British trade,<sup>42</sup> or that Britain was merely suffering from a bad attack of over-prosperity.<sup>43</sup> Some explanations admitted of a possible solution to Britain's difficulties, be it even that of ruralisation;<sup>44</sup> others were much more deterministic. Some critics argued that Britain was undergoing the inevitable phenomenon in the life of Empires - gradual decline. Others argued that Britain's ability to cope with foreign competition might only be limited and of a short-term nature. As A. D. Provand put it:

The competition with Germany can be met by better educational methods. That with the United States cannot, except to a limited extent, because education is only one means of developing commerce. It cannot give a country natural resources, and these form the great strength of the position of the United States.<sup>45</sup>

Many of the remaining reasons put forward for British backwardness strike the modern reader as faintly quaint, although they were advanced in all seriousness: the ideas that the British were becoming physically, racially, or morally degenerate,<sup>46</sup> that an unwholesome interest in sport was destroying the will to work,<sup>47</sup> that the lack of compulsory military service was detrimental to discipline in British industry,<sup>48</sup> that a neglect of religion was leading to physical ruin.

The moral note which emerged is a very interesting one. The feeling was common that, after all, since it was morality which had promoted British prosperity and the British empire it was morality which would ensure their survival.<sup>49</sup> This was very much in tune with the whole public school ethos. It took little account of the fact that Britain could afford to adopt a moral stance since she was still a superior power. The danger was that it was but a short step from emphasising the beneficial effects of the training of the individual's character and morals to a denigration of those disciplines which did not have the development of morality as their primary aim. The idea of national efficiency was somewhat distrusted on this score - as tending to the/



the/ development of a rather materialistic, amoral bureaucracy. Even A. G. Gardiner could find such faults in Haldane.

It must be admitted ... that the type of his (i.e. Haldane's) Liberalism is German. It is vague and indeterminate. It breathes expediency rather than the compulsion of principle ... It approaches politics purely as a business proposition, and seeks to establish national greatness on scientific and material rather than moral foundations.<sup>50</sup>

Modern-day thought is equally divided about the problem of economic decline in Britain, although it is much better able to trace long-term patterns of lack of investment in new machinery and processes and misplaced investment in service sectors of the economy. The idea of British backwardness as being due to lack of technological education is still very much a subject of debate. As Roderick and Stephens put it:

This was a widely held view and was an over-riding factor that was advanced by contemporary observers and industrialists. However, this is not clearly established and is an issue still in dispute. Other factors advanced were high labour costs, tariff barriers, obsolescent plant and equipment, patent laws and trade union restrictions. Economic historians have since advocated many other causes, such as a failure to develop a machine-tool industry, for Britain's loss of industrial eminence.<sup>51</sup>

Hobsbawm sees Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as gradually becoming a parasitic rather than a competitive economy, "living off the remains of world monopoly, the underdeveloped world, her past accumulations of wealth and the absence of rivals"<sup>52</sup> and failing to adapt to changes in economic enterprise "not because she could not, but because she did not wish to."<sup>53</sup> Perhaps, then, in a strange way the whole question comes round again to the ethos of a society, which holds that society back from adopting modern business methods, an ethos which is reflected in, and moulded by, that country's educational system. The British ethos was still very much that of individual effort, morality, strong character and the education for a gentleman rather than a money-grubber.

While there were alternative explanations to the educational explanation being postulated, there were also alternative/



alternative/ interests to channel public attention away from the field of education. The sectarian controversies have already been mentioned<sup>54</sup> but far more enthralling were the disputes over the tariff question which shook the foundations of traditional British economic thought and led to acute difficulties within the Conservative party.<sup>55</sup> Joseph Chamberlain had announced his conversion to the idea of a modified form of protection as a first step on the road towards imperial preference and the eventual creation of some form of customs union for the Empire. At a time of trade depression<sup>56</sup> he found a willing audience in people like W. A. S. Hewins of the London School of Economics.<sup>57</sup> Economists were divided on the subject; the country was divided; the numerous debates in parliament from 1903 onwards reflected an even wider division there. Although Chamberlain resigned his seat in the Cabinet in September 1903 to devote himself to his campaign, Balfour found himself treading a tightrope in his party, faced with resignations from free trade stalwarts like Devonshire, yet unwilling to drop Chamberlain completely. Campbell-Bannerman in particular was infuriated by Balfour's non-committal stance. The furore created by the free trade/ protection dispute went far towards diverting interest away from educational arguments. Almost overnight Chambers of Commerce found tariffs a much more interesting topic of discussion than technical education.

The tariff disputes were to fade with the withdrawal of Chamberlain from public life, an upswing in trade, and the Liberal victory at the polls, but in many ways social reform was to replace them in the public interest. Many educationalists like Gorst had seen social reform as being closely linked with education. The demand for national efficiency - particularly as it concerned education - was a very fluid one. It could very easily be diverted away from the channels of education "proper" and into those of social reform in its bearing upon education. It can even be argued that much of the movement for technical education and efficiency in education eventually took the side track of health lectures, physical training, agricultural instruction and lessons in domestic economy. Certainly ideas on social reform began to take on a more practical aspect as time passed. The reports and/



and/ inquiries made during and immediately after the Boer War showed little concern for considerations of finance, but the financial aspect eventually began to loom larger (viz. the Inquiry into Medical Inspection and Feeding). The broad scope of inquiries like that on physical deterioration was eventually severely narrowed down. It is perhaps significant that the earliest Liberal "social reforms", those dealing with feeding and medical inspection, were concerned with the school sector. But the Liberals soon moved on to other fields of social reform, taking public interest with them.

Public interest was also focussed on the question of national defence. For a time the argument that education was one of the most vital factors in national defence had held sway, but with the building-up of the German navy and the growth of awareness of the possibility of a direct German threat the argument lost its hold. More obvious weapons were necessary to counter the Germans and, urged on by the press, the public began to demand them - in the form of costly Dreadnought battleships.

The general waning of interest in educational matters was perhaps quite natural in the circumstances. After all, a comprehensive measure had been passed and the local and central authorities were hard at work in its rather costly implementation. The topic of education had become institutionalized. Moreover, the lessons of the Boer War were rapidly receding from view and there were always numerous other causes to woo the rather fickle public interest. The signs of the times were not difficult to read.

As far as politics was concerned there were signs that even before the disastrous Liberal bills the topic of education had become a hot potato. Lord Reay in 1903 was highly apologetic about having "to inflict another educational discussion upon the House".<sup>58</sup> The 1904 debate on the education estimates was very poorly attended - a pale shadow of the famous 1901 debate.

It was becoming increasingly possible to express doubts about the wisdom of educational expenditure without being labelled/



labelled/ a country bumpkin - like Frederick Greenwood to ponder the thought that

... the excess of educational expenditure above a certain point, avails the people far less than is supposed by our all-conquering idealists and profits the country not at all.<sup>59</sup>

Certain events mirrored the mood of the time. In 1906 the National Association for the Promotion of Secondary and Technical Education ceased to exist. By that time it was in acute financial difficulties. Advertisements had begun to appear in its journal the Record, now retitled "A quarterly journal of the progress made by County Councils and other local authorities in the administration of the education acts. Financial statements show that subscriptions and reserves had fallen dramatically in the period 1903 to 1905. The Association seems to have been anxious that the Education Department either take over the bulk of its work or subsidize its activities in some way<sup>60</sup> but the correspondence on this matter does not survive, although evidently it met with no great success.

The Board of Education, faced with the immense problems of secondary education, was in fact becoming very wary about incursions into other fields and excessive educational expenditure. Londonderry was very doubtful about the wisdom of the London County Council's compulsory abolition of fees in non-provided schools.<sup>61</sup> Morant's correspondence with the London Chamber of Commerce is very revelatory of the Board's ideas on technical education as something which should be subordinated to a broad education and on the limitations to state effort in technical education.<sup>62</sup>

The Board's Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, although it continued under the same name, changed its emphasis after Sadler's resignation. Under Sadler the Office had been an élite intelligence branch with wide-ranging remit, in the forefront of thinking on educational efficiency. Now it sank to the position of rather lowly handmaiden to the Board. The traditional reports on foreign educational systems continued to appear, but were never of such high calibre or of such acknowledged influence in educational circles.

The last report of the London County Council Technical Education Board was also symbolic of the end of an era. Under Webb the Technical Education Board had become renowned for its efficiency and its influence on secondary and technical education in the metropolis. Now it was in essence merged with the London School Board in the new Local Education Authority for London. Many of the former School Board members resented the very existence of such an authority and urged that London join in the Lloyd George campaign of obstruction to the 1902 Act. Sidney Webb found his path blocked in new ways. As he wrote rather plaintively to Wallas in 1904.

I have read your criticisms on my draft Education tract, and am sorry you see nothing but insidious "ecclesiasticism" in it and me. It is really a mare's nest of your own finding, but of that nothing but time will convince you ...

What I want is to use the present revolution to make a new start, and set the whole of London education on a much higher plane of efficiency - demanding a more complex organisation.

However I am overruled and boycotted by the Progressives, and they will go their own way. You must take care that no harm happens to education in the widest sense - especially those parts of it, and those grades of it, which the School Board members do not habitually think about.<sup>63</sup>

Even prominent political figures were losing their veneer of educational enthusiasm. Balfour was apparently completely satisfied with the new national system of education. Speaking at Newcastle in 1905 he challenged his opponents to attack it.<sup>64</sup> Lord Rosebery forsook his ideas about an efficient type of modern education when he made some highly retrogressive remarks. Speaking at the opening of the London Day Training College in 1907 he remarked that there was something to be said for the old dames' schools, after all "they taught the men who made the Empire"<sup>65</sup> and on another occasion waxed almost lyrical about the benefits of the old-style Scottish education - an education of oatmeal and the classics - in comparison with the education of his day.<sup>66</sup>

The new stars on the political horizon were equally blase with regard to education. Bonar Law expressed the views of the archetype, sceptical businessman when he said that "Commercial/



"Commercial/ education could be acquired in one way only - by experience in a commercial office."<sup>67</sup> Lloyd George's approach was pragmatic in the extreme. Elizabeth Haldane, attempting in her own way to help her brother by urging the importance of education, despaired of them both. Lloyd George was sympathetic but disinclined to make long-term plans for such an unrewarding subject,<sup>68</sup> and when she talked to Bonar Law in 1914 he was equally unresponsive. She wrote in her diary of their meeting:

Then we talked of education. I said to Mr. Bonar Law that I trusted he would carry on the good work that had been begun in this direction, but found him very tepid on the subject. He thought education an unimportant matter compared with the development of character. Character he believed alone tells in the end.<sup>69</sup>

Michael Sadler wondered whether the fading of the commercial supremacy argument vis-a-vis increased educational facilities might be merely a reflection of the education of public opinion beyond purely utilitarian considerations to a better appreciation of education in its own right.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand the fading commercial supremacy arguments were often replaced by a climate of opinion in which educational expenditure was begrudged. As the notions of national efficiency died away, certain types of education were to fare much better than others. Possibly the concept which gained most ground during the years covered by the thesis was that of a well-organised, well co-ordinated liberal type of elementary and secondary education. Such a general education was seen as in keeping with the best traditions of the past and yet was supposedly sufficiently "modern" to provide a basis for later training. Unfortunately such catholicity could be seen as the true aim of all good education with anything else as second-rate.

The idea of university-level technological education had received a great boost in the years after the Boer War. But the setting up of new provincial universities and new faculties was not in itself sufficient to ensure that they would attract the raw recruits from schools or that they would build up a prestige in any way approaching that which surrounded the traditional Oxbridge education.

Indeed it was probably the notion of a scientific or technical style education which fared worst in the years after the passing of the education act. With the demise of the Science and Art Department the grants for science teaching had ceased and although provisions were made for a minimum amount of science in the ordinary secondary school curriculum, it was a far cry from the prestigious schools of science or the demands of scientists for a more widespread diffusion of scientific knowledge.

Technical education found itself in an even more precarious position - possibly due to the general vagueness about what it entailed, possibly because it conjured up ideas of education for artisans, possibly because it was the branch of education which relied to the greatest extent on the foreign competition argument. Moreover, after the passing of the 1902 Act, the technical education money had to be spread much more thinly over the wider field of secondary education. The first scares about Britain's commercial and industrial position had led to demands for lower grade technical education practised in evening and continuation schools. The Boer War scare led to demands for higher technological training supposedly on a par with the older university training. Unfortunately the problem of technical education could easily be pushed outwith the school situation. It could, quite plausibly, be argued that technical education per se was useless without a solid foundation of elementary education and that energies should be directed here. It could also be argued that there was great danger of premature specialization and that technical education should come after a modern liberal secondary education. By relegating technical training to a later and later stage of a child's education the advocates of a general education were thus able to oust it almost completely from the school scene. It eventually found itself virtually homeless - unwanted in the realm of elementary, secondary, or traditional university, education - surviving in the form of evening and continuation classes or less prestigious colleges and university departments. The Journal of Education even tells of the closing of certain technical colleges and in 1907 a speaker at the annual prize giving of the Wigan and/



and/ District Mining and Technical College spoke rather scathingly and with a touch of pique of how the facilities offered by the new buildings opened in 1903 had not been taken advantage of. "The rate-payers have provided the water, but they cannot make the horse, or rather the ass drink."<sup>71</sup> The golden age of the technical colleges was passing. The more prestigious secondary schools had a much greater allure.

The ideas of national efficiency and imperialism as applied to education had their limitations. Although dependent on each other to a great extent, at times they could be mutually antipathetic. At the turn of the century Britain was both a great imperial and a great industrial/commercial power and the twin roles could call for different educational aims and methods. The notion of national efficiency as applied to education could conjure up visions of co-ordination, teacher training, better schools, better teachers, better administration, but it lacked the emotional, almost religious, appeal exercised by the idea of imperialism. By about 1905 "efficiency" was becoming rather a meaningless slogan. The setting up of a British Science Guild in late 1905 by Lockyer and Haldane to further the application of scientific method in all areas of public life came too late to be carried along by popular enthusiasm about the subject. As the Times put it "The nation wants efficiency, but does not know how to get it; consequently it finds no help in people who merely tell it to be efficient."<sup>72</sup>

The reader can perhaps be forgiven for thinking that between 1895 and 1905 educational opinion had swung almost full circle. Disinterest and distrust of educational expenditure were the keynotes at both dates. Nevertheless between them a great development had taken place. Combinations of circumstances and revelations about British and foreign trade had led to the short-lived but hysterical "Made in Germany" scare and the start of the search for educational information. Various pressure groups and personalities had taken up the cry for a better type of education and their activities had received a much-needed fillip from the national soul-searching after the news of Boer War reverses.

During the Boer War the idea of national efficiency came to embody many of the arguments heard in preceding years in favour of better educational facilities, and the idea of imperialism in its educational aspect began to take on a much more concrete, tangible form. The two concepts began to be applied to education, sometimes subtly modified in the process, sometimes complementary to each other, sometimes completely at odds. The charting of their influence was complicated by various other factors, including the passing of the 1902 Act.

By 1905, although the more jingoist elements of imperialism were in disfavour - particularly cadet corps and flag-waving<sup>73</sup> - the efforts of individuals like Meath and organisations like the League of the Empire had resulted in a greater awareness of the Empire in schools and the duties it entailed.

By 1905, too, although the movement for national efficiency was itself discredited, a great deal had been achieved which owed at least something to the ideas behind the movement - the administration of education had been co-ordinated and overhauled, secondary schools brought under State supervision, teacher training made a local authority responsibility, the curriculum of the elementary school revised and simplified.

The vast ignorance about educational matters in and outside parliament prior to 1895 had largely gone, and the Government had been forced, even if against its inclination, to adopt a different approach to the whole question. Gorst and Devonshire had often hidden behind the supposed limitations to their authority. By 1904 Londonderry could not resort to bureaucratic pedantries and showed a much wider conception of his duties than any previous President.

I maintain that it is my duty as President of the Board of Education to promote the efficiency of education and not to allow schools to deteriorate owing to unjust treatment.<sup>73</sup>  
Education had entered the realm of public duties.



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is included.)
 

1895	£ 6,907,885	5s	7d
1896	£ 7,022,406	19s	10d
1897	£ 7,778,246	12s	10d
1898	£ 8,391,824	12s	8d
1899	£ 8,723,538	13s	9d
1900	£ 8,973,871	11s	9d
1901-1902	£ 9,753,107		
1902-1903	£10,221,095		
1903-1904	£11,254,737		

Note the leap upwards after 1902.
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e.g. p. 66. "It must be remembered that those who are educated in these Schools are those in whose hands will rest the greater part of the local government of the country. From them come the greater number of the teachers and the writers for the Press. They are allowed to leave School without any adequate training in some of the most important parts of mental activity. While fully recognising that the Natural Sciences and Mathematics must in very many Schools have the predominant place, I submit that the neglect of and indifference to other sides of education must have a most harmful influence on the intellect and character of the nation."  
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49. A highly debatable assertion but widely believed. e.g. "In my humble judgement it is integrity, honesty, and industry which has promoted the Empire far more than education."  
Mr. Milvain. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 121. c. 724. 28 April 1903.  
"The great question at bottom was the question of national character. The secret of the Englishman's pre-eminence in the world was the reliance placed on his word."  
Professor Armstrong speaking at the London Conference on Commercial Education. Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 7 (1898). p. 495.
50. A. G. Gardiner. Prophets, Priests, and Kings. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1914. p. 285.
51. Gordon Roderick and Michael Stephens. Scientific and Technical Education in Nineteenth Century England. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972. p. 8.
52. E. J. Hobsbawm. Industry and Empire. Penguin, 1971. p. 192.
53. ibid. p. 182.
54. See chapter VII. pp. 250, 262, 265-266.
55. For details see Barry Turner. Free Trade and Protection. London: Longmans, 1971. particularly chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 52-67).
56. A short-lived trade depression set in about 1900.
57. See W. A. S. Hewins. The Apologia of an Imperialist. Vol. 1. London: Constable, 1929. *passim*.
58. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 126. c. 1054. 31 July 1903.
59. "What have we gained by Education - so Far?" Nineteenth Century and After. Vol. 52 (1902). p. 188.
60. Devonshire at the annual meeting of the National Association 15 June 1906. Record of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol. 15 (1906). p. 203.



61. "The London County Council have undoubtedly acted within their power as local education authority, but I very much doubt whether the action they have taken in compulsorily abolishing fees in non-provided schools is conducive to educational interests."  
Londonderry. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 147. c. 203.  
30 May 1905.
62. This correspondence was reported in the Times of 29 September 1904.  
The Secretary of the Chamber was drawing attention to a resolution adopted by the Manufacturers' Section of the Chamber "That in order to retain our industrial position and to introduce in this country such further industries as may be profitably developed, this section is of opinion that it is absolutely necessary to raise the standard and, if possible, cheapen the cost of technical and higher technical education, and that representations be made to the Board of Education in this sense."  
Morant replied that the country was already well provided with technical education opportunities in lower grades and that with regard to higher technical education:  
"The Board are keenly alive to the importance of encouraging a better provision in regard to this ... than at present exists, and will take every step in their power towards its promotion. But their efforts will be largely in vain unless supported by manufacturers, by parents and by the public at large." He was, to a great extent, shirking the issue.
63. Sidney Webb to Graham Wallas, 10 January 1904. Passfield Papers. II. 4. c. f. 1-8.
64. Reported in Journal of Education. Vol. 27 (1905). p. 805.
65. Journal of Education. Vol. 29 (1907). p. 805.
66. "It was an education of poverty and oatmeal and the classics, but on the whole it did not turn out bad men. And now we are rearing a generation on tea and football - spectators of football."  
Quoted in The Marquess of Crewe. Rosebery. Vol. 2.  
London: John Murray, 1931. pp. 846-847.
67. Address to Bradford Chamber of Commerce. Journal of Education. Vol. 26 (1904). p. 117.
68. Elizabeth Haldane. From One Century to Another. London: Maclehose, 1937. pp. 249-250. c. 1912.
69. ibid. p. 299. May 1914.
70. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 11. P.P. Cd. 1156. (1902). p. 2.

71. Journal of Education. Vol. 29 (1907). p. 22.
72. The Times. 31 October 1905.  
See the Times of the same day for the first meeting of the British Science Guild at the Mansion House. Haldane was president and Lockyer the president of the organizing committee.
73. Parl. Deb. 4th Series. Vol. 140. c. 163. 11 August, 1904.



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POSTSCRIPT

THE LIBERALS AND EDUCATION

"It (i.e. the 1906 Education Bill) was succeeded in subsequent sessions by equally futile Education Bills of which it need only be said that each successive Bill was worse than its predecessor."

SIR G. W. KEKEWICH.<sup>1</sup>



## POSTSCRIPT

The Liberal Party swept to power at the polls in January 1906 with an almost embarrassing majority.<sup>2</sup> Balfour's attempt to capitalize on divisions within the Liberal leadership by announcing the resignation of his government in late 1905 had failed miserably. It was not so much boredom after ten years of Conservative administration as concern about certain issues which had emerged in the last years of that administration which helped turn the tide - issues like tariff reform, which had undermined the credibility of Conservative decision making, like Chinese labour in the Transvaal, like the threat to trade union funds posed by the Taff Vale decision and like the 1902 Education Act.

The Liberals themselves were very much concerned with the question of education and this interest was reflected in the election manifestoes issued by Liberal candidates. But education was viewed by them primarily in its sectarian and secondly in its social welfare sense. The ideal of efficiency in education was beginning to fade, although a few stalwarts like Haldane remained.

The main Liberal concern was some sort of amendment to the 1902 Act - an act which they saw as oppressive to Nonconformist sensibilities. The main Liberal target was the church school system whose abolition most Liberals saw as a prerequisite of educational progress. Haldane found himself constantly frustrated by this attitude, and wrote in his Autobiography:

Over the reform of Education the Liberals were pretty bad. Crewe and I were anxious to begin the work of founding a national system. But from the first it was clear that the Nonconformist insistence on getting rid of the Church School system blocked the way. The Church Schools were indeed very deficient. But they could not be abolished at once, and although we were working through first-rate administrators, such as Sir Robert Morant, we could not get the public or/

or/ Parliament to agree on any plan or reform. The truth was that, despite the vast importance of the question, too few people were keenly interested in Education to afford us the requisite breeze for our sails.<sup>3</sup>

The old sectarian disputes, buried during the war and disinterred by the 1902 Act, now took on a new life. Augustine Birrell, the eminently successful lawyer and author, in his role as President of the Board of Education, was entrusted with the unenviable task of framing a new education bill<sup>4</sup> intended to settle the religious teaching question once and for all. His opponents sneered at the new form of "Birreligion" he seemed to be advocating. Eventually, much to Birrell's distress and after months of debate, the bill was completely wrecked by a series of Lords' amendments which transformed its whole purpose.

Subsequent Liberal measures, most of them aimed at the local education authority control of all rate-aided schools and the placing of difficulties in the way of denominational instruction, were to fail equally miserably, if less spectacularly. Birrell was succeeded by McKenna at the Board of Education, but neither of the two bills the latter brought forward in 1907<sup>5</sup> and 1908<sup>6</sup> got beyond the second reading. Runciman's Bill of 1908<sup>7</sup> was withdrawn at the committee stage. The Parliamentary Debates on these bills make monotonous reading. Hansard contains column after column of them with hardly a word about education in its bearing upon national prosperity and survival except in so far as it notches up a point against the opposing side. Individuals like Haldane and Webb had hoped for the foundation of a Party of National Efficiency, cutting across the traditional party alignments. Even on such an apparently non-party issue as education this was shown to be impossible.

Morant was apparently impressed neither by his various and rapidly changing superiors at this stage nor by their bills. He was rather scathing in his description of McKenna to Beatrice Webb and saw him as

... neither large, nor wide nor imaginative: but essentially Treasury, financial, statistical, mechanical. He has no/



no/ interest whatever in education, nor in educational organisation and development. I fancy his only real interest is to become Chancellor of the Exchequer as quickly as possible, and certainly to get quit of Education as speedily as he can.<sup>8</sup>

The Webbs were more impressed by McKenna's "hard, businesslike tone", although they found it difficult to understand his exact aims,<sup>9</sup> but their influence on government educational thinking had plummeted. As Beatrice Webb had written in her diary some time earlier:

Sidney thinks the Education Bill (i.e. of 1906) a harsh measure, but takes no part in the agitation against it; does not care to discuss it since it is clear he cannot influence the result. We have no kind of influence, either on Birrell or those behind him, or on any of the parliamentary groups that are likely to carry amendments in committee. And, as we belong neither to the Church nor to the Catholics, we have no place in either of the movements in the country against it.<sup>10</sup>

If the Webbs' position was an unsatisfactory one, Haldane's was even more so. In a speech at Epsom in 1905 he sketched out what he felt should be the Liberal position with regard to education. He urged that

Education should be taken up from the point of view of the nation as a whole, with the object of profiting by the lessons taught us by Japan and Germany. The next Liberal government must devote itself, almost before anything else, to a great educational policy, and to the betterment of the social condition of the people by dealing with the temperance, housing, and land questions.<sup>11</sup>

He was to be greatly disappointed over the succeeding years. Liberal interest in education was initially centred on the religious teaching aspect and after the government had burnt its fingers badly with its numerous failures it was loth to touch the subject again. As British fears of Germany increased, Haldane's warnings about the superiority of German education were discounted as the ravings of a Germanophile. In fact, he later pictured himself as a misunderstood, Cassandra-like figure in the Liberal Cabinet. He wrote in retrospect

In truth, all I wanted was to make my countrymen see that there was a problem of German character raising questions of a very dangerous kind, and that the organising power of Germany had to be understood before we could make ourselves safe. This was not so merely in military matters. In commerce and industry, in regard to which I also had special means of/



of/ making myself acquainted with the progress of German advances, this danger appeared to me not less. What I saw of Ballin, of Sir Ernest Cassel and of German commercial magnates whom I met at the latter's house, made me think that there was a peril here really greater than that of war, in which we could always fall back on sea power. Science had been developed and applied in Germany as it had not with us, and it was very difficult to get my colleagues to realise this, and to avoid when I approached it being put down as a pro-German enthusiast. Anyhow, it was organisation for war and organisation of industry which were the two subjects that fascinated me during the ten years of Liberal Cabinet life, and I did not succeed in educating my colleagues although I got the Army re-organised, the Navy influenced and more Universities founded.<sup>12</sup>

The efficiency shibboleth in education was thus fading as old issues began to re-assert themselves and attention was diverted to more obvious social reform and to more obvious lines of national defence.

Liberal interest in social reform started, appropriately enough, in the school situation.<sup>13</sup> In 1906, under constant pressure from Labour members and with news that a private member's bill on the subject was forthcoming, the Liberals introduced a permissive measure, allowing local education authorities to make provision for school feeding if they desired.<sup>14</sup> In 1907 Morant was able to secure compulsory medical inspection in schools by burying it among other proposals in the Education (Administrative Provisions) Bill<sup>15</sup> Soon the school medical service was being set up<sup>16</sup> under the direction of Newman, a local medical officer of health who had been brought to Morant's attention by the Webbs.

Inevitably, however, urged on by Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, the Liberals were to move on to other "untrodden fields" of social reform like old age pensions, unemployment and sickness insurance. These, together with the constitutional struggle between the Lords and the Government, originally provoked by the Lords' treatment of the Education and Licensing Bills, were to absorb a great deal of attention which was to divert consideration away from strictly educational matters.



It is difficult to say exactly how the gradual loss of public enthusiasm about the subject of education could have been avoided. The religious harangues had made education anathema; in legislative and propaganda terms the subject had been overplayed; other more interesting topics were emerging to distract public attention or return it to traditional lines of interest; most of the erstwhile campaigners on behalf of education had either lost interest or their influence on decision making. Possibly the "scares" were not sufficiently acute to provoke any more than a short-lived reaction. Possibly traditional thinking on education was too firmly entrenched to be effectively challenged. As before mentioned, Searle's argument that the "national efficiency" concept continues to be important in politics at least until 1910 has, therefore, been disproved as far as education is concerned, though not necessarily for other fields.

The doctrine of national efficiency, like that of imperialism, never sat very easily on Liberal shoulders. National efficiency smacked too much of foreign examples, bureaucracy,<sup>17</sup> State interference and alienation of the rights of the individual, to be an easy bedfellow with traditional Liberal beliefs. Moreover, although the Liberals seemed to sway in their attitude to the Empire, the majority of them were basically anti-imperialist when a suitably moral issue emerged. The Liberal Imperialists were a very small group within the Liberal Party, too reliant on the unreliable arch-poseur Rosebery and distrusted both by Conservatives and their own party as "sham" Imperialists. Haldane's hopes that they might lead a new political grouping after the Boer War proved to be unfounded. Suggestions of cadet corps and similar imperialist schemes could not be reconciled with Liberal ideas of the freedom of the individual.

Although national efficiency was to continue to a certain extent in the sense of Morant's administrative manoeuvres within the Board of Education and imperialism in the newly-evoked emphasis on Empire matters in many schools, there was very little chance that the two would receive any further legislative sanction from the Liberals.



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2. The Liberals gained 377 seats - a majority of 84 over all other parties combined.  
Sir Robert Ensor. England, 1870-1914. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968. p. 386.
3. R. B. Haldane. Autobiography. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929. pp. 218-219.
4. Education (England and Wales) Bill, 1906. Bill No. 160.  
Marjorie Cruickshank. Church and State in English Education. London: Macmillan, 1963. pp. 186-187.  
"All non-provided schools were to be transferred to Local Education Authorities. Ordinary 'facilities' for special religious instruction (on two mornings a week) were to apply in the majority of transferred schools. (Clause 3) Extended 'facilities' to apply to those schools in urban areas where four-fifths of the parents voted for them. (Clause 4)"
5. Special Religious Instruction Bill, 1907. Bill No. 73.  
Cruickshank. ibid. p. 187.  
"A one clause measure designed to transfer from the Local Education Authority to managers the cost of denominational instruction (estimated at 1/15th of teachers' salaries) in non-provided schools."
6. Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill, 1908. Bill No. 112.  
ibid. p. 187.  
"All rate aided schools were to be under the control of Local Education Authorities. (Clause 1). Non-provided schools in single-school areas must be transferred to Local Education Authorities and in these schools denominational instruction might be given out of school hours; remaining non-provided schools were to be given the option of becoming contracting out schools. (Clause 2)."
7. Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill, 1908. Bill No. 376.  
ibid. p. 187.  
"All rate-aided schools were to be under the control of Local Education Authorities. In transferred schools denominational instruction might be given on two mornings a week if paid for by the denominations themselves. Non-provided schools in single-school areas must be transferred to Local Education Authorities; remaining non-provided schools were given the option of becoming contracting out schools."
8. Morant to Beatrice Webb, 1 May 1907. Passfield Papers. II. 4. c. f. 236.



9. Beatrice Webb, 18 July 1907. Our Partnership. New ed. London School of Economics. Cambridge: University Press, 1975. pp. 384-385.
10. ibid. 16 April 1906. p. 340.
11. The Times. 1 April 1905.
12. Haldane M.S. Notes on Letters contained in my Boxes. (Autumn 1926). f. 16-17.
13. See B. B. Gilbert. The Evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain. London: Michael Joseph, 1966. pp. 102-158.
14. Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906. 6 Edw. 7. ch. 57.
15. Which became the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907. 7 Edw. 7. ch. 43.
16. P.R.O. Ed. 24/280. Formation of the Medical Department, 1907-8. gives many of the administrative details.
17. Even Chamberlain, the renegade Liberal, greatly feared the 1902 Education Act might lead to an undue increase in bureaucratic influence.

## APPENDIX A

### EPITAPH ON THE EDUCATION BILL BY E.H.O.

The Education Bill of 1896 was to provide a dire warning for would-be educational reformers of the difficulties to be faced in any attempt to push educational legislation through parliament - difficulties aptly summed up in a humorous poem published in the Journal of Education Vol. 18 (1896). p. 603. The first and last few lines of the poem are often quoted but never, so far as I know, the entire poem.

Here lies consigned to Lethe via Styx  
The Education Bill of Ninety Six ...  
The Church its mother, and its sire the State  
'Twas hailed a chrisom child quite up to date  
By Bishops, priests and deacons warmly blest,  
By voluntary managers carest,  
As bound to break the School Board serpent's head,  
And flourish on the taxes in its stead.  
But since 'tis for a fatter, fuller grant,  
And not for more education that they pant,  
False friends with foes made common cause, averring  
'Twas neither flesh nor fowl, nor good red herring;  
Over the coals its principles they hauled,  
And by Committee all its limbs were mauled,  
Both sides agreed: "'Tis a misshapen creature;  
'Twere better we remodelled every feature,  
Made its nose Roman by a timely pinch,  
Take it in here, there let it out an inch:  
Shorten the arms, eviscerate the paunch,  
Lengthen the legs, pare collops from the haunch,"/



Till, slashed and sliced and cut and carved and chopped  
Past recognition, the poor thing was dropped,  
And, done to death by over vivisection,  
Sleeps without faintest hope of resurrection.

## APPENDIX B

### BIOGRAPHIES

Abney, Sir William de Wiveleslie (1843-1920)

Photographic chemist and education official.

A Royal Engineer and author of various treatises on photography, Abney entered the Science and Art Department, which was then in its infancy, in 1877. He rose to assistant director and then director of science and was principal assistant secretary to the Board of Education between 1899 and 1903. Abney was responsible for much of the development of the Science and Art Department, particularly in the sense of founding practical laboratories, and remained a scientific advisor to the Board of Education even after his retirement. He was a pioneer in the work of practical photography and colour optics.

Acland, Sir Arthur Herbert Dyke (1847-1926)

Politician and educationalist.

Acland entered parliament in 1885 as a Liberal after a distinguished university career and soon emerged as an authority on educational matters. He was Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, with a seat in the cabinet, from 1892 to 1895 and inaugurated many significant reforms during his period of office. Recurrent ill-health eventually forced him to retire from active politics, although he kept in touch with many leading Liberals, was interested in labour matters (particularly the co-operative movement), and continued to speak on educational topics.

Adderley, Charles Bowyer, first Baron Norton (1814-1905)

See Norton, first Baron



Anson, Sir William Reynell (1843-1914)

University don, jurist and Unionist politician.

Well-known for his career as warden of All Souls then vice-chancellor of Oxford University and for his expertise on English law, Anson entered politics in 1899 as M.P. for Oxford University and served as parliamentary secretary to the Board of Education (the former post of Vice-President to the Committee of Council on Education) from 1902 to 1905. He came to office in the middle of the parliamentary struggle over the 1902 Education Bill and was responsible in the following year for the London Education Bill with which, however, he was not altogether pleased. During his term of office he was forced to deal with the problem of Nonconformist passive resistance and with the massive task involved in administering the 1902 Act.

Armstrong, Henry Edward (1848-1937)

Chemist and educationalist.

Armstrong studied for his Ph.D. at Leipzig under Kolbe and throughout a distinguished teaching career was to continue with his own chemical researches. He was a professor at the Central Technical College at South Kensington from 1884 to 1913 and although extremely interested in higher technical education was also a pioneer of the heuristic method of teaching science in its elementary and advanced stages. He was an advocate of the benefits of science in a general education and wrote widely on this and other subjects.

Arnold-Forster, Hugh Oakeley (1855-1909)

Author and politician.

Grandson of Arnold of Rugby and adoptive son of W. E. Forster of 1870 Education Act fame, Arnold-Forster worked for a time in the preparation of children's textbooks (including the imperial 'Citizen Reader' series) before becoming a Unionist M.P. He wrote widely on military affairs, being a strong advocate of army and naval efficiency and replaced Brodrick as Secretary of State for War in 1903 after which he undertook the work of reorganization after the Boer War.

Asquith, Herbert Henry, first Earl of Oxford and Asquith (1852-1928)

Lawyer and Liberal politician.

A lawyer and politician of impressive intellect and debating skills, Asquith was home secretary under Gladstone for three years, a friend of Haldane and a member of the group of young imperialist minded Liberals around the Boer War period. Asquith nevertheless voted with the majority of his party against the 1902 Education Act and returned to the traditional Liberal fold by his acceptance of the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1906 - a post he held until he replaced the dying Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister in 1908. Asquith was a strong exponent of a liberal style education.

Balfour, Arthur James, first Earl of Balfour (1848-1930)

Philosopher and Conservative statesman.

A member of the distinguished Cecil family and an amateur philosopher, Balfour became First Lord of the Treasury in 1895 and succeeded his uncle Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister in 1902. He was a staunch supporter of the Church of England and successfully piloted the 1902 Education Bill through the Commons, although he seems to have been unaware of exactly how much expenditure the Act would entail. His government was badly split over the tariff reform campaign although he clung to office until 1905, and the Conservatives suffered a disastrous defeat in 1906. Eventually ousted as Conservative leader in favour of the more forceful Bonar-Law, he nevertheless regained cabinet rank during World War One and was responsible for some important diplomatic missions thereafter.

Birrell, Augustine (1850-1933)

Lawyer, essayist and Liberal politician.

Birrell made his name as a lawyer and entertainingly witty literary critic before entering politics on the Liberal side in 1889. He was president of the Board of Education from 1905 to 1907 during which period he brought forward the unsuccessful and highly controversial Education Bill of 1906. His term as Chief Secretary for Ireland was ended by the Easter rebellion, after which he resigned.



Brabazon, Reginald, twelfth Earl of Meath (1841-1929)

See Meath, Earl of

Brodrick, St. John, ninth Viscount Midleton and first Earl of Midleton (1856-1942)

Politician.

After an education at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, Brodrick entered parliament in 1880 as a Conservative and gradually worked his way up through under-secretaryships in the War and Foreign Offices until he became Secretary of State for War in 1900. During his period of office (1900-1903) he introduced many administrative reforms in the army and was partly responsible for the creation of the Committee of Imperial Defence. He served as Secretary of State for India before succeeding his father and became prominent in Irish affairs as the leader of the southern Irish Unionists.

Brunton, Sir Thomas Lauder, first baronet (1844-1916)

Physician.

Brunton, after graduating in medicine from Edinburgh University, moved to St. Bartholomew's, London, and was to become both a distinguished lecturer and medical researcher. He was extremely interested in the way in which medicine could contribute to national health and the well-being of the empire and was one of the founders of the National League for Physical Education and Improvement. In his later years he continually advocated the benefits of health education, school hygiene, and military training.

Bryce, James Viscount Bryce (1838-1922)

Jurist, historian and politician.

An extremely learned jurist and historian, Bryce was very interested in education, particularly the need for educational co-ordination and the improvement of commercial and female education. Bryce was widely travelled and had even studied law at Heidelberg. He sat as a Liberal in parliament from 1880 until 1907 and was president/

president/ of the Board of Trade in the short-lived Rosebery administration, acting as chairman of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, better known as the Bryce Commission. He was Secretary for Ireland from 1905 to 1907 and ambassador at Washington from then until 1913.

Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry (1836-1908)

Liberal politician.

A staunch supporter of Gladstone, under whom he held various official positions, Campbell-Bannerman's term at the War Office ended rather disastrously when the Rosebery administration was defeated by a snap vote over cordite supplies. Campbell-Bannerman succeeded Harcourt as leader of the Liberal party in the Commons and carried on a policy of opposition to the South African war which divided the Liberals and led to the antagonism of the Haldane group. However, on becoming Prime Minister in 1906, Campbell-Bannerman adopted a conciliatory policy which went far towards healing the breach. He resigned the premiership in 1908 due to the ill-health with which he was constantly plagued.

Cavendish, Spencer Compton (1833-1908)

See Devonshire, Duke of

Chamberlain, Joseph (1836-1914)

Politician.

Originally very interested in the idea of a national system of education, Chamberlain, in his capacity as mayor of Birmingham, soon found himself involved in wider social questions. He entered parliament as a Liberal M.P. but split with the party over Irish Home Rule, forming his own Liberal Unionist party and gradually developing an interest in colonial affairs. He served as colonial secretary in the Salisbury government and played a controversial part in the build-up to the Boer War. Chamberlain, true to his Nonconformist principles, was apprehensive about the 1902 Education Bill, although he was eventually convinced by Morant of the/



the/ necessity for it. He resigned from office in 1903 to devote himself to his campaign for tariff reform and imperial unity, although a stroke in 1906 cut him off effectively from public life.

Clifford, Dr. John (1836-1923)

Nonconformist minister and propagandist.

A Baptist Minister, Clifford was for many years one of the most influential figures within the Nonconformist movement. He entered into a war of the pen with Balfour over the 1902 Education Act, and, with Lloyd-George, led the passive resistance movement to rate aid for Church Schools.

Craik, Dr. Henry (1848-1927)

Civil servant, politician and author.

Educated at Glasgow and Oxford, Henry Craik entered the Education Department in 1870 and was secretary of the Scottish Education Department from 1885 until 1904, during which period he became renowned as a thorough, if somewhat dictatorial, educational expert. After his retirement he served for a time as a Conservative M.P.

Devonshire, Duke of and Marquess of Hartington (1833-1908)

Statesman.

A member of one of the most distinguished ruling families in Britain, Devonshire entered politics as a Liberal and served in various cabinet positions before splitting with Gladstone over home rule for Ireland. He joined Salisbury's government in 1895 as a Liberal Unionist. He was Lord President of the Council and hence technically in charge of education in the period up to 1902, but although he was immensely popular and obviously interested in education, his lassitude was such as to prevent him grasping the details of educational policy. He resigned from the Balfour administration over tariff reform.

Donnelly, Major-General Sir John (1834-1902)

Soldier and civil servant.

Donnelly served in the Crimea as an officer in the Royal Engineers before he entered the Science and Art Department to assist Henry Cole in its organisation. He became director of science in 1874 and was secretary and permanent head of the Science and Art Department from 1884 until his retirement in 1889.

Fitch, Sir Joshua Girling (1824-1903)

School inspector and educationalist.

After making his name as a teacher at the Borough Road Training College, Fitch became an inspector of schools and then of training colleges. He was very interested in female education, helping in the foundation of Girton and the Girls' Public Day School Company. He visited America in 1888, reporting on his return on American education, and indeed wrote widely on educational aims and methods.

Garnett, Dr. William (1850-1932)

Educationalist, physicist and mathematician.

After a lecturing and demonstrating career, Garnett helped plan the Durham College of Science, becoming its principal and professor of mathematics. He was secretary and educational advisor to the London Technical Education Board from 1893 to 1904, and educational advisor to the London County Council from 1904 to 1915. He is sometimes pictured as having engineered the downfall of the school board higher grade schools with Robert Morant.

Gorst, Sir John Eldon (1835-1916)

Lawyer and politician.

After completing a legal training, Gorst embarked on a somewhat chequered career in New Zealand from which he returned in 1863 to enter British politics as a Conservative M.P. He was instrumental in the reorganisation of the Conservative party machinery in the early 1870's and was a member for a time of Randolph Churchill's/



Churchill's/ 'fourth party'. Although genuinely interested in education, and, increasingly, in social reform, Gorst was disappointed with his appointment as last Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education and his disappointment was shown in his temperamental attitude in office. Balfour did not trust Gorst to steer the 1902 Education Bill through parliament, and the latter retired in 1902 and broke his allegiance to the Conservatives over the tariff reform issue. His latter years were devoted to social questions, particularly education and health.

Gray, Sir Ernest (1857-1932)

Teacher and educationalist.

A former elementary school teacher, Gray reached prominence in N.U.T. affairs, serving as president of the union for a time. As a Conservative M.P. from 1895 to 1906, he was almost the counterpart to Yoxall on the other side of the House. Gray became a member of the newly-formed Consultative Committee of the Board of Education and was actively associated with various educational and social reform movements.

Haldane, Richard Burdon, Viscount Haldane of Cloan (1856-1928)

Liberal M.P., lawyer, philosopher and educationalist.

After an education in Edinburgh and a short spell in Göttingen, Haldane read for the bar in London and soon made a name for himself as a lawyer. Entering politics in 1885, he emerged as a prominent young Liberal and motivating force behind the Liberal League. He was greatly interested in university reform, particularly with regard to the new teaching university for London, the development of provincial universities and the setting up of an Imperial College of Science and Technology. As Secretary for War from 1905 until 1912 Haldane undertook comprehensive army reforms. He was Lord Chancellor on two occasions.

Hewins, William Albert Samuel (1865-1931)

Economist and politician.

Hewins, with the Webbs, helped organise the London School of/

of/ Economics, and was the school's first director. He was a firm believer in imperial unity and resigned from the school in 1903 on his conversion to tariff reform. He served as secretary and then chairman of the Tariff Commission from 1903 to 1922 and sat for several years in parliament as a Conservative M.P.

Hobhouse, Henry (1854-1937)

Liberal Unionist M.P., country squire and brother-in-law of Beatrice Webb.

Hobhouse became well-known as an expert on local government and served as chairman of the Somerset County Council from 1902 to 1924. In parliament his main interests were agriculture and education: he served on the Bryce Commission and strongly supported the 1902 Education Bill. He was one of the leading members of the Agricultural Education Committee.

Kekewich, Sir George William (1841-1921)

Civil servant and educationalist.

As he himself admitted, Kekewich gained his original post as examiner in the old Education Department through influence rather than qualifications, but he rose steadily to become secretary of the Education Department from 1890 to 1900 (including the Science and Art Department from 1899 to 1900 after it was amalgamated) and Secretary of the newly formed Board of Education from 1900 to 1903. He was forced into an early retirement to make way for Morant. An extremely amiable personage, he was on very good terms with the elementary teachers for whom he secured many improvements in teachers' conditions. He was also instrumental in destroying the remnants of the old system of 'payment by results'. Even after his retirement Kekewich continued to speak on educational topics and topics of social reform.

Lloyd George, David Earl Lloyd George (1863-1945)

Liberal politician.

Raised in Wales, Lloyd George became a Liberal M.P. for Carnarvon/



Carnarvon in 1890 and held that seat for fifty-five years. He soon made his name as a fiery, if not always accurate, orator, denouncing the Boer War and, with Dr. Clifford, leading the Nonconformist opposition to the 1902 Education Act. As a prominent member of the Liberal administration after 1906 he was responsible for a series of social reforms and reform of the taxation system. Although an extremely efficient leader of the wartime coalition, after he lost office in 1922 Lloyd George became an isolated figure in politics, rather distrusted for his duplicity.

Lockyer, Sir Joseph Norman (1836-1920)

Astronomer.

After an education in part continental Lockyer embarked on a career in the War Office and Science and Art Department, during which time he made various discoveries in solar physics. He was professor of astronomical physics and director of the Solar Physics Observatory at the new Royal College of Science at South Kensington from 1890 to 1913. His presidential address to the British Association in 1903 was a call for the better endowment of advanced scientific research, and later, with Haldane in 1905 he helped found the British Science Guild, an organisation dedicated to the furthering of efficiency in public life. For most of his working life Lockyer edited the distinguished scientific journal 'Nature'.

Londonderry, Marquess of

Politician.

Londonderry was a Conservative M.P. for some years before succeeding his father to the title. After serving as a viceroy of Ireland (1886-1889) and postmaster general (1900-1902) he became the first president of the Board of Education. Although he was doubtful of his suitability for this latter post, he had served as a very popular chairman of the London School Board from 1895 to 1897. Morant pictured Londonderry as a "bull in a china shop" with regard to educational affairs (Beatrice Webb, Our Partnership, p. 251.) but Londonderry helped towards the successful implementation of the 1902 Education Act.

Lowther, James Thomas, first Viscount Ullswater (1855-1949)

Politician and Speaker of the House of Commons.

Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge Lowther practised law before becoming a Conservative M.P. He was a formidable deputy speaker from 1895 to 1905 and eventually speaker from 1905 to 1921. Lowther was prominent in opposing "unnecessary" educational expenditure, in particular that by the county councils on technical education.

Lubbock, Sir John, fourth baronet and first Baron Avebury (1834-1913)

Banker, scientist, and member of parliament.

Although he attained a leading position in banking circles, Lubbock cultivated an impressive knowledge of natural history through private study and researches, and, indeed, went far towards a popularisation of the subject by the production of numerous scientific books. At various times in his career he was president of the London Chamber of Commerce, chairman of the London County Council, vice-chancellor of London University and rector of St. Andrews University. He was for a long time Liberal and then Liberal Unionist M.P. for London University, taking a great interest in its affairs and those of education and social reform in general.

McKenna, Reginald (1863-1943)

Liberal politician and banker.

A Liberal M.P. from 1895 until 1918, McKenna's first governmental position was as financial secretary to the Treasury. As president of the Board of Education he introduced two abortive education bills and showed considerable administrative skill, but he is better known as the first Lord of the Admiralty (1908-1911) who ordered the construction of considerably more Dreadnoughts for the navy and as the Home Secretary (1911-1915) who introduced anti-suffragette legislation. After a short term as Chancellor of the Exchequer during the War McKenna devoted his later years to banking.



Macnamara, Thomas James (1861-1931)

Educationalist and politician.

An elementary school teacher, Macnamara began to take a prominent part in N.U.T. affairs, editing its newspaper 'The Schoolmaster' and being elected president of the union in 1896. He served for some years on the London School Board and entered parliament as a Liberal in 1900, eventually becoming Minister of Labour in 1920. Macnamara was a humorous and hard-hitting politician, affectionately known as 'Fighting Mac'. He wrote widely on social questions.

Magnus, Laurie (1872-1933)

Publisher, educationalist, and son of Sir Philip Magnus.

Laurie Magnus was director of the publishing firm of George Routledge from 1902 onwards but was also interested in educational matters, serving on the Council of the Girls' Public Day School Trust for many years. His numerous publications were mainly concerned with literature but included educational works, notably the collection of essays which he edited on 'National Education'.

Magnus, Sir Philip (1842-1933)

Educationalist and author.

A first class honours graduate in both arts and science, Magnus, after a time lecturing in mathematics, became organising director and secretary of the new City and Guilds Institute and then, as the institute expanded, superintendent and secretary of its Department of Technology. He was involved with the work of various educational charities, committees and associations, and held office in many. He was a staunch exponent of the value of technical and manual training and wrote widely on educational subjects.

Meath, Reginald the twelfth Earl of (1841-1929)

Philanthropist.

As Reginald Brabazon, Lord Meath served for some years in the diplomatic service but retired owing to objections by his wife's/

wife's/ parents. He and his wife then devoted themselves to a wide range of philanthropic activities both in England and on their estates in Ireland. Meath was a staunch advocate of physical education in schools and cadet corps, and a supporter of Roberts in the campaign for national military service. He founded the Lads' Drill Association and originated the idea of the celebration of 'Empire Day'. He later became prominent in the Boy Scout movement.

Morant, Sir Robert Laurie (1863-1920)

Prominent civil servant.

Educated at Oxford, Morant was for a time tutor to the royal family in Siam. On his return to England he became assistant to Sadler at the Office of Special Inquiries, then private secretary to Gorst and eventually, in a remarkably short time, acting head of the Board of Education. He was very influential in the planning and implementation of the 1902 Education Act and introduced many educational reforms. After the Holmes circular scandal in 1911 he was transferred to a post as chairman of the National Health Insurance Commission and later (1919) became first secretary of the Ministry of Health.

Mosely, Alfred (1855-1917)

Wealthy industrialist and philanthropist.

Mosely was extremely interested in industrial, economic and educational matters, writing numerous pamphlets on these subjects. He organised and financed industrial and educational commissions to America in 1902 and 1903 respectively. He also organised a commission of several hundred teachers to the United States and Canada in 1906-1907 and arranged for the reception of teachers on a return visit in 1908-1909.

Norton, first Baron Norton (1814-1905)

Politician.

Greatly influenced by the Evangelical spirit of his parents, /



parents, / Norton (as Charles Adderley) was a Tory M.P. from 1841 to 1878 during which time he showed a great interest in colonial affairs, education (in particular that of offenders), and social reform. After a term as president of the Board of Trade he was created a Baron in 1878 and carried his advocacy of free education and opposition to payment by results into the House of Lords. Norton was very much an old-style Tory independent.

Playfair, Lyon, first Baron Playfair of St. Andrews (1818-1898)  
Scientist.

Educated mainly in Scotland and Germany (where he worked for his Ph.D. under Liebig), Playfair became a professor at the School of Mines. He helped organise the 1851 Exhibition and the new Science and Art Department, as secretary for science emphasising the need for better technical education in Britain. As a Liberal M.P. he continued to lay stress on educational and social topics and served on various commissions. Although he was only Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education for a short time, Playfair for most of his life urged that Britain could only keep pace with foreign industrial competitors by expanding her educational facilities.

Primrose, Archibald Philip (1847-1929)  
See Rosebery, Earl of

Ramsay, Sir William (1852-1916)  
Scientist.

A Nobel prize winner, discoverer of the inert gas argon, and one of the most distinguished scientific investigators of his day, Ramsay was educated at Glasgow and Tübingen before embarking on a career at Glasgow University, University College Bristol, and University College London. Ramsay also gave numerous public lectures and wrote a great number of books on chemistry. He supported the idea of a teaching university for London and urged the need for centres of higher scientific research if Britain were to hold her own against foreign competition.

Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne (1847-1914)

Soldier and country gentleman.

An almost typical Conservative country gentleman, Rasch served for a time in the Dragoon Guards, although most of his life was spent in his native Essex. Indeed, he sat as a Conservative M.P. for first south-east and then mid Essex from 1886 to 1908. Rasch soon became the most vocal champion of the agricultural interest in the Commons, opposing over-education for rural children and everything which might lead to an increase in the rates.

Rhodes, Cecil (1853-1902)

Imperialist.

Although educated in England, Rhodes spent most of his life in South Africa where he made an extensive fortune from gold and diamond interests and became embroiled in the politics at the Cape, serving as prime minister there from 1890 to 1896. His vision was one of aggressive imperialism, of British dominion in Africa stretching from the Cape to Cairo and, indeed, his involvement in the preparations for the Jameson Raid was strongly censured. His reverence for his old university, Oxford, was shown in his will. He left a considerable sum of money to his old college and endowed nearly two hundred scholarships at Oxford for the use of students from the colonies, America and Germany.

Roberts, Frederick Sleigh, first Earl Roberts (1832-1914)

Soldier.

Roberts spent most of his distinguished military career in India where he was an advocate of the forward policy to counter Russian advances and where he became famous for his legendary march from Kabul to Kandahar. Created a field marshal in 1895, Roberts spent a few leisurely years as commander-in-chief in Ireland before being recalled to save the situation in South Africa. His exploits during the Boer War made him an immensely popular public figure, but his attempts to introduce military reforms during his time as commander-in-chief of the British forces (1900-1905) were largely frustrated. Roberts was a firm believer in the value of/



of/ cadet corps. After 1905 he campaigned on behalf of the introduction of national service through the medium of the National Service League.

Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye (1842-1922)

Businessman and politician.

After a distinguished legal training, Rollit set up practice in Hull and entered local politics there, eventually becoming mayor. His steamship and telephone interests brought him into contact with the chambers of commerce and at various times he was president of the Hull and London Chambers of Commerce and of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, championing, above all, the cause of commercial education. He sat in parliament as a progressive type of Conservative from 1886 to 1906. Rollit's amendment to the 1896 Education Bill, as accepted by Balfour, effectively ruined the bill's chances of survival.

Roscoe, Sir Henry Enfield (1833-1915)

Chemist.

Another scientist who received his Ph.D. in Germany, Roscoe maintained a lively professional and private correspondence with Bunsen over the years. Roscoe became well known for his work at Owens College, Manchester, greatly increasing the college's prestige. As a Liberal M.P. he helped push forward the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. Although still pursuing his own chemical researches, Roscoe spent a great deal of time on the furtherance of the technical education movement.

Rosebery, Earl of (1847-1929)

Politician and author.

Popularly known in his role as successful racehorse owner and husband of one of the richest women in England (Hannah Rothschild), Rosebery entered politics as a Liberal and for a time served as foreign secretary under Gladstone. After the death of his wife Rosebery was plagued by insomnia, and his own short-lived/

short-lived/ administration (1894-1895) was riven by dissent. An immensely popular figure, Rosebery was continually entering and leaving public life. His denunciations of British inefficiency during the Boer War led many young Liberals to hope that he might re-enter politics, and the Liberal League was formed very much towards this end. However, Rosebery much preferred his historical researches to the hurly-burly of politics and eventually found himself cut off from official Liberal circles.

Runciman, Walter, first Viscount (1870-1949)

Shipowner and politician.

After devoting himself for some time to his father's shipping interests, Runciman entered politics as a Liberal. Official posts as parliamentary secretary to the Local Government Board and financial secretary to the Treasury were succeeded by a hard-working term of office as president of the Board of Education (1908-1911). Even Asquith paid tribute to Runciman's efforts to carry another abortive, although slightly superior, education bill. Runciman later spent times at the Board of Agriculture and (twice) at the Board of Trade.

Sadler, Sir Michael Ernest (1861-1943)

Educationalist.

After a distinguished university career Sadler became a pioneer in the Oxford University extension movement. He became director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports in 1895, a post he held until 1903, and published numerous volumes of influential educational research during that time, attaining a reputation as an authority on educational matters. After his resignation, and while a professor of education at Manchester University, he undertook investigations of secondary education for nine local authorities. He pursued his career in the university field until his retirement, even taking on the arduous position of president of the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919).



Samuelson, Sir Bernhard (1820-1905)

Industrialist, politician, and educationalist.

Samuelson, through the nature of his business as an ironmaster, became interested in technical education on the continent and, well before his appointment as chairman of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction in 1881, he had undertaken his own comparative studies of the subject. He sat in parliament as a Liberal for over thirty years until 1895.

Scott, Robert Pickett (1856-1931)

Educationalist.

R. P. Scott made his name as headmaster of Parmiter's School but he soon became involved more widely in educational affairs. As honorary secretary of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters from 1890 to 1903 he championed the rights of the endowed secondary schools against encroachments by the school board higher grade schools. He became chairman of the short-lived Teachers' Registration Council and served as a secondary school inspector before being appointed an assistant secretary of the Board of Education. During his later years R. P. Scott served on various educational committees. He was the editor of the prestigious book 'What is Secondary Education?'.

Shaw, George Bernard (1856-1950)

Playwright, social critic and socialist.

An Irish vegetarian, Shaw was a leading member of the early Fabian society. In fact it was he who introduced Webb to the group, becoming a lifelong friend of both Sidney and Beatrice. He used his plays as vehicles of social ideas and was a brilliant pamphleteer on behalf of the society. He won the Nobel prize in 1925. In his 'Fabianism and the Empire' he advocated a newer type of education more in touch with modern needs.

Smith, Sir Hubert Llewellyn (1864-1945)

Civil servant and social investigator.

Llewellyn Smith was secretary from 1888 to 1892 of the National/

National/ Association for the Promotion of Technical Education and was a member of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. It was he who undertook the impressive preliminary investigations of education in the metropolis for the new London Technical Education Board. He co-operated closely with the Webbs in their social policies and was permanent secretary of the Board of Trade from 1907 to 1919.

Smith, Samuel (1836-1906)

Politician, industrialist, and philanthropist.

Smith started his career as a cotton-broker in Liverpool, even visiting India in connection with his trade. He was Liberal M.P. for Flintshire from 1886-1905 and became a friend of Gladstone. He was a champion of native races and advocate of church disestablishment in the traditional Liberal mould, but was also greatly interested in education, in particular technical education, and pressed forward this topic in parliament.

Smith, Sir Swire (1842-1918)

Politician.

A native of, and eventual M.P. for, Keighley, Swire Smith became interested in technical education, serving as a member of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction. He was prominent in the National Association for the Promotion of Technical Education, and spoke and wrote widely as an exponent of technical education.

Stanley, Edward Lyulph, fourth Baron Stanley of Alderley (1839-1925)

Educationalist and administrator.

A long-standing member of the London School Board, Stanley was to a great extent responsible for the policy which encouraged the development of higher grade education under the board and which resulted in the Cockerton judgement. He was a staunch champion of a national system of education and wrote widely on educational topics. He served on various educational committees and/



and/ commissions and offered a stout resistance to those terms of the 1902 Education Act which seemed to him to lessen public control of education and enlarge the influence of the voluntary system.

Vane-Tempest-Stewart, Charles Stewart (1852-1915)

See Londonderry, Marquess of

Wallas, Graham (1858-1932)

Sociologist and author.

Wallas was an early member of the Fabian executive and friend of the Webbs. He lectured at the London School of Economics and was professor of political science from 1914 to 1923. Wallas split for a time with the Webbs over their attitude to education. As a prominent member of the London School Board from 1894 to 1904 he resented their championing of the county council solution and refused to co-operate with Sidney in the new education committee of the London County Council.

Warwick, Countess of - Greville, Frances Evelyn née Maynard (1861-1938)

Philanthropist.

Wife of the fifth Earl of Warwick, prominent socialite and member of the Marlborough House Set around the Prince of Wales, the Countess of Warwick met Robert Blatchford in 1895 and became converted to Socialism. Thereafter she worked steadfastly on behalf of social reform, and was a member of numerous charitable associations. She was extremely interested in rural education, setting up a school at Dunmow for rural pursuits and establishing an agricultural college for women at Studley Castle, Warwickshire. She strongly supported the labour movement, even standing as an unsuccessful Labour candidate in 1923.

Webb, Beatrice née Potter (1858-1943)

Sociologist and wife of Sidney Webb.

Daughter of a fairly wealthy family and erstwhile friend of the/

the/ philosopher Herbert Spencer, Beatrice Webb found herself drawn by an increasingly acute social conscience into the world of socialism. She married Sidney Webb in 1892 and thereafter the work of the two became almost impossible to separate. Beatrice, however, was an important historian of the labour movement in her own right and used select social gatherings at her home as a means of distributing her ideas.

Webb, Sidney James, Baron Passfield (1859-1947)

Social reformer, sociologist, historian, and local government politician.

Almost a self-made man, Webb pushed himself from the position of clerk to that of leading member of the Fabian Society, well-known author (mainly in co-operation with his wife Beatrice), and prominent figure on local government committees. His was the driving force behind the activities of the London County Council Technical Education Board. He planned the inception of the London School of Economics and worked with Haldane in the setting up of a teaching university for London. At one time widely consulted on educational matters, Webb went into a temporary eclipse before World War One, but he and his wife emerged thereafter as veteran socialists and consolidated their links with the Labour movement. Webb later served as a Labour M.P. and cabinet member.

White, Arnold (1848-1925)

Journalist.

Despite failing in his attempts at tea-planting and entering parliament, White emerged as the publicist of those who favoured a strong Empire and a strong navy to protect it. He was never a systematic thinker and his 'Efficiency and Empire' was a rather muddled account of the need for national efficiency in all areas of public life including education. A friend of Admiral Fisher and leading member of the Navy League, White never quite reached beyond the lower grade of popular press and his warnings about a German conspiracy were somewhat exaggerated.



Yoxall, Sir James Henry (1857-1925)

Educationalist.

Yoxall was an elementary school teacher before becoming full-time general secretary of the N.U.T. in 1892 - a post he held until shortly before his death. With Macnamara he was responsible for much of the increase in N.U.T. membership and for the improvements in its organisation and finances. As Liberal M.P. for Nottingham from 1895 to 1918 Yoxall spoke mainly on educational topics and tried to gain public sympathy for teachers.

## APPENDIX C

### CHRONOLOGY OF EDUCATIONAL EVENTS

1895 - 1905

#### 1895

- Criticism of Sadler appointment in Parliament. (February)  
Liberal government is defeated and resigns. (June)  
General election leads to the formation of a Conservative government under Salisbury. (July)  
London School of Economics and Political Science established. (October)  
Reports of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education (Bryce Commission) begin to appear towards the end of the year.  
Joseph Chamberlain despatch to colonies re foreign competition. (November)

#### 1896

- Gorst Education Bill introduced. (March)  
Publication of "Made in Germany" by E. E. Williams.  
Education Bill withdrawn. (June)  
Rosebery speech at Epsom takes up Williams' theme. (July)  
"Ostwald" letter. (August)  
Exhibition of foreign-made goods at the London Chamber of Commerce. (August)  
"Made in Germany" panic. (late summer)  
London Technical Education Board Special Sub-Committee Report on the Teaching of Chemistry. (dated November, submitted December)  
Report on the Recent Progress of Technical Education in Germany - Letter to the Duke of Devonshire. (signed December)



1897

Board of Trade Memorandum on British and Foreign Trade.

(signed January)

Voluntary Schools Act. (April)

Queen's Jubilee. (June)

Elementary Education Act gives aid to necessitous school boards.

(June)

First of the Special Reports on Educational Subjects appears.

(dated June)

Return of the Pupils in Public and Private Secondary and other  
schools. (statistics as at 1 June)

Trade of the British Empire and Foreign Competition. Joseph  
Chamberlain despatch of November 1895 and replies.

(signed July)

School Board Conference Act. (August)

1898

Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher  
System. (signed January)

C. C. Perry Report on Technical Education in France. (June)

Treasury Committee Report on the Desirability of establishing  
a National Physical Laboratory. (signed July)

Elementary School Teachers' (Superannuation) Act. (August)

University of London Act. (August)

Foreign Trade Competition. Opinions of H.M. Diplomatic and  
Consular Officers on British Trade Methods. (Prefatory  
Memorandum dated October)

1899

Reports of the Worthington Commercial Mission to South America  
appear throughout the year.

London Technical Education Board Special Sub-Committee Report  
on Commercial Education. (dated January, submitted  
February)

Dispute in London between the School Board and the Technical  
Education Board over Clause VII of the Science and Art/

Art/ Directory. (February onwards)  
Lads Drill Association founded. (March)  
Elementary Schools (Children Working for Wages) Return.  
(dated May, printed June)  
Cockerton judgement rules that any school board expenditure from  
the rates on education other than elementary is illegal.  
(June)  
Elementary Education (School Attendance) Act (1893) Amendment  
Act. (July)  
Board of Education Act. (August)  
Boer War commences. (October)  
"Black week" of British defeats. Roberts and Kitchener to South  
Africa. (December)

### 1900

New Education Code, inaugurating the block grant, much debated.  
Higher Elementary Schools Minute.  
University Charter for Birmingham. (March)  
Paris International Exhibition. (April - November)  
Elementary Education Act. (August)  
'Khaki' Election. (October)  
Lord Rosebery's Glasgow Rectorial Address. (November)

### 1901

Death of Queen. (January)  
Twentieth Century League set up. (February)  
Full scale debate in Parliament on education. (March)  
Government Education Bill to deal with secondary education does  
not get beyond its first reading. (May)  
Education Act allows School Boards to carry on higher grade work  
temporarily. (August)  
Section 'L' (Education Section) of British Association meets for  
the first time. (September)  
Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Employment of  
School Children. (signed November)  
Lord Rosebery's Chesterfield speech. (December)



## 1902

Education Bill introduced. (March)

Report of the Committee on the Education and Training of Officers of the Army. (signed March)

Peace of Vereeniging brings the war in South Africa to a close. (May)

First annual meeting of the League of the Empire. (May)

Board of Trade Memorandum on British and Foreign Trade. (signed May)

Salisbury resigns and Balfour forms new administration. Gorst is replaced by Anson and Devonshire by Londonderry. (July)

London Technical Education Board Special Sub-Committee Report on the Application of Science to Industry. (submitted July)

Anglo-Japanese defensive alliance. (September)

Morant becomes Acting Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education. (October)

Education Act brings secondary as well as elementary education into the state system. (December)

## 1903

Beginning of Nonconformist passive resistance to the 1902 Education Act, led by Lloyd George and Dr. Clifford.

Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) (signed March)

Resignation of Sadler. (April)

Employment of Children Act. (August)

London Education Act extends the provisions of the 1902 Act to London. (August)

Joseph Chamberlain resigns from the cabinet to devote himself to the tariff reform campaign. (September)

University Charters for Manchester and Liverpool. (October)

Mosely Educational Commission to the United States of America. (October - December)

1904

Japanese attack on Port Arthur begins the Russo-Japanese war.

(February)

Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Model Course  
of Physical Exercises. (signed March)

University Charter for Leeds. (April)

University grant doubled and university grants committee set up.

Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical  
Deterioration. (signed July)

Education (Local Authority Default) Act to bypass passive  
resistance and ensure the implementation of the 1902 Act.  
(August)

1905

Preliminary Report on the Royal College of Science (including  
the Royal School of Mines). (signed February)

Local Government Board and Board of Education circulars with  
respect to school feeding. (April)

University Charter for Sheffield. (May)

Peace of Portsmouth concludes the Russo-Japanese war - a blow to  
Russian prestige and a lesson to Great Britain.  
(September)

Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Inspection  
and Feeding. (signed November)

Balfour resigns and Campbell-Bannerman forms Liberal government.  
(December)



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