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# EDUCATION

## 1900-1950

THE REPORT OF  
THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

AND THE STATISTICS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION  
FOR ENGLAND AND WALES

FOR THE YEAR  
1950

*Presented by the Minister of Education to Parliament  
by Command of His Majesty  
June 1951*

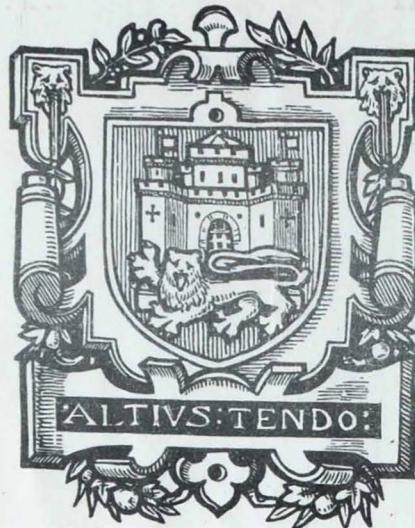
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NOTE

The following corrections to the text as first printed have been incorporated  
in this edition:—

Page 168. Table 22:—

All the figures in the first column "Number of pupils per full-time  
teacher" "

Originally read—

	Now read—
With lower school pupils	18.3
Without lower school pupils	18.5
Total	18.3

26100  
K

AN

1952



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## INTRODUCTION

### MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY

I SUBMIT to your Majesty the Report of the Ministry of Education for 1950.

In 1935, the Silver Jubilee year of His late Majesty King George V, the Report of the Board of Education contained an historical account of educational developments since 1910. In 1950 the Department attained the fiftieth year of its age, and this Report passes in review some of the events and traces some of the developments that have marked its progress from the beginning of the century to the end of 1950.

It is the story of a progressive partnership between the Central Department, the local education authorities and the teachers. To build a single, but not uniform, system out of many diverse elements; to widen educational opportunity and at the same time to raise standards; to knit the educational system more closely into the life of an increasingly democratic and industrialised community: these are among the main ideas which, despite two major wars, have moved legislators and administrators alike. They provide the main themes of the chapters that follow, each of which makes a short reference to the events of 1950.

If this Report comes into the hands of readers from overseas, as I hope it will, they may be expected to look first for a substantial chapter on educational method and the curriculum of the schools. They will not find it. This does not of course mean that the schools have made no response to the new knowledge about the nature and needs of children or to the changing conceptions of the function of education in a democratic community.\* The reason is that the Department has traditionally valued the life of institutions more highly than system and has been zealous for the freedom of schools and teachers. In all matters, therefore, affecting the curriculum and methods of teaching it has been content to offer guidance by means of "Suggestions"† and in the main to rely on Your Majesty's Inspectorate.

The Report of the Board of Education for the year 1922-23 gave a full account of the origin and growth of the Inspectorate, and my Report for the year 1949 described subsequent developments in its history and functions. It is unnecessary, therefore, in the present Report to do more than mention the continued and devoted service of these men and women, whose privilege it is to spread abroad the "sweetness and light" to which one‡ of their number gave eloquent expression.

*Geo. Youlman*

Minister of  
Education.

*John P. R. Mand* -

Secretary.

June, 1951.

\* See the illuminating historical chapters contributed by Dr. R. F. Young to successive reports of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education: Differentiation of Curriculum for Boys and Girls in Secondary Schools, 1923; Education of the Adolescent, 1926; Books in Public Elementary Schools, 1928; The Primary School, 1931; Infant and Nursery Schools, 1933; Secondary Education, 1938.

† Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers in Public Elementary Schools, H.M.S.O., 1937.

‡ Matthew Arnold, in *Culture and Anarchy*.

## CHAPTER I

### FIFTY YEARS OF ADMINISTRATION

1. The Board of Education was established by an Act of Parliament passed in 1899 and came into being on 1st April, 1900. Born in the first year of the South African War it lived through some of the most fearful days of British history, until, in the last year of the second world war, it expired in giving birth to the Ministry. It was composed of a President and the chief officers of state and, as a Board, it never met : the reasons for this curious phenomenon will never be known, for the Duke of Devonshire had forgotten them. Nevertheless the Board endeared itself by its very anomalies. Successive Presidents delighted to describe themselves as " transient heads of a phantom Board ", and officials exercised their ingenuity in attributing to the Board anthropomorphic qualities. Thus the Board was " pleased " or " surprised " ; it learnt with " satisfaction " or " concern " ; it is even alleged to have been " unable to retain its composure " at some flagrant irregularity. So, while many welcomed the transition in 1944 to a Ministry, a few regretted the passing of an old, if somewhat eccentric, friend.

2. The Board was the lineal descendant of the Education Department, a Committee of the Privy Council, and of the Science and Art Department. Thus, in addition to its general function of superintending matters relating to education in England and Wales, the Board was also made responsible for the Victoria and Albert Museum (including the Bethnal Green Museum), the Science Museum and the Royal College of Art. The problem of the Museums had been very fully considered by a Select Committee in 1897-1898, which had recommended that suitable permanent buildings should be provided without delay. One of the most urgent tasks of the Board, therefore, was to provide and complete satisfactory buildings for the Victoria and Albert and Science Museums. The Royal College of Art did not share in the rebuilding scheme, and even to-day, when it has secured an independent status under its own Council, it is still without a satisfactory permanent home.

3. Another significant clause of the Act of 1899 gave power to the Board to carry out the inspection of secondary schools. In the past the main function of His Majesty's Inspectors had been to report on the efficiency of elementary schools for the assessment of grants ; inspection of secondary and technical schools was conducted by the Department only where Science and Art grants were paid. The new provision of the Act was the beginning, not only of a re-organisation of the Inspectorate according to the various branches of education, but also of a whole new conception of the function of H.M. Inspectors. From that time onwards they ceased to be merely the financial watchdogs of the Department and became, as they remain to-day, the guides, philosophers and friends of the schools and colleges of the country.

4. One special characteristic of the Board must be noted, for it was a source of great distinction and some embarrassment. Long after other Departments had merged wholly into the civil service the Board continued to appoint directly its own officers ; the practice was not in fact abandoned until after the first world war. So it came about that many of the Board's servants were already men of distinction in spheres outside their departmental duties. Critics like Chambers ; classics like Mackail and Mayor ; theologians like Thackeray ; philosophers like Edmund Holmes or Selby-Bigge ; these and many others enriched the work of administration with a leaven of scholarship and humanity which was in the best tradition of British public life. But from the same source came embarrassments. Great men drawn from the world outside do

not always conform to the accepted traditions of the civil service. Morant and Sadler, who entered the service five years before the Board was created, were rivals for the chief posts in a fashion surprising, and not always edifying, to the modern civil servant.

5. Those whose memory goes back to the turn of the last century will recall many dramatic events in the history of the Board, but its inception will not be one. On the contrary, the Board of Education Act, 1899, was something of an anticlimax. In 1896 a major Bill had been introduced to create a central authority and local authorities for education ; the Bill was defeated, its rejection being announced by the Duke of Devonshire to Sir John Gorst in the historic phrase " Your damned Bill's dead ". When three years later a short Bill was moved it was clear that the most difficult issue had been dropped. The debates in the Lords and later in the Commons aroused little controversy except, perhaps, on the dangers of a Consultative Committee which it was felt might be the tail wagging the dog. Even when the Act was passed the Board struggled into existence in an undramatic fashion. Sir George Kekewich, the first Secretary, was already Head of the Education Department, and Lord Londonderry, the first President, was not appointed until two years later. Nevertheless the Act was an important and necessary prelude to further progress. A single central authority for all types of education was established ; a Secondary Schools Branch was set up at South Kensington under the Hon. W. N. Bruce, and the Board assumed the powers of Commissioners for Educational Charities. The stage was set for the next scene in 1902.

6. To appreciate what follows it is necessary to have some idea of the state of public education at that time (1900-01). There was a fairly complete system of elementary education with 20,000 schools, of which nearly three-quarters were under religious or voluntary bodies and the remaining quarter under School Boards set up under the Act of 1870. The schools were staffed by some 119,000 adult teachers of whom about half were certificated, and by some 28,000 pupil teachers. There was on the average one adult teacher for every 48 pupils, but the standard of staffing in the voluntary schools was inferior to that in the Board schools ; in the voluntary schools, for example, there was one certificated teacher for every 85 pupils in average attendance compared with one for every 61 pupils in the Board schools. It was not until 1909 that a regulation was made fixing the maximum number of pupils on the register of a class at 60. Building grants had been abolished in 1870 and the promoters of voluntary schools were responsible for the whole cost of provision, enlargement and alterations of premises. The maintenance costs of schools—amounting to between £2 6s. and £3 per pupil annually—were met in the main by the rates and government grants in the case of Board schools and by subscriptions and government grants in the case of voluntary schools. The average salary of a certificated teacher was £128 for a man and £86 for a woman.

7. Secondary and technical education were not part of the public system, but grants were paid centrally by the Science and Art Department and locally by county and county borough councils in aid of certain types of instruction. Adult education did not yet exist as a public service, but was confined to university extension and the work of certain old-established voluntary bodies. Opportunities for poor students to obtain a university education were practically confined to open scholarships and exhibitions, which in very few cases covered the full cost.

8. The traditional system of pupil-teachers as a form of training persisted, and a large proportion of the teachers never received formal college training. Sixty-two training colleges existed with some 5,800 students, but these were inadequate even to make good the annual wastage.

9. Special schools for handicapped children were provided on a small scale by the Blind and Deaf Act, 1893, and the Defective and Epileptic Children Act, 1899. Medical inspection and treatment for normal children was not yet a regular part of the public system and school meals were almost unknown.

10. But—most important of all—there were as yet no local education authorities and the Education Department confined its grants to stimulating and helping facilities which could not otherwise be provided. As Selby-Bigge wrote in his book on the Board of Education: "The idea that there was a public duty, local or central, to provide and finance a comprehensive system of education was undeveloped." No progress could be made until the central authority grasped the need for a comprehensive national policy in education and local education authorities were set up with sufficient powers to carry it out in their different areas. This was the main task facing Sir Robert Morant, who was appointed Permanent Secretary on 1st November, 1902, in succession to Sir George Kekewich.

#### The 1902 Act

11. It has often been remarked that education is essentially a political subject. Looking back over the years one is struck by the political complexity of the 1902 Act. Its main purpose was to replace the School Boards by local education authorities competent to provide and aid secondary as well as other types of education. But to achieve this end the religious problem was brought in. "The only way," wrote Morant, "to get up steam for passing any Education Bill at all in the teeth of School Board opposition will be to include in it some scheme for aiding denominational schools." Then again, local option to maintain voluntary schools was made a feature of the Bill against the better judgment of Balfour and Morant to satisfy a political party. It must have been one of the most dramatic moments in the Board's history when, after a violent speech by Lloyd George, the duty of maintaining voluntary schools was imposed on local education authorities by a majority vote on the closure, Joseph Chamberlain the while being detained at home by a hansom cab accident.

12. Few Bills in our history can have been more fiercely contested and yet passed substantially in their original form. It has been called one of the two or three greatest constructive measures of the twentieth century and it is significant that for 30 years no appreciable change was made in the 1902 settlement.

#### Next Steps

13. The working out of the 1902 Act called for great gifts of industry and statesmanship, and Morant was equal to the task. His handling of the local government and religious problems was effective, and, though his official methods were dictatorial, they were seldom resented. Criticism has been directed mainly at his conception of the secondary school; here, it is felt, was a chance of planning secondary education on broad lines in which the modern and technical curricula would have played their full part. Instead, the new secondary schools were built up on the traditional basis of a "general education" and were designed for the lucky few who could afford the privilege or who could secure one of the free places which, after 1907, carried the elementary school child to higher education.

14. The fact is that in the first decade of its history the Board had a gigantic task to perform in building up a new organisation suitably equipped and staffed and in shaping the lines of future policy. Each year the Board issued in its

annual report an historical review of one or other of the main facets of its work and to read these reviews is to gain some idea of the solid progress which was made in so short a time. This is not the place or the occasion to review in detail all these developments, but it may be of interest to mention the relations of the Board with the universities and university colleges.

15. Since 1889 Parliament had voted annually a sum of money to be distributed in grants to university colleges. When the Board of Education came into existence the amount available was £25,000 and the number of university institutions sharing it was 13. Grants were made by the Board under Treasury Minute to the university colleges on the basis of reports prepared after personal visits by selected persons. As certain university colleges achieved university status the scope of the grants was extended to include them. Grants were also paid to university institutions direct by the Treasury. In 1910 it was felt that the grants should be administered by a single authority, and accordingly a Universities Branch of the Board was established under Mr. H. F. Heath, who had previously served as Director of Special Inquiries and Reports. About the same time an advisory committee under Sir William McCormick was appointed to advise the Board on the distribution of grants. In 1917 Fisher, who was President at the time, came to the conclusion that Oxford and Cambridge should receive financial assistance, and with Treasury approval a sum of £30,000 for each of these two universities was set aside pending the report of the Royal Commission which was in prospect. The Board, with its Advisory Committee, was therefore the normal channel through which public funds were paid to the universities and university colleges. With the increase in grants to £1,000,000 and extension of their application to Scotland it was decided after the first world war to set up a University Grants Committee to advise the Treasury on the distribution of grants, and the Board ceased to pay grants except those for extra-mural work and the training of teachers.

16. One other incident of this period will no doubt arouse nostalgic memories in many of the staff past and present. In the Annual Report for 1908 it was recorded that the new offices in the block facing Parliament Street were completed and by October the whole of the administrative staff would be housed in the Board's portion of the block, the entrance to which was in King Charles Street. Many vicissitudes were to occur before the Board was finally expelled from its home in 1939 and never again after 1914 could it be said that the whole administrative staff was gathered under one roof.

17. Meantime, with the advent of a Liberal Government in 1906, Bill after Bill was introduced by successive Presidents—Birrell, McKenna and Runciman—to undo the religious settlement of 1902. All failed, and, though Morant loyally supported his chiefs, it may well be that the growing exasperation in some quarters increased the suspicion to which men of his stamp are exposed. On the other hand, legislation was passed which laid the foundations of two great educational services—school meals and medical inspection and treatment.

#### The Holmes Circular

18. Forty years ago very few local education authorities had their own corps of elementary school inspectors, and those that had in many cases appointed as inspectors the best of their head teachers. But it was obvious that no striking improvement could be looked for in educational standards so long as the whole of the local inspection was in the hands of ex-head teachers who, however competent, had spent their professional life in the area. Accordingly, in 1911 the chief inspector of elementary schools—Mr. E. G. A. Holmes—was instructed to investigate and report on the position. The result was a report which argued that there was no hope for local inspections if inspecting staffs were confined to

ex-elementary teachers, with no admixture of university graduates. There was nothing revolutionary in this idea, but the report was unhappily worded and circumstances at the time made it appear like a reflection on the elementary school staffs. The document, though marked "Strictly Confidential," leaked out and, when a Parliamentary Question was put, it was maladroitly answered. The results were surprising and the incident brought to an end an epoch in the Board's history. Sir Robert Morant was transferred elsewhere and Mr. Runciman was soon after appointed Minister of Agriculture. Mr. Holmes had already retired on attaining the age-limit and so was beyond the reach of retribution. Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge succeeded Sir Robert Morant and Mr. J. A. Pease became President, to be followed in due course by Mr. Arthur Henderson and Lord Crewe.

#### The Fisher Act

19. The period of Morant's administration from 1902 to 1911 was fully occupied with the work of carrying out the 1902 Act, and it is not surprising that after such a legislative meal a period of digestion was needed. In fact, the next five years, beginning with the Agadir crisis and ending with the Lloyd George coalition, were not marked by any big new educational developments. But with the advent of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher preparations began for the new Education Bill, which passed into law in 1918. The Fisher Act, in spite of the many great reforms which it enacted, has never won the same admiration as the statutes of 1902 and 1944. As a legislative instrument it has been thought by some to lack the coherence of the other two measures. But, more important still, its two great principles—schemes of education and day continuation schools—failed for various reasons to materialise. It may well be that the reputation of Fisher will rest as much on his administrative reforms as on the Act associated with his name.

20. Chief among these reforms was the establishment of the Burnham Committee on teachers' salaries which has proved itself a remarkably successful, if somewhat unconventional, instrument of negotiation and has gone far to ensure a contented teaching profession. Scarcely less important was the setting up of approved university examining bodies and a Secondary School Examinations Council, which brought order into the chaos of external examinations and has done much to consolidate the tradition of grammar school education. A third measure was the introduction for the first time of 200 state scholarships to the universities, through which the Board, in co-operation with the local authorities, began the construction of a ladder from the elementary school to the university. Lastly, there was the establishment of an Adult Education Committee under Dr. William Temple, which by its work in drafting comprehensive regulations and surveying the field in a series of reports, set the official seal to the great work of Tawney, Mansbridge and many others.

#### The Twenties

21. The financial stringency of the early twenties, which resulted in the Geddes Economy Committee, wrought havoc with much of the 1918 Act, and the rapid changes of Government were not conducive to a settled policy. But with the arrival of Lord Eustace Percy and a stable administration normal conditions returned. In 1925 Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge retired from the office of Permanent Secretary and was succeeded by Sir Aubrey Symonds.

22. The period of five years from 1924 to 1929 stands in the middle of the Board's history as a kind of watershed dividing the old from the new. Little in the way of major legislation was passed—apart from the Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1925—but in several ways educational policy began to take

shape for the future. The issue in 1926 of the Hadow Report was an important landmark since, although its main recommendation of a re-organisation of schools at the age of 11 was not new, it set the key to all future policy in secondary education which eventually found its issue in the 1944 Act. In technical education, too, there was a new realisation of the need for local and regional planning and a notable event was the establishment in 1928 of the Yorkshire Council for Further Education.

23. The idea of a national system of education from the nursery school to the technical college or university was beginning to take shape, and the responsibility of the local education authority for providing a comprehensive system of education in co-operation with its neighbours was confirmed. The Board had already recognised this change in the internal organisation of its staff. Morant's organisation had divided the office into a group of separate branches, each of them more or less distinct from the others. With the growing and systematic development of education of all types on an area basis it was felt that a territorial system for administrative officers up to the rank of Principal was needed and the country was divided, for the purpose of elementary, secondary and technical education, into nine divisions corresponding to nine inspectorial areas.

24. Meantime the Board had its own domestic staffing difficulties. In the early days many of the administrative officers had been attracted by outside employment, so that there was a continual coming and going. The war, too, had taken its toll ; the brilliant Hugh Sidgwick was lost in this way. But with the prospect of continuation schools a greatly inflated staff was engaged after the war and the effects of the economy crisis made some reduction inevitable. Already promotion prospects were slow : it was not unusual for an Assistant Principal to wait seven or eight years, and in some cases the rank of Assistant Secretary took 18 years and more to achieve. These difficulties were partly eased by the departure for other careers of some of the most able young men—among them Alan Kidd and Spencer Leeson—but special terms had also to be offered to senior officials in order to encourage early retirement.

25. Twenty-five years ago official minutes were different in length and style from those of to-day. Latinisms were not unknown ; aphorisms abounded ; and in general the language had a grandeur and an irony almost worthy, at its best, of Gibbon. The occasional oddities of the Education Acts were made the vehicle for refreshing discourses by the Legal Branch. Section 82 of the 1921 Act, for example, gave local authorities the power to provide equipment for school meals but not, except on very strict conditions, the food. The minutes which painted a scene of children sitting down amid lavish surroundings to a barmecide feast were brilliantly conceived. There was, too, the case of a contribution order under Section 128 of the 1921 Act, for the child of a domestic servant who moved her place of employment every few months. Round and round the country went the mother and child ; round and round followed the legal sleuths in their effort to determine the place of residence. At last the chase had to be called off. "It is not", concluded the minute, "the function of the Board to trace the odyssey of a domestic cook general". Such essays were not a mere waste of time or an abuse of the civil service tradition ; they were the natural products of an epoch which delighted in style and language for its own sake and which was able to indulge its tastes.

#### The Hadow Report and the Trevelyan Bills

26. One of the main recommendations of the Hadow Report had been that legislation should be passed raising the school age to 15 by the beginning of the school year 1932. Accordingly when the Labour Government succeeded

in 1929 the main plank in Sir Charles Trevelyan's programme was a determined effort to extend the age to 15. In this undertaking Trevelyan was hampered by the fact that the Government was in a minority and by the intense financial depression which began in 1929. But it must be admitted that too little importance was attached to the religious issue until it was too late. His three Bills were based on the principle of maintenance allowances to the parents of all children over 14 still at school. But it was the Scurr amendment that sealed the fate of the last Bill in the House of Commons ; the effect of this amendment was that no further progress could be made until agreement had been reached with the Churches. The final blow was delivered on a motion by Lord Hailsham in the Lords based on the immense and largely incalculable cost of the maintenance allowances.

### The Thirties

27. The resignation of Sir Charles Trevelyan, the formation of the National Government, and the unexpected deaths of the new President, Sir Donald Maclean, and of Sir Aubrey Symonds brought a period of unsettlement which was ended only by the arrival of Lord Halifax as President and the appointment of Sir Henry Pelham as Secretary. The years that followed cannot be said to have been significant for education : the country was slowly climbing back to a normal economy, and the effects of the May Economy Committee had depressed educational progress. Meantime the Government, of which Lord Halifax was a prominent member, was pre-occupied with the Indian problem. But in 1936, when Mr. Oliver Stanley had succeeded Lord Halifax and the general election had taken place, another effort was made to give effect to the Hadow recommendations.

28. The Bill of 1936 avoided the obvious pitfalls ; it provided for the school age to be raised on an appointed day, but instead of by maintenance allowances it sought to meet public opinion by a somewhat cumbersome system of exemptions for beneficial employment. Further, it gave limited benefits to help the religious bodies to provide new accommodation for senior children. The Bill passed into law without much difficulty, but its main provisions were nullified in 1939 by the war, though the schools which had benefited or planned to benefit by the religious clauses survived in later years as special agreement schools.

29. One other piece of legislation stands to Mr. Oliver Stanley's credit. The Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937, was an attempt to create a national fitness campaign. Its machinery was clumsy and expensive and after a short life it ceased to operate in the form in which it had been passed. But the powers conferred on the Board to assist community centres, village halls, playing fields and the like remain as a useful piece of educational legislation.

### The Second World War

30. Early in 1937 Sir Henry Pelham retired and was succeeded by Sir Maurice Holmes. Already the shadows of war were lengthening and less than two years afterwards the Board began its great migration by moving from Whitehall to Kingsway. As the crisis came nearer more and more time had to be devoted to evacuation plans and the Board began to turn from peace to war conditions. So the actual outbreak in September, 1939, found the office ready to play its part in the war effort. The main story of this effort belongs elsewhere, but two matters cannot be overlooked. With the growing risk of demoralisation caused by the black-out and the social disruption of war, the Board felt a responsibility to maintain civilising influences. Accordingly in the autumn

of 1939 it prepared schemes for encouraging music and the arts and for combating juvenile delinquency by organised youth welfare. These measures proved to be of great and lasting significance. The first led to the establishment of a separate\* Committee for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts and later to an independent Arts Council of Great Britain ; the second was the source from which sprang the network of local youth committees on which the present youth service is based.

31. The outbreak of bombing found the Board's staff at work in Kingsway with occasional visits to the underground shelters, and it was not until October, 1940, that the Government decided, in view of the growing shortage of accommodation, to evacuate the Department. With the exception of a small remnant which remained with the President—the present Lord Soulbury—in London, and certain other branches which found a home in North Wales, the Board was evacuated to Bournemouth and occupied offices at the Branksome Dene and Durley Dean Hotels.

### The 1944 Act

32. It has often been remarked that the periods of great educational activity have synchronised with wars, and the second world war was no exception. Perhaps, too, the falling off in day-to-day administration and the exile to Bournemouth left more time for a return to first principles. In the winter of 1940-41 the whole range of educational policy was reviewed at the official level, and the results were set out in a confidential pamphlet known as the Green Book. With the approval of Mr. R. A. Butler, who succeeded as President in 1941, conversations took place between officials and various external bodies as a result of which the lines of future legislative policy began to emerge. With the return of the Board's staff to London in the autumn of 1942 work was begun in earnest on the preparation of a Bill and the result was the Education Act, 1944. This measure, which for the first time in our history planned a comprehensive educational system, is too recent to call for explanation or comment. Its passage through the House by the President and the Parliamentary Secretary was a remarkable achievement, the only crisis occurring on the subject of equal pay for men and women teachers, which caused a defeat of the Government and the intervention of the Prime Minister.

33. Meantime three reports of first-class importance had been issued. The Norwood Committee reviewed the subject of examinations and the curriculum of secondary schools. The Fleming Committee considered the question of a closer association between the public schools and the general educational system. The McNair Committee prepared a scheme for the re-organisation of the training of teachers. After the passage of the Act the Central Advisory Councils for England and Wales produced valuable reports, the former on the transition from school to independent life and on the activities of children out of school hours, the latter on the future of secondary education and on county colleges in Wales, and both have submitted a number of memoranda to the Minister on other subjects.

34. One incident of no significance but some interest remains to be noted. During the war the Board was called upon to provide minor legislation for the

\* The original scheme for encouraging cultural activities in war-time was prepared by the staff of the Board of Education in the autumn of 1939. After discussion with the Treasury it was decided to approach the Pilgrim Trust and other bodies, and in December, 1939, the President—Lord De La' Warr—convened a small conference. As a result, a Committee for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts was set up early in 1940 and was financed by a grant of £25,000 from the Pilgrim Trust with a corresponding amount on the Board of Education Vote.

purpose of enabling the universities and public schools to apply certain trust funds to meet special emergencies. The concluding stages of the Public and Other Schools Bill were taken as the last public business on Thursday, 8th May, 1941, in the House of Commons. It was the last debate in the old Chamber of the House.

### The Ministry

35. What remains is in the nature of an epilogue. Six years have elapsed since the Board gave place to a Ministry. Once again machinery has had to be adapted to the task of administering a new Education Act ; and the world shortages of materials and labour and the planning of capital investment have called for big reforms. The appointment of regional priority officers ; the creation of an Architects and Building Branch ; and the re-organisation of the Office and the Inspectorate have been the Ministry's answer. There has, too, been a great and rapid growth of international contacts, a field in which the present Secretary—Sir John Maud—has played a specially prominent part.

### The Problem of Consultation

36. In the half century of Departmental history certain problems have tended inevitably to recur, and their solution has been a gradual process which is not yet complete. Among these have been, for example, the period of school life, the religious settlement, training for industry, and the units of local administration. But in one respect the Board and the Ministry can claim to have made a special contribution to the art of government, a claim that has been freely recognised. Education in a democracy is determined not by the state, but by the general will of the community. The Education Department must therefore find means, subject to the control of Parliament, of taking counsel with individuals and bodies qualified to advise, and this problem has in fact been one of its constant preoccupations.

37. In the Act of 1899 the Board was authorised to set up a Consultative Committee, and the debates at the time left no doubt that the Committee was to concern itself with the content of education as distinct from the machinery for organising it. The point was made even clearer when in 1944 two Central Advisory Councils replaced the old Consultative Committee. Under this Act the scope of the Councils was confined to matters connected with educational theory and practice, and in the parliamentary debates the President said : "We do not intend the Councils to concern themselves with administration", though he later admitted that the term "administration" allowed of some latitude of meaning. So far, therefore, as the Department's own consultative machinery is concerned the integrity of ministerial responsibility was and is fully maintained.

38. But the need was soon felt for some standing machinery of consultation between the Board and the local authorities on questions of administration and policy. This was found in a Local Education Authority Advisory Committee of ten members drawn from the representative local education authority bodies. Although the Committee gave valuable help in the shaping of day-to-day administration its effectiveness as an instrument of consultation was limited. Inevitably it could not pretend to commit the various associations which had nominated its members ; all it could do was to give individual advice reserving, if necessary, important matters for consideration by the associations concerned. The Committee was in fact an *ad hoc* device for obtaining the views of individuals nominated by the local authorities without the long and sometimes tedious procedure of referring to the separate associations.

39. Meantime, with the growing complexity of public education, it became clear that the machinery of the Board with its Consultative Committee on the one side and the local education authorities on the other was not adequate. The school examination system, for example, brought in the independent university examining bodies and made it necessary for a Council to be set up with power in certain matters to act independently. The Burnham Committee on teachers' salaries brought a fresh complication. While the final approval of scales was recognised to lie with the Board, it was accepted that the Committee, composed of two panels of local authority and teacher representatives under an independent Chairman, must be free to frame its recommendations without interference, and that these recommendations should be accepted or rejected *in toto*. The Board at this stage was in fact admitting that independent consultation and even, in certain circumstances, action in the field of administration were not incompatible with general ministerial responsibility.

40. The widening field of the Board's administration carried the process a stage further. In the early twenties the Adult Education Committee and the Juvenile Organisations Committee were set up. Their functions were twofold—first to provide an opportunity for consultation among the various interested bodies ; secondly, to undertake advisory and, in the case of the Juvenile Organisations Committee, executive functions. The Adult Education Committee was dissolved after an existence of about 15 years ; the Juvenile Organisations Committee was merged into the National Fitness Council and later re-appeared for a short time in the form of the National Youth Committee under the stress of the second world war.

41. A novel experiment was launched in 1946 by the setting up of a Committee on Boarding Education. The problems of boarding education called for special examination, and it was felt that a Committee could perform a useful function in matching the demands from local education authorities for vacancies at public and independent schools with the places offered by the governors of these schools. The Committee has been carried on under the chairmanship of an officer of the Ministry.

42. The passing of the Education Act, 1944, gave a new impetus to consultative machinery and provided new methods for working it. In the result there emerged four main types of consultation :—

- (i) The Central Advisory Councils for England and Wales were set up directly by the Minister to advise him on "such matters connected with educational theory and practice as they think fit and upon any questions referred to them by him".
- (ii) Two National Advisory Councils were set up—one on Education for Industry and Commerce and the other on the Training and Supply of Teachers. These Councils, which in some respects are analogous to the Secondary School Examinations Council, owe their origin to recommendations by the Percy and McNair Committees, though the form in which they have been constituted differs from that recommended by the Committees. The Councils stand at the apex of a system of regional advisory councils and area training organisations respectively and are composed partly of representatives from the national interests concerned and partly of nominees from the regions. They are thus able to focus opinions not only at the national but also at the regional level, and they form part of a comprehensive system of advisory bodies covering the whole country. They are appointed by the Minister mainly on the nomination of the various

bodies concerned, and they perform the dual function of supplying a forum for the discussion of current problems and of advising the Minister on appropriate courses of action.

- (iii) Certain independent bodies exist towards which the Ministry gives financial support and on which it has some kind of representation. Among these are the National Foundation for Educational Research, the Educational Foundation for Visual Aids and the Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges.
- (iv) The Ministry maintains close relations with the main associations of local education authorities, teachers and other responsible bodies and, in regard to important questions of policy, seeks their advice by correspondence or discussion.

43. There is thus an extensive and flexible system of consultation ranging from the statutory Councils set up by the Minister to work in close intimacy with the Department to the wholly independent associations of local authorities and teachers in whose affairs the Minister has no concern. In present circumstances the system works well, and it can be adapted to changing circumstances. Two factors in particular are already affecting the problem. The first is the changing balance of responsibility between the central and local authorities ; the tendency to-day is to allow as much local discretion as is compatible with ministerial and parliamentary control, and it has been one of the tasks of the Local Government Manpower Committee to give practical application to this tendency in the field of education. The other factor is the growing importance of international contacts. No longer is it possible to confine departmental consultation within the territory of England and Wales. Cultural conventions and committees abroad ; the exchange of teachers, technologists and social workers of all kinds, and the work of UNESCO itself have extended the scope of consultation beyond the seas and brought the Ministry, with other departments, into intimate contact with foreign countries and the territories of the British Commonwealth.

#### Conclusion

44. The history of the past fifty years in public education may be summed up as an endeavour to plan and build up a comprehensive system of education, not uniform or rigidly controlled, but placing within the reach of all children and young persons the best of which they are capable. What progress has been made it is the theme of this and subsequent chapters to record. The goal is still unattained ; but, if we stand to-day nearer to it than in 1900, no small part of the credit is due to the faith and perseverance of our predecessors.

## CHAPTER II

### THE WELDING OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

#### Transfer of Functions

1. In 1891 Lord Macnaghten, in a judgment which has become a classic in the law of charities, grouped all charities in this country into four principal divisions. Ten years later an entire division, that of charities for the advancement of education, was well on the way from the jurisdiction of the Charity Commissioners, who until then had held sway over charities of all types, to the newly formed jurisdiction of the Board of Education, thus fulfilling a policy which had been reached as early as 1894. Such a transfer of powers need occasion us no surprise. Parliament had decided that there should be a single department charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales to take the place of the various departments which had hitherto shared those powers. Logically it would have been difficult, and practically quite impossible, to exclude from the Board's purview those facilities which sprang from charitable endowments just as it would have been impossible to exclude from the Board's jurisdiction the rate-provided institutions of statutory bodies. In 1900 both types of facilities were already inextricably woven into the educational fabric and both needed the same guiding hand.

2. The way to that transfer had indeed been paved in 1869, for the essence of the Endowed Schools Acts jurisdiction was that it enabled the trusts of educational endowments to be altered from time to time so as to meet the changing educational requirements of the beneficiaries of the trusts. That meant that the Endowed Schools Acts jurisdiction, unlike the Charitable Trusts Acts jurisdiction, was essentially an instrument of educational policy, and from 1900 the Board was to be the sole department which directed educational policy. Even the Charitable Trusts Acts jurisdiction, in its strait-jacket of Chancery rules, was one which could not easily have been excluded from the transfer. The body exercising jurisdiction in making a scheme under the Charitable Trusts Acts can only alter trusts on failure and must observe the limits of the *cy pres* rule, but the department charged with supplying new trusts on failure of the old was surely in a better position to make a success of the operation if it was itself the hub of the educational system of the country, connected closely with local education authorities and having its own staff of educational experts.

3. The task confronting the Board in its early years called for no great increase of statutory powers so far as educational endowments were concerned and the Act of 1899 gave no new powers : all that it did was to authorise a transfer of powers from the Charity Commissioners by Orders in Council. There were three such Orders and they dealt with the transfer in such a way that the Board got first the powers they needed immediately, such as powers of inquiry and interrogation. These for instance were urgently necessary for dealing with reorganisation of bodies of managers of public elementary schools. Powers to deal with any English or Welsh endowment which had already been schemed under the Endowed Schools Acts were also given by the first Order, but the powers of making new schemes were not a first priority and it was left for the second Order to transfer these. When the transfer was completed, as it was by 1902, the Board had obtained from the Commissioners all the powers over endowments held solely for educational purposes with the exception of those needed for vesting legal estates in the Official Trustee of Charity Lands or for transferring funds to the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds.

### Final Orders

4. The Board had not to wait long for an opportunity of applying their powers of inquiry and interrogation, for the passing of the Education Act, 1902, immediately threw on them the enormous task of refashioning the managing body of nearly every non-provided elementary school then in existence. What needed to be done was to secure the appointment of a body of four foundation managers, suitably constituted to satisfy the denominational and other interests served by each school. A privately owned school could be leased or re-leased to four persons and that satisfied the Act without more. Many schools, however, were regulated by trust deeds which commonly provided for a large unwieldy committee of management. These bodies needed to be reduced in size. In place of the normal scheme machinery for altering trusts which would doubtless have taken far more time than could have been spared, a specially expeditious method by what was known as "final orders" was laid down by Section 11 of the 1902 Act. In the first year of the operation of the Act 10,967 applications for final orders were received. Some relief from the arduous task of considering them was no doubt found in the possession by the Board of copies of trust deeds of those elementary schools which had over the preceding 60 years or thereabouts received building grants. But the Department seems never to have had adequate registers of endowments, and even where a copy of a trust deed was to hand it needed scrutiny by a trained lawyer, whose work was not lightened by the unwieldy shape of those old-fashioned deeds.

5. Frequently the urgent necessity of getting a school going under a suitable body of managers did not brook the delay of getting a final order into shape, and a makeshift body was set up under an interim order. By 1904-05 the initial task was nearly completed, though it was not merely a transitional matter, for the need to make or modify final orders persisted for as long as Section 11 or its later equivalent in the Act of 1921 was on the statute book. How good a job the Board had done in the early period may well be gauged by the fact that by 1936 there had been only 64 amending orders since the Act of 1902 was passed. When it was a case of an amending order, however, the proceedings might, as in the case of *Falconer v. Stearn* [1932] 1 Ch. 509, involve a bitter struggle that ended only in a decision of the High Court.

### Bigge's Bible

6. No sooner was the work of fashioning the final orders completed than the Board found itself faced with an even bigger inquiry into the trusts of public elementary schools, for on the 23rd February, 1906, the House of Commons ordered a return "of the schools in England and Wales recognised on the first day of January, 1906, as non-provided public elementary schools, showing as far as practicable the tenure of the premises of such schools and the character of the trusts, if any, to which the premises are subject under any trust deeds or instruments, or otherwise". The resulting compilation ran to 57 pages of introduction, a mine of information in itself, and 1,150 pages of appendices. It was quite the most complete digest of trusts that the Department ever produced and it took the Board no more than 16 months to do it. Generally called the Trust Deeds Return, it was more familiarly, even affectionately, known by the Board's officers as "Bigge's Bible". No doubt its compilers found their task somewhat eased by the earlier investigation of trusts for the purposes of the final orders, but how much this was so may be gauged by the following passage in the Return:—

"Section 11 of the Education Act of 1902 rendered it necessary for the Board to make inquiries as to the trust deeds of all voluntary schools, and a form of inquiry was sent out which is known as Form E.A. 2 (Appendix I (a)). This form required a statement as to the date of the

deed on which the premises are held, the date of the enrolment, whether the conveyance is under the School Sites Acts or not, whether it was voluntary or for valuable consideration, and statements on other questions of a like character. The questions, however, which were of the greatest importance for the purpose of Section 11 of the Education Act of 1902 were questions as to the constitution of the committee of management, a matter which is of minor importance for the purposes of this Return; on the other hand, no information was needed or required with regard to many matters, such as (e.g.) the use of the school buildings permitted or directed by the trust for educational or non-educational purposes, which are now of first importance. The information then furnished has, however, been of considerable value in enabling the Board to check the information which has been furnished to them for the purposes of this Return."

Space forbids more than this wholly inadequate appreciation of the immense labour of a devoted band of lawyers which went to produce that Return. Nobody who knows what it is to peruse the early Victorian deeds of elementary schools can fail to know what drudgery and visual strain the perusal of thousands of such deeds involved.

### Early Steps

7. The task to which the Board set their hand in 1900 was to marry the voluntary and statutory elements in education and to enable charitable endowments to play their full and proper part side by side with the provision made by public authorities. In the sphere of elementary education there were some 20,000 public elementary schools of which the non-provided, mostly Church of England, outnumbered the provided in the proportion of almost three to one. Very few of the non-provided schools could claim any endowment except their school premises, many of which had been erected for something like 50 years. They depended for their maintenance, so far as the local education authority was not to have that duty under the Act of 1902, on what they could obtain by way of subscriptions, church collections and the like. In general the Church authorities were tenacious of their right to conduct a school if a school was necessary, but there was the convenient procedure laid down by the Act of 1870 whereby a school could be transferred to the authority thereby relieving the managers of any future responsibility. Any school so transferred had to be conducted as a provided school. There was provision for charging on the school premises before transfer any accumulated debt due to the past inability of the managers to find the necessary sums for the school's maintenance. Where, in the minority of cases, the school had an income-producing endowment it was possible, but only very occasionally the practice, to transfer that endowment to the authority who had power to accept gifts in so far as they did not imply a denominational flavour. If any such endowment was not transferred to the authority, the Board had power under the Charitable Trusts Acts to make a scheme for its future administration.

8. In the sphere of higher education there was a widespread system of grammar schools of which the bulk had been schemed by the Board's predecessors under the Endowed Schools Acts. Provision by local authorities was relatively unimportant and consisted mainly of the technical institutions for science and art created with the aid of the rates under the Technical Instruction Acts. There were also various non-provided technical institutions, schools of science and art and so forth built up by private donors with the assistance of grants from the central authority. Provision had been made in the Science and Art Act, 1891, for the transfer of such voluntary technical institutions to the local authority where necessary, much on the lines of the equivalent provision for transferring voluntary public elementary schools.

### Maintenance of Public Elementary Schools

9. The Education Act, 1902, gave to local education authorities the power to supply and aid higher education. But—more important for our present purpose—it relieved the managers of the non-provided elementary schools of much of the burden which had hitherto lain on them. Any funds necessary for repairs, alterations, and so forth, continued to be their liability but the day-to-day maintenance, including the expensive matter of paying teachers, was now assumed by the authority. The authority's duty of maintenance was a novel one and as was to be expected raised many problems of legal interpretation. The Board were given the duty of determining questions between local education authorities and managers and generally carried out this difficult task impartially and correctly, under pain nevertheless of taking a hard knock in the High Court if they failed to carry out their statutory duty as they unfortunately did in the celebrated case of *Board of Education v. Rice*. The fact that the Board had the duty to determine questions did not, however, prevent many difficulties being carried to the High Court and many cases, e.g., on the supply of water, the payment, appointment and dismissal of teachers, and on other numerous matters eventually found their way into Court. Indeed, it was not until a comparatively late date that it became clear by a decision of the High Court in the well-known case of *Lancashire County Council v. Crowe* that authorities and not managers had the duty of paying for improvements to playgrounds.

### Elementary and Secondary Endowments

10. It should be noted in passing that Wales and Monmouthshire had their own special provision in their schools and benefits for intermediate and technical education; these institutions were administered by schemes made under the Welsh Intermediate and Technical Education Act, 1889, which formed one of the Endowed Schools Acts.

11. Apart from the endowments comprising schools or other teaching institutions there was a large number of miscellaneous endowments in the sphere of elementary and higher education. Those for purposes higher than elementary had not infrequently been schemed by the Board's predecessors under the Endowed Schools Acts for the purpose of providing exhibitions for pupils at or leaving grammar schools. Endowments for elementary education, the total number of which was quite unknown to the Board in 1900, were for various purposes. Some of them were entirely or partly for maintenance of public elementary schools, and these will be referred to more fully hereafter. Others were for benefits, such as prizes, for pupils at public elementary schools, and were frequently administered under schemes made by the Charity Commissioners, many of such schemes providing benefits of somewhat dubious value having regard to the changes that were made by the Act of 1902.

### Scheme-making

12. To help them in the work of tackling the charitable endowments the Board had recruited to their staff a number of experts from the staff of the Charity Commissioners. By the end of 1907 the Board had completely formed its Legal Branch, whose duty thenceforth was to deal with all the legal work involved in the Board's administration, including that of dealing with endowments under the Charitable Trusts Acts or the Endowed Schools Acts.

13. By 1905 the Board seem to have got over their preparatory period and to have settled down to a regular routine of scheme-making. So regular was the routine that it is not easy to pick out points which require special mention. From January, 1905, to December, 1910, the Board had made a total of 714

secondary school schemes, including a number under the Welsh Act. The overall total of schemes for all purposes during that period was of the order of 1,570, so that the elementary and non-elementary schemes roughly balanced one another.

14. The interplay of policy on the fashioning of endowments was particularly marked in the secondary schools sphere, for those schools, in contrast with elementary schools, were normally conducted under Endowed Schools Acts schemes, and so were peculiarly fitted for modification to meet policy needs. Amendments in their schemes were needed for various reasons, e.g., to provide for the appointment of governors by local education authorities, but a main reason was to enable the schools to comply with conditions of grant. The Regulations for Secondary Schools of 1907 necessitated wholesale revision of schemes during the period 1908-1910. It was not until much later that the law was altered so as to enable secondary schools to comply with conditions of grant without the drudgery involved in scheme revision on this scale.

### Municipalising Schemes

15. For secondary schools there was before 1944 no statutory procedure corresponding to the transfer machinery for public elementary schools and schools of science and art, but the need to devise something similar soon arose. Local education authorities could use their higher education powers under the Act of 1902 to establish their own provided secondary schools—"maintained schools" in the jargon of the time—but frequent resort was made to the alternative device of the "aided school". Endowment income was never enough to cover the maintenance costs of secondary schools after 1902, and rate aid was inevitable. Authorities differed in policy and generosity; some were prepared to meet the greater share of the cost while leaving the school to be governed by an independent body. Others, particularly if the endowment was exiguous, wished to secure complete control. For that purpose the Board invented the device of the municipalising scheme, which put the endowment under the trusteeship of the authority, whether county or county borough, and enabled them to conduct a provided school in the premises. At first such schemes contained the same minute detail as was common in schemes for non-provided schools. By 1907, however, it was decided that grants provided the only effective sanction for efficient administration, and the Board abandoned the system of setting up in such schemes an elaborate system of checks on the authorities' powers. Thenceforth the municipalised school became in effect a provided school. Occasionally, to meet local wishes, a separate independent body of endowment governors was constituted to administer the income-producing endowment, the premises alone being transferred to the administration of the authority—a device peculiarly appropriate where there was some denominational interest to preserve. From 1905 to 1940 55 municipalising schemes of all types were made.

### Elementary Endowments

16. Section 13 of the Act of 1902 provided for the payment of endowment income of a certain type to authorities in relief of rates. It is probable that even if this section had not been enacted the trustees of elementary endowments whose trusts provided for the application of income in whole or part for the maintenance of public elementary schools would still have been legally liable to pay over to local education authorities the income or share available for that purpose.\* There was thus a legal argument in favour of including Section 13 despite the

\* See *A.G. v. Day* [1900] 1 Ch. 31.

fact that it did violence to the Chancery doctrine against applying charity money in relief of rates. Whatever virtue there may have been in that argument, certainly the administrative consequences were embarrassing. A burden was thrown on both central and local authorities quite disproportionate to the minute gain reaped by the parishioners in rate relief, for the average income of such endowments was small. Perhaps the sole advantage gained after enormous labour was the fact that the Board and the authorities eventually gained some information of the existence of trusts of which before 1902 they were completely ignorant; in four counties the investigation produced a tangible result in a printed volume of digested trusts. In 1906 the Board suspended temporarily the preparation of new schemes for elementary endowments. During the next year about 300 applications were received for such schemes, but in view of the introduction of the Elementary Education Bill the Board deemed it advisable again to suspend operations. The root cause of the difficulties of Section 13 was that the law required an early solution to innumerable problems by a wholly inadequate staff, who by 1910 were almost in despair of a solution. That year saw the constitution of a departmental committee under the Board's Parliamentary Secretary, Mr. C. P. (later Sir Charles) Trevelyan.

17. The terms of reference of the Trevelyan Committee dealt mainly with the elementary endowments, though certain other cases of special difficulty were included. Among other things the Committee were to consider what legislative changes were needed. Into the sympathetic ear of the Committee was poured a tale of woe which arouses the sympathy of all, especially those now faced with similar problems. By that time something like 600 applications were needing attention, many of them relating to endowments of very small annual value or of disused school buildings only. The findings\* of the Committee included recommendations for a change in the law, but no change was made and the outbreak of war in 1914 temporarily shelved the problem.

#### Minor Changes in the Law

18. From 1902 to 1918 there was little to record of legislation affecting educational charities. The Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, substituted the consent of the Board for that of the Home Secretary for any sale, exchange, or mortgage of premises of non-provided elementary schools erected with the aid of Exchequer money. The Endowed Schools (Masters) Act, 1908, mitigated the severity of the Act of 1869 requiring dismissal of masters "at pleasure" and allowed for reasonable notice. The Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1909, provided that any powers, e.g., as to the appointment of governors, conferred by scheme on a local education authority as such, should stand referred to the education committee. These were matters of small moment and the Board were still able to get along with the powers inherited from the Charity Commissioners.

#### The Education Act, 1918

19. The Act of 1918 made few changes in the charity law. The provision for the constitution of one or more official trustees of educational trust property by Order in Council came to nothing and educational endowments are still vested in the Official Trustees of the Charity Commissioners. A small but useful change was the provision that where any scheme required the approval of the Board to the appointment of new trustees by existing trustees the scheme should have effect as if no such approval was required. There was, however, a

\* Cmd. 5662.

very important change as to Mortmain. This Act completed a process, which had begun before 1900, of freeing assurances for educational purposes from any of the restrictions under the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Acts. The Mortmain restrictions are an archaic anomaly, but it is noteworthy that education, of all the four main divisions of charities, is the only one which has secured this full exemption.

20. The period following 1918 was one of steady progress. For secondary schools the early twenties saw a burst of activity in schemes for raising fees to meet increasing costs of maintenance, and "ransom" schemes were made for some public schools, who were given the right to raise their fees as necessary on condition that they ceded some of their endowment to be schemed for beneficiaries not attending those schools. There was some demand for complete secondary school schemes, and a fair number of municipalising schemes were made. The problem of the elementary endowments, left unsolved in 1911, was tackled in earnest and thereafter there was a steady yearly output of schemes which continued until the outbreak of war in 1939, which virtually put an end to all scheme making. Many disused premises of public elementary schools called for attention, and the Board, copying the scheme evolved by the House of Lords in the Caerphilly case,\* substituted trusts which enabled the premises to be used for educational purposes of the type normally provided in village halls. Some of those disused premises were schemed for the purpose of enabling the premises to be let to local education authorities for educational purposes.

21. The period 1936-1939 was notable for three Acts. The Education Act, 1936, introduced a new principle by authorising authorities to make capital grants on certain conditions to enable voluntary bodies to provide elementary school premises for senior pupils and enabled the authorities to purchase land in order to convey it to the voluntary bodies. Liverpool had its special Act of 1939 for that purpose, but the method adopted was for the authority to acquire and lease premises. An Act of 1937 enabled the Board to make capital grants and, within limits, maintenance grants for the provision of facilities for physical training and recreation. Powers were given to local authorities but not in their capacity of local education authorities. Grants to voluntary associations were subject to conditions for securing continuity and this was invariably secured by requiring the grant-aided premises to be put on charitable trusts.

#### Last Phase

22. The period 1944-1950 has been a period of reconstruction during which the remodelling of the statutory system of education in England and Wales has made fair progress. Although the Education Acts 1944-1948 have provided for the recasting of that system, the new mould bears a strong family resemblance to that of the pre-1944 system. For instance the Minister, like the Board, has been marked out as a controlling rather than a providing authority. Indeed the only institution directly provided by the Minister, the Royal College of Art, has become a charitable, instead of a state-provided, institution. The new law, however, has greatly increased the occasions for the formal exercise of the controlling function of the Minister, the Act of 1944 alone having 24 separate provisions for regulations, 39 for directions by Order and 38 for informal directions. In one sphere the Minister has regained powers which his predecessor lost in 1870, the powers of giving voluntary schools capital

\* A.G. v. Price (1914) A.C. 20.

grants to help them to provide their premises ; moreover the Minister has obtained a power, which the Board never had, of making loans for the same purpose.

23. Local education authorities again have retained their dual function of providing facilities themselves and assisting voluntary bodies to do so. The new law, however, has again formalised the process in its requirements for development plans for primary and secondary education and schemes of further education. By the end of 1950, every one of the 146 authorities had furnished either a final or interim development plan and a total of 77 had been approved by the Minister, but no Local Education Orders had then been made for carrying the plans into effect. As for further education, all but seven of the authorities had by the end of 1950 submitted a scheme under Section 42 of the Act of 1944 and 19 of such schemes had been approved. The duties of authorities to maintain voluntary institutions have been extended and authorities have acquired powers of purchasing land, compulsorily or by agreement, for the use of voluntary schools ; they have also been given the power of assisting non-maintained voluntary institutions.

24. The experiment of 1936, which failed because of the outbreak of war, has been revived and 20 special agreement schools have been brought into existence. That experiment produced a school with characteristics which partook partly of the old voluntary school and partly of the old provided school. The controlled schools which the new law has provided have largely extended that experiment and these schools are perhaps much nearer in character to the county than to the aided schools. Indeed it may be doubted whether the machinery for converting aided schools to controlled status will not largely remove the occasions for transferring voluntary schools to authorities, although Schedule II to the Act of 1944 provides transfer machinery which has been used on 13 occasions during 1948-50. The general tendency, which has been increasingly evident over the last 50 years, for local education authorities' institutions to oust those provided by charitable endowments has become more marked. For instance, at the beginning of 1950 there were nearly 10,000 voluntary schools, both primary and secondary, compared with rather more than 13,000 county schools.

25. The old law laid down by Section 13 of the Act of 1902, and re-enacted in Section 41 of the Act of 1921, for the payment of some endowment income to the authorities in relief of rates was repealed by the Act of 1944. Where such funds ceased to be applicable by reason of the authority becoming liable for the maintenance of schools, secondary as well as primary, the Act of 1944 provided that the funds should be used for managers' or governors' purposes and, if that was impossible, should be schemed.

26. In view of the burden which would be thrown upon the denominations in order to provide their share of necessary schooling, Section 86 of the Education Act, 1944, altered the Endowed Schools Acts with a view to enabling disused Church schools and other unwanted endowments to be sold and used for improving the premises of continuing church schools and assisting to build new ones. Endowments have been dealt with diocese by diocese, consolidated, and put under a single diocesan body of trustees. Eventually some 107 schemes will be needed ; by the end of 1950, 25 such schemes had been made.

27. Section 1 of the Education (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1948, provided for the transfer to the Minister from the Charity Commissioners of jurisdiction over endowments which, while not solely educational and therefore not transferred under the Act of 1899, were nevertheless partly educational in character and commonly fell within the purview of local education authorities and the

Minister. These included endowments for public libraries, museums, apprenticeships, and so forth. Two Orders in Council have been made to carry out that provision. The individual endowments in question have been transferred from time to time as occasion has required.

28. Section 2 of the Act of 1948 dealt with a different problem. The increased powers given to local education authorities to provide scholarships had largely rendered nugatory the schemes for endowments providing such benefits. Accordingly some steps were necessary to deal with the non-denominational endowments not touched by Section 86 of the Act of 1944. The Act of 1948 gave this power and enabled the benefits to be extended to adults as well as to boys and girls. By the end of 1950 one consolidating scheme had been made, and in the light of the experience so gained further schemes will no doubt be undertaken.

29. The new law provides for a body of foundation managers or foundation governors for each voluntary school and this has involved the scrapping of the old final orders and much of the old schemes for maintained secondary schools. The precedent of the final orders, however, has been followed in the provisions for instruments of management, instruments of government, rules of management and articles of government. The number of schools dealt with under these instruments amounted to some 2,100 by the end of 1950.

#### Wales

30. In conclusion some mention, however brief, must be made of Wales. During the period 1902-1944, Welsh authorities had increasingly provided secondary schools under the Act of 1902 and towards the end of that period a number of intermediate schools provided under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889, had been municipalised and placed under the authorities as secondary schools. The Act of 1944 made certain changes in the Welsh law relating to intermediate and technical education and the Act of 1948 repealed the whole of the Act of 1889. In other words since 1948 Wales and England have had a common law applying to their educational facilities whether provided by local authorities or out of charitable endowments.

## CHAPTER III

### FINANCE

1. The story of the finance of public education in England and Wales during the last half-century is in the main the story of the growth of an organic relationship between the central authority and the local education authorities set up by the Education Act of 1902. The idea of partnership between the two is now so well established and generally accepted that it is not always realised that it did not take real shape until the time of Fisher's tenure of office ; nor have the subsequent years been years of smooth and uninterrupted growth. The period of change and instability started by the first world war brought in its train a series of shocks and crises in public finance which disappointed many of the high hopes raised by the Fisher Act and caused setbacks to the reform and expansion of the public system of education. Nevertheless, the idea of partnership between the central and local authorities survived and is to-day stronger than it has ever been.

#### Early Years and Background

2. Before 1870 elementary education was entirely in the hands of voluntary societies. Assistance was given by government grants towards the cost of specific items of expenditure such as buildings, equipment and teachers' salaries ; but there was no power of rating. The payment of these grants depended upon conditions of efficiency laid down in the regulations of the Education Department. There was no parliamentary basis for the grants other than a Vote in Supply and the retrospective authority of the Appropriation Act.

3. The setting up of the School Boards by the Act of 1870 introduced two new factors of significance. In the first place, their expenses, in so far as they were not met by the fees charged in the schools and by government grants, were charged upon the rates. In the second place, in the Act of 1870 statutory grants for elementary education made their first appearance.

4. The grants paid to the School Boards were, in the main, grants to individual schools, under much the same system as that applied to voluntary schools. The principal grant was an Annual Grant payable under Minutes of the Education Department laid before both Houses of Parliament. But under Section 97 of the Act of 1870 provision was also made for a grant of a more general nature, taking account of expenditure, assessable value and the number of children. Special assistance was given to schools in sparsely populated areas by the Elementary Education Act of 1876, and School Boards also received a grant under the Agricultural Rates Act of 1896 in compensation for the loss consequent upon the partial de-rating of agricultural land.

5. In the sphere of higher education (i.e., education other than elementary), the association of local authorities with the education service under the Act of 1902 was anticipated by the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, which empowered county, borough and urban district councils to supply or aid the supply of technical or manual instruction, and authorised them to raise a rate for this purpose not exceeding 1d. in the £. In 1890 technical education received a somewhat incongruous windfall, in the shape of what came to be known as the " whisky money " (see page 47). This fossilised relic of Mr. Goschen's system of " assigned revenues " persisted until 1930, when it was ended by the reforms introduced by the Local Government Act of 1929.

6. In addition to the funds provided through local authorities under the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 and the " whisky money ", higher education

was aided directly by the state through the Science and Art Department, which administered grants under regulations to technical and other institutions and classes, and through the Education Department, which administered grants under regulations in aid of training colleges and the preparatory education of teachers for elementary schools.

#### The Board of Education Act, 1899, and the Education Act, 1902

7. It is broadly true to say that up to and, indeed, beyond 1902 there was no coherent system of finance in public education. The state encouraged voluntary organisations and *ad hoc* bodies (the School Boards) or local authorities by opportunist " grants in aid " to undertake particular activities and cultivate particular bits of the educational field. But there was as yet no conception of a public duty to provide and finance a coherent and comprehensive system or of any organic relationship between the central and the local bodies. This is not to minimise the valuable pioneer work done by the School Boards, which did much to create a local pride in education and paved the way for the local education authorities set up under the Act of 1902. Indeed, their enterprise led to an *impasse* in the shape of the Cockerton judgment\* which had to be circumvented by temporary legislation and was not finally resolved until the Education Act of 1902 was passed.

8. The passage of this measure and of the Board of Education Act three years earlier did not, however, by a stroke of the pen introduce an organic relationship between the central and local authorities in the field of finance. The Annual Grant and Fee Grant and grants for special subjects were continued. But the grant under Section 97 of the Act of 1870 was replaced by an Aid Grant under Section 10 of the Act of 1902, which provided for the payment to each local education authority of a grant of 4/- per scholar plus 1½d. per scholar for each complete 2d. by which the product of a 1d. rate per scholar fell short of 10/-. This formula gave approximately the same result as a grant of 11/6d. per scholar less the product of a ¾d. rate. There was a proviso (which may strike the modern rate-payer somewhat nostalgically) that, if the total parliamentary grants to a local education authority in any year were such as to leave the authority less than a 3d. rate to meet, the grants would be reduced by one-half of the deficit. This Aid Grant is mentioned because, like the grant under Section 97 of the Act of 1870, it was an attempt to relate a grant to a principle, viz. the amount of work to be done (measured by a number of scholars) and the capacity of the area to pay (measured by the product of a 1d. rate). The formulae which governed the distribution of both this grant and its forerunner of 1870 suggest that more modern grant formulae, though sometimes criticised as complex, are at no disadvantage compared with their predecessors on the score of simplicity.

#### The Royal Commission of 1897-1901

9. The principles which should govern Exchequer grants in aid of locally administered " national services " had earlier been the subject of weighty examination by the Royal Commission on Local Taxation which sat from 1897 to 1901. The Commission issued two Reports. The Majority Report adhered to the principle of " assigned revenues ", which operated to ensure a separation between central and local finances and so to protect the Exchequer from continual financial pressure from the authorities. The Minority Report was in favour of " grants in aid " of services under a system designed to secure economy, efficiency and uniformity. It pronounced against the system of

\* See page 35.

piecemeal, unrelated *ad hoc* grants as an inducement to local authorities to do particular pieces of new work and effect particular improvements in existing work, on the score that such a system laid the Exchequer open to continual pressure as the cost of services rose, without encouraging the efficient and uniform development of services as a whole. Instead, it recommended, for national services locally administered, Exchequer subventions in the form of Block Grants, charged on the Consolidated Fund and limited in the aggregate to half the total estimated expenditure of local authorities, fixed by statute for a term of years (ten was suggested) and periodically revised. In the allocation of grant between individual authorities the Minority Report adopted the principle that grant should be related to the amount of the charge that needed to be met, as measured by population and actual expenditure, and the capacity of the area to bear the charge, as measured by assessable value (on the assumption that the system of valuation would be appropriately reformed).

10. The Minority Report's recommendation in favour of fixed grants, revised every ten years, was characteristic of the period when the idea of an organic partnership between the central and local authority in the ordered development and expansion of local services in the national interest lay still in the future. But in the years following the passage of the Act of 1902 the cost of the education service grew and, whilst the Exchequer subventions in aid of it also grew, they failed to match the rate of growth of the expenditure. Thus in 1900-01 the total grants to School Boards and voluntary schools amounted to £8,550,000. In 1905-06 (the first year in which the grants paid to local education authorities related solely to the changes brought about by the Act of 1902), the total grant paid to local education authorities amounted to £12,255,000, against a total expenditure of £22,440,000. In 1913-14 the total grant amounted to £13,828,000 against a total expenditure of £30,011,000. Moreover, this total grant included a special grant to necessitous areas which involved the same principle as underlay the grant to School Boards under Section 97 of the Act of 1870 (abolished by the Act of 1902). This special grant was introduced in 1906 and persisted in successively modified forms right up to the outbreak of the second world war. The growth of the cost of the education and other locally administered "national" services forced the government to act, and in 1911 the Treasury appointed a Departmental Committee on Local Taxation, under Sir John Kempe as Chairman, and with the following terms of reference :—

"To inquire into the changes which have taken place in the relations between Imperial and Local Taxation since the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation in 1901 : to examine the several proposals made in the Reports of the Commission, and to make recommendations on the subject for the consideration of H.M. Government, with a view to the introduction of legislation at an early date".

#### The Kempe Report

11. The Committee reported in March, 1914, and their Report constitutes a landmark in the history of the finance of education, for it led to a new conception of education grants and of the relationship between the central and local authorities which should be implicit in their administration.

12. The Committee were faced with a different situation from that in which the Royal Commission had reported ten years earlier. The net expenditure of local authorities on six specified services (including education) had risen from nearly £33,000,000 in 1901-02 to nearly £55,000,000 in 1911-12, and of this expenditure that on education (other than Poor Law Schools and Reformatories) represented over £28,500,000, or more than half. In 1905-06 the Exchequer

grants to local education authorities for elementary education met 53.9 per cent of the net expenditure ; in 1911-12 only 48.2 per cent. Moreover, the inequality of the burdens in different areas had been intensified by the increased cost of the education service, and the poorer areas with large populations were very hard pressed. In 1911-12 the rateable value per child for elementary education ranged from £13 to £106, the expenditure per child from 52/- to 150/-, and the rate from under 6d. to over 2/-.

13. The Committee reported against the system of "assigned revenues" and recommended the introduction of a system of direct Exchequer grants in aid of local services, paid as annual Block Grants in respect of the whole service, but related to total expenditure (as distinguished from expenditure per unit) and taking account of the relative wealth or poverty of areas and their ability to pay. As regards education they declared that "no reform of the present system can attain to any degree of permanence which does not tend to reduce substantially the existing inequalities of rate and, at the same time, provide for an automatic expansion of the government grant concurrently with an increase in the local expenditure which it is intended to aid". They realised that a grant directly related to expenditure was open to the objection that it would tend to encourage expenditure, but they felt that this tendency could be controlled if the formula left a sufficient share of the cost to be borne by the rates and the proper and economical administration of local funds were enforced ; and they argued that a system of grants based upon expenditure would have the effect of increasing parliamentary control over both the activities of government departments and the expenditure of local authorities on services aided by grant.

14. The formula recommended by the Committee for the calculation of grants in aid of elementary education included three factors : (i) 36s. per child in average attendance, plus (ii) 40 per cent of the authority's net expenditure, less (iii) the product of a 7d. rate. They also recommended, for authorities outside London, a grant for small schools calculated to give about 5s. for each unit by which the average attendance fell below 200. They added a proviso that no area should receive under the formula a grant exceeding two-thirds of its net expenditure, so long as the balance falling to be met by the rates or by the small schools grant were less than the product of a 1s. rate. For higher education the Committee recommended the continuance of the existing grants administered by the Board of Education because they did not think that the higher education service had yet reached a stage of development when specific grants could be replaced, but they expressed a doubt whether any other basis than expenditure would be found practicable when the time came to revise the system.

#### Supplementary Grant, 1917

15. The outbreak of the first world war in 1914 intervened before any effective action could be taken upon the recommendations of the Kempe Committee. In 1917, however, the Board of Education issued regulations for the payment to local education authorities of a Supplementary Grant for elementary education. These regulations are important for two reasons : first, because the grants for which they provided were the forerunners of the substantive grants embodied in the Fisher Act of 1918 and introduced by regulations in 1919 ; and, second, because they were distributed under a formula based on the recommendations of the Kempe Committee. The object of the Supplementary Grant Regulations was to bring the ordinary grants in aid of elementary education up to the amount produced by the following formula : 36s. per unit of average attendance plus 60 per cent of the

authority's expenditure on teachers' salaries, plus 20 per cent of their other expenditure, less the product of a 7d. rate. No authority, however, was to receive more than two-thirds of its expenditure, unless the balance falling on the rates exceeded a 1s. rate ; or less than two-fifths of its expenditure, unless the balance falling on the rates were less than a 1s. rate. In administering the grant the Board would "have regard" to the provision made in each area as a whole for certain matters conducive to the establishment of a "complete and satisfactory system of elementary education".

16. Two important points are worth noticing about these grants. In the first place, they modified the Kempe formula by introducing a different rate of percentage grant for teachers' salaries compared with other expenditure, the object being to enable better salaries to be paid. In the second place, the payment of the grants was not related to particular schools or particular subjects, but to the local system of elementary education as a whole.

#### The Education Act, 1918

17. The Supplementary Grants were paid for the financial years 1917-18 and 1918-19. Fisher's Bill was introduced in August, 1917, and afforded the opportunity for a complete reform of the system of grants to local education authorities. For the 57 separate grants payable by the Board of Education (17 for elementary education and 40 for higher education) it substituted from 1st April, 1919, the conception of annual substantive grants in aid of education payable under regulations, related to expenditure and dependent upon the maintenance of an efficient system of education by the local authority. The continuance of the distinction made in the Act of 1902 between authorities for elementary education and authorities for higher education prevented the introduction of a single substantive grant for education as a whole—there had to be a substantive grant for elementary, and a substantive grant for higher education. The latter was calculated at a flat rate of 50 per cent (including the "whisky money") for all higher education authorities ; the former was calculated on a "Kempe" formula substantially identical with that adopted for the Supplementary Grants of 1917, taking account of the number of children in the area, the expenditure upon their education and the capacity of the area to meet that expenditure, as measured by assessable value.

18. There was considerable debate upon the financial provisions of the Bill. So great was the fear of the future reduction of the grants under the pressure of economy that there was a demand that the scale and basis of the grants should be written into the Bill so that, once the Act was passed, they could not be altered without amending legislation. This demand was defeated in favour of prescription by regulations. But the demand that the statute should embody the principle that the grants should cover at least half the net expenditure of authorities prevailed under strong pressure, particularly from the London Members, and the Act included provision for the payment of a deficiency grant designed to bring the total substantive grants up to a minimum of 50 per cent of the Authority's net "recognisable" expenditure in the case of any authority which would have received less than 50 per cent under the operation of the regulations governing the payment of substantive grant. The introduction of deficiency grant obviously restricted the operation of the elementary education grant formula as a means of differentiating between rich and poor areas and equalising the rate burden.

#### The Geddes Period

19. The financial provisions of the Act of 1918, coupled with the provisions relating to the preparation and submission by authorities of "schemes" for their

areas, introduced the conception of a constructive partnership between the central and local authorities in the orderly and progressive development of the public system. It was not long, however, before the application of these provisions met the test of very stormy conditions. At the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921, in response to the government's decision to exercise rigid economy in public expenditure, the Board of Education issued two Circulars (1185 and 1190), the general effect of which was that, whilst existing commitments would be honoured and the minimum statutory education services carried on, local education authorities should undertake no new commitments without submitting specific proposals and estimates for the approval of the Board. In this way the central authority undertook the task of enforcing the strictest possible economy under an expenditure grant system by detailed supervision of local administration, including the administration of teachers' salaries under the Burnham agreements. In 1921 the government set up, under the Chairmanship of Sir Eric Geddes, a committee on national expenditure which recommended stringent economies in public expenditure. During the "Geddes" period limits were placed through the Departmental Estimates on the aggregate expenditure of local education authorities which would be recognised for grant—generally, in the field of higher education and, in the sphere of elementary education, under the heads of teachers' salaries, loan charges, special services, provision of meals, administration and other expenditure.

20. In taking these measures the Board relied upon the power given to them by the Act of 1918 and the regulations made thereunder to decide whether expenditure of authorities should, or should not, be recognised as "expenditure in aid of which parliamentary grants should be made to the authority". Naturally, the economy measures caused disappointment on the part of the more progressive authorities and complaint about the detailed control which they entailed. The whole principle of expenditure or percentage grants was assailed by the Geddes Committee, which described the system as "a money-spending device". They considered that it should be replaced by "fixed grants or by grants based on some definite unit". They were "impressed by the position of impotence of the Board of Education in either controlling expenditure, or effecting economies, once the policy has been determined." Nevertheless, the Committee made no constructive proposals for reforming the grant system ; they confined themselves to recommending a series of economy measures which would have done serious damage to the structure and efficiency of the education service. Notwithstanding the rough handling which the expenditure grant system received in the Committee's Report, the fact remains that the system was so administered during this period that between 1921-22 and 1923-24 the total net expenditure of local education authorities dropped from £73,146,372 to £67,602,536, and corresponding economies were made in the charge for Exchequer grant without varying materially the overall percentage of grant paid on the expenditure. Moreover, the increasingly close collaboration which administration during this difficult period demanded between the central and local authorities encouraged closer day-to-day contact and consultation between them and thus strengthened the sense of partnership in a common enterprise.

21. In 1922 a Departmental Committee was appointed under Lord Meston to consider "what system of Exchequer grants in respect of locally administered services assisted from the Exchequer can be substituted for the percentage grant system, and to what extent and with what exceptions, if any, the alternative systems can be applied". Nothing came from the deliberations of the Meston Committee, but a Memorandum submitted to the Committee by the Board of

Education and subsequently published as a White Paper in 1926 stated a reasoned case for the retention of the percentage grant system. It admitted that the existing grant formula for elementary education was inadequate in its effect in equalising the rate burden between different local education authorities and suggested improvements in certain directions ; but, on the question of economy and the central control of expenditure, it challenged the view of the Geddes Committee and contended that the existing grant system had shown itself capable of being "under present circumstances a powerful engine for restricting expenditure".

#### Block Grants Interlude

22. With the change of government in 1924 the "economy" Circular No. 1190 was withdrawn, "rationing" was discontinued and "the engines were reversed" so as to encourage expansion, though these measures were not reflected in any substantial alteration in the Board of Education Estimates for the year. In the following year (a further change of Government having occurred meanwhile) the question of education grants became caught up in the examination of the scheme for rolling up the Exchequer grants in aid of services under the Ministry of Health into a Block Grant—a scheme subsequently embodied in the Local Government Act of 1929. The conception of a Block Grant for the education service was based upon the procedure which the Board of Education had already announced (in Circular No. 1358) of asking local education authorities to prepare "programmes" through which proposals for development would be dealt with "not in isolation, but as part of a well-considered plan of orderly advance", in which the several items would be arranged in order of priority according to their relative urgency, importance and practicability. In this way it was hoped that the Central Department would be able to form an estimate of its future commitments and "secure a greater degree of continuity and stability in policy and administration, so that, even if the rate of advance has to be regulated by financial limitations, it will not be interrupted or diverted". It was, however, subsequently recognised that a Block Grant system of grants, wholly unrelated to expenditure and fixed for a period of years, could not be economically applied to a service like education which was still in process of development and major reform, and the proposal was dropped.

23. Two innovations which belong to this period may here be noticed. A provision was introduced into the Economy (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act of 1926 to remove any doubt as to the power of the Board of Education to disallow expenditure for grant on the score of extravagance as measured by certain standards. This provision is interesting in the light of suggestions included in the Board's Memorandum to the Meston Committee for the development of a system of standards of cost as limitations of "recognisable" expenditure.

24. The other innovation concerned the finance of training colleges provided and maintained by local education authorities. Before the introduction of the flat-rate 50 per cent deficiency grant for higher education in 1919, the capitation grants payable in respect of the training college service amounted in most cases to more than 50 per cent of the net expenditure. The merger of these capitation grants in the 50 per cent flat-rate expenditure grant consequently caused a sense of grievance to authorities maintaining training colleges—all the more acute because, of course, many of the students at the colleges came from the areas of authorities that did not maintain colleges and the trained output of the colleges might find employment anywhere in the country. To meet this grievance provision was made by regulation in 1923-24 for a special additional or "super" grant to authorities maintaining training

colleges. This special grant was limited to a total of £70,000 and was distributed at capitation rates. It continued until 1926-27, when by Section 12 (2) of the Economy (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act of 1926, the Board were enabled to recover from authorities not maintaining training colleges a sum equivalent to the "super" grant. This training college "levy" was collected on a formula related to the average attendance in elementary schools and the rateable value of the area, thus reflecting the extent of the authority's need to employ teachers and the ability of the area to pay for their employment. Its effect was to restore to 50 per cent the central authority's contribution to the net expenditure on maintained training colleges and to make all authorities contribute something towards the remaining 50 per cent, whether they maintained colleges or not.

25. Though various changes and adjustments in detail were subsequently made, this system of "super" grant and "levy" continued and is the basis from which the present training college "pool" grant has been evolved. Under the present system the net expenditure of authorities maintaining training colleges is recognised for grant at the rate of 100 per cent, 40 per cent of the sum then being recovered from all authorities under a formula related to the average number of children on the registers of schools in the area. This arrangement recognises the fact that, though only a minority of authorities maintain training colleges, all authorities benefit from the training college service and should therefore make an appropriate contribution.

#### The Economy Crisis of 1931

26. A short period of comparatively quiet development under the expenditure grant system followed the dropping of the Block Grant proposals for education. With the change of Government in 1929, an attempt was made to quicken the tempo. But these plans soon ran into the "economic blizzard" which reached this country in the 1930-31 period. Following upon the Report of a Committee appointed under Sir George May to advise on possible reductions in national expenditure on the supply services, and the passage of the National Economy Act of 1931, a Circular (No. 1413) was issued by the Board of Education designed to secure economies estimated at about £7,000,000 in a full year. The measures to effect these economies were (i) the abolition of the 50 per cent minimum deficiency grant for elementary education which had been forced upon Fisher in 1918—a grant which the May Committee criticised as calculated "to defeat one of the most important objects of the [grant] formula, viz. the differentiation of the grant between rich and poor areas" ; (ii) a 10 per cent reduction of teachers' salaries in both elementary and higher education ;\* (iii) the amendment of the grant formula for elementary education by substituting 50 per cent for 60 per cent as the rate payable on teachers' salaries (qualified by raising the capitation grant per unit of average attendance from 36s. to 45s.) ;\* and (iv) the postponement of the expansion of the education service.

27. Another Committee was appointed in 1932, under Sir William Ray, to consider reduction in the expenditure of local authorities. Both this Committee and the May Committee were in favour of the extension to the education service of the Block Grant system established under the Local Government Act of 1929 for the services supervised by the Ministry of Health. They had, however, to admit the insuperable difficulty presented to such a change by the existence of two types of local education authority (i.e., authorities responsible for both elementary and higher education and authorities responsible for elementary education only) ; and the change was not made.

\* These "cuts" were restored during the period 1934-35.

### The Remaining Period up to the Second World War

28. No major changes occurred in the grant system and the financial relations between the central and local education authorities during the period between the dying down of the economic crisis of 1931 and the outbreak of the second world war. Progress was resumed with the re-organisation of elementary schools on the "Hadow" basis, and preparations began to be made for legislation raising the age of compulsory attendance to 15—ultimately embodied in Mr. Oliver Stanley's Act of 1936. But, with the growth of expenditure on education, there was growing dissatisfaction on the part of local education authorities with the operation of the elementary education grant formula. They began as early as 1933 to press for a Departmental Committee to consider the whole question.

29. In essence, the case of the authorities was that the Fisher elementary education grant formula of 1919, based on the Kempe Committee's formula of 1914, had been for some time operating increasingly to their disadvantage owing, not to any inherent defect in the formula as a formula, but to the growing incompatibility of the particular standard figures which it contained with the circumstances of the times. Average attendance was decreasing owing to the fall in the number of children in the schools, thus reducing the amount of grant produced by the capitation element in the formula; rateable value was increasing, thus increasing the effect of the rate-deduction factor. In addition, the 50 per cent minimum guaranteed by the deficiency grant had been removed. The result was a continuing decrease in the ratio of grant to net expenditure. In the sphere of higher education the 50 per cent flat-rate grant, though admittedly having the advantage of simplicity, was criticised as taking no account of the widely differing financial circumstances of the areas and the wide variation in the cost of the services provided by the several local education authorities. On top of all this, since the passage of the Local Government Act of 1929, de-rating had seriously circumscribed the basis of local revenue.

30. The grant formula was adjusted with the object of encouraging progress with "Hadow" re-organisation, the rate of grant on the cost of new buildings and equipment required to carry out the national programme being raised from 20 per cent to 50 per cent;\* and the rate of grant on expenditure on the conveyance of children to school was raised from 20 per cent to 40 per cent. But the national financial situation precluded a drastic revision of the grant system, and soon the threat of war and the cost of re-armament and national defence cast their shadows over the scene.

### The Second World War

31. When war broke out in 1939, the elementary education grant was stabilised for each local education authority at a "standard percentage", i.e., the percentage which grant bore to the net recognisable expenditure of the area in 1937-38. The higher education grant remained at 50 per cent. During the course of the war special rates of grant were introduced for certain services, e.g., for expenditure on air-raid precautions the rate was raised from 50 per cent to 100 per cent; while, as part of the measures to safeguard the well-being of children in war-time, the rate of grant for the school meals service was raised to 100 per cent on capital expenditure and by 20 per cent—and later by a further 10 per cent—over the "standard percentage" on running costs (subject to a minimum of 70 per cent and a maximum of 95 per cent). Expenditure on the administration of the school milk service was admitted

\* It had been similarly raised for a like purpose in 1929 for a period of three years, but the economic crisis of 1931 caused the withdrawal of this concession.

for 100 per cent grant (the cost of the milk itself being borne on the Vote of the Ministry of Food).

### The Post-war Period

32. Despite the set-back of the war to progress with educational development, the war-time grant settlement enabled the main framework of the service to be maintained intact. A new education service—the youth service—was introduced, and the school meals and the school milk services were expanded very considerably beyond their pre-war size and scope.

33. With the passage of Mr. Butler's Act in 1944 one of the principal obstacles to a comprehensive reform of the grant system—the existence of two categories of local education authority—was removed. Pending a more permanent settlement of the financial relations between the government and local authorities an interim education grant formula was introduced. This formula was based upon a "combined standard percentage" for each area, representing the total percentage which grant (both elementary and higher) bore to net expenditure in the area (including, in the case of counties, the former "Part III" authorities therein) in 1938-39. This percentage was increased by five in recognition of the increased cost of teachers' salaries resulting from the new Burnham agreements which began to operate on 1st April, 1945. In addition, the arrangements for "spreading" the local charge for maintained training colleges were continued, as were the special rates of grant on school milk and meals, whilst special 100 per cent rates were given for expenditure on the scheme for the emergency training of teachers and on the removal of air-raid precautions and war defence works. In addition, a sum of about £2,000,000 was distributed as an additional grant to the poorer areas and areas with sparse population.

### The Unit Grant System for School Dinners

34. This interim settlement lasted until the end of the financial year 1947-48. Only one major change was made during its continuance—viz., the introduction of the unit grant system for running costs in the school dinner service in April, 1947. Under this system the central authority undertook to cover by grant the whole of the reasonable expenditure of authorities as determined by the Minister, in consultation with the authority, through the medium of separate unit costs for food and for overheads, fixed on the basis of estimates submitted in advance by the authority. Any expenditure incurred by the authority in excess of the sum implied by these unit costs became a charge on the rates. Authorities were allowed until 30th September (subsequently postponed to 31st October) in the year concerned to submit variations of the estimates on which the unit costs were based; thereafter no variations could be considered unless clearly attributable to circumstances outside the control of the authority, e.g., a new Joint Industrial Council wages agreement made too late to be taken into account by the final date mentioned above.

### The Grant Settlement of 1948

35. This is the settlement which operates to-day. It formed an integral part of the general settlement of the financial relations between the government and local authorities, as embodied in the Local Government Act of 1948 (which established the Exchequer Equalisation Grant in aid of all rate-borne expenditure, including education expenditure not met by grants from the Ministry of Education), and in the relief brought to local rates by making the national health service and national assistance centrally administered services falling wholly as a charge upon the Exchequer.

36. The present system of education grants is set out in the current Local Education Authorities Grant Regulations and need not be repeated here. Its

principal feature is the Main Grant formula, which represents a reversion to the principles of the Kempe Committee's formula, but applied to the whole field of educational expenditure and with the standard figures in each of the three factors—capitation grant, percentage grant and rate-deduction—adjusted to modern levels and designed, through the rate-deduction factor, to secure a more equitable share of the total grant for the poorer authorities. The aim has, in fact, been to relate the grant, in the words of Mr. Butler during the passage of his Bill through Parliament, to "the number of children in the area and the capacity of the area to pay for their education". The use of rateable value as a criterion of "capacity to pay" is no doubt still open to criticism by the expert, but it is perhaps not unduly optimistic to suggest that such criticism will be at any rate largely allayed by the new valuation lists provided for in the Local Government Act of 1948.

37. For the rest, the regulations provide for the continuance of the Training College ("Pool") Grant, the School Milk and School Meals (including the Unit Cost) Grant and the special 100 per cent grants for the war residual services, viz., the emergency training scheme and the removal of air-raid shelters and temporary war defence works. The settlement also carried with it the allowance for grant of expenditure on the payment of education rates and on meeting certain charges under the Local Government Superannuation Act of 1937. In 1949 a Recoupment Grant was introduced whereby the rate-borne cost of the education of children who could not be said to belong to the area of any particular authority was spread over all authorities.

#### Conclusion

38. This chapter has attempted to show how the finance of public education, despite a succession of "crises" and set-backs, has grown from a system of particular—and largely unrelated—subsidies to a system of joint finance based upon a real partnership between the central authority and local education authorities. It is, in fact, a story of progress from "contract" to "status" between the two in the pursuit of a common adventure. The turning-point lies in Fisher's settlement of 1917-19 and the recommendations of the Kempe Committee on which that settlement was very largely founded. How the present relationship will develop cannot be foreseen—still less can it be suggested that anything in the nature of finality has been reached. The process is evolutionary and continuing. The growth of the public education service inevitably bears heavily upon both central and local funds, as the following figures show:—

	<i>Local education authority net expenditure</i>	<i>Grant thereon</i>
1905-06	.. £22,440,000	£12,255,000
1913-14	.. £30,011,000	£13,828,000
1919-20	.. £52,730,000	£28,568,000
1938-39	.. £93,815,000	£45,500,000
1944-45	.. £113,745,000	£58,290,000
1945-46	.. £143,358,000	£81,880,000
1949-50	.. £237,257,000	£144,852,000

The lack of resilience of the rates as a source of revenue might suggest "bigger and better" Exchequer grants as a ready solution to the local problem. Such a solution should, however, be looked upon with a critical eye by all those who have at heart the preservation and development of the principle of responsible local government, which has been evolved in this country during the last hundred years and which underlies the present partnership in the administration of the public educational system. For it is the very essence of partnership that each partner should make a reasonable and proper contribution, financial and other, to the furtherance of the common objective; otherwise the relationship risks degeneration into one of principal and agent, paymaster and payee. The solution of this problem, however, raises wider issues which cannot be dealt with here.

## CHAPTER IV SCHOOLS

### 1900-1950. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR ALL

1. It is generally claimed to be the great achievement of the 1944 Act that it was the first Education Act to regard education as a continuous process from the cradle to the grave. This conception of education was the result of half a century's progress, and any attempt to record the part played by the Central Department in the sphere of primary and secondary education during this period must be selective if it is not to be a bare recital of dates and events. There were many developments in this period which cannot be dealt with adequately in a short compass—for example, the progressive lengthening of school life\*—and the paragraphs which follow concentrate on what is, perhaps, the most important development over the period—the emergence of a unified system of primary and secondary education.

#### Public Education in 1900

2. Reference to the state of public education in 1900 has already been made in Chapter I. The School Boards established by the Forster Act of 1870 had founded a number of elementary schools to supplement the schools provided by voluntary bodies. The Elementary Education Act of 1876 made it the duty of the parent of every child under 14 to see that his child received efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic; after 1891 elementary education became virtually free, although it was not until 1918 that all fees in elementary schools were finally abolished. The provision of secondary education from public funds, on the other hand, was, to say the least, fragmentary and haphazard. England had been very slow to grasp the need for a national scheme of secondary education, partly because the deep-rooted individualism of the English character resisted any encroachment by the state on what had long been regarded as the preserve of the Churches and of private enterprise; partly, it must be confessed, because the ruthless spirit of the industrial revolution regarded child labour as more important than education. During the nineteenth century, therefore, education beyond the elementary stage had in general been confined to the old grammar schools and the "public schools"; of the latter, a few, like Eton and Winchester, were medieval foundations that had long enjoyed a national reputation, while the majority had sprung up mainly to cater for the sons of the successful business men of the Victorian era.

3. During the last decade of the century, however, the results of the Forster Act began to make themselves felt, and a strong tendency appeared for the more talented pupils at elementary schools to remain there an extra year or two. Thus, although the school leaving age was not raised to 11 until 1893 or to 12 until 1899, there were found, in 1895, to be nearly half a million children over 12 in the elementary schools and 250,000 over 13.† These children either found their way to what were usually called "higher grade" elementary schools, which were especially organised to cater for the more advanced pupils from a number of contributory schools, or formed what came to be known as "higher tops" at ordinary elementary schools. There were thus in 1900 a considerable number of elementary school children who were of what we should now regard as secondary school age. But this vigorous eruption within the elementary

\* This was described in Chapter II of the 1947 Report.

† The exact figures are 470,846 and 252,026 respectively (Report of Committee of Council on Education, 1895-96).

schools was something quite distinct, both socially and scholastically, from the tranquil, perhaps rather sluggish, stream of traditional grammar school education. It was very difficult indeed for an elementary school pupil to pass to a grammar school, and it has been estimated that in 1895 only four or five out of every thousand did so.

4. The grammar schools themselves had been at a low ebb during the first half of the nineteenth century. They had suffered severely from the arrival of the railways, which enabled the local squire or the successful merchant to send his son farther afield to be educated. Many of them, too, had been handicapped by the restrictive character of their ancient charters. However, the report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, which led to the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, initiated a gradual recovery. This act provided for the appointment of Commissioners who were empowered to alter existing endowment schemes. The Charity Commissioners, who succeeded the Endowed Schools Commissioners in 1874, continued with the work, and by the end of the century Parliament had approved the amendment of more than 900 of these charters. Although they adhered to their classical tradition, the grammar schools were gradually widening their curricula to include scientific subjects and modern languages; for great headmasters, like Thring of Uppingham and Butler of Shrewsbury, had shown how much could profitably be done in this direction. In addition more schools were thrown open to girls. The number of endowed schools for girls which had been reported by the Schools Inquiry Commission to be only 14 had risen to 86 in 1897, at which date there were also 31 endowed schools for both boys and girls.

5. The formation of science classes not only in grammar schools but in higher grade elementary schools and evening schools was fostered by the Science and Art Department at South Kensington with fairly generous grants, and received a further impetus from the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, which authorised the newly-created county and county borough councils and other local authorities to levy a penny rate in order to "supply or aid in supplying technical or manual instruction". The authorities acquired additional resources for this purpose the following year from the well-known "whisky money", which was to be spent either on technical instruction or the relief of the rates. Most of the authorities used it for the former purpose, and the experience they thus obtained in the administration of education, limited though it was, was undoubtedly a factor in preparing them for the much heavier responsibilities they were to be given in 1902. Another factor was the success of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889.

#### The Need for Legislation

6. There were thus three separate strands of secondary education (though the phrase was as yet rarely used) in 1900: the endowed schools under the care of the Charity Commissioners, the higher grade or higher top elementary schools, whether voluntary or Board, drawing grant from the Education Department in Whitehall, and science "schools" or classes drawing grant from the Science and Art Department and located indiscriminately in grammar schools, higher grade schools and evening continuation schools. There was much confusion and overlapping between the central departments and no co-ordination in the field itself. The problem was how to weave these three strands into a single system—a problem, incidentally, that was not to be solved until 1944.

7. Matthew Arnold had long urged the necessity for such a system. Appalled by the unfavourable comparison between secondary education in England and

in most continental countries, he had been the moving spirit behind not only the Schools Inquiry Commission but also the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education, although he died before the latter's report was published in 1895. That report recommended the establishment of a single central authority "not in order to control but rather to supervise education in this country". Hence the establishment of the Board of Education in 1900. The Bryce Report also advocated the creation of new local authorities in every county and every county borough for providing secondary education. The latter recommendation, which was not, of course, adopted, side-stepped one of the burning questions of the day—should secondary education be entrusted to the School Boards or to the county councils, county boroughs and lesser local authorities?

8. The Education Act of 1902 came down on the side of local authorities. It charged the county councils and county borough councils (but not the borough and urban district councils, the authorities for Part III of the Act) to "consider the educational needs of their areas and to take such steps as seemed to them desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary." In other words the Act encouraged, but did not compel, local authorities to provide higher, or secondary, education out of the rates.

9. Although the demand for educational reform was fairly general by the end of the century there were serious difficulties in the way of introducing the necessary legislation. Any system of secondary education, to be successful, must be based on a sound elementary system. The existing one was badly in need of overhaul, and to Sir Robert Morant, the architect of the 1902 Act, it was clear that this involved two things: first, the abolition of the School Boards, and, secondly, the aiding of the voluntary schools out of the rates; for voluntary schools, which were nearly three times as numerous as the Board schools, were in urgent need of financial support. Both these proposals aroused fierce opposition—the former from the Boards themselves and their supporters, of whom Joseph Chamberlain was one, the latter from the powerful Nonconformist interests.

#### The Cockerton Judgment

10. Indeed, the Act might have had to be postponed indefinitely if the hand of the government had not been much strengthened by the episode known as the Cockerton judgment. In 1900 a local government auditor, Mr. T. Barclay Cockerton, ruled that the London School Board had acted illegally in providing higher education out of the rates. It has since been revealed that, if the voice was the voice of Cockerton, the mind was the mind of Morant. The latter was not the man to wait, like Horace's yokel, until the river had flowed by so that he could cross on dry land. He was determined that the Bill should pass, and pass soon, and he saw a neat way of bringing things to a head. As the result of exhaustive researches Morant formed the opinion that the action of the School Boards in financing secondary education from the rates was not justifiable in law. He was quick to realise that, if this could once be proved in court, the death knell of the School Boards was sounded, and the ground would be cut beneath the feet of those who said things could carry on as they were. Utilising what has been described as "the comparative leisure of a Boxing Day morning" he placed the necessary information at the disposal of his friend Dr. Garnett, secretary of the London Technical Education Committee, who was preparing a case against the London School Board, and in due course Cockerton's judgment against the Board was confirmed by the Court of Queen's Bench and the Court of Appeal.

11. Morant's action was of far-reaching importance, and has aroused endless controversy. The sabre of the Cockerton judgment fell on the higher grade schools which, partly in order to attract the handsome grants of the Science and Art Department, had developed a practical, scientific bias. Their early suppression has thus been lamented by many who saw in them the germ of the modern schools of to-day, and regarded their disappearance as a heavy price to pay for the 1902 Act. To them, Morant has appeared in the light of a reactionary. They have accused him of ruthless ambition, of oriental subtlety and (when Permanent Secretary) of rampant despotism. On the other hand his defenders point to the 1902 Act as a most statesmanlike measure that has formed a sound basis for further advances. It did for secondary education what the 1870 Act had done for elementary education. Would these advances have been possible if the School Boards had not been replaced by local education authorities? And were not the School Boards so firmly entrenched that nothing less than the Cockerton judgment would have uprooted them? "The Cockerton judgment," said the Duke of Devonshire in the Upper House, "has rendered the situation acute, and has cut the knot which might in other circumstances have required prolonged unravelling. . . ."

#### Administering the New System

12. Morant also left his mark on the elementary schools. The Elementary School Code of 1904, which was largely his work, founded a policy in marked contrast to the old system of "payment by results". The prefatory note in particular, though it necessarily reflected the current conception of elementary education as being for the masses and secondary education only for the gifted few, broke new ground, and in a sense may be said to have anticipated the 1944 Act, by the emphasis it placed on the potentialities of the individual child. As a statement of aims it is still largely valid, and it was repeated in every edition of the Code until 1926, and thereafter in the Board's "Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers". The opening sentence well conveys the spirit of the whole:—

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

13. During the years of energetic and fruitful administration that continued until the first world war the new organisation became consolidated. "All the partners in the work of education," it has been written,\* "were new and had to learn their job and get to know each other. The Board of Education soon realised the limitations of its powers and chose the path of leading rather than dictating. The new local education authorities got down to the business of surveying their areas and preparing schemes to remedy deficiencies, and the managers of the non-provided and endowed schools took their responsibilities seriously and did much to improve the schools under their charge."

#### The New Grammar Schools

14. The Board subsidised the new grammar schools not only by paying grant to the local education authorities but, from 1904 onwards, by a direct capitation grant to the schools themselves. Thus "maintained" or "aided" grammar schools were also "direct grant" schools until 1919, when it was felt that the Board should no longer support them through two different channels and the aided schools were invited to choose which they preferred. Owing to this financial encouragement and to the greatly increased activities of the

\* Curtis: "History of Education in Great Britain," Chap. X. University Tutorial Press.

Inspectorate, the number of secondary schools "recognised for grant" by the Board rose from 491 in 1904-5 to 802 in 1908-9, while the number of pupils rose from 85,358 to 135,776. In 1925, the year before the publication of the Hadow Report, the numbers had become 1,161 and 334,194 in spite of the interruption of war and the lean years that followed. The number of these schools actually provided or controlled by the local authorities rose from less than 200 in 1906 to 624 in 1925.

#### Other Schools for Older Children

15. Hardly any of these schools, of course, were free (in 1906 the number was four). However, the 1902 Act had authorised local education authorities to award scholarships to enable children to pass from elementary to secondary schools, and this "ladder to the university" was considerably widened by the introduction of the "free place system" in 1907. This was an arrangement by which any school accepting the new rate of £5 per head for each pupil between the ages of 12 and 18 had to reserve 25 per cent of the annual admissions for non-paying pupils from the elementary schools. Yet demand soon began to outstrip supply. Thousands of candidates for the free places had to be rejected each year, and the qualifying examination for them, though never intended to be competitive, soon became fiercely so. Inevitably, the elementary schools once more began to "sprout". As early as 1906 the Consultative Committee set up by the Act of 1899 was reporting on "higher elementary schools", while the "central schools" that began to appear in 1911-12, particularly in London and the north, were merely higher grade schools under a new name. Their approach was practical, and they were intended to fit a child for clerical and similar occupations.

16. From the pool of aspirants to secondary education some found their way at the age of 13 to the junior technical schools, which dated from 1905 but only attained recognition as a separate class of schools in 1913. Their curriculum was mainly vocational, but they provided some general education as well, the amount varying greatly from school to school. The purpose of these schools was declared by the Board to be "to prepare pupils either for artisan or other industrial occupations or for domestic service". They were not intended to compete with the grammar schools in the task of preparing boys for the universities or professions. It is true that the idea of including technical schools in a public system of secondary education was as old as the Bryce Report, which had stated that "no definition of technical instruction is possible that does not bring it under the head of secondary education"; but it gained little headway until the Spens Report of 1938\* advocated the promotion of some of these junior technical schools to "technical high schools" and their incorporation in a tripartite system of secondary education—grammar, modern and technical schools, all enjoying, if possible, equal status. The Norwood Report† five years later elaborated the same plan.

#### The Fisher Act and the Hadow Report

17. It was a nation hungry for social reform that greeted the Fisher Act of 1918, which opened with the significant phrase, "With a view to the establishment of a national system of public education . . .". This Act did much to advance the practice of partnership between the central and local educational authorities, and the procedure by which the latter were to submit "schemes"

\* Secondary Education. Report of the Consultative Committee, with special reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools. H.M.S.O., 1938, 4s.

† Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools. Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council. H.M.S.O., 1943, 1s. 6d.

of development for the approval of the Board foreshadowed the "development plans" of 1944. Of more practical import, Section 2(1)(a) gave a new direction to post-primary education by providing that it should be the duty of the local education authority responsible for elementary education to make adequate and suitable provision by means of central schools, central or special classes, or otherwise:

"(i) for including in the curriculum of public elementary schools, at appropriate stages, practical instruction suitable to the ages, abilities and requirements of the children; and

"(ii) for organising in public elementary schools courses of advanced instruction for the older or more intelligent children in attendance at such schools, including children who stay at such schools beyond the age of 14."

18. The new movement was carried to its logical outcome in 1926, when the Consultative Committee published its famous report on the "Education of the Adolescent," generally known by the name of its Chairman, Sir W. H. Hadow. The report visualised education in two distinct stages: primary, ending at 11, and secondary, ending at 15 as soon as the provision of new schools was far enough advanced to permit the raising of the school leaving age. It defended the break at 11 in a striking passage: "There is a tide which begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven or twelve. It is called by the name of adolescence. If that tide can be taken at the flood, and a new voyage begun in the strength and along the flow of its current we think that it will 'move on to fortune'."

19. "Along the flow of its current" . . . the accent lies there. The Hadow Committee reached the conclusion that the academic, grammar school type of secondary education was unsuited to the needs of the vast majority of children who would be leaving school for employment at the age of 15. For them, something more functional, more closely related to life as it would be lived on leaving school, was required. "At the age of eleven or twelve," says the report, "children are waking to the various new interests suggested by the world about them. Many of them are already beginning to think of their future occupations, and anxious to be doing something which seems to have an obvious connection with them. Many more, without having any clear idea what they will do when they leave school, feel ill at ease in an atmosphere of books and lessons, and are eager to turn to some form of practical and constructive work, in which they will not merely be learners, but doers, and, in a small way, creators." So the "central" or "senior" schools were to be re-organised as "modern" secondary schools, with an age of entry at 11—schools whose work "must not seem, as sometimes perhaps it still does, the antithesis of real life but the complement of it."

20. We may be said to be still living, educationally speaking, in the Hadow era, for so much that his committee recommended has become law in the 1944 Act: the conception of education in stages, the provision of different types of secondary education for all, the much discussed break at 11, the arrangement for later transfer of a child, where necessary, from one type of school to another. Even our present educational terminology dates from Hadow: the use of "primary" (replacing the old "elementary") to indicate the first stage, "secondary" to cover all types of post-primary full-time education other than further education instead of, as hitherto, the grammar type only; above all, the "secondary modern school." It should be noted, however, that Hadow did not bring the junior technical schools under his secondary umbrella. He praised them and left them alone, with their age of entry at 13. He regarded them as purely vocational, and as quite distinct from his modern schools, which were to use "realistic" studies only as an "instrument of general education."

21. The Hadow Report was in fact a challenge which we are still striving to meet. As we look back over the last quarter of a century we can see how great a challenge it was. The principle of re-organisation at 11, which had already been adopted in certain areas, was now to be put into effect throughout the country. The school leaving age was to be raised and the abolition of fees throughout the secondary system would follow as a logical consequence. But other far-reaching reforms were implicit in the report. A re-organisation of local education authorities was necessary to bring all secondary education under one authority, and a recasting of the dual system to enable voluntary bodies to play their full part was called for. These were some of the problems that came into prominence in the late 'twenties and which were to determine the course of policy in the next two decades.

#### Raising the School Leaving Age

22. The first attempts to act on the Committee's recommendations were not propitious. It was in an atmosphere of growing economic stress that Sir Charles Trevelyan's proposals to raise the school age to 15 were made. The issue of the report of Sir George May's Committee meant the abolition of the special 50 per cent grant on school buildings (see page 96) and a reduction in teachers' salaries, and the progress of re-organisation was held up. The general review of the free place system which was carried out in 1931, and its replacement by a system of special places based on parental income, valuable as it was as a means of widening the opportunity for grammar school education, entrenched the principle of fees in this type of school still more firmly.

23. In 1936 legislation was passed to raise the age to 15 with exemptions for beneficial employment and to assist voluntary bodies with re-organisation. The 50 per cent grant on elementary school buildings was restored and every effort was made to concentrate on providing new accommodation for the extra age group of children over 14. Three years later, however, the second world war put a stop to all development, which did not proceed until the Act of 1944 came into operation.

24. The situation with which the Act of 1944 was designed to deal was summed up in a memorandum prepared in the Board of Education in 1942 in the following words:—

"The full-time schooling of the children of our country is in many respects seriously defective. It ends for some 90 per cent of them far too soon (fourteen). It is conducted in many cases in premises which are scandalously bad. It is imparted in the case of some schools by persons who need have no qualifications to teach anybody anything. It is conducted under statute and regulations which emphasise social distinctions and which in general make the educational future of the child more dependent on his place of residence and the financial circumstances of his parents than on his own capacity and promise.

"Both educational theory and practice have long since outgrown the administrative machinery. Thus we find the term elementary education, which in its origin connoted nothing more than a rudimentary knowledge of the three R's, applied to schools for older children between 11 and 14 (and sometimes 15) who have mastered these tools of learning before they left the junior school at 11. This absurdity will become the more marked when the school leaving age reverts from its temporary level of 14 to the level of 15, at which it was fixed by the Education Act, 1936. In order to get rid of these defects and to secure real equivalence of opportunity for all children, the following steps are needed:—"

But this is not the place to attempt a detailed description of the 1944 Act and the amending measures that have followed it. The Act awaits the verdict of history, and its true stature will not become fully apparent for some decades.

### Secondary Education for All

25. There is, however, one feature of the Act which is too often taken for granted and which is of immediate relevance because it marks the legislative goal to which the Act of 1902 had first pointed the way. The Act of 1918 had abolished fees in elementary schools. The Act of 1944 extended the range of free education by prohibiting fees in maintained secondary schools. In 1900, secondary education for all was a hazy ideal. Now, though much still remains to be done to make the ideal a reality, the concept of secondary education for all is taken for granted. We discuss only what form of it is best, whether, for example, it should be in single, bilateral, multilateral or comprehensive schools.

26. Statistically the story that we have been attempting to trace has been tremendously impressive. But it is unnecessary to pore over statistics to see the results of this "silent social revolution". Its impact is everywhere apparent. In the words of the Norwood Report: "The pupils of the secondary schools have... shown themselves enterprising, adaptable, and capable of meeting in quantity and quality the very special demands made in new developments of applied science and of linguistic study. It is not too much to say that, if a demand of similar range had been made in the last war it could not have been met. In this war it has been met." Or, as the Master of Trinity put it, writing in 1941, "If we win this war, it will have been won in the primary and secondary schools."

### PROGRESS DURING 1950

27. With the Act of 1944 on the statute book the Ministry began its task of putting into effect its main provisions. Every year since 1945 has had its own special problems and achievements and the year 1950 was no exception. The steady and substantial increase in the school population continued to dominate the building programme and to provide staffing problems in the schools. The emphasis on economy of school construction without detriment to educational standards provided noticeable dividends and enabled the volume of building to be increased, in spite of restrictions on capital investment. The year saw some improvement in the supply of women teachers, though not yet sufficient to relax the system of a maximum establishment for each local education authority. Steady progress was made with the determination of the status of voluntary schools as development plans came to be approved. The issue of a "manual of guidance" on choice of schools was notable, not merely as the first document in a new series, but even more as an attempt to set out in some detail the principles which in the Minister's view should reasonably be adopted in dealing with a matter which is of great concern to individual parents and which involves heavy correspondence between them and local education authorities and the Ministry.

### School Supply

#### Provision of New Schools

28. Inevitably the provision of accommodation for the rising school population was again the principal feature of the educational building programme. Despite restrictions on capital investment, the momentum of the programme was maintained in both primary and secondary schools. Further reduction in costs will be required in 1951, and during 1950 guidance was given to local education authorities to facilitate the preparation of the 1951 building programmes. Economy in the field of planning and construction was suggested rather than economy at the expense of teaching accommodation.

29. At the end of the year permanent premises for 952 new schools were under construction of which 738 were for primary and 214 for secondary

## CHILDREN IN SCHOOL AGED 5 AND OVER

IN MAINTAINED OR ASSISTED PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

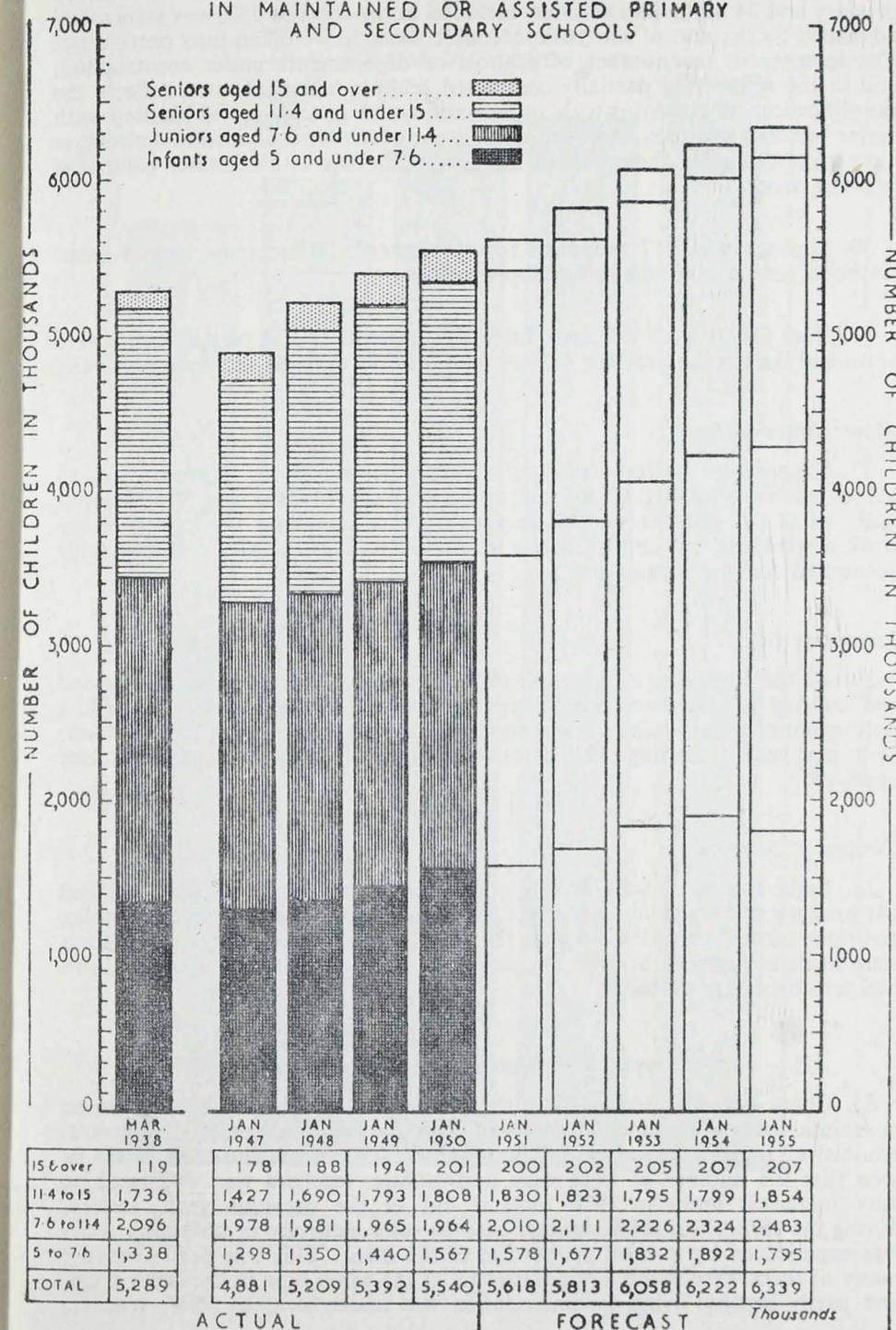


CHART NO. 1

schools. These figures include new premises for 48 existing primary schools and for 13 existing secondary schools. New schools completed and brought into use totalled 190 primary and 34 secondary. In addition, work on 61 primary and 24 secondary schools, included in the total of 952, was sufficiently advanced by the end of the year to enable them to be taken into partial use. The increase in the number of schools or departments under construction, and in the number of partially completed schools taken into use, reflects the simplification of the Ministry's organisation and procedure for dealing with major building projects, and the similar steps which local education authorities have taken to enable them to deal more expeditiously with a greater volume of building work.

30. During 1950, 417 proposals for new schools (408 county, eight Roman Catholic, and one Jewish) were approved.

31. Sites for new schools, new buildings, extensions and playing fields were approved during the year for 485 primary schools and 202 secondary schools.

#### *Minor Improvements*

32. Expenditure by local education authorities on minor improvements to school buildings totalled £3,433,000, an increase of £143,000 over the previous year. It is not possible to give precise information about the nature of the work carried out, but improvements to provide new school places undoubtedly accounted for the greater part.

#### *Reorganisation*

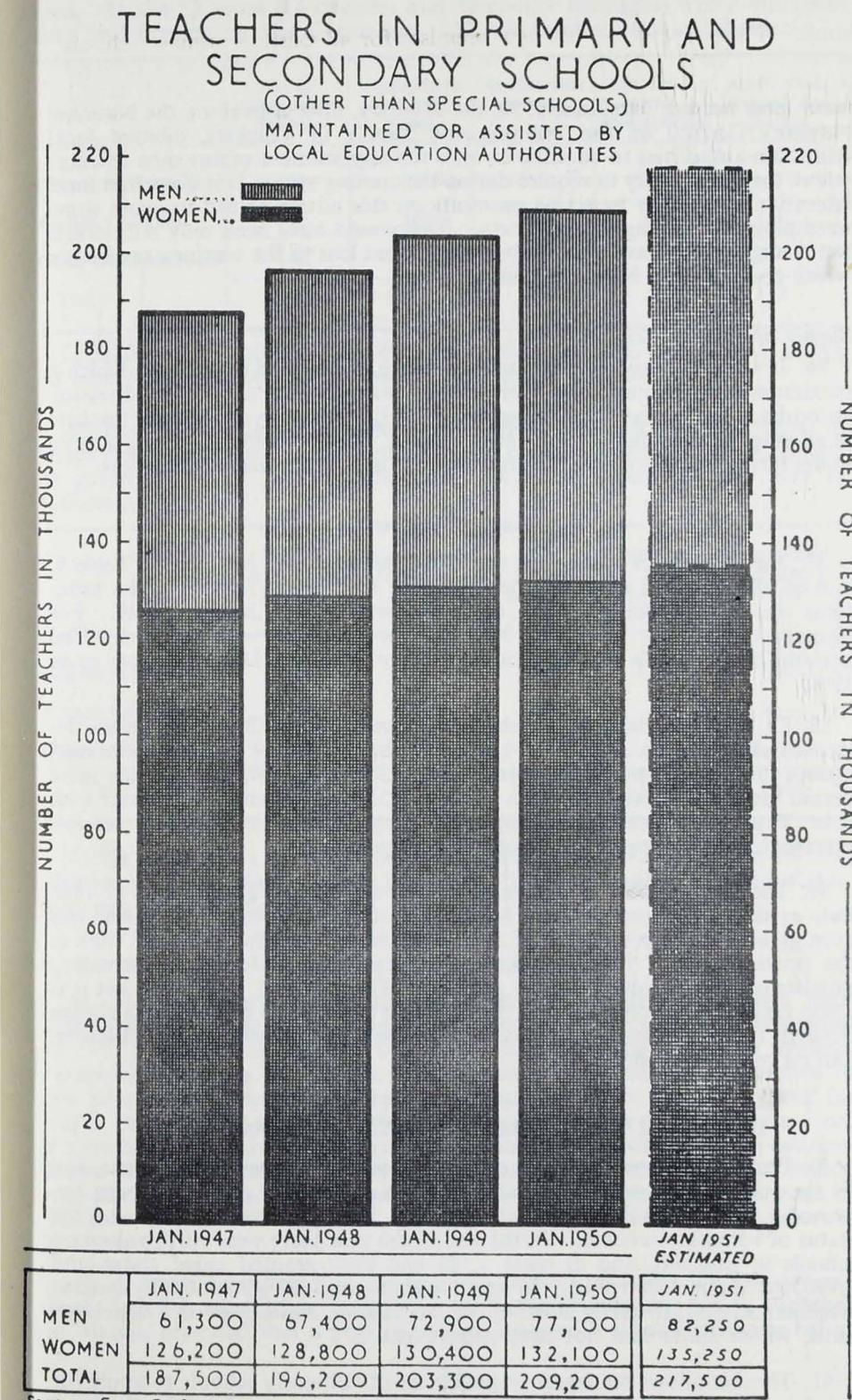
33. At the beginning of the year 83.3 per cent of the pupils in maintained and assisted schools were being taught in schools or departments providing only primary or secondary education. The comparable figure for 1949 was 81.5 per cent. During 1950 reorganisations affecting 503 schools were approved.

#### *Closure of Schools*

34. Eight secondary schools (six county and two Church of England) and 141 primary schools (34 county, 101 Church of England, three Roman Catholic, and three others) were closed during the year. Sixty-seven of the closed schools were in rural districts, and all but one were primary schools. Most of them had unsatisfactory premises.

#### *Supply and Distribution of Teachers*

35. Chart No. 2 opposite shows the number of full-time teachers employed in maintained and assisted primary and secondary schools (other than special schools) in January in each year from 1947 to 1951. From the chart it will be seen that the number of both men and women teachers was estimated to have increased more in 1950 than it did in the previous year. Indeed, during the spring and early summer months some difficulty in obtaining posts was experienced by a small proportion of the men. This was partly because many of them were seeking appointments at the same time in the same areas, and partly because living accommodation was scarce in areas where teachers



were most needed. In June, 1950, the Ministry, after consulting the National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers, advised local education authorities to consider at once the appointment of any men teachers whom they were likely to require during the coming year. It is clear that local education authorities by acting promptly on this advice helped to avoid some unemployment among men teachers. This would have been only temporary, but it might easily have resulted in a permanent loss to the teaching profession which could ill have been afforded.

#### *Supply of Women Teachers*

36. It was necessary to continue the scheme, introduced in 1948, by which a maximum establishment of women teachers was fixed for each local education authority. The objective of securing an adequate supply of women teachers in all areas was still not yet fully achieved but, as in previous years, the scheme undoubtedly helped to prevent deterioration in the less well-staffed areas.

#### *Size of Classes*

37. An analysis of classes by size and age range will be found in Table 9, and of the number of pupils per full-time teacher in Table 8. The latter ratio was 27.1 in January, 1950, compared with 27.3 in January, 1949. For primary schools the ratio was 30.5 and for secondary schools 21.6. The percentage of schools having a ratio of 35 or over was 14.4, the same as in 1949.

38. During 1949 the total number of senior classes with over 30 pupils decreased slightly from 34,518 to 34,367, and the number of junior and infants' classes with over 40 pupils increased from 31,933 to 32,274. During the same period there was a reduction from 1,782 to 1,557 in the number of classes with over 50 pupils. Some of the apparently large classes in secondary schools represent pupils grouped for registration purposes only.

39. The total number of over-large classes was slightly greater than in 1948 but, as then, the proportionate increase in the total number of classes was even greater. The proportion of over-large classes, therefore, was less than in the previous year. The general improvement resulted from the increasing number of teachers and from the provision of new school buildings, but it is again necessary to point out that the complete elimination of over-large classes depends on an adequate supply both of teachers and of new school buildings, and on re-organisation.

#### *Development Plans and the Classification of Voluntary Schools*

40. Further progress was made with the approval of development plans, and by the end of the year 70 of the 129 English authorities' plans had been approved. This made it possible to proceed with the determination of the status of voluntary schools. At the end of the year there were 9,078 voluntary schools in England, and of these 1,145 had been granted aided status and 1,990 had become controlled. In addition there were 122 transitionally assisted grammar schools, formerly aided by local education authorities on a deficiency basis, whose status had not been determined.

41. The Act allows managers or governors of voluntary schools to apply for aided status at any time up to six months after they are notified by the local education authority of the Minister's approval of the development plan for the

area. In the 53 areas (14 counties and 39 county boroughs) where this time limit had expired by 31st December, 1950, the position was as follows :—

	No. of Voluntary Schools	Applications for Aided Status	Applications granted	Applications under consideration	Applications refused or invalid
Church of England ..	2,008	874	525	348	1
Roman Catholic ..	376	367	250	116	1
Other Denominations	61	19	11	8	—
Total .. ..	2,445	1,260	786	472	2

In addition, 29 transitionally assisted grammar schools had become aided, 45 controlled, and 44 had not had their status determined.

42. For the remaining 76 areas (36 counties and 40 county boroughs) in which approval of the development plans had not been notified to the managers or governors before 1st July, the position on 31st December, 1950, was as follows :—

	No. of Voluntary Schools	Applications for Aided Status	Aided Status granted	Applications for Controlled Status	Controlled Orders made
Church of England ..	5,548	544	165	1,076	1,002
Roman Catholic ..	909	195	89	—	—
Other Denominations	176	7	5	34	34
Total .. ..	6,633	746	259	1,110	1,036

43. In these areas 40 transitionally assisted grammar schools had become aided and 83 controlled. Of the remaining 75, 18 had applied for aided status, and one for controlled status.

#### *Secondary School Examinations*

44. The Secondary School Examinations Council proceeded with their task of launching the new examination for the general certificate of education in 1951; substantial progress was made during the year with the work of reviewing syllabuses of subjects. The Council also addressed themselves to the problem of suitable examining arrangements under the new system for pupils in secondary technical schools and in institutions of further education. Following on the universities' decision regarding their requirements for matriculation and other exemptions, the Council approached the professional bodies, and after such negotiations as proved necessary, the requirements in terms of the new examination of some 30 bodies were published in September in Circular 227.

45. A minor amendment of the age limit regulations under the Primary and Secondary Schools (Grant Conditions) Amending Regulations No. 9, published in March, provided that a pupil who had obtained a school certificate before

1950 could be entered for additional subjects in an approved external examination in that year, notwithstanding that he would not attain the age of 16 on or before 1st December, 1950.

#### Local Education Authorities (Recoupment) Amending Regulations, 1950

46. These Regulations were made in April with the primary object of ensuring continuity of education for pupils in boarding schools when their families moved from one authority's area to that of another. They provided that any authority which assists a pupil to attend a boarding school (other than a handicapped pupil or one defined as not belonging to the area of any authority) should continue to be the responsible authority so long as the pupil remains in that school. The absence hitherto of any uniform procedure in this matter had sometimes led to an undesirable break in pupils' schooling.

#### Choice of Schools

47. The first of the new series of manuals of guidance, that on choice of schools\*, was published on 23rd August, after a full discussion with the many interests involved: it dealt with the practical application of Section 76 of the Education Act, 1944, and in so doing covered such subjects as the provision of transport, zoning, extra-district payments and help with fees at independent day schools. On the latter subject the manual re-stated the Minister's view that, given that the facilities provided by an authority under the public system are sufficient educationally, Section 76 confers on parents no right to free places or to help with fees outside the public system, although Section 81 and the regulations made under that section give authorities power to help with school fees which they should use in suitable cases to further parents' choice. Since, however, the object of Section 81 is the avoidance of hardship, it is essential that any aid given under it should be related to parents' financial needs, and the Minister could not countenance assistance at flat rates without regard to parents' income. The manual also asked authorities to send in statements of the basis on which they select pupils for different types of secondary schools. Comprehensive information was previously lacking about the practice of all authorities in this matter, and it was hoped that fuller information would make it possible to deal with individual cases more rapidly.

\* Manual of Guidance, Schools No. 1. H.M.S.O., 1950, 3d.

## CHAPTER V

### FURTHER EDUCATION

#### THE POSITION IN 1900

1. During the closing years of the nineteenth century it was widely held that Great Britain was falling behind her industrial competitors abroad and that their advance was largely due to superior technical education. At this time the responsibility for the control of policy in further education in England and Wales was shared by two central examining bodies—the Science and Art Department, which had conducted examinations since 1859 in art and in the scientific principles underlying a limited number of industrial operations, and the City and Guilds of London Institute, which since 1879 had similarly conducted examinations and laid down syllabuses in a variety of "technological" subjects. Both these bodies administered financial grants to schools conducting courses of study following the syllabuses laid down, but the scope of the courses was narrow and highly theoretical, and the needs of many industries were entirely neglected. Until almost the end of the century grants were allocated on the basis of the number of successful examinees, and no grants were payable in respect of instruction given to students who were of sufficient substance to be liable for income-tax, though these last were more than likely to hold posts of critical importance to industrial efficiency.

2. Despite these restrictions on the content of technical and art courses, in other respects, such as the provision of buildings and equipment, the closing years of the nineteenth century saw a quite remarkable advance. Three Acts of Parliament were largely responsible for this progress—first, the City Parochial Charities Act of 1883, which made available £50,000 a year for the development of further education in the Metropolis; second, the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 which empowered county, borough and urban district councils to levy a penny rate for educational purposes; and, third, the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890, under which local authorities were allotted for purposes of technical instruction the compensation money originally intended for publicans deprived of their licences. The amount spent from the "whisky money" in 1892-93 was £472,500, but by 1901-02 it had reached the very considerable sum of £859,011 out of a total expenditure from public funds for the same object of £1,035,031. The Act of 1890 was repealed by the Education Act of 1902, but the money was still earmarked for the purposes of higher education. With its aid in the period 1890-1902 there had been constructed 12 polytechnics or technical institutions in London, 13 in the provinces, and more than 100 organised science schools.

3. Not only, however, were buildings and equipment provided on a scale which, for the times, must be regarded as comparatively lavish, but the money to provide them was under local and not central control. The new financial power flowing from local rates and "whisky money" led to local initiative in the suggestion of subjects for courses suitable to local needs—a valuable development which accelerated changes in policy at the centre. In 1895 "payment by examination results" was considerably modified by a system which took attendances into account, and in 1897 the restrictive rules concerning the income-tax paying student were removed, not through any desire to educate the manager in industry, but rather because "the number of students excluded by existing rules from earning payments is a very small proportion of those examined".