THE HISTORY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

IN SHEFFIELD 1902-39

by

ROGER LONGDEN

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CHAPTER 9

THE INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS

Despite the creation of two new secondary schools[1] the total provision of secondary education in Sheffield in the immediate post-war years still remained woefully inadequate. By October 1922, Firth Park Secondary School had grown to the point where it had 654 boys on roll, whilst Abbeydale had 419 girls.[2] Thus, only just over one thousand additional secondary places had been added to the city's secondary provision by the creation of these two new schools. In 1912-13 Sheffield had provided only 2.3 secondary places per thousand of its total population, or 13 for every thousand children in its public elementary schools. By 1922-23 these figures had risen only to 5.6 and 33 respectively. Moreover, whilst in 1912-13 Sheffield's provision of secondary education was worse than that of any of the eight other major boroughs in England, the city still had not been able to haul itself from the bottom of the table ten years later.

This was a situation which the Board of Education could view with little other than grave concern and a conference was, therefore, called with the Sheffield authority in November 1923. As a result of this the Director of Education, Percival Sharp, was asked to prepare a report on ways of rectifying the acute shortage of secondary places from which the city was so patently suffering. As Sharp himself pointed out, in 1923, three hundred children had qualified for entrance to secondary schools in excess of those who were able to be admitted; and he estimated that in 1924 between five and six hundred qualified children

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(1) See above Ch. III and Ch. IV.

(2) 'Memo, intended as a basis for discussion at a Conference between the Secondary Section of the H.E.S.C. and H.M.I., 2nd Nov., 1923', dup. T.S., 1923, p.3. H.S.A.

would have to be denied admission.[3] The urgency of the need for providing extra places at a time when the country was still experiencing considerable economic difficulties rendered the building of any new secondary school impossible. Indeed, the Director was of the opinion that even the acquisition and adaptation of premises similar to those which had been obtained for the Firth Park and Abbeydale schools was out of the question. Instead he proposed the conversion of two elementary schools - those at Greystones and Marlcliffe - into central schools which would take children at the age of twelve and provide them with a three-year course of instruction more advanced in character and wider in content than that given in the ordinary elementary school. Sharp readily conceded that though such schools could not be regarded as being a satisfactory substitute for secondary schools, they might, even if established on a permanent basis, serve a useful purpose in providing systematised and extended education for children whose parents did not wish them to take the longer and more ambitious course provided in the various secondary schools, but who were anxious for them to have education of a sound and useful character to a degree considerably beyond that obtaining in the elementary school.

Sharp in his original report on the matter used the term "Central Schools" but the Committee subsequently opted for the title "Intermediate Schools" even though the Board of Education itself preferred the appellations "Central School" or "Middle School".[4] Intermediate schools had first come into being in Wales where the early university colleges had been obliged to do a large amount of secondary school work - indeed, many people regarded their function as being to take boys from the elementary schools and pass them on to Oxford and Cambridge.

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(3) S.M.S.C., 7th May, 1924, S.E.C.M. 1924-5, p. 63.
(4) S.E.C. to B.E., 15th March, 1925 and B.E. to S.E.C. 24th April, 1925, P.R.O. Ed. 21/45151.

In England, on the other hand, it was believed by some educationalists that there was a need for a school, intermediate between the elementary school and the secondary school, which had a practical curriculum and a leaving age of fifteen and which would provide for those pupils who could not satisfactorily complete the full secondary school course. The London County Council, for example, believed that the Higher Elementary School Regulations of the Board of Education were too exacting and the additional grants too small and, therefore, in 1906, it recommended the establishment of a series of higher or, as they were termed, "central" schools.(5) These schools replaced the existing higher grade schools and were conducted under the ordinary regulations of the Board and not the special ones which applied to the higher elementary schools.

Admission was granted on the basis of performance in a competitive examination and it has been argued, by Kazamias for example,(6) that this was the reason for their success. In London they burgeoned rapidly: by 1912 there were 31 such schools with 42 departments,(7) and by 1914 the number had risen to 49, of which 16 were for boys, 14 for girls and 19 were mixed.(8) Manchester followed London, and by 1912 half-a-dozen district central schools had been set up in its area.

According to Banks, most of these schools which were set up outside London were either non-selective or only slightly selective and later they became the modern schools of Hadow and the secondary modern schools of Butler.(9) Sheffield's intermediate schools, however, were decidedly selective, their curriculum was geared overtly and specifically towards the School Certificate and, though they were administered by the Elementary Education Sub-Committee and its successor, their philosophy

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(5) O.L. Banks, 'Grammar School', p. 206.
(6) A.M. Kazamias, Politics, Society & Secondary Education in England, Philadelphia, U.S.A., 1966, p. 208.
(7) B.E., Report for 1911-2, p. 42.
(8) B.E., Report for 1913-4, p. 60.
(9) O.L. Banks, 'Grammar School', p. 212.

and ethos was essentially that of the secondary school.

Greystones and Marlcliffe were the two elementary schools which were chosen to launch the scheme. Greystones was one of the first schools to be built by the new education authority. It was opened in 1904 and was enlarged in 1915 to accommodate 940 children, of whom 540 were to be educated in a Senior Mixed Department and 400 in a Junior or Infants Department. At that time it was anticipated that this accommodation would be necessary to meet the requirements of a rapidly growing district. Those expectations were not fulfilled and in 1923 there were only 370 children on the roll.(10)

Sharp proposed that the two lowest classes of the Upper Department, containing seventy pupils in Standards II and IV, be transferred to the Junior Department and that the Senior Department be used as a central school to accommodate eight classes, each of forty children. Admission was to be by a qualifying examination, the General Examination for Entrance to Secondary Schools, and the curriculum was to be settled in consultation with representatives of the School Management Sub-Committee, the H.M.I., the Committee's inspection staff and the Headmaster of the school, Mr. Charles Gould. To begin with the curriculum was to provide for a three-year course of instruction but the possibility was to be borne in mind of a fourth year course for those children who wanted to stay at school after reaching the age of fifteen. The staff were to be elementary school teachers "of the best type procurable" and they were to be paid two increments above the Burnham Elementary School rate.

For the first three years 120 pupils were to be admitted. On paper this would have involved serious overcrowding in a school designed for eight classes of forty, but it was anticipated that the three-form first-year intake would have thinned down to two forms of forty by the

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(10) P. Sharp, 'Report on the Development of Intermediate Education', S.E.C.M. 1924-5, p. 64.

time the third year was reached. No alterations to the fabric of the building were made except those which were required to provide the school with the necessary specialist facilities. Thus, a playshed abutting the southern end of the main hall was enclosed and converted into two practical rooms, one for science and one for manual instruction, and a hut was erected in the playground as a room for Domestic Science for the girls. Similar proposals were made for the other intermediate school which was to be developed on the northern side of the city at Marlcliffe.

Sharp's scheme was approved by the Elementary Education Sub-Committee on 7th May, 1923 and the approval of the Board of Education for its implementation in August 1924 was sought immediately. The Board's first reaction was that Sheffield had left it rather late to commence that August, but from a purely educational point of view the scheme was commended as an attempt to satisfy Section 20 of the 1921 Education Act which required local education authorities to "secure adequate and suitable provision by means of central schools, central or special classes, or otherwise ... 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 fourteen".(11)

The Board made it clear, however, that the plan could not be regarded as in any way a substitute for extra secondary school provision, neither must it delay that provision;(12) but approval was given for the scheme to be implemented subject to the H.M.I. approving the curriculum and organisation and to satisfactory plans being submitted for the equipment of the practical rooms. Some concern was expressed regarding overcrowding and it was pointed out that the proposals involved some classes which were larger than the Board normally contemplated in schools of the

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(11) 11 and 12 Geo. 5, Ch. 51 Section 20 (ii)
(12) B.E. to S.E.C., 23rd May, 1924, P.R.O. Ed. 21/45127.

central type, but in view of the "special difficulties existing in the area" the Board contented themselves with simply constraining the Committee to keep a careful watch on the situation, and permitted the scheme to go ahead, at total cost for modifications to the buildings of £3,300.[13]

At both Greystones and Marlcliffe the Heads of the elementary schools became the Heads of the new Intermediate Schools. Over three hundred applications were received for five vacancies on the staffs and twenty-four candidates were interviewed. One man, a science graduate of Sheffield University, and four women were appointed. Of the women, one was a non-graduate and the others included a Sheffield M.A. and two London B.A.s, one of whom, Miss Nellie Nuttall, later became Headmistress at Marlcliffe.[14] It was the deliberate policy of the Education Committee that the intermediate schools should be generously staffed,[15] and the reports of His Majesty's Inspectors testify to the fact that this policy actually was implemented and was not merely a piece of pious propaganda.[16] However, this did not automatically mean that the size of individual classes could be brought down - shortage of classrooms prevented that - but it did mean that the natural wastage which occurred through early leaving in the third and fourth years did not compel the conflation of classes.

The opening of the Greystones and Marlcliffe Intermediate Schools meant that each year another 240 pupils could proceed to a higher form of education than that which could be offered by the public elementary schools, but this did comparatively little to alleviate the chronic shortage of secondary education which continued to plague the city. Over the period 1920-4 the number of pupils who sat the authority's Final Examination for

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(13) S.M.S.C. 4th Feb., 1925, S.E.C.M. 1924-5, p. 465.
(14) S.M.S.C., 23rd July, 1924, S.E.C.M. 1924-5, p. 195.
(15) Oral evidence, Ald. S.H. Marshall, 10.12.76.
(16) See H.M.I. Reports on the Inspections of Greystones, 1931, p.3., Marlcliffe 1932, p.3., Owler Lane 1932, p.3.

Entrance to Secondary Schools more than doubled, whilst the number of places available remained virtually static. Thus, the percentage of those who sat the examination for whom places were available fell over that period from 58.4% to 24.3%. Moreover, whilst in 1922 all those who reached a satisfactory standard were able to be accommodated, in 1924 only 36.3% of those who passed the examination could be offered a place.[17]

The Committee's response to this problem was two-fold: plans were made to purchase the premises of the Ecclesall Bierlow Board of Guardians at Nether Edge and to convert them into a secondary school for boys accommodating around 400-450 boys;[18] and recourse was made once more to the conversion of two elementary schools into intermediate schools. This time those at Carfield, in the southern sector of the city, and Owler Lane, in the east end, were selected. As in the case of the two pioneers of intermediate education, there was spare capacity at both Carfield and Owler Lane, but with the latter it proved difficult to convince the Board of Education that it was possible, in the initial stages at least, to carry on an intermediate school whilst the ordinary elementary school pupils continued to attend the same premises. Correspondence on this matter took place between Sharp and the Board in June 1926 and the latter finally agreed to the conversion of Owler Lane into an intermediate school on the understanding that they were not committed for grant purposes to expenditure in 1926-27 in excess of the revised forecast of expenditure which had already been submitted for that year.[19]

Intermediate scholars were admitted at Owler Lane in August 1926 and thereafter no children were promoted from the Junior Department of the elementary school into the new intermediate school, and, since accommodation was not available in any other council school, it was

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(17) 180 H.C. Deb. 5s. Col. 2153. Percy in written reply to C.H. Wilson, Sheffield M.P.

(18) See above pp. 158-60.

(19) B.E. to S.E.C., 15th June, 1926. P.R.O. Ed. 21/45159.

obvious that all the senior boys would in future have to be taught in the existing Junior Boys' Department. At that time this department was run by a Headmistress and a staff of women assistants. The Committee were understandably anxious, however, that senior boys should be in the charge of male teachers and they, therefore, suggested that the two Junior Departments be amalgamated and converted into a Senior Mixed Department under a Headmaster.[20] For their part, the Board were concerned that this proposal would involve the age of transfer from the Junior Department to the re-organised department being temporarily, at least, nearer nine years than eleven plus, but in view of what they termed the "special circumstances" they were prepared to sanction it and recognition of the re-organised scheme was granted as from 27th August, 1928.[21]

The conduct of the intermediate school at Owler Lane as regards curriculum, entry, staff and length of course was exactly the same as at the city's other intermediate schools. Its premises too were basically the same as those of the others, with eight classrooms opening off a large central hall, but it had the advantage of possessing a well-equipped handicraft centre and a combined Domestic Subjects centre.[22] Some spare ground, which the Committee already owned, adjoined the school. It was of sufficient size to accommodate a hut and subsequently the site was used for a dining hall.

Owler Lane added another 120 places per annum to the city's intermediate provision and with the opening of Carfield Intermediate School and the Nether Edge Secondary School for Boys, in 1927, the pressure on higher education in the city eased somewhat. It was clear, however, that the provision which was made for pupils who were capable of benefitting from an education which was more advanced than the elementary schools could

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(20) S.E.C. to B.E., 24th April, 1928. P.R.O. Ed. 21/45159.
(21) B.E. to S.E.C., 6th June, 1928. P.R.O. Ed. 21/45159.
(22) S.M.S.C., 2nd Mar., 1926, S.E.C.M. 1925-6, p. 510.

offer was still hopelessly inadequate. It was the Committee's belief that any child who gained more than 50% in the Final Entrance Examination for places in secondary schools was capable of benefitting from four years of higher education, but year after year more pupils attained the qualifying standard than could be admitted to the secondary and intermediate schools which were then in existence. Moreover, it does not seem that the examination itself was too easy - if anything the opposite was the case.[23]

Clearly the Committee could not view the annual exclusion of several hundred suitably able children with equanimity and it was decided once more to ultilise spare elementary school accommodation and expand the provision of intermediate rather than secondary education. Forty additional places were offered at Carfield and a new intermediate department, comprising eighty pupils, was commenced in the Southey Green Council School which had been built to serve the new corporation estate which had been built there in the earlier inter-war period.[24] These pupils instituted the new intermediate department in August 1932 and it was the intention that another intake of eighty be admitted in the following year.

H.M. Inspectors had in many of their reports on Sheffield's intermediate schools drawn attention to the fact that a very high percentage of pupils did not complete their course and did not sit the School Certificate examination. In 1931, for example, the Report on the inspection of Carfield had noted that fewer than 20% of the original entrants had stayed at school to complete the schemes of work for the third and fourth years.[25] At Owler Lane less than one tenth of the pupils completed the course;[26] whilst even at Greystones[27] and Marlcliffe[28] only one third of the pupils

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(23) H.M.I. 'Report on Investigation into the Entrance Examination', 'P.R.O., Ed. 110/109.

(24) 'Report of the Special Committee appointed to consider the question of Additional Intermediate School Accommodation', S.E.C.M. 1932-3, p. 237.

(25) H.M.I., Carfield Report, 1931, p.3.

(26) H.M.I., Owler Lane Report 1932, p.3.

(27) H.M.I. Greystones Report, 1931, p.3.

(28) H.M.I., Marlcliffe Report 1932, p.3.

stayed the full four years. With this clearly in mind the Primary Education Sub-Committee recommended that preference in awarding the extra places from the Order of Merit List be given to those pupils whose parents undertook to keep them at the school for four years to take the Joint Matriculation Board's School Certificate Examination.[29]

Even the imposition of this restriction, however, did not succeed in increasing the number of pupils who stayed at Southey Green to take the First Certificate examination. Of those who constituted the initial intake of 79 only 17 remained in 1936 to sit the examination.[30] By that time, however, the Committee was already contemplating the running down and eventual closure of the intermediate department at that school. The Chief Education Officer[31] had submitted to the Higher Education Sub-Committee in June 1935 a report on secondary school accommodation which showed that there were in the Intermediate Department at Southey at that time only one hundred and eighty pupils. There were also 234 in the Senior Department of the elementary school, whilst in the Junior School there were 507 pupils. The problem was that all the places in the school were going to be required for elementary school purposes owing to a new, nine hundred acre housing estate being built in the Shirecliffe area. Some 7,400 dwellings were being erected and, on the basis of an estimated 1.5 children per home, this would yield a child population of around 11,100 or an average of 1,233 in each of the nine school age-groups.[32] It was, therefore, decided that the school should gradually return to its original character as a public elementary school. No further children were to be admitted to the intermediate section of the school after that year, though those pupils

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(29) Primary Education S.C. (P.E.S.C.) 18th July, 1932, S.E.C.M. 1932-3, p. 241. (The P.E.S.C. and then the Primary Schools Management Sub-Committee (P.S.M.S.C.) were the sucessors of the S.M.S.C.)

(30) P.S.M.S.C., 11th Oct., 1936, S.E.C.M. 1936-7, p. 334.

(31) Sharp had left Sheffield in 1932. His successor, H.S. Newton, was given the title "Chief Education Officer" not "Director of Education". See below p. 386.

(32) H.E.S.C., 17th June, 1935, S.E.C.M. 1935-6, p. 158.

who were already in the school were to be given every facility to complete their School Certificate course. That year, 1936, was the first year that the school entered candidates for the School Certificate Examination. Thus, the first year in which intermediate pupils completed their full course was also the year in which the department's closure was announced.

The Committee was doubtless confirmed in the wisdom of this decision by the report which H.M. Inspectors made upon Southey's combined Senior and Intermediate departments in the following year. They observed that the introduction of the intermediate element had had an adverse effect on the senior school; the intake into the latter had been irregular; admissions had been unusually late and had contained a high proportion of children who were soon to leave; and it had proved impossible to arrange a through and complete course for them. The combined department, the Inspectors concluded, had fallen between two stools.(33)

Southey Green had also suffered from the fact that in the first year of its existence as an intermediate school it had been the Committee's policy to transfer intermediate pupils from Southey to fill vacancies at the other intermediate schools as and when they arose. These pupils had been replaced throughout the first two terms of the first year by others taken from lower down the Order of Merit List and the school, therefore, had not had a stable population on which to base its creation of a viable intermediate department. As has been suggested already, there was also instability at the top end of the school where the staff fought a determined but seemingly hopeless battle to persuade both the pupils and their parents of the value and importance of completing the full four-year course. The Headmaster, Mr. W.S. Brakes, used to see the parents individually but he found that, "The economic position of the home, the

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(33) H.M.I. Report on the Full Inspection of Southey Green Intermediate and Senior Departments Feb. 1936, pp. 2-3. P.R.O. Ed. 21/65898.

advent of a suitable situation at a time when such situations are difficult to secure and the rooted conviction that it is much easier to obtain a post at the age of fourteen than it is at fifteen or sixteen years of age were factors which weighed too strongly."[34]

The situation at Southey was not untypical of that which prevailed at the city's other intermediate schools. In September 1932, Mr. Reaman, the Headmaster of Greystones, reported that although the great majority of pupils worked hard many were unsettled and inhibited by their parents' reluctance to come to a decision as to whether their children should remain at school or not,[35] and at Marlcliffe Miss Nuttall observed that, "It is every year a matter of great regret that so many scholars who would profit by being able to obtain the School Certificate leave at fourteen."[36] During the worst years of the depression the difficulty of obtaining jobs probably made for more adolescents staying at school to complete their course, but, on the other hand, if there was the prospect of obtaining employment then many parents would prefer to put their children to work rather than wait until they had completed the School Certificate course and so risk losing the position. As the economic situation improved, therefore, it might have been expected that the number of pupils completing their four-year course would increase and this was, in fact, the case at Carfield where in 1935-36 there were upwards of seventy pupils in the fourth year classes. This was three times the number of the previous year,[37] but at most of the other intermediate schools more and more pupils tended to leave early as the decade progressed.

Many headteachers had imagined in the early thirties, that when unemployment decreased and parents were in improved financial circumstances they would be both able and willing to give their children the advantages of four years at school, but as Miss Nuttall observed in 1933, the tendency seemed to be otherwise,[38] and by 1937-38 the number staying for the School Certificate at Marlcliffe, for example, was smaller than in any

(34) W.A. Brakes, 'Report to PSMSC,' 14th Oct., 1936, SECM 1936-7, p.334.
(35) C. Reaman, 'Report to SMSC, 14th Sept., 1932, SECM 1932-3, p. 281.
(36) N.N. Nuttall, 'Report to SMSC', 1st Oct., 1934, SECM 1934-5, p. 350.
(37) SMSC, 9th Oct., 1935, SECM 1935-6, p. 329.
(38) SMSC, 1st Oct., 1934, SECM 1934-5, p. 349.

previous year.[39] After the years of distress which they had experienced in the early thirties it appears that many parents were anxious to take advantage of the increased demand for juvenile labour. As a steel manufacturing centre Sheffield was directly affected by the government's rearmament programme and the inclusion of large increases for the armed services in the 1936 Budget[40] was something which had obvious beneficial implications for the employment situation in the city. In addition to this, many parents seem to have been of the opinion that it was easier to place a child of fourteen than one of fifteen or sixteen, and in this view Miss Nuttall, at least, believed they were correct.

It was by no means the case, of course, that those who stayed on in the intermediate schools to complete their School Certificate work were necessarily the brightest pupils. The criterion was not one of intelligence but of parental income and parental attitude towards the value and importance of higher education. At Southey Green the Headmaster maintained that the school records showed that some of those who left were brighter than some of those who stayed,[41] and in the school which generally came last among the intermediate and secondary schools in the public esteem this must have been particularly saddening.

In every one of Sheffield's Intermediate schools the School Certificate dominated and, indeed, determined the curriculum. As in the secondary schools, pupils were expected to take the examination after four years and not the five which H.M. Inspectors believed so desirable. That pupils who occupied positions in the Order of Merit List around and below the thousand mark should be expected to sit for the First Examination after only four years of higher education is remarkable. That so many should have passed is perhaps even more remarkable.

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(39) P.S.M.S.C., 13th Oct., 1937, S.E.C.M. 1937-8, p. 316.
(40) C.L. Mowat, p. 458.
(41) P.S.M.S.C., 14th Oct., 1936, S.E.C.M. 1936-7, p. 334.

In view of the calibre of the pupils involved the results shown in Appendix C are extremely commendable but one can only speculate as to the amount of pressure which was put upon the children in order to achieve those results. One wonders also as to the extent to which the highly academic orientation of the curriculum, geared as it was in the third and fourth years to the demands of the School Certificate, in itself contributed to the very high wastage rate in those years. Such a point was made by H.M. Inspectorate when they concluded that the syllabuses at Carfield, at any rate in the third and fourth years, could with difficulty escape the charge of being over-loaded. The children were being asked to do in four years what pupils in a secondary school normally attempted in five and this inevitably led to an atmosphere of pressure and haste.(42) It is probable that economic factors were paramount in influencing the decisions of parents and pupils about leaving before the end of the fourth year, but it is also possible that the demands of the School Certificate Examination and the academic orientation of the syllabuses helped to persuade many pupils that they might be more happily occupied in earning a living in industry or commerce than in continuing at school.

In their Report on the Inspection of Southey Green in 1936, H.M. Inspectors drew attention to the fact that whilst more or less the entire curriculum in the third and fourth years was orientated towards the School Certificate, less than one quarter of the intake actually sat that examination.(43) Earlier, in 1931, in their report on the first full inspection of Greystones Intermediate School they had observed that whilst the 'A' and 'B' forms did very creditable work, the 'C' forms did not show up as well, chiefly because they contained a number of children

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(42) H.M.I., Carfield Report 1938, p. 12.
(43) H.M.I., Southey Green Report 1936, p.4.

who could scarcely be considered fully capable of profiting from the type of instruction which it was the main aim of the department to provide.[44] Similar observations were made in their report on the inspection of Carfield in 1931,[45] and it was recommended in both cases that less academic schemes of work with a more definitely practical bias be provided.

Attempts were made during the mid-nineteen thirties to try to rectify this situation and in September 1934 shorthand and book-keeping were introduced in all the intermediate schools. These subjects were welcomed by the pupils, or at least by those who contributed to their respective school magazines, as a valuable introduction to and possible avenue into the world of business and commerce,[46] and Miss Nuttall expressed the belief that parents would let their children stay on for a fourth year if the curriculum in that year included some more definite preparation for those qualifications which employers often demanded, such as shorthand and typing.[47]

The commercial course seems to have been popular with the pupils and at Carfield seventy elected to study it in their third year, but only thirty-seven stayed to offer it for the actual School Certificate examination and only eighteen passed. As Table 9.1 shows, the success rate in all the other intermediate schools except Owler Lane, where the entry was extremely small, was little better, and was certainly well below the average for the country as a whole.

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(44) H.M.I., Greystones Report, 1931, p. 10.
(45) H.M.I., Carfield Report 1931, p. 9.
(46) See for example, the Greystones magazine, The Martlet Christmas 1934, p.1. and the Carfield Magazine, The Wise Owl, No. 15, Summer 1935, p.4.
(47) S.M.S.C., 1st Oct., 1934, S.E.C.M. 1934-5, p. 361.

Table 9.1 - School Certificate Results in Commercial Subjects: Sheffield Intermediate Schools, 1936.[48]

	N	A	B	C	Pass	Fail	% Pass
Greystones	15		2		6	7	53.3
Marlcliffe	16		3		6	7	56.3
Carfield	37	-	-	3	15	19	49.1
Owler Lane	7	-	-	5	1	1	85.7

Results for these four schools in succeeding years were little better and in 1937 only six of Southey Green's thirteen candidates managed to satisfy the examiners. In the year prior to that Southey had received a Full Inspection, the Report upon which was highly critical of the inclusion of the subject, particularly its book-keeping aspect, in the curriculum at all.[49] Subsequent inspections of Carfield[50] and Greystones[51] reiterated this criticism but by that time the Education Committee had already been persuaded by the Carfield Report to order that the subject should be expunged from the curriculum of the Intermediate schools once all existing commitments to pupils and parents had been honoured.[52]

Thus, the experiment of introducing shorthand and book-keeping into the curriculum of the intermediate schools was, if not quite still-born, certainly short-lived. It was an innovation which was deliberately designed to induce parents to keep their children at school for the full four-year course by offering them something which had a direct vocational content. In this the experiment failed and there is no evidence that any significant success was achieved in increasing the average length

(48) Primary Schools Management Sub-Committee (P.S.M.S.C.) 14th Oct., 1936, S.E.C.M. 1936-7, p. 329. The S.M.S.C. was re-named the P.S.M.S.C. in 1936.
(49) H.M.I., Southey Green Report 1936, p. 11.
(50) H.M.I., Carfield Report 1938, p.7.
(51) H.M.I., Greystones Report 1939, p.5.
(52) 'Marlcliffe I.S. Log Book,' 4th Nov., 1936.

of school life in the intermediate schools.

There was, however, a subsidiary reason for experimenting with commercial subjects and that was the desire to provide something in the curriculum which was of a practical nature and which might perhaps appeal to the less able child. In many of their early reports H.M. Inspectors were critical of the fact that the syllabuses were overly academic and that in their pursuit of the outward mark of academic success - School Certificate Results - the schools were tending to forget the needs of those pupils who in their first and second years at intermediate school found themselves in the 'C' stream. In many cases they were following schemes of work which were hardly, if at all, different from those which their more intellectually gifted counterparts in the secondary schools were following. Such a criticism as this was made in the General Remarks which concluded the Inspectors' report on the first inspection of Greystones in 1931, where they recommended that for the bottom stream as well as for those who were not likely to stay to complete the course a scheme of work of a less academic and more practical bias be provided.(53) Little progress seems to have been made at Greystones towards meeting these criticisms which were re-iterated in the Report on the next inspection, which was carried out in 1939.(54)

At Marlcliffe, on the other hand, the staff seem to have been more aware of the particular needs of the less academic pupils and when the Inspectors visited the school in 1932 the staff had already taken steps to draw up special schemes which were "wide and generous enough to meet all criticisms".(55) In geography, for example, a completely separate course was provided for those who were not doing a fourth year, and similar arrangements were made in science - where the practical work

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(53) H.M.I., Greystones Report 1931, p. 12.
(54) H.M.I., Greystones Report 1939, p.8.
(55) H.M.I., Marlcliffe Report 1932, p. 12.

was done through a series of well constructed instruction sheets. Only the boys in Form IIIC did handicraft in the third year and, since the first two years were devoted to woodwork, these boys were also the only ones in the entire school to do metalwork.

In a sense, however, these arrangements were peripheral for there can be little doubt the ethos of the intermediate schools was essentially that of their secondary counterparts. There was the same academic orientation, the same pre-occupation with examination success, the same determination to build up a strong corporate spirit. A school's record of School Certificate passes seems to have been a typical Headmaster's principal concern and as the nineteen-thirties progressed reports to the Committee contained less and less that was not related to this end. Nor was this mere propaganda concocted purely to impress the authority: it was a pre-occupation which permeated the whole life of the schools. Examinations at the end of each term were common, if not completely standard, in nearly all the intermediate schools for all pupils, and the pressure on the fourth form was particularly intense. Those at Marlcliffe are the best documented and there examinations lasting a week and a half were held at Easter, followed by further ones at Whitsuntide and the actual School Certificate examinations themselves in July.[56] With such a plethora of tests and examinations one wonders how in the remaining time it was possible to cover the examination syllabus, particularly since the pupils were taking their Certificate papers after only four years in the intermediate school. Quite apart from the school examinations the pressure on the pupils must have been enormous. There is little wonder therefore, that H.M. Inspectors' reports on these intermediate schools should speak so often of "overloading", of "hurry" and of "an atmosphere of pressure".[57]

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(56) Marlcliffe Log, 1st April, 24th May and 1st July, 1935.
(57) H.M.I., Carfield Report 1938, p. 14.

All this bore heavily not only upon the pupils but also upon the staff. Indeed, the load upon them was perhaps even greater for they had the unenviable task of ensuring not only that the syllabus was covered in the scant ration of time allocated but also that it was covered in sufficient depth to satisfy the examiners. This must have been particularly difficult with intermediate school pupils for even though had they been living in other areas more adequately provided with secondary schools they would have been called secondary pupils, they were, nonetheless, children who had occupied places well down the Order of Merit List. There was an understandable tendency to have recourse to cyclostyled sheets[58] or overdo the making of notes,[59] but, in fairness, it must be said that use was also made of audio-visual aids. At Greystones, for example, films were used in geography lessons and the top third-year class listened to broadcasts on the wireless as part of their French course.[60] At Marlcliffe, a wireless set and a gramaphone for use in the school were purchased with money raised by the Dramatic Society,[61] and at Carfield the radio was used in English, Geography, Music and French lessons.[62]

Sport in all the intermediate schools was greatly inhibited by the absence of their own fields, and other extra-curricular activities had to be confined to the more practical and less-intellectual type of activity. Thus, gymnastics, drama, art, dancing and singing preponderated, though in the very early days at Greystones a Natural History Society was set up which provided pupils with the opportunity of giving short lectures on topics such as butterflies, snakes and the planets. Marlcliffe had a branch of the League of Nations Union and a Wireless and Scientific Society[63] but, understandably, there were no philosophical or Literary and Debating Societies in any of the intermediate schools.

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(58) Marlcliffe Log, 23rd June, 1936.
(59) H.M.I., Carfield Report 1931, p.5.
(60) The Martlet, Dec. 1935, p. 17.
(61) Marlcliffe Log, 14th April, 1937.
(62) The Wise Owl, No. 16, Summer 1936, p.4.
(63) The Marlcliffian, (Marlcliffe Magazine), No. 25, July 1934, p.17.

Within the limits which the intellectual capacities of the pupils imposed, however, serious and reasonably successful attempts were made to provide in the intermediate schools a range of activities which would enrich the experience and outlook of the children. Clubs and societies were one obvious manifestation of this, but in their internal organisation and general ethos these schools endeavoured to foster that corporate spirit and identification with the school of which the best secondary schools could boast. Thus, prefect and house systems were established in both the original intermediate schools - Greystones[64] and Marlcliffe[65] and it is not without significance that both placed a premium on academic effort. Their Headteachers and staffs were determined to produce examination results which, in percentage terms at least, were as nearly comparable with those of the secondary schools as possible. The intermediate schools clearly could never hope to match the records of the secondary schools in terms of the total number of certificates obtained, but at Greystones, for example, the success rate in terms of individual subject passes never fell below 75% in the period 1928-39.

This emphasis upon the outward recognition of academic success which the School Certificate accorded was not, of course, the only manifestation of the intermediate schools' determination to model themselves upon the secondary schools. The same values which were exalted in the secondary schools were also exalted in the intermediate schools. Industry, discipline, self-reliance, service - these were the pre-eminent virtues which the schools sought to foster. These were the virtues which the Headteachers constantly instilled into their pupils.

Moreover, in emphasising these qualities the intermediate schools were imitating something which was not peculiar to the secondary schools.

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(64) The Martlet, Nov. 1933, p. 11.
(65) Marlcliffe Log, 30th Sept., 1936.

These qualities also featured prominently in the ethos and objectives of the elementary schools for they were values upon which society as a whole placed great emphasis. The ideals of effort and service, indeed, have permeated almost the whole of the history of English education. Hence, in striving to realise those ideals the intermediate schools were not endeavouring merely to make themselves into replicas of their more selective and prestigious counterparts, they were reflecting the established mores of English society.

The Sheffield intermediate schools had neither a commercial nor an industrial bias and so could not be considered intermediate schools in the sense in which Kazamias has defined the term.[66] They were selective and their pupils were recruited on the basis of a competitive entrance examination. In this they were like the central schools of London and Manchester which, as Banks has pointed out, approximated to the secondary schools. Those in other parts of the country were either non-selective or only slightly selective and they later became the modern schools of Hadow re-organisation. By 1930, however, even the selective central schools had declined in popularity and in 1936, according to a questionnaire issued by the National Union of Teachers, no less than thirty-one selective central schools had recently lost their status and 137 local education authorities had no selective central schools in their area. In this decline nationally, the progressive liberalisation of the School Certificate requirements, the increase in attention paid to practical courses in the secondary schools and the increased provision of secondary schools themselves have been deemed significant;[67] but in Sheffield there was in the inter-war period never any question of closing the intermediate schools. The Board of

(66) A.M. Kazamias, p. 207.

(67) O.L. Banks, 'Grammar School', p. 214 and p. 219.

Education was not entirely happy with Owler Lane and the authority itself closed Southey Green after only a very brief life as an intermediate school, but even the opening of Nether Edge Secondary School in 1927, of the Junior Technical School in 1933 and the recognition of the City Secondary School in 1936 did not pressage the demise of the intermediate schools in Sheffield. They continued to flourish until the late 1950s when the post-war building boom permitted the erection of two new technical schools and several new secondary modern schools.

The intermediate schools which the authority opened during the 1920s and 30s were selective and they were in their ethos, conduct, philosophy and orientation lower grade secondary schools in all but name. They were the parsimonious, manifestation of the view which Sharp expressed to the Annual Meeting of the Association of Education Committees in 1925: "central schools are closely approximating to the work of the secondary schools and are doing that work with a minimum of waste".(68)

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(68) Education, 22nd May, 1925.

CHAPTER 10

NOTRE DAME HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

In the first half of the nineteenth century Sheffield, in common with most other industrial cities, witnessed an increase in its Roman Catholic population. A small Catholic Church had been opened in the city in 1816 but by the middle of the century the influx of Irish immigrants rendered the building of a large new church imperative. In 1850, therefore, St. Marie's Church was opened in the very heart of the city.(1)

The number of Roman Catholics continued to rise in the second half of the nineteenth century and when the Sheffield and Rotherham Independent newspaper conducted a survey of all who attended morning, afternoon and evening services in the city on 20th November, 1881, it was found that the figure for Roman Catholics was 5,473. This compared with figures of 33,835 for the Anglicans and 29,648 for the various types of Methodists.(2) By 1901 there were eight Catholic churches in Sheffield and seven others were added before the outbreak of World War II.(3)

In Sheffield, as elsewhere, the Roman Catholic clergy were keenly aware of the need to ensure a solid Catholic education for the children of their flock and, shortly after the opening of St. Marie's, the Rector, Very Reverend Canon Scully, entered into negotiations with the Mother House of the Sisters of Notre Dame in Namur, and in July 1855 four sisters were sent from Liverpool to take charge of the school of St. Marie's and the recently founded St. Vincent's mission.(4)

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(1) D. Robins, A Century of Sheffield 1835-1935, Sheffield, n.d. (prob. circa. 1935-6), p.7.

(2) Quoted in E.R. Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City, 1957, p. 148.

(3) Ibid., pp. 283-4.

(4) Centenary of the Convent of Notre Dame, Sheffield, 1855-1955, Sheffield, 1955, pp. 4-5, Notre Dame Archives (N.D.A.)

Another school for girls both day and boarding was opened in Holy Green House but after some time the Sisters of Notre Dame were replaced in the St. Vincent's school by the Sisters of Charity and the Notre Dame connexion with that church ceased. The Notre Dame Holy Green School, however, flourished and it soon proved necessary to find more commodious premises, which were obtained in 1861 in Cavendish Street, about half a mile from the city centre.(5)

In 1855 a small pupil-teacher centre had been established in the school and in 1900 it received official recognition, but when H.M. Inspectors visited the Centre three years later there were still only 26 students on the roll. Six of them were probationers, seven were in their first year, three were in their second year and ten were in the scholarship class.(6) In charge of them were four trained Certificated teachers and an "admirable tone" prevailed.(7) The Centre experienced certain difficulties over grants in 1903 which culminated in an unsuccessful appeal for rate-aid.(8) Also unsuccessful in the pre-war period were attempts to persuade the city council to accord to Catholic pupil-teachers the same privilege of reduced tram fares as was granted to the pupils of council schools.(9) By 1912 there were not more than ten pupil-teachers in each year of apprenticeship and the pupil-teacher element, in fact, never figured largely in the history of the Notre Dame school.

In 1901 the plan of studies for the school was revised and a tripartite division into three departments - Kindergarten, Preparatory and Upper - was instituted. The Upper Department's course covered the syllabuses of the Preliminary, Junior and Senior Oxford Local Examinations

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(5) Notre Dame High School, Sheffield, prospectus of the school, n.d. (prob. circa. 1965-70.) N.D.A.

(6) H.M.I., Report on Pupil-Teacher Centre, 2 Cavendish Street, Sheffield, 20th May, 1903, P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.

(7) H.M.I., Notre Dame P.T.C. Report 1901, p.5. P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.

(8) S.E.C. to B.E., 20th July, 1904. P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.

(9) Notre Dame Governors' Minutes, (N.D.G.M.) 2nd Nov., 1909, 1910 and 1911 (no day or month stated) N.D.A.

and that of the Oxford and Cambridge Board.Supplementary courses were drafted to meet the special requirements of pupils, who having completed the ordinary School course, wanted to "perfect their artistic education or enter on special training or higher studies".[10] The school was to this extent, therefore, in the mould of secondary schools.

The final impetus to being officially recognised as such came from the school's desire to be recognised for the purposes of Sections 3 (iii) and 4 of the Teachers' Registration Regulations. In a letter of 24th June, 1903 Canon Dolan applied on behalf of the school for such recognition but he was informed that for the school to be eligible for such recognition it would be necessary so to modify its organisation as to convert it into a secondary school. He was also informed that the Board did not recognise as a secondary school an establishment where the curriculum was so limited as it apparently then was at Notre Dame. However, the school was able to make the necessary changes to its curriculum and recognition as a secondary school was granted as from 1st August, 1904,[11] though it would appear from H.M. Inspectors' reports that the standards in certain subjects still left something to be desired. Reporting in August 1907, for example, W.G. Urwick, H.M.I., concluded by stating that although the staff had been strengthened in Mathematics and Science and an effort had been made to improve the standard of work, it was still low in both subjects.[12] By 1908, however, matters had improved so that, though the Inspectors had certain minor suggestions for the improvement of individual subjects, they found the curriculum "on the whole sound".[13] A few weaknesses in the staff still needed to be remedied but the tone and discipline of the pupils were excellent and the school was felt

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(10) 'Plan of Studies for Notre Dame H.S.' 1901, P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.
(11) H.M.I. Report of Inspection of Notre Dame H.S. Sheffield, 15th-18th May 1923, p.1., N.D.A.
(12) W.G. Urwick, 'Report on Notre Dame H.S. Sheffield for the School Year 1906-7', Form 122R, 3rd Aug., 1907. P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.
(13) H.M.I., Report of the First Full Inspection of Notre Dame H.S. Sheffield 12th and 13th May, 1908, pp. 6 and 12, P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.

to be exercising a strong and enduring influence upon them.[14]

It was certainly the opinion of the Sheffield Education Committee at that time that the Notre Dame school fulfilled an important role in the provision of secondary education within the city, for, when the school applied to the Board for the waiver of Articles 5, 23 and 24,[15] of the Regulations for Secondary Schools and the Board sought the L.E.A.'s views on the matter, it replied by stating that in its opinion the school was needed as a part of the secondary school provision of the area.[16] This was a view with which the Board concurred. The implementation of the Sadler proposals[17] had entailed the establishment of only two secondary schools - or, rather, three if one counts separately the Central Secondary Boys' and Girls' Schools. There was also a shortage of accommodation for pupil-teachers and, as H.M.I. Urwick had pointed out, if the Notre Dame school ceased to exist its pupils, whether secondary or pupil-teacher, could not be accommodated in the existing recognised secondary schools which were already full.[18]

Unlike most of its municipal counterparts, Notre Dame did not suffer from the claustrophobic pressure of pupils on classroom accommodation. In 1890 a spacious chapel had been built, and the rest of the buildings were sufficiently ample and so well cared for that they were, in the opinion of H.M. Inspectors, "very good in every respect",[19] the only significant defects being the lack of a properly equipped gymnasium and the fact that the library was some distance from the main building.[20] The Assembly Hall was utilised as a gymnasium but it seems to have been but sparsely

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(14) Arts. 5 and 23 referred to denominational teaching and Art. 24 to the power of the l.e.a. to appoint a majority of representatives on the school's governing body.

(15) H.E.S.C., 11th Oct., 1907, S.E.C.M. 1907-8., pp. 326-7.

(16) H.E.S.C., 11th Oct., 1907, S.E.C.M. 1907-8. p. 326.

(17) See above pp. 68-70.

(18) W.G. Urwick (H.M.I.) quoted in unsigned Dept. Min., n.d. (prob. 1908), P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.

(19) Form 879, Recognition of a School for the Purposes of Section 3 (iii) and 4 of Teachers' Registration Regulations, 25th May, 1903, P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.

(20) Report of H.M.I.s F. Philips and W.P. Turnbull, 25th July, 1904, P.R.O., Ed. 35/3053.

equipped. No additional provision was made for this area of the curriculum before the outbreak of World War I, and when the school was inspected in December 1914 one of the principal recommendations which H.M.I. Dufton pressed upon the Governors was the building of an inexpensive room equipped with apparatus for Swedish Drill and large enough to permit of indoor exercise and games on wet days.[21]

In 1908 a new storey had been added, which provided what the Inspectors described as "a beautiful new Art Room, excellent library and several commodious and well-lit classrooms"[22] and in 1913 a new wing had been built,[23] but despite this a near doubling of the student numbers in 1914, to around 200, called into question the ability of the Cavendish Street premises to cope with the numbers of girls seeking secondary education. However, finance was, as always, a problem and it was not until September 1934 that further Catholic provision for girls' secondary education was made when a small new school, Oakbrook, was opened 2½ miles away in the suburb of Ranmoor, but this turned out to be not an entirely unmixed blessing in terms of either pupils or staff.[24]

Throughout almost the whole of the period 1902-39 H.M. Inspectors found it necessary to urge the Governors to raise the academic calibre of the staff of Notre Dame. In 1905, H.M.I. Turnbull had compared the staff of the attached Pupil-Teacher Centre to that of a superior elementary day school and had pressed the managers to appoint mistresses with higher qualifications when vacancies arose,[25] but in 1908, when the staff consisted of the Head plus fourteen assistants, only two had university degrees or their equivalent.[26] Four had taken a course of training

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(21) Conference of N.D. Governors and H.M.I., 19th Dec., 1914, N.D.G.M.
(22) H.M.I., Notre Dame Report, 1912, p.3.
(23) Centenary, p.7.
(24) See below pp. 281-2.
(25) H.M.I., Report on Sheffield Roman Catholic P.T.C. 1905, p.6. P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.
(26) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report, 1908, p.6.

in teaching and nearly all had had some experience of teaching in other schools.

The rather low academic qualifications of the staff at the beginning of the century, coupled with the form basis on which the teaching was organised, meant that many teachers were involved in the teaching of a single subject. The difficulty was that until sufficiently well-qualified specialists were appointed it was impossible to organise instruction on a fully departmental basis. Financial considerations clearly played a significant part here for salaries all through the school were, before World War I, lower than was usual in secondary schools in the district,[27] and the Sisters, whose academic qualifications were not particularly high,[28] were paid a purely nominal sum. The Inspectors' criticism in 1908 of the lack of a French mistress sufficiently well-qualified to exercise an oversight of the teaching of the whole subject[29] is but one of many examples of the Inspectorate calling attention to the need for the organisation of work on departmental lines, the appointment of well-qualified specialist teachers and the extension of specialist teaching.[30]

After World War I steps were taken to rectify the situation but when the first post-war Inspection was conducted in 1923 it was still found that the staff was in need of strengthening.[31] The Governors then had to decide whether the financial surplus which it was estimated would accrue the following year should be used to pay off past deficits or whether it should be utilised to strengthen the teaching staff. Clearly the latter policy was the one which was educationally preferable but by this time it would seem that the greatest source of weakness on the staff

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(27) Ibid., p.6.
(28) H.M.I. Dufton to N.D. Govs., 9th Dec., 1914, N.D.G.M.
(29) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1908, p.9.
(30) See particularly H.M.I. Report on 1914 Inspection, p.6.
(31) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1923, p.4.

was no longer amongst the Sisters but rather amongst the secular staff. Immediately following the 1923 Inspection, therefore, the Headmistress intimated to the Governors that it would be necessary to replace three non-graduate mistresses teaching French, History and Mathematics.[32] As the school fees had recently been increased it was possible to offer more attractive salaries and thus strengthen the staff, but at the next Full Inspection the same criticism of the lack of well-qualified staff, this time in Geography and Classics as well as in Mathematics, was made.[33] It seems there were still no Heads of Departments, not even in English and Mathematics, but the school had undoubtedly been successful in raising the general academic standard of its staff: ten out of the sixteen mistresses in the Main School[34] had Honours degrees and they included in their number three M.A.'s, one M.Sc. and one First Class Honours. Of the non-graduates all but one were fully trained.

The calibre of the staff had thus been raised considerably but when, in 1934, a new Catholic girls school was opened at Oakbrook[35] five teachers, including the Heads of English and Latin, were summarily transferred from Cavendish Street only 2½ weeks before the new academic year was due to begin. At such short notice it was impossible to secure adequately qualified and experienced replacements and, in fact, only one of the new teachers - the needlework mistress - had taught for more than two terms. This situation first came to the Board of Education's attention via the official return on staffing. Since Article 20 of the Regulations for Secondary Schools required that for a school to receive the Advanced Course Special Grant its organisation and staffing must be suitable and adequate for the course, the Board wanted to know what action it was

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(32) N.D.G.M. 18th June, 1923.
(33) N.D.G.M. 7th May, 1924.
(34) There was also a Preparatory Department.
(35) See above p. 279.

proposed to take to secure the continued efficiency of the school as a whole and its Advanced Course in particular.

H.M.I. Miss Beevor visited the school in November 1934, and in February 1936 there was an Interim Inspection by a small team of Inspectors of the teaching of English, Latin and (at the Headmistress's request) French. Their report was critical of both the intellectual calibre and the lack of experience of the new staff, with the English department coming under particularly heavy attack. When the local authority received a copy of this report it immediately demanded a meeting with representatives of the school, but at this meeting the Headmistress and the Sister Superior were able to allay the fears of the Committee by pointing to the fact that a sixth replacement teacher had been employed and that in 1935 only one of the school's 18 Higher School Certificate candidates had failed. At First Certificate level there had been a 96% pass rate in 1935, whilst the percentage of credits had increased from 50% (1932) to 80%.

Both the authority and the Board were placated and the Advanced Course in Modern Studies remained secure. That course had first been recognised in September 1924 with History, English and French as the main subjects and Latin and Economics as additional ones.(36) The cost of extra laboratories and equipment precluded the development of a full science course at Higher Certificate level, but as economics disappeared from the curriculum so other options were inserted, botany being included amongst them, along with Art and Singing. Between 1930 and 1932 several girls chose Geography rather than History but the Course as a whole seemed to be burgeoning. In the first six years in which Notre Dame pupils sat for the Second Examination seven, ten, nine, eight, five and four girls were successful in gaining a Certificate. As the financial effects of

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(36) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1932, p.5.

the Great Depression came to be felt, the numbers staying on began to falter,[37] but this was a temporary phenomenon and as the country's economy began to recover so too did the number of girls staying on for the Advanced Course.[38]

In 1926-7 the School had won its first State Scholarship and the following year two more were gained.[39] Scholarships and Exhibitions to the universities were won and by the close of the inter-war period the school had succeeded in sustaining an Advanced Course which had not only survived the traumas of the mass transfers of 1934 but had also expanded to encompass Higher Certificate courses in Botany and Chemistry.

Equally as essential for a successful Advanced Course as a good staff, however, was a steady and sufficient supply of able pupils. This was not always forthcoming for in the early days Notre Dame was not in any financial position to offer foundation scholarships.[40] let alone maintenance allowances such as were provided by the local authority for the pupils in its secondary schools. This was the case not only after 1918 when the local authority abolished fees in all its secondary schools save King Edward's, but also before the outbreak of the war. As a school in receipt of Board of Education grants, Notre Dame was, of course, obliged to offer at least 25% free places after 1907. In 1907-8 it did, in fact, offer 25% free places but despite this it was still the case that few of its scholars remained for a full four-year course and many of the prospective pupil-teachers were introduced into the school only one year before becoming pupil-teachers.[41] The age of entrance of pupils into the school was clearly too high and many came to the school

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(37) Headmistress N.D.H.S., "Report on the progress of the School since the last Full Inspection, 1932", unpub. M.S. 27th June, 1934, N.D.A.
(38) N.D.G.M., 4th Nov., 1935.
(39) Agamus (School Magazine) No. 9, Oct., 1927, p. 32 and No. 10, Oct. 1928. p.73.
(40) H.M.I. N.D.H.S. Report 1908, p.4.
(41) B.E. unsigned T.S. Minute, n.d. (prob. c. 1908). P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.

at too great an age to be able to pass all the way through the four-year course.[42]

The Governors were naturally concerned at this but, as the Headmistress pointed out, very few parents could afford to pay the fees for their daughter's education after they had reached the age of fourteen.[43]

Table 10.1 - Notre Dame H.S. - Classes from which pupils were Drawn 1907[44]

Class	Boarders	Day Pupils
Professional	7	9
Merchants and Manufacturers	2	11
Retail Traders	19	7
Farmers	11	1
Commercial and Managerial	8	42
Postmen and artisans	1	13
Fathers deceased	8	12
	56	95

As can be seen from Table 10.1, the bulk of the school's pupils did not come from the monied classes and most parents felt compelled to set their daughters to work at a fairly early age.

(42) B.E., 'Report on Notre Dame H.S. for the School Year 1906-7,' 3rd Aug., 1907, P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.
(43) N.D.G.M. 27th Nov., 1908. N.D.A.
(44) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1908, p.2.

Table 10.2 - Notre Dame High School: Leaving and Distribution of Pupils By Age, 1907[45]

Number in School on 12th May 1908 aged		Number who left in 1907	
under 9 years	80	under age of 9	11
9 years	7	at age of 9	1
10 years	10	10	1
11 years	6	11	2
12 years	12	12	4
13 years	17	13	3
14 years	20	14	3
15 years	13	15	10
16 years	10	16	4
17 years	14	17	2
18 years or over	26	18	1

The heavy loss of girls at the top end of the school/shown in Table 10.2 could not but have had a deleterious effect upon the standard of work in the Upper Classes which was rather lower than that in the rest of the school.[46] Certain funds were available for assisting necessitous pupils, however. The Diocese, for example, gave a grant to every secondary school in its area for bursaries and scholarships. In 1907 this amounted to £52. 10. 0d. per school.[47]

The general policy regarding scholarships was, understandably, that of simple compliance with the Regulations for Secondary Schools, and in the years prior to the outbreak of World War I the local authority also awarded certain pupil-teacher bursaries to girls at Notre Dame but it was not until after World War I that some provision of scholarships for the full secondary course was made. Only half-a-dozen were given, however, and this was clearly not going to have any real effect upon Notre Dame's

(45) Ibid., p.2.
(46) Ibid., p.6.
(47) N.D.G.M., 27th Nov., 1908.

total problem of lengthening the school life of its pupils. In the first few years after the end of World War I the length of school life and the average leaving age of the girls gave cause for concern. There was some slight improvement in 1921-2, but even then 56% of the girls leaving were aged under fifteen and their average school life over the age of twelve was only 2 years 7 months.[48] The school's practice of allowing a significant number of girls to enter the school, other than as transfers from other secondary institutions, over the age of twelve, exacerbated the problem. Again, the immediate post-war years witnessed an improvement with such over-age admissions showing a steady drop from 66 in September 1919, to 36 in the following year and 33 in 1921, but even though they fell yet again in September 1922 to nineteen this was a level which was still too high to be satisfactory.[49]

Parents were already required to sign a written agreement regarding the length of time which they would keep their daughters at the school, and in an attempt to make this more effective the Governors decided in 1925 to appoint a three-member sub-committee to interview parents who were contemplating withdrawing their children before the Agreement had been completed.[50] This seemed to work fairly well[51] and by 1931 only 10% of the leavers were under fifteen years of age: a decade before the figure had been 56%.[52]

A more helpful attitude on the part of the Sheffield Education Committee eventually contributed in this respect. In 1924 the school Governors proposed that the Committee should give some guarantee that Roman Catholics who passed the authority's Examination for Entrance into Secondary Schools should be sent to Catholic schools, but nothing came

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(48) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1923, p.3.
(49) Ibid., p.5.
(50) N.D.G.M., 1st July, 1925.
(51) N.D.G.M., 28th June, 1926.
(52) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1932, p.2.

of this. The Governors were also disturbed by the fact that if more than six candidates for scholarships qualified the authority sent them somewhere other than Notre Dame. Since 25-30% free places were given each year, Canon Dolan suggested that the Education Committee be notified that Notre Dame was willing to take all Roman Catholics who passed the examination besides the six who won the l.e.a. scholarships.[53] This time the authority's response was more positive and in 1925 it decided to rescind the original motion restricting the number of Committee scholarships tenable at Notre Dame to six, and resolved that in future arrangements should be made for Catholic girl candidates who became entitled to the award of free places on the basis of their results in the Committee's Entrance Examination to hold their scholarships at Notre Dame.[54] Perhaps even more significant than this, however, was its decision in 1928 to permit the parents of those scholarship holders to apply, when their daughters were fourteen years of age, for maintenance allowances on exactly the same basis as the parents of pupils at the municipal secondary schools.[55]

By 1932, of the 427 girls in the Main School 197, i.e. 47%, were the holders of free places. Of those 197 places, 105 were awarded by the Governors, 70 by the Sheffield Education Committee, 10 by the West Riding authority, 6 by Rotherham, 3 by Barnsley, 2 by Derbyshire and 1 by Nottinghamshire.[56] Under the arrangements then in operation the free places given by the Sheffield authority were reserved for Roman Catholics, and the Governing Body then awarded free places to Catholic girls sufficient, with the pupils promoted from the Preparatory Department and the new fee-payers, to make up three first-year forms. In addition to this, the Governors awarded Notre Dame Scholarships to girls already in the school who might

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(53) N.D.G.M., 7th May, 1924.
(54) H.E.S.C., 14th Aug., 1925, S.E.C.M. 1925-6, p. 193.
(55) Scholarships and Maintenance Allowances Section (S.M.A.S.) 14th Feb., 1928, S.E.C.M. 1927-8, p. 563.
(56) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1932, p.2.

otherwise have left. Five such awards were made in 1932. Finally, there was the provision that these Notre Dame Scholarships could include maintenance grants in necessitous cases.

All these measures wrought some improvement in the average length of school life of the Notre Dame pupils and by 1930-31 the average leaving age had been raised to 16 years 9 months, and the average length of school life over the age of eleven stood at 4 years 10 months.(57) The onset of economic depression in the early thirties, however, precipitated an alarming increase in the number of unauthorised withdrawals before the age of sixteen.(58) The Governors, decided, therefore, to revive the former practice of interviewing parents who were intending to withdraw their daughters and this, combined with the easing of the economic climate, produced a "gratifying diminution"(59) of unauthorised withdrawals, but the problem persisted in some degree throughout the decade despite the continuing activity of the gubernatorial sub-committee on early withdrawals.(60)

These questions of the length of school life and the provision of scholarships and free places also served to highlight the further problems of the school's finances and of its uneasy relations with the local authority. In the first decade of the century the Governors and the local authority had disagreed over the role of the school's pupil-teacher centre and even when it was decided not to extend representation on the Governing body to neighbouring contributory l.e.a.s but to offer it solely to the Sheffield Education Committee(61) matters did not improve appreciably. The authority had readily conceded that Notre Dame fulfilled a useful role in the secondary provision of the area(62) but for 25 years it was reluctant to commit itself to anything but the most minimal

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(57) Form 372 A.S., 2nd Feb., 1932, P.R.O. Ed 35/6777.
(58) Headmistress Notre Dame H.S., 'Progress of the School since the Full Inspection Feb. and Mar. 1932', unpub. M.S., 27th June, 1934, N.D.A.
(59) N.D.G.M., 4th Nov., 1935,
(60) Headmistress N.D.H.S., 'Report to Governors for 1938-9', unpub. M.S., 6th July, 1939, N.D.A.
(61) N.D.G.M., 25th Feb., 1920.
(62) Sheffield Town Clerk to B.E., 13th Mar., 1908, P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.

financial aid. As has been seen, after 1918 it did offer scholarships which were tenable at the school, but they were only six in number. In 1925 the Education Committee agreed to allow girls who passed its Examination for Entrance into Secondary Schools to attend Notre Dame if they so desired, but, whilst this more generous policy obviously helped, attempts to extend the privilege to girls who qualified for Intermediate Schools failed[63] and in 1934 only 24 free places were offered by the Committee to girls entering Notre Dame in September of that year. This was out of a total of just under one thousand free place awards which the authority made at that time.[64]

The Headmistress of Notre Dame was also of the opinion that there was considerable pressure on Catholic children to induce them to enter non-Catholic intermediate schools at the age of eleven plus rather than denominational schools. This pressure arose from the fact that girls who obtained a place on the authority's Entrance Examination Order of Merit List sufficiently high to earn them a place in an Intermediate School could, by going to a municipal school, secure the free use of books, the freedom to leave at fourteen, secondary education without the conditions required by a secondary school, and maintenance allowances at fourteen if they did decide to stay beyond that age.[65] There could be no question of Notre Dame freely allowing its pupils to leave at the age of fourteen, for its School Certificate classes did not sit the examination until the fifth year, unlike those in the municipal schools where it was the practice to take the examination after only four years. Certain necessitous girls were given the free use of books by the Sister Superior but it was not possible for the Order, with its strictly limited financial resources, to match in

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(63) S.E.C., 27th July, 1925 and 24th Aug., 1925, S.E.C.M. 1925-6, p. 186 and p. 218.

(64) S.M.A.S. 12th July, 1934, S.E.C.M. 1934-5, p. 233.

(65) Headmistress N.D.H.S. 'Report to Governors' 27th June, 1934, unpub. M.S. N.D.A.

any way the maintenance allowances which the local authority was able to offer. There were numerous instances of girls holding Notre Dame scholarships who had applied to the corporation for small maintenance allowances and who had been told that they should have elected to go to one of the authority's Intermediate Schools where a maintenance grant would have been assured. As good Catholics, the parents felt that they could not send their daughters to a non-denominational intermediate school when there was a Catholic secondary school open to them, and the Headmistress saw this as yet another example of the pressure which the Education Committee was bringing to bear upon pupils to, as she put it, "frequent" non-Catholic schools.

It could not have been with much hope to success, therefore, that the Headmistress, in 1938, again pressed her Governors to seek from the Sheffield authority that additional assistance which the Notre Dame schools in London, St. Helens, Norwich and Manchester were currently receiving from their local authorities.(66) A similar plea for additional monies from the civic purse had been rejected in 1930.(67) In 1938 the outcome was the same.

The simple fact of the matter was that the local council was prepared to go very little beyond its minimum statutory financial obligations. In view of the parsimonious attitude which it adopted towards its own schools it would have been surprising, indeed, if its policy towards the independent denominational schools had been anything other than frugal. Thus, Notre Dame was left to rely primarily on its own resources. These were, at the best of times, slender. At the very beginning of its secondary life the school had an adverse balance of £281, but this figure did not take account of the late payment of the Board of Education grant which

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(66) See below p. 313.
(67) H.E.S.C., 17th Feb., 1930, S.E.C.M. 1929-30, p. 622.

would have reduced the deficit by £66, and by the end of the academic and financial year 1906-7 the debt had been reduced to only £55 8s. 7½d.[68] This had been achieved, however, only by the owners themselves making a donation of nearly £350 to the school.[69]

The school continued to function in this manner right up to the outbreak of World War I. In the year 1910-11, for example, voluntary contributions, at £682, were the largest source of income, fees bringing in only £615 and grants from the Board of Education £522.[70] Three years later, the Sisters themselves donated £319 in order to balance the accounts.[71]

The immediate post-war period brought no easing of the position and in 1919 the Governors were compelled to apply for Board approval for raising the fees, which at that moment were quite low compared to those of many other schools.[72] It was proposed to increase the tuition fees in the Lower Forms from £3 15s. 0d. to £9 9s. 0d. p.a. and those in the Upper forms from £7, 10s, 0d. to £12 12s. 0d. p.a.[73] This increase did not in any way inhibit the increase in numbers which the school had begun to experience around 1912, and over the period 1914-23 the number of pupils on the school's roll more than doubled. The largest increase occurred in the Preparatory Department where numbers almost quadrupled, but higher up the school there was also an increase and whereas in 1914 there were only 11 girls over the age of sixteen, by 1923 there were thirty-three.[74] The latter figure was, of course, still disturbingly low but at least the trend was in the right direction.

During the early thirties the school's total annual expenditure was around £9,300, whilst the largest sources of income were £4,054 from

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(68) B.E. Dept. Min., unsigned, n.d. (prob. C. 1908), P.R.O. Ed. 35/3053.
(69) N.D.G.M., 9th April, 1908.
(70) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1912, p.1.
(71) N.D.G.M., 10th July, 1914.
(72) N.D.G.M., 9th Dec., 1919.
(73) H.E.S.C., 14th May, 1920, S.E.C.M. 1920-1, p. 62.
(74) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1923, p.3.

the Board of Education and £4378 from tuition fees. Approximately 38% of the total number of pupils on the roll were either wholly or partly exempt from the payment of fees. These exemptions were provided as shown in Table 10.3 below.

Table 10.3 - Numbers of Pupils Exempt from Tuition Fees, Notre Dame H.S. 1932 (75)

	Number of Scholarships provided by			
	Governing Body	Sheffield L.E.A.s	Other L.E.A.s	Total
Wholly	118	57	6	181
Partially	17	-	-	17

Thus, 34.3% of all the pupils in the school were totally exempt from the payment of fees and a further 3.2% were partially exempt. All of these scholarships were held in the Main school and if one calculates the percentages in terms not of the entire school population but rather in terms of the number of girls aged eleven and over, then one finds that no less than 46% of the pupils were exempt in some degree from the payment of fees. Although the absence of any real system of maintenance allowances was an obviously inhibiting element, the fact that 46% of the secondary pupils, were, by 1932, either totally or partially exempt from fees helped not only to increase the average length of school life of the Notre Dame girls to around 16 years 9 months, but also thereby to increase the number who sat for public examinations.

(75) Form 363S, 2nd Feb., 1932, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6777.

Table 10.4 - Number of Notre Dame Pupils taking the First and Second Examinations 1928-31[76]

	First Examination		Second Examination	
	Sat	Passed	Sat	Passed
1928-29	67	38	11	8
1929-30	76	51	11	5
1930-31	78	48	7	4

Unfortunately, data on the number of girls taking public examinations is far from complete. For the period before 1914 it is virtually non-existent and even for the inter-war period there are large gaps. It is evident from the reports of H.M. Inspectors that, as one would have expected of a school of Notre Dame's status, the Junior and Senior University Local Examinations were taken,[77] but no statistics are available to show the degree of success which was obtained. After the war the papers of the Northern Universities Joint Board were taken but there is no reliable documentation of the results before 1927.

As can be seen from Table 10.5 (overleaf), the number of girls staying on to take the School Certificate examination rose steadily until 1930 when 43% of those leaving over the age of fourteen gained their Certificate.[78] The Great Depression precipitated a decline but by the end of the mid-1930s recovery was apparent.

The picture at Higher Certificate level is fairly similar but a little less clear-cut. The number of girls gaining this Certificate rose

(76) Form 372 AS, 27th Feb., 1932, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6777.
(77) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1908, p. 12.
(78) Form 372 A.S., P.R.O. Ed. 35/6777.

Table 10.5 - Public Examination Results, Notre Dame High School 1927-37[79]

	SCHOOL CERTIFICATE			HIGHER CERTIFICATE	
	PASSED	with MATRICULATION	DISTINCT.	Number of Girls Gaining Full Certificate	Number of Girls Gaining Subsidiary Passes
1927	14	11		7	8
1928	32	14		8	13
1929	40	12		8	8
1930	53	19		5	7
1931	49	15		4	7
1932	-	-	-	-	-
1933	27	15	14	3	9
1934	32	17	22	5	27*
1935	33	9	20	3	15
1936	45	19	10	4	52*
1937	34	14	21	6	53*

* Total number of subject passes.

(79) Extracted from Agamus, Nos. 9-13. Oct. 1927-Oct. 1931 and Nos. 15-19, Oct. 1933 - Oct. 1937. (No. 14, Oct. 1932 is missing, as are those for 1938 and 1939).

from only one in 1922,[80] to seven or eight each year by the end of the decade. The early thirties witnessed a fall-back and even by 1937 the numbers had not regained the levels of the late 1920s. Two State Scholarships were won in 1928 and two more the following year.[81] A small but generally steady number of girls proceeded to the universities, mostly to Sheffield but also to Liverpool and London as well as to Oxford, where, in the period 1929-32, for example, five girls won Open Scholarships or Exhibitions. During that same period three girls gained entrance to Liverpool University and nine to Sheffield University, whilst thirty-eight went to teacher training colleges.[82] Notre Dame also laid claim to providing Sheffield's first woman barrister, Miss J.A.C. Mackie.[83]

A number of girls were entered in March each year for the Higher School Religious Certificate, an examination in which the school had a very distinguished record. In 1935, for example, four distinctions and twelve credits were obtained with no mere passes and no failures.[84] Similar successes were obtained by the girls who sat for the School Religious Certificate. Finally, those girls with artistic talent were entered for the examinations of the Royal Drawing Society and the Royal Academy of Music.

From the early days when the girls were complimented on their "neat appearance" and "unaffected, courteous manners",[85] the school seems to have succeeded in its task of providing a good denominational secondary education for the Catholic girls of the area. In fulfilling this role it was at the same time assisting the local authority in fulfilling the obligations which the Balfour Act had laid upon it, for it was providing

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(80) Agamus, No. 4, Jan. 1923, p. 52.
(81) S.M.A.S., 5th Nov., 1928, S.E.C.M. 1928-9, p. 436. and 12th Sept., 1929, S.E.C.M. 1929-30, p. 364.
(82) Form 363S, 2nd Feb., 1932, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6777.
(83) Agamus, No. 9, Oct. 1927. pp. 72-73.
(84) Headmistress N.D.H.S. 'Report for School Year 1934-5', 4th Nov. 1935.
(85) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1923, p. 13 and N.D.H.S. Report 1932, p. 13.

secondary schooling for some 500 pupils who otherwise would have had to be educated by the Authority. Moreover, only just over half the girls on the roll at Notre Dame were, according to the figures for 1932, Roman Catholics.(86) Thus, the school was assisting the civic authorities not only by educating its own flock but also by providing a secondary education for many Protestants who otherwise would either have had to be content with an elementary education, or who would have added to the already considerable pressure on the city's far from adequate provision of secondary places. That in the process the school should have received almost no financial assistance whatsoever from the city is but further evidence of the narrowly parsimonious attitude which the latter generally adopted throughout this period.

With all the educational constraints which its limited funding entailed it was not possible for Notre Dame to match the records of academic excellence which were achieved by, say, the scholars of Girls'Public Day School Trust institutions. It would also be true to say that simply because it was a denominational school the aggregate population from which it could draw its intake was necessarily more limited than those of the public secondary schools - hence, its academic potential was that much more limited. Nevertheless, the school did achieve a high percentage pass rate among those girls who stayed to take their public examinations; it won the odd State Scholarship; and it sent to the universities a proportion of its senior girls which, whilst lower than that of the Central Secondary School for Girls, compared not unfavourably with that of the Abbeydale Girls' School.

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(86) H.M.I., N.D.H.S. Report 1908, p. 12.

It might have been expected that Notre Dame, being denied civic funding, would have experienced problems of accommodation which were more acute than those of the municipal secondary schools. In fact, the Cavendish Street buildings were fairly commodious and were able to cope quite adequately with the five hundred girls who eventually occupied those premises. The School was frequently in debt but the Order as a whole still found it possible to raise sufficient capital to launch a small new school at Oakbrook in 1934. That school, which comprised only 139 pupils,[87] amalgamated with Notre Dame in 1948,[88] having initially been something of a drain upon the older-established institution both in terms of staff and pupils; but the effects were only temporary and Notre Dame emerged as strong as before. Its corporate life was never as vigorous or multifarious as those of the municipal secondary schools, but by the end of the inter-war period the school could claim a fair measure of success in achieving its aim of providing a sound denominational secondary education for the Catholic girls of Sheffield.

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(87) H.M.I., Report on the Inspection of Notre Dame Oakbrook H.S., Oct. 1937, p.2. N.D.A.

(88) Centenary, p. 12.

CHAPTER 11

DE LA SALLE COLLEGE FOR BOYS

The considerable increase in the Roman Catholic population of Sheffield which took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, and which impelled the foundation of the Notre Dame High School for girls, naturally demanded that some provision be made for the secondary education of Catholic boys. It has been a characteristic of the development of Roman Catholic education in England, however, that there has been a great preponderance of girls' schools over boys' - by as much as 5-1 according to one estimate[1] - and in Sheffield, although it was not a question of the girls' schools far outnumbering the boys', it was the case that the girls were provided for well before the boys for, it will be recalled, it was in 1855 that the Order of Notre Dame had sent the first Sisters to Sheffield.

For some twenty years after that date it was impossible for Sheffield boys to obtain anything other than an elementary education in a Catholic school. Like the rest of the country, Sheffield Catholics suffered from the discrepancy which existed in the size and energy of the religious orders which existed for men and for women. As far back as 1852 the superiority of the then existing convent schools over the corresponding schools for boys was noted in a report on the Catholic schools,[2] but the opening of Oxford and Cambridge to Catholics and the Balfour Act's encouragement of public aid for secondary education prompted Roman Catholic parents to demand the provision of Catholic boys' schools which matched those of the public sector.

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(1) H.O. Evennett, The Catholic Schools of England and Wales, Cambridge, 1944, p. 38.

(2) Ibid., p. 42. He does not quote his source.

Several orders responded to this demand, among them the Brothers of the Christian Schools who, in 1911, took charge of a school in St. Helens which had been opened twelve years previously as a Catholic grammar school affording boys similar opportunities to those already offered to girls by a school which the Sisters of Notre Dame had set up there a little earlier. There were, in September 1911, only 37 boys on the rolls, and although Board of Education recognition was accorded in the first year of peace there were still only 130 pupils in the school in 1921.(3)

The response which the Catholics of Sheffield made to the need to provide a denominational secondary education for their sons was rather more delayed in manifesting itself, and it was not until 1923 that it became possible for a bright Catholic boy to receive a denominational secondary education in the city. Two factors may be adduced to explain this delay. Firstly, in 1902 the Liberals were in control of the city council and they undertook to carry out fairly the provisions of the 1902 Act if the Conservatives would undertake never to ask for a secondary denominational school to be put on the rates.(4) The Church of England school authorities agreed to this but the Roman Catholics wanted to be free to work for a school of their own - though, as will be seen, this was a few years in materialising. Secondly, it was the Catholics' view that McKenna's revision of the Regulations for Secondary Schools in 1907 made it virtually impossible for a new school to be included on the Grant List unless it, in effect, became undenominational.(5) These Regulations were not modified to Catholic satisfaction until the Fisher Act.

This made a Catholic Secondary School in Sheffield feasible and the local action group, The Sheffield and District Committee for

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(3) P.R. Cusack, 'The De La Salle Secondary Schools in the English Provincialate 1855-1964', unpub. M.Ed. thesis, University of Manchester, 1972, p. 52.

(4) Anon., 'Sheffield Catholics and Secondary Schools,' The Tablet, 30th Dec., 1922.

(5) P.R. Cusack, p. 69.

Roman Catholic Secondary Education, asked the De La Salle Brother Provincial on what terms he would be prepared to take charge of a proprietary school which they were hoping to establish at Scott Road in the Pitsmoor district of the city.[6] The house which the Committee were intending to use was Osgathorpe Hills, which at one time had been the home of Henry Joseph Wilson, a Radical reformer, and prominent worker in the cause of Irish Home Rule.[7] The Provincial, Brother Benedict, duly visited the premises and agreed to take charge of the boys' education and purchase the property subject to the school being recognised by the Board of Education.[8] Having been given this undertaking, the Sheffield Catholic Committee proceeded to purchase Osgathorpe Hills. The price of £2,500 was, in the architect's view, considerably below the property's real market value[9] and plans for its adaptation into a school were submitted for central government approval.[10]

In communicating this information to the Board, the Secretary of the Sheffield Catholic Committee, E.G. Dignam, argued that, in addition to there being no Catholic Secondary School for boys anywhere in the immediate area, it was universally acknowledged that the provision of secondary education in the city was insufficient for the needs of the population.[11] Of this there could be no doubt, and the Director of Education himself came close to admitting as much some six months later when he gave a series of six lectures on "Education in Sheffield". In the first of these lectures, he appended to some highly critical observations on the state of elementary

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(6) E.G. Dignam (Sec. Sheff. & Dist. Committee for R.C. Sec. Ed.) to Bro. Provincial, 18th Aug., 1921, (Provincialate Archives). The correspondence files have disappeared from the Prov. Arch. which now contain for the period 1902-39 only a few conveyances and the 'Community History'. This and later references to the Prov. Arch. are, therefore, derived from P.R. Cusack.

(7) Mosa Anderson, Henry Joseph Wilson: Fighter for Freedom, 1953, pp. 62-3.

(8) Dignam to B.E. 27th April, 1922, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.

(9) J.E. Whitehead, (architect) to Dignam, 30th Aug., 1922, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.

(10) Whitehead to B.E. 26th April, 1922, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.

(11) See above p. 253-4 and below pp. 359-60.

education the information that Sheffield was then providing six secondary places for every one thousand children. Earlier in that talk he had stated that tests (of an unspecified nature) had shown that only one eighth of the children qualified by age for entry into a secondary school had shown themselves also qualified by ability for such an education. Thus, he concluded, the secondary provision which Sheffield was making "might be sufficient for the moment", though he did have the prudence to add that this would not be the case in years to come.(12)

Even more alarming than Sharp's complacency, however, were the comparisons with the statistics of secondary provision in other large cities which he quoted. In Liverpool and Manchester there were ten secondary places for every thousand children; in Leeds fifteen; and in Bradford twenty-one. However, when the Board of Education invited the authority's observations on the proposal to open a secondary school for Catholic boys the Higher-Education Sub-Committee, to whom the matter had been referred, recommended that the Board be advised that such provision could "not be regarded as a necessary or integral part of the provision of secondary education for the city of Sheffield".(13) This recommendation had, of course, to be endorsed by the full Education Committee and when the Sub-Committee's Report containing that recommendation came to be debated Cn. Gainsford and Canon Dolan, who had been the Catholic community's respresentative on the Committee since 1903, moved an amendment welcoming the new provision. This amendment was defeated but the debate on it did have the effect of persuading the Committee to content itself merely with informing the Board that they had "no observations to offer on the proposed provision."(14)

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(12) S.D.I., 2nd Oct., 1922.
(13) H.E.S.C., 14th Sept., 1922; S.E.C.M. 1922-23, p. 223.
(14) S.E.C., 25th Sept., 1922, S.E.C.M. 1922-3, p. 256.

Subsequently, a deputation went to London to see the new President of the Board, E.F.L. Wood.[15] The outcome of this was an indication by Wood that the Board were prepared to consider favourably the provision of the new school and its acceptance, when provided, for grant.[16] However, this intimation did not produce the upsurge in public financial support which the Catholic authorities had hoped for and there was even some doubt as to whether it would be possible to commence work on the new buildings which had been planned.[17]

Nevertheless, in August 1923 a provisional three-year Agreement between the Catholic Schools' Committee and the Brothers of the Christian Schools was signed and the school opened on 11th September, 1923, with a mere 38 boys in attendance.[18] Their ages ranged from 9¼ years to 14½ years, but the school's Admissions Register contains data on the parental occupations of only seven of them. All these belong to either Class III or Class IV of the 1911 census classification. It is impossible to say how far these seven cases were typical of the whole, but they at any rate lent some substance to Dolan's earlier contention that the school was intended for the sons of working men.[19]

Under the terms of this first Agreement the Brothers were to furnish the house and school whilst the Catholic Committee were to pay all rates and taxes.

Difficulty had already been experienced in raising the funds necessary to found the school and finance continued to be the dominating problem throughout the rest of the inter-war period. It was from the basic financial limitations of the school that nearly all its other problems flowed. The inadequacy of the premises, the paucity of the equipment, the

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(15) Dignam to Hope, 29th Mar., 1923 and Hope to Dignam, 9th April, 1923. Quoted by P.R. Cusack, p. 71. (J.F. Hope was a Sheffield M.P.)
(16) Wood to Hope, 13th April, 1923. P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(17) B.E. to Dignam, 17th April, 1923, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(18) Green and Gold, (De La Salle College Magazine), 1958. p. 54.
(19) Dolan to Fisher, 9th Oct., 1922, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.

remuneration and calibre of its staff, the battle for recognition by the Board - all these problems flowed directly from the school's basic financial weakness. The refusal of the local authority to do anything more than fund six free places at the school clearly did not help matters,[20] and the mediocrity of the premises, the limitations of the staff and the underlying doubts about finance, meant that at the beginning Board of Education recognition was out of the question. Thus, a further source of income, government grants, was denied the school. Moreover, it was not until 1927, after Board recognition had been accorded, that the authority made any contribution to the school at all, and then only a niggardly six places.[21] Canon Dolan, therefore, had just cause for expressing the hope that the authority would be more generous to them in the future than they had been in the past, Little or nothing was done, however, and five years later he reiterated his criticisms with even greater force and justification.[22]

Finance, as might have been expected, proved to be one of the grounds on which the Board of Education refused, in January 1926, to place the school on the list of recognised secondary schools.[23] The poor quality of the buildings, which was wholly attributable to the Catholics' impecuniosity, and the rather meagre qualifications and experience of the staff, which were partly attributable to the same cause, were the other two reasons for recognition being withheld. However the Governors impressed upon the Board the fact that many would-be benefactors had promised support if recognition were accorded. The Board were persuaded by these assurances and dropped their reservations about the school's ability to maintain itself financially.[24] Improvements in the staffing and undertakings regarding

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(20) B.E., Dept. Min. 26th Feb., 1925, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(21) H.E.S.C., 11th Mar., 1927, S.E.C.M. 1926-7, p. 580.
(22) Canon O. Dolan, "Secondary Schools - What the Roman Catholics Claim", S.D.T. 22nd Feb., 1930.
(23) B.E. to Gould (Sec. D.L.S. Govs.) 22nd Jan., 1926, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(24) B.E., Dept. Memo, 18th Dec., 1926. P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.

the premises allayed most official fears and De La Salle College was placed on the grant list on 1st January, 1927. Central grants, however, did not transform the school's fortunes, and by 1929 its financial difficulties had reached ominous proportions. The loss for the first half of 1927 had amounted to £700, while the bank overdraft was about £2,000. The bank demanded £1,200 by the end of the year and, although the local parish clergy were prepared to provide half of that sum, Canon Dolan was forced to inform the Brother Provincial that unless the Order could subscribe the other half it might be necessary to consider closing the college.[25]

During the period 1924-27, the Catholic Committee, nominally lay but powerless without the support and good-will of the parish priests, did not make any really serious attempt to raise money,[26] and the diocesan authorities, in whom ultimate control rested, found themselves involved in considerable expenditure on elementary education.[27] They were, therefore, in no position to mount a rescue operation and the situation was further exacerbated by demands for additional accommodation to house the steadily rising numbers of pupils. It was at this juncture that the parish priests proposed that the Brothers be charged a rent of £500 for the use of the college.[28] Understandably, Brother Provincial refused to agree to this demand since the Brothers at the school had been working for food and clothing only. Their salaries on Burnham would have amounted to £2,340 p.a. but their actual income was not enough to pay for their clothing, which had to be supplied by him. He proposed rather that a new three-year salary agreement be drawn up whereby the Community would receive £754 a year less than they were entitled to, and he added that if this were not acceptable it would be best to dispose of the college or hand it over to others.[29]

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(25) Dolan to Bro. Joseph, 26th Sept., 1927, Prov. Arch. P.R. Cusack, p. 78.
(26) Bro. Kevin (Headmaster D.L.S.) to Bro. Joseph, 3rd Oct., 1927, Prov. Arch. P.R. Cusack, p. 78.
(27) Hayes (Chairman D.L.S. Govs.) to B.E., 3rd Oct., 1929, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(28) Bro. Kevin to Bro. Joseph, 3rd Oct., 1927, Prov. Arch. P.R. Cusack, p. 79.
(29) Bro. Joseph to Dolan, 9th Oct., 1927, Prov. Arch. P.R. Cusack, pp. 79-80.

The Catholic Committee declined to accept this proposal and later suggested that they sell their share of the cost of the school and its improvements, valued at £11,260, to the Brothers for £4,500. After protracted negotiations the Brothers' final offer of £4,000 was accepted by the Committee and the deeds of the college and grounds were transferred on 30th September, 1929 on payment of this amount.(30)

A new Governing Body was appointed early in 1930 and a new Instrument of Government was approved by the Board of Education on 1st May, 1930.(31) Under this a two-tier system of Central and Local Governing Bodies was established. The former was to regulate finance, nominate ten members of the School Governing Board, and appoint and dismiss the Headmaster, and assistant teachers; whilst the latter was to be responsible for matters such as the curriculum.

The first problem with which the new Governing Bodies had to deal was that of the shortcomings of the premises, particularly with regard to the teaching of Science and Manual Instruction. In December 1926 it had been made a condition of recognition that the Governors provided a full-sized Science Laboratory and Manual Instruction room within two years,(32) and when, by 1929, these facilities still had not been provided, the Board were compelled to inform the Governors that, subject to any representations they might wish to make to them, the Board would withdraw recognition for grant as from 1st January, 1930.(33) It was in reply to this communication that Hayes, the Chairman of the Governors, informed the Board of the purchase of the College by the Christian Brothers on 30th September, 1929,(34) and the Board agreed to stay their hand.

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(30) Epitome of Conveyance, 30th Sept., 1929, Prov. Arch.
(31) Instrument of Government, De La Salle College, Sheffield, 1st May, 1930, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(32) B.E. to Gould, 22nd Dec., 1926, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(33) B.E. to Gould, 13th Sept., 1929, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(34) Hayes to B.E. 3rd Oct., 1929, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.

It had been the intention of the Sheffield Catholic Committee when they had purchased Osgathorpe Hills not only to adapt the house but also to erect new building in the 4½ acres of grounds. The plans which were submitted to the Board of Education in April, 1922 were for a two-storey building, the ground floor of which was to contain an Assembly Hall, five classrooms, a library, the Head's study and a Sixth Form room, along with the staff room and various cloakrooms. On the first floor were three classrooms, two prep. rooms and other cloakrooms. Various outbuildings were to be adapted for Manual Instruction and store purposes, and one, a mere 20' x 43' was to be used for gymnastics. The existing house was to provide living quarters for the brothers and dining accommodation for the boys.(35)

The new buildings were completed in the Spring of 1925, but it was the opinion of the H.M.I. that there was still "a crying need as to the premises",(36) and the condition was imposed that a new laboratory and a new Manual Instruction room be provided within two years. It was the failure to comply with this condition that brought the threat of the withdrawal of recognition in September, 1929.

Finance remained the great stumbling-block to further extensions, however, and the Trustees were compelled to request that if the cost proved to be too high for their limited resources to meet, the Board should waive for a period of five years the obligation with regard to a Manual Instruction Room in favour of a physics laboratory which the Governors considered highly desirable to complete the scheme.(37)

In fact, the plans for extensions which were submitted included no provision for a modern Manual Instruction room and the Board apparently did not insist upon its inclusion, for when the new buildings were opened

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(35) Whitehead (architect) to B.E., 26th April, 1922, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(36) B.E. Dept. Memo., 18th Dec., 1926, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(37) Gould to B.E., 28th Sept., 1929, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.

in the Autumn of 1930 they included, in addition to five classrooms, a chemistry laboratory, a prep.-room and a physics laboratory but no Manual Instruction room.[38] There was still no gymnasium and, indeed, it was not until 1933 that it was possible to fit the Hall with gymnastic apparatus.[39] Although the buildings were still far from ideal, the extensions of 1930 were sufficiently substantial to obviate further criticism by the Board on that score, at least before the outbreak of World War II.

By 1939 much had also been done to improve the academic calibre of the staff - another count on which the Board had frequently been compelled to upbraid the school. In 1922 Canon Dolan had argued that only the difficulty of obtaining a suitable staff had delayed for so long the establishment of a Catholic secondary school for boys in the city. That problem, he believed, had been overcome by securing the services of the Brothers of Christian Schools,[40] but the Board were not so readily persuaded.[41] H.M.I. Newbold, for example, was of the opinion that the Governors did not fully realise the resources of staff, as well as money, which were needed to run a secondary school on approximately normal lines. He was particularly disturbed by the fact that the Brothers' pedagogical training was mainly elementary, that their experience had been gained chiefly on the Continent, and that none of the masters teaching French possessed a specialist qualification in that language.[42]

These criticisms were somewhat harsh for two of the four Brothers were graduates with university Diplomas in Education, a third was due to graduate that year and the fourth, who later became Assistant to the Superior General with responsibility for all establishments in Britain, Australia and the Far East, held a teacher's certificate. Of the two lay members of

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(38) Community History, 1930, p.9.
(39) Community History, 1933, p. 10.
(40) Dolan to Fisher, 9th Oct., 1922, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(41) Wood to Hope, 13th April, 1923 and Hart to Dignam, 17th April, 1923, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(42) 'Report on the Suitability of a School to be placed on the list of secondary schools eligible for grants', 15th Aug., 1925, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.

staff, one possessed an M.Sc. and a Diploma in Education, whilst the other held a B.Comm. degree.[43] Moreover, only two members of the staff had taught abroad, and although it was true that none of the staff teaching French was a specialist in that subject, Brother O'Connor had studied the language for his B.A. and Licientate of the College of Preceptors examinations, and both he and Brother McKenny frequently visited the Continent in order to improve their knowledge of the spoken language.[44]

Only six months later, however, the Board were of the opinion that recognition could be granted since "as regards staff and educational efficiency the school (was) in a considerably better position" than when the previous application had been turned down.[45] The fact that the Board were prepared at that juncture, after only two changes of staff, to give a favourable verdict upon the calibre and efficiency of the teachers at De La Salle was perhaps a belated admission that their initial verdict had been unwarrantably harsh.

When the school opened in 1923 the Community comprised only four Brothers, including the Headmaster, but by 1931 a five-fold increase in the student population had compelled the assignment of three more clerics to the staff and the employment of several lay teachers.[46] The number of boys in the school fluctuated only slightly during the rest of the decade, a peak of 289 being reached in September 1938. This was an increase of thirty-four on the previous year and of twenty on the previous highest figure. In October, 1938, a Brother with an Honours arts degree replaced a member of the lay staff, whose numbers thus fell to eight full-time and two part-time teachers, but by the late 1930s the number of Brothers on the staff had fallen to only four.[47]

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(43) D.L.S. Archives, Names and Qualifications of Staff, Oct., 1925, quoted by P.R. Cusack, p. 75.
(44) Gould to B.E., 21st May, 1925, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(45) B.E., Dept. Memo, 18th Dec., 1926, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.
(46) Community History, 1931, p.9.
(47) Community History, 1938, p. 13.

This change in the proportions of the lay and clerical staff naturally had important financial consequences for the Order, for whilst the Brothers received no real remuneration the lay staff had to be paid salaries. Initially, these were below Burnham level but in 1936 the Governors committed themselves to paying full Burnham rates. Pressure for this undertaking had come from the local authority which had made the payment of full Burnham salaries a condition of its agreeing to pay increased fees for its free and special place holders at the college. This increase, from 12 guineas p.a. to 15 guineas, was, of course, a general increase applicable to all pupils at the school, but the Education Committee took the opportunity to bring certain pressure to bear in order to secure the implementation of desired policies. Thus, the authority insisted not only that Burnham salaries be paid to the lay members of the staff from the date of the increase in tuition fee, but also that the number of lay teachers in full-time service at the college be not reduced below the existing level, which was then five.(48)

It will be recalled that in 1922, when the Board of Education had sought the authority's views on the proposed provision of a new secondary school for Catholic boys, the Higher Education Sub-Committee had been of the opinion that such a school could not be regarded as a necessary or integral part of secondary education in the city. This adverse view had not been endorsed by the full Committee, which contented itself by informing the Board that it had no observations to offer.(49) The Board, however, were fully aware of the Higher Education Sub-Committee's views for a local press cutting detailing the Sub-Committee's recommendation was forwarded to Whitehall by a member of the Inspectorate.(50)

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(48) H.E.S.C., 20th Jan., 1936, S.E.C.M. 1935-6, p. 553.
(49) H.E.S.C. 14th Sept., 1922 and S.E.C. 25th Sept., 1922. S.E.C.M. 1922-3, p. 224 and p. 256.
(50) B.E. Dept. Min. 9334A/1, unsigned, n.d. P.R.O. Ed. 35/6765.

The fact of the matter was that the city was helped not inconsiderably in its provision of secondary education by the two Roman Catholic communities. Sheffield's provision of secondary school places was substantially less than that of other major cities, as the Director of Education himself had openly stated, and in view of this the existence of an additional four or five hundred places at the Catholic schools was helpful not only in itself but also in easing, if only marginally, pressure on places in the municipal schools.

In 1927, shortly after De La Salle was placed on the list of recognised secondary schools, the Governors requested the local authority to allow Roman Catholic boy candidates who qualified for admission to a secondary school on the Final Entrance Examination to proceed to De La Salle on the same basis as Catholic girls who qualified and went to Notre Dame. To this the Higher Education Sub-Committee agreed[51] and in the following year needy parents of l.e.a. scholarship holders at the school were permitted to apply for maintenance allowances once their child reached the age of fourteen.[52]

Such assistance was doubtless welcomed by the parents concerned but beyond making it a little easier for a few scholarship holders to stay longer at school these measures did nothing to ease the financial difficulties with which the Governors had to grapple. What would have helped them considerably was something by way of a capitation, deficiency or lump sum payment, but all of these the city steadfastly refused to countenance.[53]

It was this persistently unhelpful attitude of the local Education Committee which prompted Canon Dolan to attempt to rally public opinion in support of the Catholic cause through an acid attack on the council's parsimony in the local press. Dolan was by 1930 a man possessed of almost

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(51) H.E.S.C., 11th March, 1927, S.E.C.M. 1926-7, p. 580.
(52) S.M.A.S., 14th Feb., 1928, S.E.C.M. 1927-8, p. 563.
(53) H.E.S.C., 17th Feb., 1930, S.E.C.M. 1929-30, p. 622 and 14th Dec., 1931, S.E.C.M. 1931-2, p. 576.

thirty years experience of the inner workings of the Sheffield Education Committee and it is this which makes the following, penultimate, point of his press article so significant,

> "When the present Education Committee has passed its tutelage and has acquired that knowledge which experience alone can give it, it will no doubt take the reins of government out of the hands of the permanent officials, and will bring to bear on the education of the children entrusted to it a broad and enlightened policy in which the interests of the children themselves will take first place."(54)

The implication that the miserly, unhelpful attitude of the authority stemmed from the Director of Education is clear. It will be recalled that Ronald Gurner in resigning from the Headship of the King Edward VII School also made reference to the powerful influence of Percival Sharp,(55) but it is manifestly difficult, if not impossible, to obtain conclusive evidence regarding the mechanics of policy formulation within the Education Offices and the relative strength and influence of officials and Committee members. Naturally, the elected representatives would deny that decision-making and even policy formulation lay anywhere other than with them,(56) but the contacts between a chairman and his chief official are multifarious, mostly oral and, therefore, impossible to quantify and verify with anything even resembling certainty. After 1926 the Labour Party held almost uninterrupted sway over the city's affairs. Men like Rowlinson and Minshall thus acquired lengthy and detailed experience of the exercise of power and would, one imagines, be rather less likely to be influenced unduly by the attitudes, still less the prejudices, of their officials, particularly when the latter were comparative newcomers to the highest administrative office. In the years of particular controversy - 1926 over Gurner and 1930 over the Catholic issue - Sharp was the man of

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(54) Canon Dolan, "Secondary Schools - What the Roman Catholics Claim", S.D.T., 22nd Feb., 1930.

(55) See above p. 183

(56) Oral evidence, former Alderman S.H. Marshall.

experience, the councillors the men of inexperience. Thus, one can assign some credibility to Dolan's accusation. However, as will be seen, the departure of Sharp to the executive helm of the Association of Education Committees in July 1932, brought little or no alteration in the Council's attitude towards the Catholic schools. If he was, as Dolan alleged, the eminence grise behind the Council's parsimonious attitude towards the Catholics, then the continuation of that policy after his departure would seem to suggest that the Labour Party, which had never been pro-clerical, concurred with Sharp's ideas. Further, it could not be argued that the Tories particularly helped the Catholic cause, either, during their period in power before 1926.

The inadequacy of the documentary evidence in pointing to the origins of policy is well illustrated by the decision of the Higher Education Sub-Committee to impose an upper limit on the authority's financial obligations towards the two Catholic schools. The Minutes simply record that "the Director of Education reported on the steps recommended to be taken to define the future financial obligations of the Education Committee with reference to the award of scholarships to De La Salle College and to limit the amount of these obligations to not more than £1,000 p.a. in the event of the school fees being raised".(57) The Director's recommendations were approved and adopted but there is no indication as to whether it was the Director, the Chairman or a member of the Sub-Committee who instigated the idea that an upper limit be imposed.

The extent to which the city was benefitting financially, let alone educationally, from the existence of the two Catholic secondary schools is perhaps best illustrated by some comparative statistics which appeared in the local press towards the end of 1930. The annual cost of educating

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(57) H.E.S.C., 13th May, 1932, S.E.C.M. 1932-3, p. 99.

a pupil at the Central Secondary School for Boys was then £28 17s. 5d., of which £15 11s. 7d. came from the rates, whilst the cost at Abbeydale Girls' School was £25 9s. 9d. per pupil, of which £15 11s. 7d. was contributed by ratepayers.[58] Thus, in subscribing only ten or even twelve guineas per annum for each of its scholarship holders at De La Salle and Notre Dame, the city was making a considerable saving. Some interesting figures were also given for the sums which other local authorities contributed to the Roman Catholic schools in their cities. Birmingham, for example, which like Sheffield had two Roman Catholic schools, paid £1,944 p.a. in fees as well as a special grant amounting to £900. Nottingham gave no grants but paid fees of £30 per boy and £27 per girl. Leeds, however, paid both fees and a special grant amounting to £400.[59] Sheffield paid no grant and was paying less for its scholarship holders at De La Salle than it would have cost it to educate them in a municipal school.

Despite the acrimony between the local authority and the Governors which simmered throughout the 1920s and '30s; despite the inadequacy of the premises which inhibited the development of a full secondary curriculum; and despite the recurrent financial crises which came close to threatening the school's very existence, the academic life of De La Salle seems to have continued fairly serenely - as far as the pupils were concerned, at least. Clearly, the lack of proper facilities for gymnastics or manual work limited the breadth of the boys' education, but instruction in the basic classroom subjects was little affected by disputes with the Corporation, or the bank, or the Board of Education. Early criticism of the staff at a time in the school's early history when form, rather than specialist, teaching, was the norm,[60] was exaggerated and to a large extent, ill-founded;[61] and the

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(58) 'Current Topics', S.T. 20th Dec., 1930.

(59) K.J. Mulvihill, 'The Development of Roman Catholic Secondary Education in the 20th Century, with particular reference to the City of Leeds up to 1931', unpub. M.Ed. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1976, p. 91.

(60) Timetables for individual teachers 1925-26, D.L.S. Archives, quoted by P.R. Cusack, p. 75.

(61) See above p. 308.

school's record in the Oxford School Certificate Examination testifies to the soundness of the instruction which the boys received.

Table 11.1 - De La Salle College - School Certificate Results 1927-1939[62]

	No. Cand.	Passed	Matriculated	% Pass
1927	12	12	8	100
1928	18	17	6	94.44
1929	18	17	8	94.44
1930	27	22	11	81.48
1931	31	19	6	61.29
1932	37	36	20	97.30
1933	47	45	23	95.74
1934	35	33	12	94.29
1935	32	26	12	81.25
1936	30	26	10	86.67
1937	No data extant	40	14	-
1938	43	19	No data extant	41.86
1939	No data extant	39	No data extant	-

Only in 1938 did the College fail to get at least a half of its candidates through the examination and on six occasions the percentage pass rate was over ninety. Obviously, the aggregate number of passes was lower than that of a municipal secondary school since even the smallest of the latter had almost twice as many pupils as De La Salle. By 1928 there were still only 151 boys at the College and although numbers rose in the 1930s to an average of 260-270, they never exceeded 290 during that decade.[63] Comparisons between the School Certificate results of the College and the municipal schools are difficult because no data has survived as to the positions which boys

(62) Community History, 1927-39.
(63) Community History, 1923-39.

proceeding to De La Salle occupied on the city's general Order of Merit List. but it would seem that comparisons with either Firth Park or Nether Edge might not be inappropriate.

Table 11.2 - School Certificate Percentage Pass Rates, De La Salle College, Firth Park and Nether Edge Secondary Schools, 1929-38 (64)

	De La Salle	Firth Park	Nether Edge
1929	94.44	67.3	No candidates
1930	81.48	63.6	70.2
1931	61.29	58.1	69.9
1932	97.30	57.6	69.3
1933	95.74	78.1	66.3
1934	94.29	70.2	80.4
1935	81.25	78.6	76.5
1936	86.67	82.4	89.9
1937	No data	78.2	87.7
1938	41.86	84.8	81.2

Thus, in all years except 1931 and 1938, the percentage pass rates of De La Salle College at First Certificate level were higher than those for the maintained secondary schools, which in turn tended to be marginally above those for the country as a whole. This would seem to be reasonable evidence of the way in which the scholastic life of De La Salle was able to flourish despite all the vicissitudes which assailed those charged with the management of its affairs.

At Higher Certificate level, however, it is impossible to make any valid comparisons, if only because the numbers in the Sixth Form at De La Salle

(64) Community History, 1928-39 and S.E.C.M. 1928-39.

were always so small that the winning of only one extra Higher Certificate had an enormous effect on the percentage pass rate.

Table 11.3 - DE LA SALLE COLLEGE HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE RESULTS 1932-38[65]

Year	No. Candidates	Certificates
1932	No data extant	1
1933	" " "	5
1934	10	5
1935	11	6
1936	6	4
1937	No data extant	3
1938	" " "	4

The highest number of Certificates won in a single year by the College never exceeded six. Data on the number of boys taking subjects at subsidiary level exists only for 1932 and 1933, when respectively ten and eleven boys sat papers.[66] It is evident from these figures alone that the Sixth Form at De La Salle was small. Numbers did increase as progress was made in building up a tradition of Advanced Course work but it was not until 1933 that the numbers staying on into the Sixth were sufficient to warrant a division into two classes.[67]

As a consequence of the smallness of the Sixth Form the school sent comparatively few boys to the university. In 1932, one sixteen year-old pupil won a Town Trustee Scholarship to Sheffield University, and the following year a University Scholarship was won, whilst in 1935 De La Salle boys won a Town Trustees and a Technical Scholarship.[68] All these awards were funded by the Education Committee and were tenable at Sheffield University

(65) Community History, 1932-8, and Form 372 AS, 20th March, 1937. P.R.O. Ed. 35/6766.
(66) Community History, 1931, p.9. and 1932, p.9.
(67) Community History, 1933, p. 10.
(68) Community History, 1932, p. 9, 1933, p. 10 and 1934, p. 10.

which was almost the only university to which pupils of the school seem to have proceeded. During the period 1934-37, for example, of eight boys who went to university seven went to Sheffield, the other to Dublin.(69) Four boys went to theological college (two to Ushaw, one to Middlesex and one to France), but only one went to a teachers' training college - Strawberry Hill.

The numbers on the Advanced Course were naturally low since the total numbers on roll were small and since only those who were Sheffield Scholarship holders were eligible for maintenance allowances during their Sixth Form career. Thus, of some 873 boys who entered the school between 1923 and 1939, only about three hundred stayed for more than four years, and of those three hundred, over one third were boys who entered the school in the late 1930s and left after the outbreak of World War II.(70)

Once the worst effects of the economic depression were over the average length of school life increased. The average length of school life of those boys aged fourteen and over who left the college in 1932-33, for example, was four years three months; by 1934-35 the figure had risen to four years eight months.(71) The former figure was less than the national average and it was also less than the figure of four years six months which applied at the Leeds Catholic College.(72) The Leeds College, however, had been established in 1905 and thus had had a much longer period of time in which to build up a tradition of staying at school beyond the age of sixteen. The extension of the length of secondary education was, of course, a cardinal feature of central educational policy throughout the inter-war period and in increasing the school life of their pupils both colleges were merely reflecting a general national trend.

The records show that on leaving the school, the boys of De La Salle

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(69) Form 363S, 11th Feb., 1937, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6766.
(70) De La Salle College, Pupil Admission Register.
(71) Form 372 A.S., 20th Mar., 1937, P.R.O. Ed. 35/6766.
(72) K.J. Mulvihill, p. 106.

entered upon some 53 different types of occupation, ranging from those of doctor and interpreter to smallholder, miner and publican.

Table 11.4 - Principal Careers of Boys who Entered De La Salle College 1923-39[73]

Career	Number	Career	Number
Priesthood	32	Accountants/Architects	8
Teaching	17	Dentistry/Medicine	8
Business Management	15	Chemistry/Metallurgy	7
Public Utilities Services	14	Mechanics/Engineers	7
Clerical	11	Salesmen	6
Armed Forces	8		

The above figures are out of a total of 187 boys whose subsequent occupation is recorded in the school's Admission Register. Those 187 entries were, however, inserted at the whim of the Headmaster and are not necessarily representative. All manner of chance factors could have been responsible for an entry being made in the register, but, even allowing for this and for the Brothers' obvious interest in chronicling those boys who took up the cloth, the number of former-pupils who entered the priesthood is significant. Teaching and various grades of professional activity come next on the list, as might have been expected; and two boys subsequently reached boardroom status.

De La Salle also entered pupils for the the School and Higher Religious Certificate examinations and like its female counter-part succeeded, as one would have expected in a strongly denominational school, in establishing very high standards in its religious instruction. It was obviously the intention of parents who sent their sons to De La Salle that they should be

(73) De La Salle College, Admissions Register.

nurtured in the doctrines of the Catholic church but within that overall context the school strove merely to provide a normal secondary education.

That education naturally included extra-curricular activities, but evidence of their nature and scope is extremely limited since what is generally the most valuable source for such aspects of school life, the school magazine of the period, has not survived. Publication of a magazine began in 1932,[74] but no copies covering the remainder of the inter-war period exist either at the college or the Provincialate, and numbers in the Sheffield Local Archives date only from 1950. The Community History contains but one reference to a school society, that for debating, and only two or three to games and then usually only in connection with physical amenities or finance. The purchase of a sports field was out of the question and in this, as in most things, the college had to make do with the best expedient its perennially limited finances permitted.

At the end of the inter-war period its financial state was as precarious as it had ever been; the school was defaulting on its loan repayments; it seemed that it would be impossible to continue paying full Burnham salaries to its lay staff and the school would then have been in breach of its agreement with the local education committee.[75] This would have compelled the reduction of the fees the authority paid for its scholarship holders from fifteen to twelve guineas which, in turn, would have exacerbated still further the college's financial problems. The only solution the Headmaster could envisage was an increase in the number of brothers on the staff for they, bound by their vows of poverty, received virtually no remuneration. It was, indeed, only this vow and this rejection of monetary reward which had made the school financially viable at any time during the

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(74) Community History , 1932, p.6.
(75) Community History, 1938, p. 13.

years before 1939. The granting of recognition by the Board of Education in 1927 had obviously helped matters but the school was never in a position where it could afford to undertake the various building and other projects which it desired. The same, of course, could be said of most secondary schools during the inter-war period, but a denominational school receiving only a minimal assistance from a local authority whose children it educated for less than it cost that authority to educate them itself was at a particular disadvantage. Thus, the Board of Education had cause with De La Salle not only for withholding initial recognition on the grounds of inadequate finance and premises, but also for subsequently threatening to withdraw that recognition because of the failure to provide the facilities for science and handicraft which the Board deemed essential.

The college was consistently in debt, conscious all the time of what needed to be done but constantly inhibited by its lack of funds from converting desired ideals into effective practice. The efforts of the Sheffield Catholic Schools Committee had been instrumental in bringing the college into being, but the endeavours of this essentially middle-class body soon began to wane and Canon Dolan's hopes that it would be possible to replenish the coffers with subscriptions from the working-class proved to be ill-founded.(76) The school was thus forced to rely for its staple income upon fees and grants from the Board of Education for the local authority steadfastly declined to contribute a lump sum payment of any kind. Civic money was used initially to fund only six places per annum at the college and, although it was later decided to allow any Catholic boy who passed the city's Entrance Examination to hold his place at De La Salle, there was some delay in implementing that decision.

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(76) S.D.T., 4th May, 1925.

Canon Dolan made many requests to the Education Committee for some kind of annual grant similar to those which other authorities made to the denominational schools in their areas but the Sheffield school was forced to battle on without the aid of civic benefaction. That it was able to survive the successive financial crises of the inter-war years at all was due almost entirely to the fact that the Brothers on the staff received no salary. This constituted a saving over the years of many thousands of pounds: without that saving there is little doubt that the school would have been forced to close. In this the Sheffield De La Salle College was not atypical; rather does its history between 1923 and 1939 exemplify what A.C.F. Beales has described as "that singlemindedness and ... dedication to the vocation of teaching that are inseparable from any record of the long struggle for Catholic education in the modern secular state."(77)

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(77) A.C.F. Beales in W.J. Battersby, The De La Salle Brothers in Great Britain, 1954, p. v.

CHAPTER 12

SCHOLARSHIPS, FREE PLACES AND MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCES; THE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION

The generally rather depressing saga of the frugality of the provision of secondary education in Sheffield between the years 1902 and 1939 is relieved by but a solitary instance of civic munificence: in August 1918 all pupils in municipal secondary schools, excepting those at King Edward's, were exempt from the payment of fees. In this Sheffield led the country and it is perhaps somewhat strange that an authority which throughout the rest of its early life was extremely parsimonious should make so lavish a distribution of civic largess. There was, however, within the city, a history of generosity in this regard going back to the days of the School Board.

In 1880 the Sheffield School Board had opened the Central Higher School where initially a fee of a shilling a week was proposed, but opposition from the Education Department persuaded the Board to reduce it to 9d. In debating the final proposition, however, two amendments were proposed by members of the Board. One was to reduce the fee to 6d. a week, and the other was to abdish fees in the Higher Department altogether. Both amendments were defeated[1] but it was apparent already that some of those entrusted with the development of education in the city were anxious to free higher education from all charges. Ten years later, in August 1891, the fee at the Central Higher School was amended to 6d a week though a charge of 3d was added on for books and apparatus.[2] There was a strong body of opinion which held that this was not good enough and a month later

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(1) J.H. Bingham, Sheff. S.Bd., p. 179.
(2) Sheffield School Board Minutes, 20th Aug., 1891. p. 1042. S.L.A.

a deputation of some 86 persons urged the complete abolition of fees at the school.[3] The School Board took due note and in October 1891 the August Minute was rescinded and it was resolved that "on and after 2nd November, 1891 no charge be made for school fees or books etc. to children attending the Central Higher School".[4]

Thus, when the City Council took up its educational responsibilities in 1903 no fees were charged at the one institution of higher education over which it had direct control. It was the Education Committee's intention to apply for recognition of the school under both Division A and Division B of the Regulations for Secondary Schools[5] and also to continue the practice of charging no fees. This the Board of Education was not prepared to allow and a "moderate" fee was insisted upon.[6] The Higher Education Sub-Committee, therefore, recommended that the fees be fixed at a shilling a week, or £2 p.a. if paid quarterly in advance, and that exhibitions and scholarships be made available under such a liberal arrangement as would "not only furnish a test of merit but also ensure that no child of ability and general fitness should be debarred from the privileges of the school for want of means".[7] Those pupils who were already at the school were to remain exempt from fees for the remainder of their respective terms, and the Committee also planned to provide free of charge all the books and materials which the pupils used in school, though parents were given the responsibility of purchasing those books which were needed for homework.

The scheme of exhibitions, scholarships and bursaries which the Higher Education Sub-Committee proposed was, indeed, liberal. It was suggested

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(3) S.S.B.M., 17th Sept., 1891, pp. 1053-4.
(4) S.S.B.M. 15th Oct., 1891, p. 1086.
(5) Division A schools were defined under the Regulations for Secondary Schools 1904-5, as schools which provided a course of instruction in science in connection with and as part of a course of general education. Division B schools were those in which science formed an important but not predominating element. R.S.S. 1904-5, Pref. Memo., p.5.
(6) H.E.S.C., 14th Dec., 1903, S.E.C.M. 1903-4, p. 575.
(7) Ibid., p. 575.

that free places be made available annually for one hundred Exhibitioners. These Exhibitions were tenable for two years, subject to the holder's attendance, conduct, industry and progress being satisfactory. Twenty-five of those exhibitions were to be awarded by the Lancasterian Scholarships Committee and were to be of the value of £2 p.a. Boys and girls who lived in the township of Brightside could compete for Grimesthorpe Scholarships, which were of a higher value, and those who lived in Ecclesall for the Ecclesall Bierlow scholarships which were of £3 each for one year. Pupils from any public elementary school or any inspected and efficient private school in the city were to be eligible for admission to the entrance examination, and Head Teachers of public elementary schools were to be invited to recommend for consideration the cases of any children who did not obtain an Exhibition and whose parents were not in a position to pay fees. Further, grants of not more than ten shillings per child were to be made in necessitous cases to assist in the purchase of homework books. At the end of their first year in the school all children were to be eligible to compete for scholarships of the value of £5 for one year. At least twenty-five of these scholarships were to be available.

At the end of their second year those pupils who wished eventually to become Pupil-Teachers, or to proceed to the Technical School of Art or the University College were to be eligible to compete for bursaries of £10 p.a. for two years, plus free tuition. There were also to be a number of scholarships for 14 year-old scholars of exceptional ability who did not intend either to become teachers or to go to university and whose parents were not able to keep them at school without assistance. Finally, three scholarships were to be founded each year at the Technical Department of Sheffield University College.[8] Under the new regulations for pupil-

(8) H.E.S.C., 14th Dec., 1903, S.E.C.M. 1903-4, pp. 576-7.

teachers which were shortly to come into effect, the bursaries which were to be awarded to pupils in the third and fourth years at the school would take the place of the salaries which had hitherto been paid to pupil-teachers in their first year; but under the Higher Education Sub-Committee's initial scheme at least 450 of the 720 pupils on roll would be enjoying free tuition at a cost of just under £2,500 p.a. This in itself was not unacceptable to the Board of Education but in view of the very large number of free places which were being offered they felt that £2 p.a. for fee-payers was too low.[9]

In most similar cases it was the Board's practice to insist upon a fee of £3.[10] In Leeds, for example, the fees at the Central High School were increased from £1 10s. 0d. p.a. in 1903-4 to 3 guineas in 1905-6, whilst those at Thoresby High School were raised from zero to 6 guineas in the same period. In only one of the Leeds secondary schools was the fee below three guineas.[11] The Sheffield authority however, was determined to hold out, if at all possible, for the lower fee. The matter was taken up by the Association of Education Committees which was successful in persuading the Board not to insist as a condition of grant upon the observance of any general rule regarding the fees to be charged or the number of free places to be provided where it was shown to their satisfaction that the special circumstances of any school differed from those prevailing in the majority of secondary schools.[12]

It is not clear what the precise grounds were on which the Sheffield Education Committee argued that the Central Secondary School was a special case,[13] but the general paucity of the provision for secondary education in the city and the strictly limited means of the bulk of the

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(9) B.E. to S.E.C. 29th Mar., 1904, reprinted in S.E.C.M. 1903-4, p. 835.

(10) J.W. Iliffe, 'Principal's Report for the Year ended July 1904,' unpub. T.S., H.S.A.

(11) L. Connell, 'A Study of the Development of Secondary Education in Leeds from 1895 to 1921,' unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1960. Appendix: Table 9.1.

(12) Hon. Sec. Assoc. of Ed. Committees to S.E.C., reported in H.E.S.C. 10th Mar., 1905, S.E.C.M. 1904-5, p. 640.

(13) The appropriate P.R.O. file contains no documents on this particular issue.

working class in Sheffield were points which might have carried weight. The Central Secondary School was the only municipal secondary school in the city at the time, for Sadler's recommendation that the Royal Grammar School and Wesley College be amalgamated to form a secondary school of the highest grade had not yet been implemented.[14] Both these establishments were comparatively small, there being only 198 pupils at the former and 168 at the latter at the beginning of 1905. Nineteen of those at Wesley College were, moreover, boarders.[15] The amalgamation of these two schools to form what was eventually known as the King Edward VII School was the keystone of Sadler's first report on the development of secondary education in the city, but he was far from unmindful of the need to provide a thoroughly systematic scheme of scholarships.

It was crucial, he believed, not only to encourage the parents of promising boys and girls to send them from the elementary or preparatory schools into secondary education, but also to provide them with the means of keeping their children at those schools. Thus, really able boys and girls from poor homes should not be prevented by their limited means from obtaining the best education which the city could offer.[16] Sadler recommended that the existing available scholarships be incorporated into a comprehensive two-tier scheme. He suggested that there should be "minor Scholarships" tenable at the secondary schools which should cover all fees at the secondary school, and that there be fifty of these scholarships open to all children not over twelve years of age who were in public elementary or recognised preparatory schools. The majority of these should be at the Central Secondary School and they should cover the fees for the entire course of study which the pupil followed.

Sadler also proposed that there should be a set of Major Scholarships to facilitate the university education of the ablest pupils. These included

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(14) See above, pp. 67-8.
(15) H.E.S.C., 27th Feb., 1905, S.E.C.M. 1904-5, p. 604.
(16) M.E. Sadler, Sheffield Report, 1903, pp. 38-39. Also see above p. 70.

two exhibitions annually of £50 p.a. for four years tenable at any university and open to boys from either the Royal Grammar School or Wesley College; one exhibition annually of £50 p.a. for four years tenable at any university and open to pupils from the High School for Girls; two exhibitions of £25 p.a. for three years tenable at a university and open to students at the Pupil Teacher Centre; and nine awards tenable at the Technical School.(17)

In fact the scheme which Sheffield devised in 1906 was rather different, as Appendix A shows.

The estimated total cost of this scheme was, as can be seen from Table 12.1, just under £10,000 p.a., of which just under £6,000 was to be borne by the Education Committee.

Table 12.1 - Sheffield Scholarship Scheme 1906: Estimated cost of Scholarships, Bursaries, Exhibitions and Free Scholarships(18)

Tenable at	No. of Scholarships Tenable at one time	Total Value	Cost to Education Committee
		£	£
Central S.S.	453	3522	3074
S. of Cookery	26	128	128
Secondary School for Girls (G.H.S.)	44	490	490
Tech. S. of Art.	131	671	537
King Edward VII	24	414	213
Pupil-Teacher Centre	72	604	604
Sheffield University	153	3668	833
Other Universities	10	500	-
TOTAL	913	£9997	£5880

Of the total of £3074 expended by the Committee on scholarships etc.

(17) Ibid., pp. 40-41.
(18) H.E.S.C., 8th Dec., 1905, S.E.C.M. 1905-6, p. 1108.

at the Central Secondary Schools, £2,600 was expenses on bursary payments which were being substituted for the amounts previously paid to candidates for pupil-teachership, as was £400 of the £490 ascribed to the Secondary School for Girls.

The 1906 scholarships scheme provided extremely well for the Central Secondary Schools. In contrast, scholarships to the universities were meagre and the number of free places available at King Edward's was so small that it was not possible for the school to comply with the new norm which was laid down by the Board of Education in 1907. Article 20 of the Regulations for Secondary Schools 1907-8 stipulated that in all schools where a fee was charged, arrangements had to be made to satisfy the Board that a proportion of school places were open without the payment of fees to scholars from the public elementary schools who had shown themselves suitably qualified in a test of attainment. The proportion of such places which was ordinarily required was 25% of the scholars admitted but allowance was made for this requirement to be reduced on sufficient grounds in the case of any particular school[19] and in August 1907 the Board informed the Governors of King Edward's that they were prepared to reduce the requirement for that school from 25% to 10%.[20]

Even this reduction was something with which the school could not then comply in order to claim the increased grant[21] and the Governors, therefore, asked that in working out the number of free places the school be considered not on its own but in conjunction with the Central Secondary School which, of course, was extremely well-endowed with free places, but not unnaturally the Board refused.

During the course of the next few years, a few amendments and additions were made to the 1906 scholarships scheme. In 1908, for example,

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(19) B.E., R.S.S. 1907-8, Art. 20, pp. 5-6.
(20) G.K.E.S., 16th Aug., 1907, S.E.C.M. 1907-8, pp. 266-7.
(21) For 1906-7 the Government grant to K.E.S. was £589.

nine extra leaving scholarships were created at the Central Secondary School, but by 1914 the scholarship system differed but little from that which had been instituted in 1906. The years 1914-16 were naturally not a time when any substantial re-structuring of the educational system of the country could be contemplated, but, for neither the first nor the last time, war did prove to be the stimulus for a major piece of educational legislation.

So far as fees and scholarships were concerned the key part of the 1918 Education Act was Section 4(4), which stipulated that in the L.E.A.s' schemes for providing under Section 1 of the Act for "the establishment of a national system of public education available to all persons capable of profiting thereby", adequate provision should be made to ensure that children and young people should not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any education by which they were capable of profiting through inability to pay fees. Thus, if a child was capable of profiting from a secondary education it was the duty of the L.E.A. to make provision for its education regardless of whether its parents could pay the fees or not.

In Sheffield the Special Sub-Committee set up to consider the Bill and the development of Sheffield's Education system responded in a manner which the earlier advocates of free higher education would have admired: it recommended that six new secondary schools be established and that "all the new provision for secondary education should be free".(22) It was a natural concomitant of the abolition of fees at the new secondary schools that tuition at the Central Secondary Schools should also be made free,(23) but the Sub-Committee shrank from treating King Edward's in the same fashion, though

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(22) Special Sub-Committee on the Education Bill, (S.S.C.E.B.) 14th Feb., 1918, S.E.C.M. 1917-18, p. 512.

(23) S.S.C.E.B., 5th June, 1918, S.E.C.M. 1918-9, p. 116.

they did propose that the number of free places available there for ex-public elementary school pupils should be increased to 15%. By 1919-20 some 111 pupils at King Edward's were financed either wholly or partly by the Education Committee and of that number forty-two were boys who had received their scholarships for the first time in that year.

The non-maintained secondary schools in the city were, of course, a different matter. In 1918 there were only two such establishments, one run by the Girls' Public Day School Trust and the other by the Sisters of Notre Dame. The 1918 Sub-Committee made no recommendations for a large-scale expansion of Education Committee scholarships at either of these two schools. Only four new scholarship holders were financed by the Education Committee at the High School for Girls in the year 1919-20 and only three new bursars at the Convent of Notre Dame.[24] Four years later the Catholics opened the De La Salle College for Boys but during the remainder of the decade, despite much cajoling, the Committee could bring itself to fund no more than half a dozen scholarships per annum at each of the independent schools.

The abolition of tuition fees at all the municipal secondary schools, except King Edward's, was, of course, a pioneering step, but so small was the total provision of secondary school places that the overall cost to the civic purse was not excessive. In September 1921, for example, admissions to free places in secondary schools totalled only 513[25] at a time when there were approximately 10,000 children in Sheffield who were twelve years of age.[26] Secondary education was manifestly for a minority of the adolescent population. One would expect any local authority's expenditure on elementary education to be far in excess of that on secondary education, but even so, in the school year 1920-21 Sheffield spent almost £650,000 on elementary education compared

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(24) See Appendix B.
(25) H.E.S.C., 13th May, 1921, S.E.C.M. 1921-2, p. 54.
(26) H.E.S.C., 8th July, 1921, S.E.C.M. 1921-2, p. 168.

to only £65,219 on secondary schools, of which only £6,363 was allocated for scholarships. It is interesting, moreover, that the amount expended on scholarships to evening schools, to the Technical School of Art, the Domestic Science College and to Sheffield University was only £1,000 less than the total figure allocated for exhibitions and scholarships to the Pupil-Teacher Centre, the Central Secondary Schools, King Edward VII School, the High School for Girls and the Convent of Notre Dame.[27]

The Geddes restrictions did raise the momentary spectre of the re-introduction of fees,[28] but the Secondary Schools Sectional Sub-Committee, which had augmented the Higher Education Sub-Committee, decided in April 1923 against any change in the existing system,[29] and the principle of free secondary education was maintained throughout the 1920s. In 1924 additional assistance was given by the Board of Education when they announced, in Circular 1340 their decision to give local education authorities in addition to the 50% expenditure grant then payable a special grant based on the number of pupils in a school. The grant for the current financial year was fixed at £2 per pupil, and in future years it was to be raised to £3.[30] This benefitted the Sheffield authority to the extent of £2,711 in 1924-25 and £4,050[31] in the following year but the Board's generosity was short-lived and in February 1925 they announced their intention not to make the Special Additional Grant a permanent part of the grant system for higher education, though payment was made in respect of free-place pupils admitted since 4th September, 1924 (the date of issue of Circular 1340) at a single rate of £12 for each additional free place above the 25% level.[32]

Thus, Sheffield's system of free secondary education, having escaped

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(27) S.E.C., Report for the Year Ended 31st March, 1921, Sheffield, 1921, pp. 75-7.
(28) See the Director of Education's 'Report on Economies', Finance Advisory S.C., S.E.C.M. 1923-4, p. 498.
(29) S.S.S.S.C., 9th April, 1923, S.E.C.M. 1923-4, p.7.
(30) B.E. Circ. 1340, 4th Sept., 1924.
(31) H.E.S.C., 13th Feb., 1925, S.E.C.M. 1924-5, p. 485.
(32) B.E. Circ. 1352, 9th Feb., 1925.

the impact of the Geddes "Axe" was able to survive the rest of that decade. The decision to abolish fees at the end of World War I had been taken by a Committee which was controlled by what were then known as the Progressives. They were, in fact, the Conservatives under another name, and when Labour gained control of the Council in 1926 it was only to be expected that they would continue the policy instituted by their predecessors. The onset of the Great Depression in the early 1930s, however, constituted a very real threat to the continuance of such civic benefaction. The first voices raised in favour of the re-imposition of fees were those of Mr. John Oakley and Dr. R. Styring, two co-opted members of the Committee, but their motion was defeated in October 1931.(33)

A year later, however, the matter was taken out of the authority's hands when the Board of Education issued Circular 1421 accompanied by the Draft Regulations for Secondary Schools.(34) They required that fees must be charged in all secondary schools and stated that in schools where fees were already charged it would not be unreasonable to look for an increase where less than £15 15s. 0d. p.a. was charged. The Board also indicated that they would ordinarily hesitate to approve of a fee of less than £9 9s. 0d. a year, though it was conceded that arrangements might include some reducation for pupils over 16 who had passed an approved first examination.

As can be seen from Table 12.2 the gross expenditure per scholar in all the Sheffield secondary schools was considerably in excess of the fee levels postulated by the Board, and even when central grants were allowed for the charge upon the rates was in all cases above the minimum £9 9s. 0d. fee which the Board were prepared to accept.

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(33) S.E.C., 26th Oct., 1931, S.E.C.M. 1931-2, pp. 436-7.
(34) Cir. 1421 and the Draft R.S.S. were dated 13th Sept., 1932 and the Regulations became statutory on 17th Nov., 1932.

Table 12.2 - Expenditure per Scholar in Sheffield Secondary Schools 1931-32.[35]

	Gross Expenditure	Nett Call on the Rates
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
King Edward VII School	40. 5. 3.	11.11. 11.
Abbeydale Girls' School	32. 3. 9.	15.18. 7.
Central Boys' School	31. 0. 10.	15. 9. 6.
Central Girls' School	23. 9. 1.	11.12. 6.
Firth Park Boys' School	29. 9. 7.	14.13. 5.
Nether Edge Boys' School	24.19. 1.	12. 8. 11.
Pupil-Teacher Centre	21.14. 5.	10.15. 9.

King Edward VII was the only secondary school at which fees were charged and the authority proposed that the existing scheme be continued under which a fee of £18 18. 0d. was levied with reductions of 25% for the second and 33⅓% for the third and subsequent brothers. The fees at the city's other secondary schools and in the higher education section of the Pupil-Teacher Centre were fixed at the Board's minimum of £9 9s. 0d.[36]

Under the new Regulations free places were replaced by a "Special Place" system which provided that once a child had been selected for secondary education the income of the parents was to be taken into account in determining the amount to be paid over to the school authorities. The new Regulations also laid down minimum and maximum limits of 25% and 50% for "Special Places" though local variations were permissible and subsequently the Board did concede that where a percentage of free places in excess of 50% was already approved by them a similar percentage of "Special Places" could be approved under the new Regulations.[37] In schools where no fees were charged the award of 100% "Special Places" was allowed.

(35) H.E.S.C., 29th Nov., 1932, S.E.C.M. 1932-3, p. 494.
(36) H.E.S.C., 29th Nov., 1932, S.E.C.M. 1932-3, p. 496.
(37) B.E. Circ. 1424, 21st Nov., 1932.

This Sheffield duly claimed, but first it protested at the Board's original requirement that all Education Committees charge suitable fees in their secondary schools. It thus added its weight to what has been described as "an outburst greater than that provoked by any of the measures imposed between the wars."[38] Sheffield pleaded for much greater elasticity by the Board in judging its case and much stress was placed upon the "deplorable state of industrial conditions" in the city. It was pointed out that the rates were 16/10d in the pound, due mainly to the fact that a public assistance rate of 7/1½d had to be charged in order to provide relief for nearly 60,000 people at a cost of £13,203 a week.[39] In addition to this, some 4,000 children were being provided with meals each day at a cost of £29,000 p.a.

Even if the Board's Regulations were interpreted in the most generous manner, secondary education in the city was bound to suffer, the Sheffield authority argued. The high rates fell particularly heavily on the poorer classes and the Committee, therefore, suggested at first that the income limit for complete exemption should be fixed not at the level of £3 - £4 a week, as the Board had indicated, but at the higher level of £5 a week.[40] Subsequently the income parameters were amended so as to reduce the tuition fees from £9 9s. 0d. to £7 10s. 0d. and raise the lower income limit for exemption by a pound to £6 0s. 0d.[41] The effects of these amendments were to reduce substantially the amount of additional income which the imposition of fees was expected to yield. These amounts were already low owing to the fact that they were based on the expectation that 80% of children would be admitted without the payment of any fee.[42]

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(38) B. Simon, The Politics of Educational Reform, 1974, p. 184.
(39) S.E.C. to B.E., 23rd Dec., 1932, P.R.O. Ed. 110/109.
(40) H.E.S.C., 29th Nov., 1932, S.E.C.M. 1932-3, p. 497.
(41) S.E.C., 19th Dec., 1932, S.E.C.M. 1932-3, pp. 551-3.
(42) S.E.C., to B.E., 23rd Dec., 1932, P.R.O. Ed. 110/109.

Table 12.3 - Estimated Additional Income to be received from Tuition Fees 1934-8

Financial Year	Original Scheme[43]		Amended Scheme[44]	
	Gross Additional Income	Relief to Rates	Gross Additional Income	Relief to Rates
1933-4	1260	630	516	258
1934-5	3150	1575	1288	644
1935-6	5334	2667	2166	1083
1936-7	7665	3832	3088	1544
1937-8	9765	4882	3874	1937

Savings such as those listed in Table 12.3 were clearly unacceptable to the Board. They did agree to accept that all places in the municipal secondary schools, with the exception of King Edward VII, should be treated as special places but, although they conceded that the income limits detailed in Circular 1421 were not appropriate to the circumstances of Sheffield, the limit proposed by the authority "materially exceeded" that contemplated in other large cities.[45] It was unreasonable, the Board argued, to suggest that some payment where the income was between £5 and £5 10s. 0d. per week involved any hardship and they, therefore, insisted that Sheffield reduce the limit for complete exemption from £6 to £5.

Sheffield was not prepared to accept this without a fight and on 25th January, 1933, the Chairman and the Secretary of the Committee visited the Board and "pleaded long and eloquently" for the retention of the £6 limit.[46] Eventually a compromise was reached in which Sheffield agreed to accept the £5 limit if the Board would agree to rather smaller payments

(43) H.E.S.C., 29th Nov., 1932, S.E.C.M. 1932-3, p. 500.
(44) S.E.C., 19th Dec., 1932, S.E.C.M. 1932-3, p. 553.
(45) B.E. to S.E.C., 9th Jan., 1933, P.R.O. Ed. 110/109.
(46) B.E. Dept. Memo. 25th Jan., 1933, P.R.O. Ed. 110/109.

at the earlier stages of the income scale with the later stages remaining unaltered. Thus, in the case of those schools with fees of £7 10s. 0d. the scale would work such that a parent earning less than £5 a week would receive total exemption; one earning £5 10s. 0d. a week would contribute £4; one earning £6 10s. 0d. would pay £6; and those earning more then £6 10s. 0d. a week would pay the full fee of £7 10s. 0d. This, the Board estimated, would bring the total saving resulting from the imposition of fees up to £5,500.

The authority's figures, however, indicated that the saving would be much less than this. During the school year 1933-34 it was found that parents were contributing in respect of 148 secondary school pupils payments which amounted to only £862. Estimates for succeeding years based upon the experience of the first year revealed the following pattern.

Table 12.4 - Sheffield Education Committee, Estimates of Income from Tuition Fees 1934-38.[47]

	Secondary Schools (excluding ordinary fee payers at K.E.S.)	Pupil Teacher Centre
1934-5	£1724	-
1935-6	£2586	£100
1936-7	£3448	£200
1937-8 and subsequent years	£3940	£230

As it transpired, even these sums could not have been re-couped for by 1935 the economic climate had improved sufficiently for the Board to accede to the authority's request that it be permitted to reduce by 25% the fee due for a second and by $33\frac{1}{3}$% the fee due for a third and subsequent fee-paying special place holders in the same family.[48] Clearly,

(47) Scholarships and Maintenance Allowances Section (S.M.A.S.), 4th Sept., 1933, S.E.C.M. 1933-4, p. 322.

(48) S.E.C. to B.E., 24th Sept., 1935 and B.E. to S.E.C. 21st Oct., 1935, P.R.O. Ed. 110/109.

the imposition of fees must have proved a very considerable burden to any parent who had two, three or more children at secondary school and the introduction of reduced rates did afford some relief. For these, and for all parents whose income was small, keeping an intelligent son or daughter at secondary school for the full Certificate course often involved very considerable problems and no little sacrifice. Sheffield did give maintenance allowances but provision on a substantial scale was clearly essential in any attempt to ease these difficulties and thereby increase the average length of secondary school life - a policy upon which the Board of Education had determined in the first decade of the century.

Attention had been drawn to the short length of secondary school life over the country as a whole in the Report of the Board of Education for 1908-9 which pointed out that, whilst the average length of school life was increasing each year, it was the case in 1907-8 that in 20% of the schools on the Grant List which had been open for more than three years the average length of school life was not more than two years.(49) From this it was obvious that many schools were not able to ensure that the bulk of their pupils completed that general education up to the age of 16 which the Regulations for Secondary Schools required.(50) By 1933, when the Sheffield authority issued a new edition of its Scholarships' Handbook, the national average of secondary school life over 11 years of age had risen to 4 years 11 months for boys and to 4 years 10 months for girls.(51) The enforcement of parental undertakings to keep their children at secondary school had contributed to this improvement, as had consistent pressure to reduce the age of entry to a fairly standard 11-12 years of age, but it would seem that the most significant single factor at work here was the provision of an increasingly comprehensive and generous system of scholarships and maintenance allowances.

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(49) B.E., Report for 1908-9, p. 41.
(50) B.E., R.S.S. 1904-5, Pref. Memo. para. 5, p. 7.
(51) B.E., Ed. in 1933, p. 19.

In 1906 the only concession which Sheffield made in this direction was to offer to extend Central Secondary School entrance exhibitions for a second two-year period in "exceptional circumstances" where further assistance was needed for the successful prosecution of a scholar's studies, and to postulate the award of £5 or £10 bursaries to needy Close Entrance Exhibitioners at King Edward's.[52] The meagre provision of maintenance allowances persisted both locally and nationally for many years and in 1920 the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places reported that "the most serious defect" of the existing system was that it was "essentially a free place, not a maintenance allowance system".[53] A statutory obligation to keep children at school seemed to the Committee to imply a more fully developed system of maintenance allowances. It was not the Committee's intention to remove altogether the financial effort which it was deemed desirable for parents to make, for that reacted favourably upon the child's work, but several of its witnesses had indicated that many children did not take up free places and many others failed to remain for the full course because they simply could not afford to do so. Hence, the Departmental Committee recommended that, whilst the main provision should begin at fourteen years of age, maintenance allowances should also be provided for 11-14 year olds.[54]

The need for such provision was also recognised locally and in 1919 eight organisations, ranging from the Sheffield Headteachers' Association to the local branch of the Steam Engine Makers' Society wrote to the Education Committee urging it to take full advantage of the Fisher Act.[55] This Act had stated that the powers as to the provision of scholarships which the 1902 and 1907 Education Acts had conferred upon local authorities included that of providing allowances for maintenance.[56] Most authorities were

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(52) S.E.C., Scholarships Handbook 1906, pp. 7-8
(53) B.E., Report of the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places, 1920, p.6.
(54) Ibid., pp. 28-31.
(55) S.E.C., 22nd Dec., 1919, S.E.C.M. 1919-20, p. 460.
(56) 8 Geo. V C. 39, 24.

prepared to grant maintenance allowances in cases of special need, as Sheffield did, but few were prepared to go as far as the author's of some polemics would have liked and make maintenance allowances inseparable from their free place systems.(57) Bradford went some way towards this when in 1918 it decided that maintenance allowances should automatically be granted to certain of its scholarship holders. The financial circumstances of a family were not to be taken into account in the making of such awards, but this condition did not apply to all the authority's scholarship winners only to those girls, whether intending teachers or not, who entered upon a full two-year Advanced Course. The allowances were of £20 for the first year and £26 for the second.(58)

In this regard, Bradford was well in advance of Government thinking and, indeed, of general local authority practice. In 1930, for example, Trevelyan informed the local authorities that the policy which the Board was adopting was that maintenance grants should be given in relation to the means of a family. The local authorities for their part, whilst insisting upon some freedom for local discretion, recommended that allowances should be granted almost automatically where the family income was less than 9/- per head a week, but that nothing should be given where that income was more than 12/- per head a week.(59)

No automatic assistance on the Bradford lines was given in Sheffield and in the early 1920s a substantial number of pupils who passed the Preliminary Examination for Entrance into Secondary Schools did not present themselves for the Final Examination. In 1922, for example, no less than 29% of those who had successfully negotiated the Preliminary Examination did not sit the Final papers.(60) A few of those might have been ill on the day of the examination but it is likely that the vast majority simply

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(57) See for example, K. Lindsay, Social Progress Educational Waste, 1926, p. 45.

(58) T.E.S. 27th June, 1918, p. 274.

(59) B.E. Report of a Committee Representative of the Local Education Authorities in England and Wales Recommending a Procedure for the Award of Maintenance Allowances in Respect of Children between the Ages of 14-15 years, 1930, p. 3 and p.8.

(60) P. Sharp, 'Report on the Examinations for Entrance to Secondary Schools', H.E.S.C., 11th July, 1924, S.E.C.M. 1924-5, p. 163.

saw no point in taking an examination the fruits of which they would be debarred from enjoying fully by their parents'impecuniosity. This was a factor which had occupied the Committee earlier when, in 1918, it had decided to abolish fees in all its secondary schools save King Edward's. During the debate on this issue the point had been made that a boy who left school could earn £1 a week: thus, a parent who kept his son at school for an extra four years was sacrificing £200.[61]

By 1924 some reduction in the numbers of pupils opting out of the Final Examination had been secured and only 17% of those passing the Preliminary Examination were refusing to sit the Final papers.[62] Little, if any, of the credit for this improvement, however, could be attributed to changes in the system of maintenance allowance payments for none had been made. Indeed, the principle of assessing each case on its merits and of refusing to prescribe any set criteria for the award of allowances was adhered to throughout the whole of the inter-war period. The Scholarships' Handbook which the authority published in 1933, for example, contained no reference to maintenance allowances for secondary school pupils. The Committee did express its willingness to award maintenance allowances and/or loans on application, up to a maximum of £80 p.a., to students who won open scholarships to a university and who were unable to take it up without further financial assistance. In making these awards strict account was taken of parental income, and if a loan was made the student was required to take out a life insurance policy to cover the amount of the loan and to repay the loan at the rate of not less than £2 a month after completing his course.[63] These loans were authorised by the Committee throughout the year and occasionally almost matched the amounts which were dispensed in grants. In the months of August and September 1934, for example, loans to students were made to

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(61) T.E.S., 18th July, 1918, p. 307.
(62) P. Sharp, '1924 Ent. Exam.', p. 163.
(63) S.E.C. Scholarships' Handbook 1933, p. 16.

the value of £325: grants made then totalled only £5 more. The amounts spent on maintenance allowances to secondary school pupils were only slightly larger (£395), but some £475 was given in textbook allowances during those months.[64]

Maintenance allowances, thus, made some contribution towards reducing the number of qualified pupils who declined to sit for the Final Examination for entrance into secondary schools, but it is probable that the factor which was chiefly responsible for bringing about the advance which the Director of Education noted in his report for 1924 was the improvement in the general economic climate which occurred after 1922-3. Parents were better able to bear the sacrifice which seeing their children through a full secondary school course entailed.

Changes in the Regulations for Secondary Schools also conduced to a longer school life in that local authorities were given further financial inducements to ensure that the minimum requirements of the Board in this respect were met. Thus, the Regulations for 1921 stated that a school would "not be recognised for grant unless pupils normally remained for at least four years and their school life normally extended at least to the age of sixteen".[65] Associated with this was a new article to the effect that preference should be given to those whose parents undertook to keep them at school at least till the age of sixteen.

This amendment to the Regulations prompted the Sheffield authority to instruct the Town Clerk to draw up such an agreement.[66] In fact, the general conditions governing the award of scholarships which had been set out by the Education Committee in 1906 included such a regulation but the only penalty which had been contemplated then was the repayment of the sums which had been expended on the recipients' behalf.[67] Moreover, there

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(64) S.M.A.S., 13th Sept., 1934, S.E.C.M. 1934-5, p. 323. During the 1920s no comparable figures are documented and no specific amounts for maintenance allowances were given in the annual accounts for any of the years in the period under review.

(65) R.S.S. 1921, Art. 2.

(66) H.E.S.C., 16th Sept., 1921, S.E.C.M. 1921-2, p. 263.

(67) S.E.C., Scholarships' Handbook, 1906, p.5.

seem to have been very few instances of such penalties having been enforced and by 1914 the "Agreement" clause had virtually fallen into disuse. The 1921 Regulations for Secondary Schools prompted its revival; and although each case was judged on its merits in order to take fair account of special circumstances, financial penalties were imposed upon those who did not honour the term of their Agreement. The May economies in the early 1930s precipitated harsher penalties though and the city's 1933 Scholarships Handbook required the parents of all pupils at all the municipal secondary schools and at the Pupil-Teacher Centre to sign a four year Agreement, breach of which was to incur a fixed penalty of £10.(68)

The effect of the requirement to fulfil the terms of an Agreement, along with the provision of scholarships and maintenance allowances, was obviously to increase the length of secondary school life at the upper end of a school. The other line of attack in increasing school life was obviously to lower the age at which pupils entered the secondary school - a tactic which the Board of Education had been urging upon local authorities since the first decade of the century.(69) By 1911 some success had been achieved in this respect and the Board were able to report that most local authorities had adopted their suggestion that scholarships and free places should be offered to pupils under thirteen years of age with preference being given to those under twelve.(70) Sheffield, for its part, required, in 1906, that candidates for scholarships at both King Edward VII School and the Central Secondary Schools be not more than 12½ years of age on the 1st July in the year of competition.(71)

An attempt was made to tighten Sheffield's parameters after World War I when a two-stage examination was introduced and it was laid down that all children in the public elementary schools who were between ten

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(68) Ibid., p.4.
(69) See B.E., Report for 1908-9, pp. 41-2.
(70) B.E., Report for 1911-12, p. 21.
(71) S.E.C., Scholarships Handbook, 1906, p.7 and p.9.

and twelve years of age should sit the preliminary examination. The upper limit, however, was not enforced, as can be seen from Table 12.5.

Table 12.5 - Preliminary Entrance Examination Percentage Distribution of Candidates By Age; 1920[72]

Years and Months		Boys	Girls
10:0	10:5	1.1	0.3
10:6	10:11	2.2	1.4
11:0	11:5	11.1	8.0
11:6	11:11	21.2	17.3
12:0	12:5	29.0	32.4
12:6	12:11	26.8	30.0
13:0	13:5	8.0	10.0
13:6	13:11	0.6	0.7

Thus, 35% of the boys and 40% of the girls sitting the examination were over 12½ years of age, whilst 64% of the former and 74% of the latter were over twelve, the age postulated by both the Sheffield Education Committee and the Balfour Act for the commencement of secondary education.

Action was clearly imperative if this situation was to be rectified and in 1921 the Committee resolved that the maximum age limit for candidates for the Final Entrance Examination in 1922 would be 12 years 9 months. Over the next three years the age limit was to be reduced in 3 month stages so that in 1925 it would be 12 years 0 months.[73] These limits seem to have been adhered to and by the 1930s eleven to twelve years had become the accepted age for candidates for the Entrance Examination, though in exceptional circumstances over-age candidates were admitted.[74]

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(72) J.A. Green, Report on the Examinations for Scholarships and Free Places in Secondary Schools 1920, Sheffield, 1921, p.1.
(73) H.E.S.C., 16th Sept., 1921, S.E.C.M. 1921-2, p. 264.
(74) S.E.C., Scholarships' Handbook, 1933, p.3.

When in 1918 the Committee opened its two new secondary schools it determined that the process of selecting pupils for those schools and for the other secondary schools should be a two-tier one, consisting of a qualifying Preliminary Examination which more or less all public elementary school pupils sat and a competitive Final Examination on the results of which places were to be awarded in the secondary schools.[75] This two-stage selection process operated throughout almost the whole of the inter-war period even though its continuance in the later part of this period ran counter to the Board of Education's clear intimation that such arrangements were by no means necessarily more efficient than a single-stage examination.[76]

This was a view with which many Sheffield teachers were in complete agreement,[77] though it was not so much their pressure as the assessment of the Director of Education that English and Arithmetic standards in the elementary school had improved, which led to the temporary suspension of the Preliminary Examination in 1928 and 1930.[78] From this, from Sharp's reports on the examination in the early 1920s,[79] and from the fact that the preliminary examination was often referred to by the authority as the "General Efficiency Examination" it is clear that the first examination was intended to monitor standards in the elementary schools just as much as to afford a preliminary screening of candidates for secondary education. There is no evidence that the marks yielded by either of the two entrance examinations were subjected to any form of rigorous psychometrical analysis yet Sharp was possessed of a mystical faith in the ability of the 50% mark to distinguish between candidates. At this time psychological measurement was still in its adolescence and Sharp's attitude was merely typical of the times. It was not until 1932 that C.W. Valentine spotlighted the inaccuracies which were prevalent in the procedures which were then being used to select pupils for secondary eduation;[80] and it was not until three years after that that

(75) S.S.C.D.E.S., 5th Mar., 1918, S.E.C.M. 1917-8, p. 517.
(76) B.E., Memorandum on Examinations for Scholarships and Free Places in Secondary Schools, Ed. Pamphlet No. 63, 1928, Supplementary Memo, 1936 p.7
(77) S.M.S.S.C., 23rd Oct., 1930, S.E.C.M. 1930-1, p. 456.
(78) S.M.S.S.C., 5th Nov., 1929, S.E.C.M. 1929-30, p. 408.
(79) S.M.S.S.C., 5th Dec., 1923, S.E.C.M. 1923-4, p. 385.
(80) C.W. Valentine, The Reliability of Examinations, 1932.

Frank Sandon pointed out that certain imperfections were inevitable in any kind of examination.[81] Thus, in the 1920s, and, indeed, throughout the following decade only those children who gained 50% or more in the Preliminary Examination were permitted to sit the Final papers.

There seems little doubt that Sharp was anxious to preserve the Preliminary Examination as a check upon standards in the public elementary schools, but equally, there could have been some validity in his contention that with almost 10,000 candidates involved (by 1927) some preliminary sifting was desirable. All save those of extremely low ability were required to sit the Preliminary Examination, but even if one were to deduct those pupils who did not wish anyway to proceed to a secondary school, one would still have been left with a candidate population of several thousands had the examination been optional. That being the case, some preliminary selection examination would seem to have been both necessary and justifiable - provided, that is, that it was of a suitably lower standard than the final, competitive examination. That was not the case, at least not in the 1930s when H.M. Inspectors subjected the examinations to a most detailed scrutiny; and there is nothing to suggest that the situation in the previous decade was significantly different.

In 1933 a team of four H.M.I.s. carried out a three-day study of all aspects of the examinations. Their first conclusion was that whilst two-stage selection examinations were not uncommon it was unusual to find a preliminary test which was of approximately the same difficulty as the final one, as was the case in Sheffield.[82] In the final examination 50% of the total marks was still regarded as a magical figure: all those who gained that mark were regarded as having qualified for a place in either a secondary or an intermediate school, though in 1933 a further proviso was

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(81) F. Sandon, 'The Necessary Imperfections of an Examination', B.J. Ed. Psychol., Vol. V, 1935, pp. 180-93.

(82) H.M.I., 'Report on the Examination for the Award of Special Places', 25-27th Sept., 1933, p.1. P.R.O. Ed. 110/109.

added to the effect that successful candidates must achieve at least 45% in each of the two subjects, English and Arithmetic. The effect of this, in 1933, was to exclude 265 pupils who in former years would have qualified. Even so, there were still 1403 boys and 1153 girls who satisfied the prescribed criteria,[83] For them there were a mere 844 secondary school places (471 for boys and 373 for girls) and 480 intermediate school places.[84]

Such then, was the competitive element in the Final Examination, though one must obviously bear in mind the fact that the 50% "pass" mark was entirely arbitary. This situation, had, of course, existed throughout the previous decade and it had prompted Sharp, in whom was vested the responsibility for prescribing the standard of the examination,[85] to decree that the final examination, because it was competitive, must be more difficult than it need have been if the sole object had been simply to test a child's fitness by attainment for secondary education.[86] That the Preliminary Examination should have been pitched at more or less the same high level of difficulty would seem to have been a somewhat unnecessary imposition upon the majority of candidates.

The papers which the Sheffield authority set in its selection examinations were devoted exclusively to English and Arithmetic throughout the whole of the inter-war period. No trust was placed in intelligence tests even though the Board of Education had indicated as early as 1924 that it was "tolerably well established" that properly constructed intelligence tests had shown themselves capable of giving a useful measurement of what teachers generally called capacity or intelligence.[87] Sheffield, however, as Sharp stated, was seeking to base its selection of secondary school pupils upon attainment rather than capacity and it adhered to this policy as the Board's attitude towards intelligence tests developed from mild appropabition

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(83) H.E.S.C., 17th July, 1933, S.E.C.M. 1933-4, p. 251. (4437 Boys and 4278 girls sat the Prelim. Exam.)
(84) S.M.A.S., 13th July, 1933, S.E.C.M. 1933-4, p. 232.
(85) H.E.S.C., 15th April, 1927, S.E.C.M. 1927-8, p. 53.
(86) P. Sharp, 'Report on the Preliminary Entrance Examination, 1927, S.E.C.M. 1927-8, p. 56.
(87) B.E., Report of the Consultative Committee on Psychological Tests of Educable Capacity and their Possible Use in the Public System of Education, 1924, p. 137.

in 1924 through doubt in 1928 to cautious confidence in 1936.

In 1928 the Board published their Memorandum on Examinations for Scholarships and Free Places in Secondary Schools in which, after reviewing the practice in some 75 different areas of the country, they concluded that the general use of intelligence tests would be premature.(88) Eight years later, however, a Supplementary Memorandum was added to the effect that the considerable amount of research which had been done in recent years into the validity and reliability of such tests suggested that their value was much greater than had been supposed.(89)

Sheffield was not persuaded by this argument and continued to rely virtually entirely upon tests of attainment in English and Arithmetic. Reports from elementary school Headteachers on pupils' ability, industry and character were requested only for those candidates who were around the border-line;(90) and oral examinations, which were originally intended to be an integral part of the final screening of all candidates whose performance on the written papers had shown them to be capable of profiting from a secondary education,(91) had been abandoned by 1922.

In limiting itself to tests of attainment in the two basic subjects Sheffield was by no means unusual for 57 of the 75 authorities which the Board's Inspectors studied in 1928 limited their selection procedures in such a manner.(92) In fact, throughout the whole of the period 1902-39 Sheffield limited its written papers almost entirely to tests of English and arithmetic. In 1906, for example, it was stipulated that the examination would consist of papers in Arithmetic, Composition and Dictation, together with Reading tests.

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(88) B.E., Pamphlet No. 63, 1928, p. 55.
(89) Ibid., pp. 3 and 7.
(90) H.M.I., 'Report on Ent. Exam.', 1933, p. 8.
(91) S.S.C.D.E.S. 5th Mar., 1918, S.E.C.M. 1917-8, p. 517.
(92) B.E., Pamphlet No. 63, 1928, p. 16.

These papers formed part of the Annual Entrance Examination at the Central Secondary School which candidates for all Education Committee close entrance scholarships or exhibitions at secondary schools had to sit. Those candidates who wished to compete for scholarships at King Edward VII School, or at approved secondary schools for girls, were selected from those who successfully passed this Preliminary Examination and afterwards, if they failed to gain one of those scholarships, they were given the opportunity of entering the Central Secondary School without further examination.

Papers were also set in History, Geography, and Grammar, but after World War I these were discontinued and both the General Efficiency (or Preliminary) and the Final Examinations tested nothing but the various aspects of Arithmetic and English.

The longest sustained piece of prose writing which the candidates were required to compose in these examinations was only about 6-8 sentences and the rather ambiguously titled "Intelligence Test" in Arithmetic was, in fact, a "problems" paper. The examinations day lasted from 9.15 in the morning until 4.25 in the afternoon - enough to daunt any 11-12 year old, and there is little wonder that many elementary school pupils, when the examination was optional, declined to present themselves for the test. After 1922, however, that element of choice was removed and thereafter all public elementary school pupils of the appropriate age were compelled to sit the Preliminary Examination. This condition applied throughout the whole of the inter-war period, except for 1928 and 1930 when no preliminary examination was held. During this period the basic content of the papers did not alter. Indeed, the only significant changes that were introduced during this period were the compulsion which was imposed upon all 11-12-year-old elementary school pupils to take the Preliminary Examination, and the introduction in 1933 of a heavier emphasis oupon English than arithmetic: instead of being of equal

weight, the English papers were favoured in the marking scheme by the proportion of 160:140.[93]

The conduct of the examination was extremely thorough and careful,[94] but the selection procedure itself was virtually static, showing little or no evolution during the period under review. Intelligence tests were not used; elementary school records were almost totally ignored; and interviews were limited to a narrow group of border-line cases. Complete trust was placed in the method of selecting on the basis of attainment in arithmetic and English: beyond this, no attempt was made to assess capacity or promise. Sheffield was not unique in this, but neither was the lack of development in its selection procedures untypical of the attitude which the authority adopted towards the development of secondary education in general.

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(93) S.M.A.S. 8th Dec., 1932, S.E.C.M. 1932-3, pp. 521-2.
(94) H.M.I. 'Report on Ent. Exam.,' 1933, p. 14.

CHAPTER 13

SHEFFIELD; THE AUTHORITY AND ITS TEACHERS

When, on the appointed day in 1903, the Sheffield Education Committee took up its duties it found itself responsible for 47 Board schools which gave instruction to some 47,530 of the city's 74,326 elementary school children.[1] It could take over no secondary schools as such for, although the Sheffield School Board had, in 1880, been the pioneer in establishing higher grade departments, the Cockerton Judgement had rendered all School Board expenditure on higher education illegal. A number of private institutions of widely varying size and calibre did exist but only the Royal Grammar School, Wesley College and the High School for Girls had any significant claim to scholarship. Those three schools did succeed in sending a handful of pupils to the university. Their fees were rather high, but not exorbitant, (£13-£15 p.a. in the upper school) yet none of these institutions was full in 1903: the Royal Grammar School, for example, had room for another one hundred pupils. Eleven other private schools made a return to the Education Committee at the time of Sadler's enquiry, but none of them had any real pretensions to offering secondary instruction. They were small, nearly half of their total of 689 pupils were under twelve years of age, none was recognised as a secondary school, and three or four of them had not even bothered to apply for official recognition of any kind.[2] Educational provision above the elementary level was thus meagre in the extreme - certainly well below the level which ought to have been expected in one of England's most populous industrial cities.

During the nineteenth century Sheffield's population had increased

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(1) J.H. Bingham, Sheff. S.B., p. 87.
(2) See above, p. 59.

ninefold to around 380,000,[3] and boundary extension in 1901 had brought the number of people within the new local education authority's area up to 426,000. Thus, a city of almost half-a-million people was "served" by only three secondary schools, two of which - the Royal Grammar School and Wesley College - were already experiencing financial difficulties that rendered the provision of the full range of secondary facilities impossible.[4] Only 475 boys and girls were receiving a secondary education in Sheffield in 1903.[5] In the most directly comparable English city, Leeds, there were at that time twelve secondary schools educating 3,053 pupils.[6] The situation in Sheffield was lamentable and the authority clearly had much to do if it was properly to discharge the responsibilities which Section 2(i) of the Balfour Act had laid upon local authorities to "consider the educational needs of their area and take such steps as seem to them to be desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary".[7]

At its very first meeting the Higher Education Sub-Committee appointed a special section to consider the provision of higher education in the city and in June 1903 Sadler began his investigation. Unfortunately, however, Sheffield's alacrity in appointing committees and experts was never subsequently matched by any real determination fully to rectify the serious deficiency of secondary school places which typified the city almost as much in 1938 as it had in 1903. The proposals of Sadler's 1903 Report were, in any event, extremely modest, calling as they did for little more in the way of secondary provision than the amalgamation of the two leading boys' schools and the conversion of the Central Higher School into a fully-fledged secondary school. This did much to enhance the quality of secondary education within the city, but, whilst it did add something to

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(3) See S. Pollard, 'The Growth of Population,' Sheffield and Its Region, ed. D.L. Linton, Sheffield, 1956, pp. 172-181.
(4) M.E. Sadler, Sheffield Report, p. 18.
(5) Ibid., Appendix, pp. 15, 20 and 23.
(6) L. Connell, 'A Study of the Development of Secondary Education in Leeds 1895-1921', unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1960, Table 6.4.
(7) 2 Edw. VII C. 42. S 2(1).

the total number of places available, it did but little to rectify the chronic shortage which still prevailed. In 1899 there were 637 boys and 602 girls in the Central Higher School being instructed in a variety of subjects at varying levels.[8] Instruction on the science side was of a good standard but, whilst French and German were taught, there was no history, geography or classics. Thus, the school could match a secondary school on the science side but clearly not on the arts side. To a limited extent only, therefore, could the education which that school was providing around the turn of the century be termed "secondary". The conversion of the school into a recognised secondary school brought with it, initially, a sharp reduction in numbers and when the school was first inspected in May 1906, there were only 356 boys and 523 girls on the roll.[9] When King Edward VII School was first inspected, in 1910, there were only 388 boys on the register.[10] Thus, the implementation of Sadler's two principal recommendations did little to increase the quantity of secondary education which was available within the city. It did most certainly enhance the quality of that education, a matter which nationally the Board of Education regarded as of greater significance at the time;[11] but, as the Board themselves noted, Sadler did not take Sheffield "much, if at all, further than at present".[12]

There seems to have been at the beginning of the century a rather lowly regard among the people of Sheffield for the value of education. This is evidenced parly by the fact that Sadler found that the three leading secondary schools all had some empty places in 1903, and partly by the fact that in the upper classes of the elementary schools there was an extremely large leakage rate. The Chairman of the authority's School Management Sub-Committee, Cn. John Derry, drew attention in Committee to the latter

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(8) J.H. Bingham, Sheff. S.B., pp. 193-4.
(9) H.M.I., C.S.S. Report 1906, p.2.
(10) H.M.I., K.E.S. Report 1910, p.3.
(11) B.E., Report for 1905-6, p. 46. and Report for 1907-8, p. 46.
(12) B.E., Dept. Min. 19th Feb., 1904, P.R.O. Ed. 53/451.

factor early in 1907 quoting figures which showed that there was a drop of over 3,000 children between Standards VI and VII. This trend continued into what he termed Standard VIII so that there were only 281 pupils studying at that level in 1907.[13] Interestingly, at the side of the Sheffield Daily Independent's report of Derry's speech was an article which pointed out that for elementary education Sheffield had the largest grant and the smallest call on the rates of any of the large county boroughs in England, Sheffield's rate-payers being called upon to pay only £1 3s. 8d. for each school child, compared with Birmingham's £1 19s. 8d. and Leeds' £2 0s. 9d.[14]

Minimising the call on the rates was a factor which seemed to dominate the Education Committee's thinking at this time and the building of a new secondary school - despite many requests from the Board of Education - was politically out of the question. Following the inspection of the Central Secondary Schools in 1909, the Inspectors suggested various re-arrangements which would yield a total gain of 650 places. They also suggested that a new secondary school for girls be built away from the centre of town but they met with no positive response. In September 1909 a letter from the Board asking whether the authority was considering further secondary provision met with a similarly negative reply.[15] By the beginning of the following academic year the situation in Sheffield had not improved markedly from that which had obtained six or seven years earlier. There were still only 800 boys (1.8 per thousand of population) and 772 girls (1.7 per thousand) receiving a secondary education at municipal expense. The occasional parental protest reached the Board of Education and the Inspectors repeated their pleas for at least one more secondary school in the city (charging fees between the £2 of the Central Secondary and the

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(13) 'School Life, Where Sheffield's Methods Have Failed'. S.D.I. 29th Jan., 1907, p.5.

(14) 'Cost of Education - Sheffield's Fortunate Position', S.D.I., 29th Jan., 1907, p.5.

(15) B.E. to S.E.C. 20th Sept., 1909, P.R.O. Ed. 53/452.

£16 16s. Od. of King Edward's), but as the Board themselves observed "There is no prospect of the l.e.a. providing it".[16]

The Board sent several letters to Sheffield urging them to make further provision for secondary education in the city. This and some anxiety over the future supply of teachers resulted in the Committee's Chief Inspector Mr. A.J. Arnold producing, in June 1912, a report on "Secondary Education in Sheffield and the Supply of Teachers".[17] There had apparently been a glut of teachers a few years before which had led to a cut-back in the number of Pupil-teachers being recruited. That cut-back had led to a fair degree of parental protest and some concern for the staffing of the authority's elementary schools. In his report, Arnold suggested the building of a new school at High Storrs catering for 200 boys and 300 girls from the southern and western parts of the city and charging a fee of £9 9s. Od. including tuition, books, games and other fees. The subjects to be taught were mainly the "essentials" of the usual secondary school curriculum, though the boys were to be instructed in the use of tools and the needle, practical mathematics and gardening, whilst the girls were to be trained for "their ultimate function" - the management of the home.

Arnold's report was coldly and critically received by all three of the authority's secondary Heads. Iliffe and Miss Couzens, in a joint submission to the Committee, critisized the logic of Arnold's report, emphasised the poor intellectual quality of much of the population of the East end of the city, and denigrated the excessively lavish provision of other cities. They concluded that there was no real need for further secondary provision within the city since it was "known" that in industrial regions the ratio of secondary scholars tended to be low, particularly in the heavy industries.[18]

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(16) B.E., Dept. Min. 25th Oct., 1911, P.R.O. Ed. 53/452.

(17) The author is not aware of any copy of Arnold's report surviving in Sheffield or in London, but it is possible to extrapolate the main import of his recommendations for references in the comments on Arnold's report made by Iliffe, Couzens and Hichens.

(18) F.M. Couzens, and J.W. Iliffe to S.E.C., 1st July, 1912, unpub. Carbon, T.S., H.S.A.

The trades of Bradford and Nottingham, they contended, were of a more refining character.[19] Iliffe and Couzens' comments were endorsed a little later by Hichens who shared their grim view of the educational consequences of Sheffield's preponderance of "rough manual occupations".[20]

The Board of Education saw Arnold's report as proof of what they knew already but they feared that the Headteachers' comments would give the l.e.a. an excuse for doing nothing.[21] That was the case and a year after the publication of Arnold's report the Sheffield authority had shown no sign of acting to remedy the deficiencies in its system. The Board were thus compelled once again to draw the Committee's attention to the gravity of the situation. In Leeds, it was pointed out, there were 74 secondary school places for every 10,000 inhabitants whereas in Sheffield there were only 39.[22] The national average for England as a whole was then 52, whilst in the 26 largest boroughs the figure was 63. The problem, however, was one not only of quantity but also of quality for the Central Secondary Schools' premises were far from ideal. The boys had no gymnasium and their art facilities were deplorable, whilst the girls' premises were so noisy that it was often impossible to hear the teachers' voices above the cacophony of the traffic outside.[23] New premises were the only satisfactory answer.

In their reply to the Board of Education the Higher Education Sub- Committee stated their total disregard for the Board's statistics and comparisons and indicated that they "were not prepared to submit proposals for increasing secondary education in the city" until they had been able to ascertain the nature of the obligations which might shortly be placed

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(19) The T.E.S. of 4th June, 1912 was quoted in support of their contention.
(20) J.A. Hichens to S.E.C., 10th Mar., 1913, unpub. carbon T.S. H.S.A.
(21) B.E., Dept. Min. 12th Oct., 1912 and 26th May, 1913. P.R.O. Ed. 53/452.
(22) B.E., to S.E.C. 19th June, 1913, P.R.O. Ed. 53/452.
(23) H.M.I., C.S.S. Report 1909, p.7.

upon them by the proposed legislation regarding secondary and trade schools.[24] Nevertheless, the full Committee did decide to institute another inquiry into the adequacy or otherwise of secondary education facilities in Sheffield,[25] but almost a year was allowed to elapse before a formal request was made to Michael Sadler to conduct a second investigation.[26] By that time Gavrilo Princip had done his work and any implementation of Sadler's plan for three new secondary schools for girls had to wait upon the conclusion of European hostilities.

As such, Sadler's second report was not acted upon, though his recommendations doubtless carried some import with the special Sub-Committee which was appointed in August 1917 to consider and report upon the Education Bill and the development of the education system in Sheffield.[27] The Sub-Committee did not endorse Arnold's view that the need for further secondary provision for girls was greater than that for boys. They estimated that there was a call for an extra 400 boys places per annum, thus demanding, over a normal school life, the provision of around 1600-1800 additional places. For girls two new 400-place schools were recommended in suburban sites. The Sub-Committee were particularly conscious of the industrial and commercial needs of the city and this led them to suggest that some departure from the existing concept of a secondary school was called for.[28] The Board of Education were not at all pleased with this postulation of a junior modern school. What was needed, they insisted, was a true secondary school and a junior technical school.[29]

In the event, one new secondary school for girls and one for boys were opened in adapted domestic premises in 1918.[30] This eased the situation slightly but Sheffield's provision was still manifestly inadequate

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(24) H.E.S.C. to B.E., 25th Aug., 1913, reprinted in S.E.C.M. 1913-4, p. 230.
(25) S.E.C., 25th Aug., 1913, S.E.C.M. 1913-4, p. 279.
(26) H.E.S.C., 10th July, 1914, S.E.C.M. 1914-5, p. 134.
(27) S.E.C., 27th Aug., 1917, S.E.C.M. 1917-8, p. 235.
(28) S.S.C.D.E.S., 14th Feb., 1918, S.E.C.M. 1917-8, p. 510.
(29) B.E., Dept. Min., 20th April, 1918, P.R.O. Ed. 53/452.
(30) See above pp. 101-3 and pp. 127-8.

in comparison with that of Leeds or Bradford despite the ameliorating effect of some 200 places at the Pupil-Teacher Centre. The Board of Education recognised that Sheffield had much lee-way to make up in housing, sanitation, baths, hospitals and public buildings but the city had prospered during the war years and the Board were right to insist that the Abbeydale and Firth Park schools should be regarded as only the beginning and that the onus was on the Education Committee to press in Council the claims of the service for which they were responsible.(31) This the Committee singularly failed to do. It was this consistent failure to press the claims of education that both characterised and debilitated secondary education in Sheffield during the inter-war period and, indeed, throughout the whole of the period currently under review.

By 1922 nothing had been done beyond the opening of the Abbeydale and Firth Park schools, neither did it look to the Board as if anything further would be done if the authority were left to its own devices. Accordingly, the Board called a conference in November 1923 to discuss with the Higher Education Sub-Committee the general problems of secondary education in Sheffield. At this conference attention was concentrated upon the level of secondary provision in Sheffield and in comparing that with the provision made by Bradford and Leeds. As Table 13.1 shows, there were a total of 3,266 boys and girls aged 10-18 receiving a secondary education in Sheffield in 1922-3. Ten years earlier that figure had been 1,525.

Table 13.1 - Total Numbers of Full-time Pupils Aged 10-18 in Sheffield Secondary Schools 1912-13 and 1922-23.(32)

		1912-13	1922-23
Abbeydale S.S. for Girls		-	419
Central S.S. for Boys		430	608
Central S.S. for Girls		451	514
Firth Park S.S. for Boys		-	458
King Edward VII S.S.	(1910)	356	604
Notre Dame H.S.		97	382
High School for Girls		191	281
	Total	1525	3266

(31) B.E., Dept. Memo. 18th September 1919, P.R.O. Ed. 53/452.
(32) 'Documents considered at conference between H.E.S.C. and H.M.I. 2nd Nov. 1923', Table II. H.S.A.

Thus, there had been an increase in the number of secondary school places of 114% over that period of time but, as Table 13.2 shows, Sheffield in 1922 still had only just over half the number of secondary places which Leeds and Bradford possessed.

Table 13.2 - Bradford, Leeds and Sheffield - Total Numbers of Full-time Pupils in Grant List Secondary Schools 1912 and 1922[33]

	1912	1922
Bradford	3375	6097
Leeds	3245	5593
Sheffield	1169	3266

In their defence Sheffield presented figures which showed that whereas in Bradford there were only 2 private secondary or preparatory schools and in Leeds only 8, in Sheffield there were 19 and they educated a total of 1224 pupils. Yet the very detail of the evidence which Sheffield presented shows that of those 19 schools only five took pupils through to the secondary stage and they had only 417 children on their rolls, some of whom may well have been under the age of ten or eleven.[34] From this evidence, therefore, it would seem difficult to argue that private establishments in any significant way either hindered or compensated for the dearth of municipal provision.

The Sheffield authority were, in fact, arguing purely defensively in a forlorn attempt to excuse their own inertia. The facts were unquestionable: the provision of secondary places in Sheffield was the worst in Yorkshire.[35] The authority knew this but were unwilling, even after the easing of the Geddes restrictions, to commit themselves, the Council and the ratepayers to the large expenditure which alone could rectify the situation. Typically, sound plans were made but not carried out. In April 1924, following the receipt from the Board of Education of a request for l.e.a. three-year

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(33) Ibid., Table III.
(34) Ibid., Table IV. Private Secondary and Preparatory Schools in Sheffield.
(35) 180 H.C. Deb. 5s. Col. 2153. Percy in written reply to C.H. Wilson, Sheffield M.P.

expansion programmes,[36] the Director of Education was asked to draw up proposals for the extension of secondary schooling in the city.[37] In September of that year Sharp visited Whitehall and informed the Board that Sheffield was hoping to provide five new schools each capable of holding 500 pupils and one of which was to have a technical bias.[38] It was almost a decade before the technical school materialised, taking over the town-centre premises vacated by the Central Secondary Schools,[39] and what transpired immediately was the conversion of two elementary schools, at Greystones and Marlcliffe, into central or intermediate schools, a plan which had first been mooted in May 1924.[40]

The School Certificate Examination was taken in these schools (after four years as in the Sheffield Secondary Schools) and their corporate ethos as well as their academic curriculum were modelled essentially on secondary lines.[41] The average intake of these schools was between 350 and 420 p.a. but there was a fairly high leakage rate and usually only about 90-100 intermediate school pupils gained their School Certificate each year. Nevertheless, it could be argued that through these schools a further 400 Sheffield children were given secondary opportunities each year.

In 1926 the Nether Edge Secondary School was opened but this added only a projected 450 boys' places to the city's secondary provision and did little to rectify the shortage which still existed. Moreover, even the building of new premises for the Central Secondary Schools at High Storrs did not in itself add materially to the total number of secondary places for the bulk of its former premises were taken over not by a secondary but by a technical school. The other part of the Leopold Street premises

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(36) B.E., Circular 1358.
(37) S.S.S.S.C., 4th April, 1924, S.E.C.M. 1924-5, p.3.
(38) B.E., Dept. Memo., 30th Sept., 1924, P.R.O. Ed. 53/678.
(39) See above pp.205-6.
(40) S.E.C. to B.E., 13th May, 1924, P.R.O. Ed. 53/678.
(41) See above, for example, p. 270.

was given over to the Pupil-Teacher Centre which had for some years been developing more and more on secondary lines.[42] Official recognition of what came to be known as the City Secondary School was not granted until 1936, but six years before then the Committee had purchased 20 acres of land in Hurlfield Road with a view to building new premises both for the Pupil-Teacher Centre and a "new Secondary School of a technical type".[43]

The Committee's lack of urgency precluded any implementation of this scheme before "economy" once more became the national order of the day. When conditions began to improve, however, the Chief Education Officer, H.S. Newton, was instructed to prepare a report on secondary school accommodation within the city with a view to determining what extra provision was needed. Newton's report showed that even with the planned expansion of Abbeydale and Nether Edge to 600 places each, the counting of the Pupil-Teacher Centre as a secondary school, and the inclusion of all the places at the Girls' High School and the Catholic Schools Sheffield's provision of secondary places was still below the national average. The statistics which Newton presented showed that whereas in 1933-4 for England and Wales as a whole the average number of secondary school places per thousand of the population was 11.1, the provision in Sheffield was only 9.6 per thousand.[44] The city's population then stood at 519,820, for whom there was a total of 5,299 secondary school places, distributed as follows.

Table 13.3 - Number of Places in Sheffield Secondary Schools 1934-5[45]

	Boys	Girls
Abbeydale	-	434
Central	672	621
Firth Park	644	-
King Edward	548	-
Nether Edge	447	-
Pupil Teacher Centre	167	462
De La Salle	265	-
Girls High School	-	279
Notre Dame H.S.	-	441
	2743	2237
	4980	

(42) See above pp. 237-9.
(43) S.S.S.S.C., 8th Oct., 1930, S.E.C.M. 1930-1, p. 256.
(44) H.S. Newton, 'Report on Secondary School Accommodation', presented to H.E.S.C. 17th June, 1935, S.E.C.M. 1935-6, p. 155.
(45) Ibid., p. 156.

At its meeting in April 1935 the Committee had decided to extend the Abbeydale and Nether Edge premises, giving an additional 166 places at the former and 153 at the latter. This would have raised the city's provision to 10.2 per thousand of population. These extra places never fully materialised but, even if they had, that would still have left the city's provision almost one full place per thousand below the average for England and Wales as a whole. Moreover, as Newton himself point out, there was no reason to believe that Sheffield children were any less intelligent than children in other parts of the country and if Sheffield was to be brought up to the average standard then another 471 secondary school places were still needed.

The raising of the school leaving age to fifteen would also have important consequences for secondary education since it was likely that when children had only one instead of two extra years to stay at school for the basic First Certificate secondary course the number of parents who declined the offer of a secondary course place was likely to fall.

A further factor, which suggested that secondary school accommodation would soon be needed in the northern sector of the city, was the City Council's plan to acquire compulsorily 900 acres of land in the Shirecliffe district (adjacent to Hillsborough) on which to build a new housing estate of about 7,400 dwellings. This would necessitate not only the building of new elementary schools but also the reversion of the whole of the Southey Green school to its original elementary character.(46) It would also mean that a further 450-600 secondary school places would be needed. It was, therefore, proposed that a 20 acre site on Halifax Road, Hillsbrough, should be reserved by the Estates Committee in order that a mixed secondary school for 300 boys and 300 girls might be erected there.(47) This was the first time that the authority had contemplated a mixed secondary school

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(46) See above p. 262.
(47) H.E.S.C., 21st Oct., 1935, S.E.C.M. 1935-6, pp. 362-3.

but no work had begun on the new school before the outbreak of war in September 1939.

The only addition which actually was made to secondary school provision in the city in the latter half of the 1930s was the opening of the Hurlfield Secondary School for Girls in September 1938.[48] It was intended that this school should eventually have purpose-built premises on the Hurlfield Road site but work on this project had not even been commenced by that time let alone been completed and so the school opened with 120 girls in a section of the Arbourthorne Junior School.[49]

In the late 1930s, there were, therefore, indications that the authority was at last becoming prepared to commit itself to that substantial capital outlay which alone could make its secondary provision something commensurate with the city's industrial and commercial importance. The economic recession of 1937-8 put paid to the plans for the Hurlfield Road and Halifax Road Schools but the Committee did press ahead with the much-needed new premises for Abbeydale Girls. Construction work on this began before the outbreak of war and the first girls moved into the new building in September 1940. It was not possible to implement the plans for the other two schools until after the war but the Committee had finally shown an awareness of the problem which existed, and some progress had been made in rectifying the situation.

Before World War I Sheffield had possessed only three principal secondary schools and there had been only 1,043 children in the city receiving a secondary education. Bradford, Leeds, Bristol and Manchester each had at least 2-2½ times as many secondary pupils as Table 13.4 shows.

The opening of the Abbeydale and Firth Park schools improved

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(48) Immediate recognition was granted by the Board of Education (officially as from 1st August, 1938) S.E.S.C. 2nd Nov., 1938, S.E.C.M. 1938-9, p. 390.

(49) S.E.S.C., 11th July, 1938, S.E.C.M. 1938-9, p. 203.

Table 13.4 - Number of Pupils of 12 and over in Secondary Schools on the Grant List in the large towns in England, expressed per mille of the Population and of the number of children in P.E.S.[50]

	1912-13					1922-23				
	Population 1911	No. of P.E.S. children	No. of full-time Pupils of 12 and over in Secondary Schools on the Grant List.	Number in Col. A per 1000 of the number in		Population 1921	No. of P.E.S. children	No. of full-time Pupils of 12 and over in Secondary Schools on the Grant List.	Number in Col. 9 per 1000 of the number in	
				Col. (2)	Col. (3)				Col. (7)	Col. (8)
1	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Kingston-on-Hull	277,991	49,241	1,453	5.2	30	287,013	48,063	1,968	6.9	41
Bradford	288,458	44,054	2,384	8.3	54	285,979	35,824	4,473	15.6	125
Bristol	357,114	58,884	2,296	6.4	39	377,061	55,775	3,575	9.5	64
Leeds	454,155	76,113	2,620	5.8	34	458,320	70,412	4,449	9.7	63
Sheffield	460,183	82,277	1,043	2.3	13	490,724	83,470	2,740	5.6	33
Manchester	714,385	121,193	2,587	3.6	21	730,551	115,644	5,066	6.9	44
Liverpool	753,353	132,282	3,265	4.3	25	803,118	136,692	6,467	8.1	47
Birmingham	840,202	149,345	3,006	3.6	20	919,438	144,155	5,107	5.6	35
LONDON	4,521,685	722,199	17,561	3.9	24	4,483,249	676,897	27,381	6.1	40

(50) 'Documents considered at Conference between S.E.C. and H.M.I., 2nd Nov., 1923,' Table 1, H.S.A.

matters, but only marginally. Moreover, the cities selected for comparison in Table 13.4 were not untypical. The national average for the number of secondary school places per 1000 of population was, in 1925, 9.7.[51] Sheffield's provision was well below that. Neither the opening of Nether Edge in 1926, nor the transfer of the Central Secondary Schools to High Storrs in 1933 altered the situation appreciably, but at least a commitment to building expenditure had been initiated and one suspects that the undertakings that were made in the late 1930s would have been honoured (as was that for Abbeydale) but for the outbreak of war. By 1935 Sheffield had hauled itself to within striking distance of the national average - only 1.5 per thousand below the mean - but there was some imbalance in the overall provision which was made for boys and for girls. By 1935, for example, there were 2478 boys in municipal secondary schools, but only 1517 girls.[52] The opening of the Hurlfield school was intended to help redress that imbalance but even when full it was clear that just that one school could not fully place the girls provision on a par with that for boys.

Progress had been made in increasing the number of secondary school places and to that must be added the work of the intermediate schools which were giving secondary education in fact, if not in law, to some 1200 pupils in 1934-5.[53] Even so, it could hardly be a cause for pride that a city such as Sheffield should have a level of secondary provision which was below rather than above the average.

In 1919, the Board of Education had indicated that much would depend on the forcefulness of the Education Committee in pressing the claims of education upon the rates,[54] but it was not until the mid- and late-thirties that any such pressure beame really apparent. The May

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(51) Spens Report, p. 93.
(52) S.S.S.C., 5th April, 1935, S.E.C.M. 1935-6, p.6.
(53) S.M.S.C., 18th April, 1935, S.E.C.M. 1935-6, p. 76.
(54) B.E., Dept. Memo. 19th Aug., 1914, P.R.O. Ed. 53/452.

cuts were obviously inhibitory on new school building but equally restrictive was the outlay on Public Assistance which all local authorities, not least Sheffield, had to make. Before 1929 those unemployed people who were not insured or whose period of benefit had expired were compelled to resort to the Poor Law; but in 1929 the Poor Law was abolished and the powers and functions of the 635 Boards of Guardians were transferred to the counties and county boroughs acting through their Public Assistance Committees. This system operated until January 1935 when the Unemployment Assistance Board took over responsibility for all the able-bodied unemployed including those who, being outside unemployment insurance, had been a charge on the Public Assistance Committees.(55)

In the early 1920s relief per head of population had been higher in Sheffield than in any other borough with the exception of Poplar, and it was not unknown for some workers to receive more in relief than they had in wages.(56) The rates of relief were reduced later in the twenties, but after 1930 the Sheffield Public Assistance Committee, controlled as it was by a Labour Council, was again generous by current standards. Many of its rates were above those of the unemployment insurance scheme; and it made up the weekly benefits of those on the insurance scheme to the level of its own rates. Thus, in 1931 Sheffield Corporation expended £773,696 on Public Assistance. Total spending out of the rates on education that year amounted to only £439,000, a decrease of over £60,000 compared with the previous year.(57) Two years later, Public Assistance expenditure rose to £1,616,588 (the rate equivalent of 95s. 18d.), whilst education spending remained almost stationary at £479,807 (44s. 92d.).(58)

The demands which these payments placed upon the ratepayers were

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(55) C.L. Mowat, pp. 345 and 471.

(56) S. Pollard, A History of Labour in Sheffield, Liverpool, 1959, pp. 252-3.

(57) City of Sheffield, Abstract of Accounts for the Year Ended 31st Mar., 1932, pp. 5 and 267. S.L.A.

(58) City of Sheffield, Abstract of Accounts for the Year Ended 31st March, 1934, pp. 5 and 244. S.L.A.

substantially greater than those which were placed upon the ratepayers of at least two other leading West Yorkshire boroughs. In Leeds, for example, payments from the rates for Public Assistance amounted to £563,059 (or 42,704d. in the £) in 1932; whilst in 1934 they totalled only £598,522,[59] little more than a third of Sheffield's expenditure. Bradford was not as large a city as Sheffield, hence its total expenditure on public assistance would not be expected to be as great. Moreover, the incidence of unemployment naturally varied from industry to industry, and from town to town.

Table 13.5 - Unemployment in Leeds, Bradford and Sheffield 1932 and 1934

	Population 1931 (60)	Unemployed June 1932 (61)				Unemployed June 1934 (62)			
		Men	Women	Juveniles	Total	Men	Women	Juveniles	Total
Leeds	482,809	26,829	9,022	818	36,669	20,497	5,960	332	26,789
Bradford	291,004	17,141	7,879	435	25,455	14,714	6,682	245	21,641
Sheffield	511,757	48,728	7,129	2,557	58,414	32,093	4,140	720	36,953

In terms of population there was but little difference between Sheffield and Leeds but in the former, dependent as it was upon the badly hit heavy steel trades, unemployment was very much more severe, particularly amongst men. Sheffield's burden of Public Assistance was thus bound to be high in comparison with the other cities - all the more so since the early 1920s' tradition of generosity was continued in the 1930s. The other county boroughs were less badly hit and the payments of £342,040 which Bradford made in 1934 were the equivalent of a rate in the £ of only 39.901d,[63] compared with Sheffield's 95.18d. Moreover, whereas in Sheffield expenditure on public assistance exceeded that on education in 1934, in Leeds the positions

(59) City of Leeds, Abstract of Accounts for the Year Ended 31st Mar. 1932, p. 32, and Abstract of Accounts for the Year Ended 31st March, 1934, p. 32. Leeds Central Library.
(60) The Sheffield Year Book (Blue Book) 1939, Sheffield, 1939, p. 178. S.L.A.
(61) Ministry of Labour, Labour Gazette, July 1932, p. 257.
(62) Labour Gazette, July 1934, p. 252.
(63) City of Bradford, Abstract of Accounts for the Year Ended 31st March, 1934 p.v. Bradford Central Library.

were reversed, £1.2 million being spent on education and £0.7 million on public assistance.(64) Indeed, in both Leeds and Bradford more was spent on elementary education alone than upon public assistance.(65)

The transfer of relief from the local authorities to the Unemployment Assistance Board in 1935 obviously reduced greatly the burden upon the rates, Resources could thus be diverted elsewhere. It was at this juncture that the Sheffield education authority began to plan three major building projects, but only one of these actually came to fruition before the outbreak of war. The economic recession of 1937-8 was one factor which contributed to this, but naturally other council committees also wished to increase their expenditure. The building of 7,400 houses on the Shiregreen estate, to which Newton had referred in his 1935 report on further secondary school provision, was but one project which could possibly have entailed heavy rival claims upon the municipal coffers, but undertakings such as that were usually financed by loans, as, indeed, were many capital education projects. Maintenance and interest payments were the main calls which housing made upon the rates and throughout the period here under review educational spending was always considerably in excess of that on any other service, except Public Assistance.

Successive City Treasurers presented their accounts in slightly differing formats and expenditure was not always itemised in exactly the same way, particularly in the case of housing. Comparisons over the years are not, therefore, always exact or even possible but the pre-eminence of spending on education is, expectedly, clear. Rather strangely, perhaps, refuse disposal seems to have occupied a consistently prominent place in the council's budget in the 1930s but apart from public assistance in the

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(64) City of Leeds, Abstract of Accounts for the Year Ended 31st March, 1935, pp. 50 and 164.

(65) In 1933-34, Leeds spent £358,683 on higher education, £721,977 on elementary education and £598,522 on public assistance. In Bradford the corresponding figures were £243,385, £452,492 and £342,040.

Table 13.6 - Some Principal Items of Civic Expenditure, Sheffield 1912-38 (66)

	1912		1918		1919		1920		1921	
	Total £	Equivalent to rate in £ of	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate
Education	161,681	20.76	217,220	24.96	268,372	30.94	302,500	33.96	345,422	37.90
Highways	7,997	1.03	119,655	14.29	121,775	14,23	149,129	17.34	184,834	21.23
Health	8,390	1.08	62,261	7.44	77,390	9.04	111,592	13.24	119,055	13.71

	1922		1923		1924		1925		1926	
	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate
Education	409,202	44.14	402,558	40.89	379,783	39.93	382,005	38.78	391,210	40.06
Highways	170,515	18.40	145,161	14,74	134,485	14.14	119,567	12.14	128,986	13.21
Health	106,985	12.35					117,587	11.94	120,542	12.34

	1927		1928		1929		1930		1931	
	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate
Education	401,221	40.33	410,967	41.62	443,723	44.09	499,032	42.79	500,944	48.47
Highways	121,947	12.26	129,623	12.94	132,380	13.15	132,618	11.37	147,445	14.27
Building										
Refuse Disposal	146,737	14.75	147,554	14.73	143,495	12.16	154,880	13.28	145,555	14.08
Public Assistance									674,108	65.22

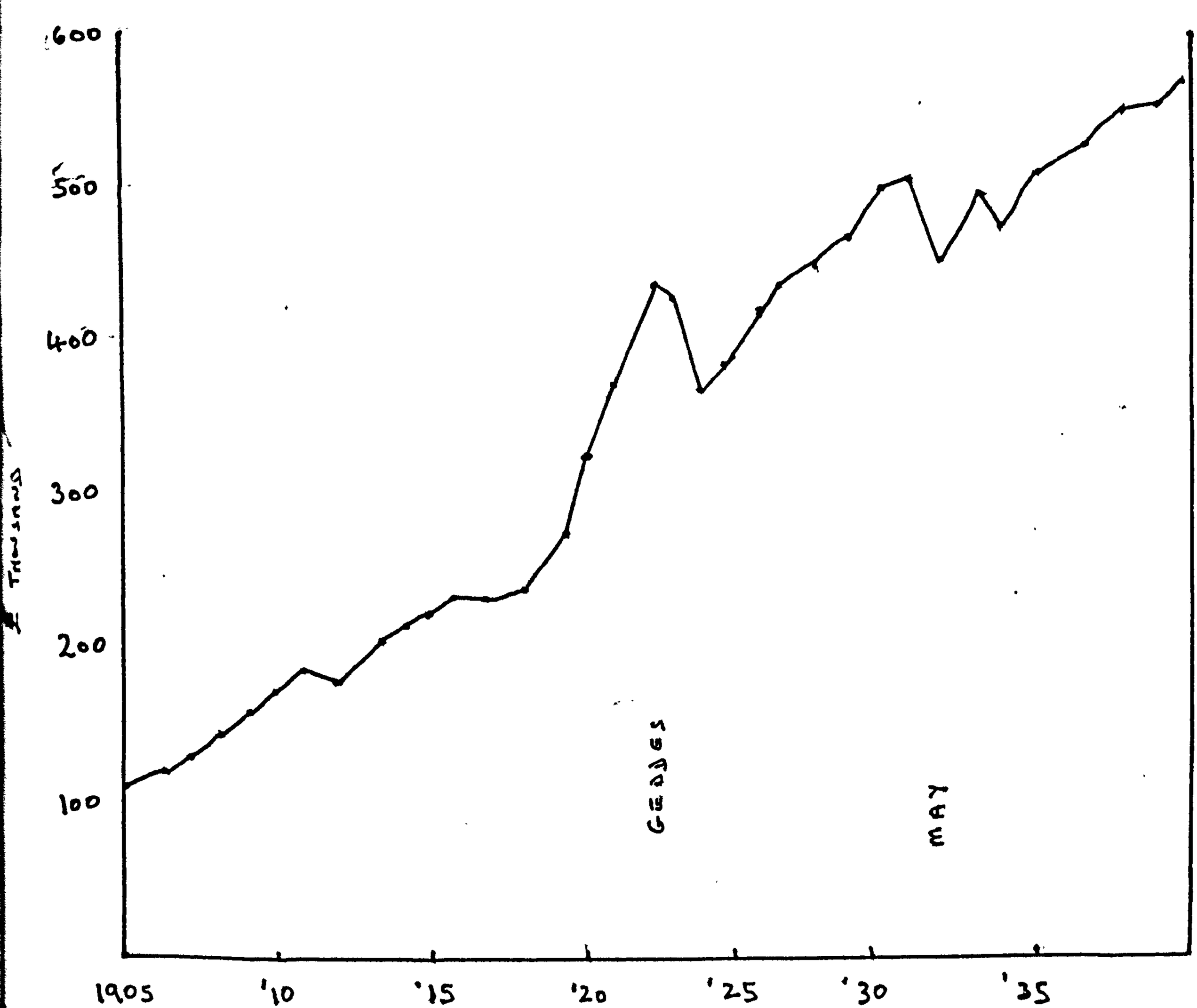
	1932		1933		1934		1935		1936	
	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate
Education	439,908	41.87	492,228	48.62	479,807	44.92	501,837	42.26	538,280	
Highways	47,826	14.07	151,831	14.38	139,846	13.09	149,572	12.60	157,665	
Building										
Refuse Disposal	147,208	14.01	136,362	12.91	139,435	13.05	137,631	11.59	147,002	
Public Assistance	773,696	73.64	930,478	88.12	1,016,588	95.18	1,021501	86.03		

	1937		1938		1939					
	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate	Total	Pence Rate				
Education	556,988	45.89	555,845	44.56						
Highways	161,807	14.01	165,006	14.14						
Refuse Disposal	158,375	13.05	161,678	12.95						

(66) City of Sheffield annual Abstracts of Accounts, 1912-39
It is not possible to extract figures purely for "Housing" - various City Treasurers used a diverse multitude of categories ranging from simply "Buildings" to the monies spent under various Housing Acts.

early thirties, no single item of expenditure ever rivalled that of education. Naturally there were fluctuations in the annual total expenditure on education, but, as can be seen from Graph 13.1 the overall trend is upwards.

Graph 13.1 - Rate Fund Expenditure on Education in Sheffield 1905-39 (67)



(67) From City of Sheffield Annual Abstracts of Accounts

During the inter-war period Sheffield's spending on education increased 153% from £217,000 in 1918 to over £550,000 in 1938. This substantial increase could have been turned to even greater advantage in erecting new schools than was actually the case, for over the inter-war period as a whole not only did prices in general fall by between one third and one quarter, but building costs in particular fell by roughly the same amount until 1935, after which they rose.[68] This escalation of building costs in the late 1930s has obvious relevance to the postponement of the Halifax Road and Hurlfield Road projects but the question then arises of why, prior to that, during a period when its educational expenditure was rising and building costs were falling Sheffield was so reluctant to embark upon those building projects which alone could relieve the paucity and overcrowding which then characterised its secondary system. The financial crises of the early twenties and thirties, and the demands of public assistance already adumbrated, were obvious constraining factors, but some further insight into the nature of the problem may be gained from an analysis of the precise objects to which the Education Committee assigned the monies which were placed at its disposal.

The most outstanding feature of Table 13.7 is the very heavy preponderance of expenditure on elementary education. This was obviously to be expected since the numbers of pupils in elementary schools vastly exceeded those in secondary schools. A similar pattern would be found in all county boroughs, though the amounts spent on higher education would vary according to the size of the authority's secondary commitment. Thus, in 1934, for example, Leeds spent £136,879 on its secondary schools, compared with Sheffield's £94,902; whilst Bradford, whose population was much smaller, spent £115,664 on its high schools.[69]

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(68) R.L. Reiss, Municipal and Public Enterprise Housing, 1945, p. 26.
(69) From the respective cities' 'Abstracts of Accounts 1934, Sheffield, p.6. Leeds p. 30, Bradford p. 299.

Table 13.7 - Principal Items of Expenditure, (including from Government Grants), Sheffield Education Committee 1904-38 (70)

	1904	1918	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	1932	1934	1936	1938
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION												
Public Elementary Schools	Accounts for these years are presented in a number of different and incomparable formats.				596,029	612,243	616,493	668,690	656,428	588,224	661,046	689,581
Loan Charges								60,076	75,879	64,675	64,359	67,649
Medical					19,930	21,805	24,316	28,375	30,478	30,797	32,657	33,634
Special Schools					20,336	20,785	18,804	22,308	24,980	25,132	27,558	28,506
Meals					5,854	6,756	8,806	12,072	19,699	23,241	20,494	17,340
Administration								23,257	25,025	23,716	23,478	26,105
TOTAL ALL ELEMENTARY	209,440	380,903	564,408	769,893	691,487	713,983	732,229	830,674	870,490	772,225	846,025	897,645
HIGHER EDUCATION												
Secondary Schools	- ditto -				92,349	96,713	88,464	98,851	98,076	94,902	102,654	118,725
Other forms of F.E.								32,976	40,570	34,998	47,375	63,625
Universities								19,805	19,375	16,510	17,073	-
Training of Teachers (other than P.T.)					27,016	25,448	17,751	19,442	20,654	18,323	30,203	22,725
Loan Charges								18,411	17,770	20,449	20,607	19,436
Aid to Students					7,613	7,159	8,707	17,628	24,762	17,577	18,106	16,325
Administration								8,437	8,864	9,022	9,243	13,744
TOTAL ALL HIGHER	23,789	105,104	161,889	218,845	182,980	190,594	187,631	229,801	246,038	224,787	254,755	260,023

(70) From S.E.C.M. Annual Statements of Income and Expenditure.

In Sheffield elementary expenditure on special schools and the schools' medical service was high during the 1920s and 1930s, and during the latter decade expenditure on school meals rose substantially. At the level of higher education grants to the university and to pupils and students were significant items, along with the training of teachers. Loan charges were generally about three times as great a commitment in the elementary sector as in the higher - though, again, this would only be expected. What is indicative, however, is the fact that in 1918-19 Sheffield was spending on higher education only about half the amount that Leeds was spending.[71] At that time Leeds was additionally receiving around £32,000 p.a. in secondary school fees,[72] and it was at that time also that Sheffield decided to abolish fees in all municipal secondary schools except King Edward's.

That it abolished secondary school fees before any other local authority was the Sheffield Committee's one claim to fame. It will be recalled that there had existed in Sheffield a vociferous lobby for free higher education back in the School Board days, and at the beginning of the new local authority period the influence of this lobby had been manifest in the abolition of public elementary school fees[73] and the battle waged with the Board of Education for a minimal £2 fee at the Central Secondary Schools. Thus, by the academic year 1913-14, 205 out of 438 in the Boys' School paid no fees, and even though the cost of educating each pupil had risen to £15 2s. 0d. p.a. the fees remained at only £2.

The situation at King Edward's was very different for it had been resolved almost immediately upon the receipt of Sadler's first report that fees at the new school should be high - not less than £12 12s. 0d.p.a.[74]

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(71) City of Leeds, Abstract of Accounts 1918-9, p. 419. Higher education expenditure amounted to £205,291.
(72) Ibid., p. 426.
(73) S.M.S.C., 15th April, 1903, S.E.C.M. 1903-4, p. 16.
(74) H.E.S.C., 21st Dec., 1903, S.E.C.M. 1903-4, p. 378.

By 1910 only 7.1% of the 356 day boys had been wholly exempt fees since their admission, and the local authority's contribution to the school's annual income of over £7,000 p.a. was only £211.2s. 3d.[75] Five years later only 40 boys were totally exempt and 15 partially exempt from the payment of fees.[76] The authority's attitude towards King Edward's was, therefore, very different from that which it adopted towards its other secondary schools. Also indicative of this was the fact that not only did King Edward's retain its separate governing body until the mid-twenties, but it was also the only school at which fees were charged after 1918.

At the time when Sheffield abolished fees Leeds Education Committee was obtaining approximately £32,000 p.a. from fees and opponents of abolition argued that such a sum of money ought to be secured in Sheffield.[77] The expense to the city of providing free secondary education was considerable but it was obviously not going to be so great for a small as opposed to a large number of pupils, and Sheffield, of course, had comparatively few secondary school pupils at that time. Geddes raised the spectre of the re-imposition of fees, but the temptation was resisted[78] and it was not until 1933, after the Board of Education had decreed that fees must be charged,[79] that they were re-introduced. Even then Sheffield fought a gallant but losing battle for the retention of free secondary education and it did succeed in persuading the Board to accept 100% special places and the lowest permissable level of fee.[80] The extent of the Committee's sacrifice in maintaining a policy of free secondary education may be gauged from the fact that the imposition of even the modest fees the Board finally sanctioned yielded, in 1934, an income of over £24,000.[81]

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(75) H.M.I., K.E.S. Report 1910, p.3.
(76) H.M.I., K.E.S. Report 1915, p.4.
(77) T.E.S., 27th June, 1918, p. 275 quoted £18,000. The figure of £32,000 is given in the Leeds Treasurer's Abstract of Accounts.
(78) S.S.S.S.C. 9th April, 1923, S.E.C.M. 1923-4, p.7.
(79) B.E., Circ. 1421, 15th Sept., 1933, para. 3.
(80) See above pp. 333-4.
(81) Sheffield Accounts 1933-4, p. 152.

By 1938 this had risen to just under £30,000.[82]

During the inter-war period, then, the authority's commitment was to free secondary education. This clearly took priority over the provision of new secondary buildings, and the over-crowding which had plagued the Central Secondary Schools before World War I soon came to constrain the Abbeydale and Firth Park schools after it. The cramming of two secondary schools (with average class sizes of 35-36),[83] the Pupil-Teacher Centre and the authority's offices into one tight area in the centre of town was manifestly undesirable. And the old mansions in which the Abbeydale and Firth Park schools were housed also constrained the activities of those schools as their numbers rose. The conversion of vineries and stables into classrooms, as well as the utilisation of Army huts, which the Board recommended during the period of post-war economic stringency, were all measures employed at one time or another by Sheffield in its attempts to expand the existing secondary provision at the minimum cost. 1922 was the year of Geddes but, as Selby-Bigge observed, "since 1918 a very remarkable change (had) taken place in the attitude of all classes to secondary education".[84] There had been a very marked increase in the demand for secondary education but the need for retrenchment prevented that demand from being met adequately. Thus, Circular 1190 indicated the Board's wish to see not the "erection of large or costly permanent buildings" but the "adaptation and extension of existing school buildings, preferably by means of temporary structures or army huts".[85] This, the Sheffield Education Committee agreed to do - and continued to do until the end of the decade when provision was made for the building of two new schools at High Storrs for occupation by the Central Secondary Schools. Proposals submitted to the Board in 1927 under the three-year Development Plan postulated the possible erection of 6

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(82) Sheffield Accounts 1937-8, p. 143.
(83) J.W. Iliffe, 'Comments on First Full Inspection, 1906.'
(84) L.A. Selby-Bigge, 20th Dec., 1922, quoted by B. Simon, Pol. of Ed. Ref., p. 67.
(85) B.E., Circular 1190, 11th Jan., 1921, para. 6.

new secondary schools[86] but only those at High Storrs actually materialised. Moreover, just before the plan was submitted the Committee had once more resorted to the purchase of existing, indeed, antiquated buildings - in this case those belonging to the Ecclesall Bierlow Board of Guardians. Thus, the Nether Edge School for Boys was added to the list of Sheffield institutions of higher education which were compelled to wrestle with the problems of over-crowded and unsuitable accommodation.

The opening of the High Storrs buildings had wide ramifications for not only did it permit the opening of a Junior Technical School, it also enabled the Pupil-Teacher Centre to ease itself into some of the rooms vacated by the Central Secondary Schools and equip itself more adequately for secondary recognition. In the conversion of the P.T.C. into a secondary school can be seen not only the logical outcome of official Board policy that intending teachers should, as a rule, first receive a general education, but also an example of the local Education Committee attempting to spare the rate-payers expense and make the best provision it could at a time when other calls - notably public assistance - pressed very heavily upon the civic purse.[87]

Another measure in similar vein was the establishment of central or intermediate schools in four or five elementary schools. As Sharp suggested at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Education Committees in 1925, "the central schools are closely approximating to the work of the secondary schools and are doing that work with a minimum of waste."[88] This was a comment typical of the man and of the attitude of the Sheffield authority at the time. It was, as the Headmasters' Association suspected, secondary education on the cheap,[89] but whereas in other areas the central

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(86) S.E.C., 'Development Plan 1927-30', S.E.C.M. 1925-6, Appendix I, p.7.
(87) Public Assistance cost the countil over £1 million in 1934.
(88) Education, 22nd May, 1925.
(89) O.L. Banks, 'Grammar School', p. 216.

schools tended to decline as secondary school places were increased, in Sheffield they expanded as a substitute for extra secondary provision. Thus, after Marlcliffe and Greystones had pioneered the way in 1924, Carfield followed in 1925 and Owler Lane in 1926. Six years later, part of Southey Green was converted into an intermediate school, and by that time some 1,000-1,200 pupils were being taught in such Sheffield schools.

In other cities the pupils in Sheffield's intermediate schools would have been placed in secondary schools but the fact remains that on Sheffield's Order of Merit List they had not achieved positions near the top. They had not scored highly enough to secure a place in one of the few recognised secondary schools which the city possessed, yet they were still expected successfully to complete their school Certificate course in four years rather than the five which was the national norm. This ruling of the Committee imposed intense pressure upon the brightest pupils: its imposition upon those who were not so gifted was draconian. It is also interesting that the four years School Certificate requirement was imposed upon girls as well as boys regardless of the contemporary belief that the former, being less robust than the latter, ought to be subjected to less pressure and perhaps brought along more gently.[90]

Conditions for teaching and learning in many of the schools were far from ideal, yet the examination results which the Sheffield schools achieved compared favourably with the national averages. In this respect the achievements of King Edward's were pre-eminent. The intellectual standards which Hichens set at the outset were of the very highest and within a decade of its foundation the school was able to show a record of academic achievement which ranked with those of the most illustrious public, endowed and municipal schools in the land.[91] At King Edward's attainment was measured not so much in terms of certificate passes, as in terms of

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(90) B.E. Report of Cons. Committee on Diff. of Curriculum, 1923, p. 65.
(91) See above pp. 79-83.

Oxford and Cambridge Scholarships, and Hichens' obvious pride in reporting what he termed the "glittering" list of successes in this was undoubtedly justified. Granted, King Edward's had the pick of the city's adolescent brains, but even so the results which it achieved were outstanding. Moreover, the standards of academic excellence which had been set before World War I were, to a large extent, maintained throughout the inter-war period. Before 1914 the school won 32 scholarships to Oxford and Cambridge and its former pupils won 7 Firsts there.(92) During the inter-war period 87 scholarships were won at Oxford and Cambridge, along with 32 State Scholarships.

The Central Secondary Schools generally came second in pupils' choice of secondary school, though whereas it was usually the case that the best 90 boys in the city were creamed off by King Edward's each year, only 6 girls proceeded on municipal scholarships to the High School for Girls. The "creaming off" effect thus impinged itself more significantly upon the Boys' Central Secondary School than upon the Girls', but the Boys', nonetheless, built up a very meritorious record of academic success. Before 1914, 16 awards were won to the older universities, in addition to 28 Sheffield Education Committee Scholarships to Sheffield University. Five Firsts were won during this period, 3 at Oxford or Cambridge and 2 at Sheffield, and 21 higher degrees were secured. During the inter-war period the school further enhanced its reputation for learning, winning a total of 20 awards at Oxford and Cambridge and 36 at Sheffield. Ninety-one higher degrees were won by its former pupils, metallurgy being a field in which a particularly distinguished record was built up.

Both the desire and the opportunities for girls to pursue a university education were obviously more limited than in the case of boys, but the Central Secondary Girls' School did win 5 scholarships to Oxford

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(92) This and succeeding data derived from S.E.C.M.

during the inter-war period and 14 of its pupils won scholarships at Sheffield University. Abbeydale's successes in this regard were rather more limited, only 4 girls winning awards at the older universities and 19 winning awards at Sheffield, though 8 State Scholarships and 9 Firsts were obtained. Firth Park's academic achievements were more substantial than the girls' schools, and, whilst they did not match those of its more senior male counter-parts, they exceeded those of both the Pupil-Teacher Centre and the Nether Edge Secondary School.

Many of the Sheffield secondary schools were able to boast of the distinctions achieved by some of their former pupils: Firth Park of Dr. Lincoln Ralphs in educational administration and The Schools Council; the Central Secondary School for Boys of Sir Frederick Dainton, Chancellor of the University of Sheffield; and King Edward's of Sir Harold Thompson, Professor of Chemistry at Oxford, and numerous other academics. In addition to these could be listed several Fellowships of Oxford and Cambridge colleges and of the Royal Society, many Ph.Ds. and numerous Firsts. Other distinguished careers were carved out in the civil and diplomatic services, and in less elevated spheres numerous students proceeded into teaching and various other professions, the level of their aspirations being geared, as one would have expected, to the level of their academic qualifications. The authority did not tabulate information on the careers pursued by its secondary school leavers until the late 1930s, but Table 13.8 gives one instance of the obvious correlation one would expect between examinations success and occupational predilections.

The records of the Sheffield schools in the School Certificate Examinations, on the whole, bore more than favourable comparison with the national means. Before 1929 the results were not collated in any systematic form; rather did Headteachers give piecemeal reports to their governors.(93)

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(93) See the chapters on the individual schools above.

Table 13.8 - Employment Obtained by Pupils who Left Sheffield Secondary Schools Midsummer 1938[94]

Report of C.E.O., December 1938

Boys	Girls	
Of those who obtained the Higher Certificate before leaving:-		
43	13	proceeded to a University.
2	2	entered a Training College for Teachers.
4	12	were appointed Student Teachers.
2	-	entered professional careers.
2	1	obtained clerical posts.
1	1	are having commercial training.
1	-	has not yet obtained employment.
Of those who obtained the School Certificate before leaving:-		
10	1	proceeded to a University
-	6	proceeded to a Training College.
7	11	were appointed Student Teachers.
52	24	entered clerical occupations.
21	1	entered skilled trades.
7	54	are receiving commercial training.
5	17	are Shop Assistants.
-	5	are training as Nurses.
14	-	are in Laboratories or Drawing Offices.
1	-	entered H.M. Forces.
3	-	have left the City.
-	1	is required at home.
2	-	are studying privately.
5	1	have not furnished information.
9	10	have not yet obtained employment.
Of those who left without having obtained either the Higher or School Certificate:-		
1	-	proceeded to a University.
1	-	entered a professional career.
5	16	are receiving commercial training.
12	11	entered clerical occupations.
8	1	entered skilled trades.
3	-	are in Laboratories or Drawing Offices.
3	15	are Shop Assistants.
-	1	is training as a Nurse.
2	1	are employed as Messengers.
-	5	are required at home.
1	3	left owing to illness.
12	1	have left the City.
13	1	have been transferred to other Schools.
9	2	have not furnished information.
6	10	have not yet obtained employment.

(94) S.E.S.C., 6th Dec., 1938, S.E.C.M. 1938-9, p. 456.

After 1929, however, the results were presented in a more coherent form and there were only two years - 1931 and 1932 - in which the Sheffield Secondary Schools secured a percentage pass rate which was below the national average.[95] In all other years it was above the national mean - often substantially so - despite the fact that generally Sheffield pupils took the examination after only four years in the secondary school. Sheffield's secondary school population was smaller than that of most other comparable county boroughs and, assuming that its entrance examination was notwildly invalid, one would perhaps have expected the Sheffield results to be above the national average since its Certificate entry population was more highly selected. But, on the other hand, one of the most noteworthy features revealed by Appendix C is the fact that only in 1929 did the percentage pass rate in the Sheffield intermediate schools fall below the national mean, though it must be remembered that early leaving hit these schools even more severely than the secondary schools and that this effected some kind of screening of the eventual candidates. This did not necessarily mean, of course, that the most able were the ones who stayed thecomplete course for all sorts of financial and parental factors would have been operating in this situation. It could be that those who did survive were more highly motivated, but there is, of course, no data on such a point.

King Edward VII School entered its boys not for the Joint Matriculation Board's papers, which the other Sheffield schools took, but for those of the Oxford and Cambridge Board, and it is interesting that at First Certificate level percentage passes were more often than not below the average for that board during the period 1929-38. At Higher Certificate level, however, the picture is very different with the school's pass rate being consistently, and often considerably, above the national average,

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(95) See Appendix C.

particularly in the case of free-place pupils, as one would probably have expected.

That the Sheffield secondary and intermediate schools as a whole should achieve such good examination results in such difficult circumstances would seem to be due essentially to the quality and dedication of the teachers who worked in those schools. Before 1919 Sheffield enjoyed some advantage over many other education authorities in that the salaries which it offered tended to be in excess of those which generally were offered elsewhere. This was a policy which the Sheffield Committee were obliged to adopt by the need to bring the standard of academic instruction at the Central Schools up to secondary standards. It was also compelled to offer high salaries at King Edward's in order to attract fine academics and so establish that school as one which truly was of the "First Grade". Burnham, of course, removed this advantage but the inter-war years were a period during which pedagogical openings were not over-plentiful and many with impressive academic qualifications were happy to secure employment in secondary teaching, whilst some of those with lower degrees accepted posts in elementary schools.

The documentation of the qualifications of staffs is more than somewhat haphazard but such evidence as does exist suggests that the following picture is not totally misleading. Before 1914, 19 men with Masters or first-class degrees taught at King Edward's and 7 at the Central Secondary Schools. 16 of the former and 3 of the latter had taken their degrees at Oxford or Cambridge. During the inter-war period the corresponding figures were 19 for King Edward's (9 at Oxford or Cambridge) and 24 at the Central Secondary Schools, (2 Oxford or Cambridge). The numbers of higher degrees or Firsts at the other secondary schools were 8 at Abbeydale, 12 at Firth Park, 6 at Nether Edge, and 33 at the Pupil-Teacher/City Secondary School. 86 of all these were graduates of the older universities,

whilst 35 had studied at Sheffield University.[96]

Appointments to Headships in the Sheffield schools were made within the authority - for example, Padfield at Firth Park, and Ritchings and Smith at Nether Edge - but the preponderance was, perhaps expectedly, in favour of candidates from outside. The emphasis which these Heads placed upon different aspects of school life naturally varied, the proliferation of languages at Firth Park being the most obvious instance of a particular bias, yet in general ethos the schools were very similar. They and the intermediate schools, in common with most secondary schools during this period, modelled themselves on the English public schools of the nineteenth century. Christian virtues were inculcated; Prefect and House systems were set-up; and a wide range of extra-curricular societies and activities were encouraged. Sport was encouraged and the restrained, courteous manner of the gentleman extolled. Thus, almost as much exphasis was placed upon social, moral and ethical training as upon academic attainment.

It was primarily in terms of academic attainment, however, that the schools were judged, regardless of which party controlled the Committee and regardless of the character of the chief officer charged with the implementation of Committee policy. With the exception of 1931, the Sheffield City Council was controlled after 1926 by the Labour Party: before 1926 it was in the hands of the Progressives, or Conservatives, who were, therefore, responsible for setting up the first Education Committee in 1903. This consisted of 42 members: the Lord Mayor, 4 Aldermen, 18 councillors, 3 representatives of the University College, 2 persons of special experience in secondary schools,[97] 1 representative each of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic elementary schools, 2 representatives of the Sheffield elementary school teachers, 2 lady members and 8 members of the School Board.[98]

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(96) Data derived from S.E.C.M.
(97) Rev. A.B. Haslam of the Royal Grammar School and Rev. V.W. Pearson of Wesley College.
(98) S.E.C.M. 1903-4, pp. 1-2.

In that first committee there were 4 M.A.s, 1 B.A., 1 F.R.S., and 1 F.R.C.S., whilst in 1921 there were 12 members with similar qualifications. In the mid and late thirties the Committee was only 36 strong and the number of members with academic qualifications varied between 6 and 9. In 1903 a fairly simple pattern of sub-committees was set up, and by 1939 there had been a return to this straight-forward arrangement after an intervening period during which many of the sub-committees were divided into sections. Before 1914 King Edward's and the Central Secondary Schools had their own Board of Governors which reported directly to the full Committee. After the war Abbeydale and Firth Park schools were similarly given their own governing bodies, but in the early 1920s all but King Edward's were brought under the Higher Education Sub-Committee's Secondary Schools Sectional Sub-Committee, and in 1926 King Edward's too lost its separate board of governors. Gurner made much of this, but in practice little, if any, change seems to have resulted in the running of the school.

Here, little practical significance seems to have attached to changes in nomenclature but this was probably not the case with the Committee's chief officers. Percival Sharp was the only one to be accorded the title Director of Education - the other three were designated merely Secretary for Education or Chief Education Officer - and it has been argued that these titles were indicative of the role which the officer was expected to play.(99) The Secretaries were mere administrators, clerical men tending to the daily routine of running the Committee's schools and offices. The Director, on the other hand was, particularly as a consequence of the 1918 Act and the Board's later demands for 3-year development plans, much more of an educationalist advising on policy and drafting development schemes of considerable magnitude - though at elementary level as well as at secondary, financial circumstances often prevented their implementation.

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(99) H. Booth, 'The Chief Officer in English Education 1870-1968', unpub. M.Ed. thesis, University of Manchester, 1971, p. 318.

John F. Moss was the first of the administrators. The former Secretary of the Sheffield School Board, he was energetic, enthusiastic and enterprising and had visited Germany and Switzerland in order to study their educational systems.(100) Nationally he was active in the foundation and work of the School Board Clerks' Association. He served as its secretary and among many topics on which he addressed the Association were the remission of fees and, in 1894, intermediate and secondary education. He was the Honorary Secretary of the movement which led to the foundation of Firth College, and was called to give evidence before the Bryce Commission. In that evidence he acknowledged that the Sheffield School Board had embarked on secondary education and that it was biased towards science in order to secure the large grants of the Science and Art Department.(101)

The work of Moss and his successor, George S. Baxter,(102) was essentially clerical and administrative and it was not until after World War I that the nature of the chief officer's work became more profound and quintessentially educational. Part of this was, of course, due to the demands for longer-term planning which were made by the Fisher Act and by the Board of Education's call for three-year development schemes in the latter part of the 1920s, but part was also due to the force of character of the man who was appointed to succeed Baxter in 1919 - Percival Sharp.

Sharp had been born in 1867 and after serving as a pupil-teacher in Bishop Auckland he had gone as an assistant master to a higher grade school in Hull where he had built up an impressive reputation for securing university scholarships. From Hull he had proceeded via a Headship in Lancaster and an inspector's post in St. Helens to be Director of Education

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(100) Ibid., pp. 303-4.
(101) Bryce Report, Minutes of Evidence, p. 84.
(102) Moss died in 1907 and Baxter, the Committee's Assistant Secretary and Accountant, succeeded him. Baxter had also worked under Moss for the Sheffield School Board.

first for St. Helens and then for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, whence he had come to Sheffield.[103] He was "a little combative bull-terrier of a man, a supremely able organiser, who had come to the top the hard way" and who seemed, to Lord Eustace Percy at least, "to look at education always rather from the extinct pupil-teacher's point of view".[104] He possessed clarity of thought, lucidity of exposition and a scientific exactitude of analysis but was "perhaps a little too ready to apply the acid test of attainment".[105] A man of great energy and determination, he achieved national prominence in the events which led in 1919 to the setting up of the Standing Joint Committee on Salaries and he was a member of the Burnham Committee from its inception until 1949 when he resigned in protest against the rejection of the teachers' claim for an extra three pounds a week. From 1925 to 1943 he was the Honorary Secretary of the Local Authorities' panel of the Burnham Committee and on his retirement from the service of the Sheffield authority in 1932 he became the Secretary of the Association of Education Committees, a post which he held until 1944. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Law from the University of Sheffield in 1931 and was knighted in 1938.[106]

Sharp certainly saw his role in Sheffield as one which involved directing rather than merely administering. He sought to mould policy rather than merely to implement that laid down by his political masters. Thus, in one of his early reports to the Committee he stated quite bluntly, "Your elementary schools are crowded to overflowing ... classes are abnormally large ... A very material improvement in the conditions of the elementary schools is an urgent necessity and can only be effected by the provision of further school accommodation."[107]

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(103) Who was Who 1951-60, p. 989.
(104) E. Percy, Some Memories, 1958, p. 122. Quoted by V.C. Greenhalgh, 'Local Educational Administrators 1870-1974, The Emergence and Growth of a Profession', unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1974, p. 239.
(105) Education, 5th June, 1931, pp. 654-5.
(106) Who Was Who 1951-60, p. 989.
(107) S.E.C. Report of Director for Year Ended 31st March, 1921, p. 3.

The Sheffield Committee was thus faced with a considerable problem at elementary level, one of which Sharp was clearly aware, yet he seems not to have recognised the magnitude of the problem which also existed at secondary level. His remarks in 1922 that Sheffield's secondary provision, despite being well below that of other comparable boroughs, was nonetheless adequate[108] would appear to constitute a total failure to recognise the realities of the situation. By 1924, however, he was prepared to acknowledge that more places were needed. His recommendation was that this be done as cheaply as possible; his was the recommendation that intermediate schools be set up in certain elementary schools.[109] Finance would seem to have shaped his thinking in this matter, but by 1924 the Geddes restrictions were essentially a thing of the past and one can perhaps see here an instance of the "extinct pupil-teacher point of view" to which Percy alluded. In similar vein was Sharp's total faith in the validity of a 50% pass mark in the entrance examination and in the need for a General Efficiency Test to be imposed upon the elementary schools.[110] Here, indeed, was his too-ready application of the acid test of attainment, yet in this Sharp was far from unique. During a period of recurring economic cut-backs most chief education officers "showed a strong tendency towards ruthless efficiency".[111]

Sharp was a man of national stature and his influence upon the development of education in Sheffield was undoubtedly considerable. The counsels of a man of his experience and force of personality must have carried substantial weight with the members of the Education Committee and it is perhaps not without significance that on his retirement they appointed not another Director but a Chief Education Officer.[112] One Sharp had perhaps been enough. During the remainder of the inter-war period it was

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(108) See above pp. 300-1 and S.D.I., 2nd Oct., 1922.
(109) Education, 30th May, 1924, p. 313.
(110) See above pp. 344-5.
(111) H. Booth, 'Chief Officer', p. 331.
(112) H.S. Newton was appointed in 1932 as "Secretary", a year later he was granted the title "Chief Education Officer".

Councillor Rowlinson who was clearly the dominant force within the authority,[113] but in Sharp Sheffield had one of that "special brand of officials" in whom 'meticulous efficiency was combined with a ... concern for moulding educational thought and fashioning public opinion towards a greater belief and confidence in education".[114] As Lester Smith has observed, without the servicesof men of the calibre of James Graham, Percival Sharp and Spurley Hey England's local administration in the first half of the century would have been much the poorer.[115]

It is doubtful, however, whether this view would have been whole-heartedly endorsed by the Catholics, or indeed, any of the voluntary bodies in Sheffield,for their relations with Sharp and with the authority were often far from harmonious. Few county boroughs in 1903 can have had a smaller number of endowed schools than had Sheffield, and it must be conceded that the new education authority did little or nothing to encourage additional voluntary provision. Its attitude throughout the period 1902-39 was one of very grudging acceptance of the existence of voluntary educational ventures. In 1920, for example, the Girls' High School informed the Education Committee that they were contemplating taking the steps necessary for qualifying for the Board's higher grant provided that the Board agreed that the number of free places could be limited to 10% and that the local authority agreed to pay those fees. The Education Committee was asked whether it was prepared to pay those fees. Its reply was in the negative. The prospect of the school expanding its intake and thereby increasing the authority's 10% commitment was too much for the Committee to countenance. It took Sharp's advice and contented itself with funding a mere six scholarships at the school whose fees were then £6 15s. 0d. p.a.[116]

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(113) Rowlinson became well-known nationally and was a member of the Spens Committee.

(114) H. Booth, 'Chief Officer', p. 111.

(115) W.O. Lester Smith, 'The Local Authority', in Nat. Assoc. of Head Teachers, The First Fifty Years, 1947, p. 133.

(116) H.E.S.C., 25th June, 1920, S.E.C.M. 1920-1, pp. 154-6.

Similar parsimony characterised the authority's dealings with the Roman Catholic schools, both that which was in existence already - Notre Dame - and that which the Catholics sought to establish shortly after World War I - De La Salle College. No financial assistance whatsoever was given in setting up the new boys' school and for many years the authority refused to go beyond a scholarship provision at the Catholic schools which was minimal in the extreme. Canon Dolan, who served almost a quarter of a centruy on the Education Committee, was an energetic advocate of the Catholic cause but Sheffield, like the West Riding, seemed to regard voluntary schools with a suspicion which, in the former's case, often bordered upon open hostility.(117)

This was true of both the political parties which controlled the city council between 1902 and 1939. Both before and after 1926 - the watershed in Sheffield politics - the Education Committee's attitude towards voluntary schools, secular and denominational, was at best unco-operative and at worst antagonistic.

This was a bi-partisan attitude and throughout the whole of the period under review general educational policy in Sheffield was characterised much more by continuity and agreement than by discord and ideological conflict. On the key issues, the parties were in agreement. The Tories abolished fees in 1918; the Socialists fought hard against their re-imposition in 1932. The Conservatives provided only minimally for secondary education before 1926; Labour did little better after 1926. Both parties seemed unprepared to press energetically for that massive expansion of secondary school places which Sheffield's industrial and commercial importance to the nation merited. Both parties resorted typically to the easiest financial expedient. Elementary schools were converted into "Intermediate" schools;

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(117) See above Chs. 10 and 11. (For the West Riding see P.H.J.H. Gosden and P.R. Sharp, The Development of an Education Service, The West Riding 1889-1974, 1979, p. 74.

pupils there and in the secondary schools were pushed in for the School Certificate in four years; premises were often over-crowded; and classrooms ill-equipped.

In large measure these last criticisms were the result of the nature of the buildings which the Committee acquired and adapted for use as secondary schools. Yet the real criticism of the Committee's conduct of its secondary affairs must be not so much that it was compelled to purchase and adapt premises which had been designed for purposes which were not educational - most authorities had to do that - but rather that it simply did not purchase and adapt enough. It was content with a very modest provision of secondary education and like Hichens, Iliffe, Couzens and Sharp seems to have had only a very low expectation of what the generality of children could do. During the 1920s many, including the Young Committee, Tawney, Lindsay and Hadow,(118) were questioning the whole assumption that secondary education should be just for a few. Sheffield did not question that assumption.

On the credit side, however, one may point to the sound moral standards which were inculated in the Sheffield secondary and intermediate schools as they were elsewhere. One may point also to the high, often outstanding, academic standards which were set and maintained. Yet these were achievements essentially of the teachers rather than of the authority. Its prime task in higher education was to ensure that there were sufficient secondary school places for those of its children who were capable of profiting from such an education, and although the number of secondary school pupils in Sheffield did increase substantially during the period 1902-39, the suspicion remains that until the mid-thirties, at least, the authority was not as convinced of the importance of secondary education nor as energetic in its enhancement as were many authorities elsewhere in the country.

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(118) See above pp. 338-9.

APPENDIX A - SHEFFIELD SCHOLARSHIP SCHEME 1906

I PROVIDED BY SHEFFIELD EDUCATION COMMITTEE

A. To Secondary Schools

Tenable at	Nature	Total Number	No. Awarded p.a.	Entitlement	Period	Awarded on	Conditions
1. King Edward VII	Open Entrance Exhibitions	8	2	Tuition, books, Stationery, Games	2 years	Special exam at K.E.S.	
	Close Entrance Exhibition	8	2	½ tuition	2 years	Central Sec. S. (C.S.S.) Ent. Exam*	Public El.S. (p.e.s.) children of bona fide Sheff. ratepayers
2. Central Sec. School	Entrance Exhibitions	200	100	Free tuition	1 year (poss. + 2nd year)	C.S.S. Ent. Exam	2 years at p.e.s. - bona fide ratepayers.
	Scholarships	4	1	£10+/£10+/ £15+/£15	4 years	Exam to Standard VII +essay	Girls under 12:6
	Bursaries	200	100	Tuition + £10 + £12	2	Reading, with Eng. lang. & lit., Geog., Eng. hist.	14-year-olds already at C.S.S. parental undertaking girl to go to P.T.C., Sheffield Univ. or Tech. S. of Art.
	Bursaries	20	20	£10 + £12	2	- Ditto -	Girls at any Sec. S. approved by S.E.C. Agree become P.T. and teach in Sheff. if S.E.C. desired.

B.	To University	
1.	Limited to King Edward VII Pupils - None	
2.	Limited to Central Secondary School Pupils	
University Tenable At	Number P.A.	Value
Sheffield Department of Applied Science	3	£15 + £20 + £25
Any Department of Sheffield University	3	- ditto -
3.	For Pupils at Any Sheffield Secondary School	
Sheffield or Royal College of Science: Applied Science	2	Not specified
Sheffield or Royal College of Science: Pure Science	2	- ditto -

II PROVIDED BY OTHER BODIES

A. To Secondary Schools

Tenable at	Founder	Number p.a.	For	Value £	Awarded on
1. King Edward VII	Sheff. Royal G.S. Exhibition Fund	1 (Max. 4)	½ reserved for pub. el. s.	3 + 5 + 10 + 15 + free tuition	Special exam
	" Classical Scp	1 (Max. 4)	Boys already at K.E.S. aged 14	- ditto -	Oxon. and Cantab. Classics papers
2. Central Sec. School	" Birley Scps.	20	At least ¾ for p.e.s.	- ditto -	Central Sec. S. Ent. Exam.
	" Open Birley Scps.	20	- ditto -	- ditto -	- ditto -
	Lancasterian Scp. Cttee. 3rd Order	25	P.e.s. pupils under 13 years	2 + tuition	- ditto -
	Ecclesall Bierlow Overseas	Not specified	P.e.s. pupils in Ecclesall	3 p.a.	Special examination
	Grimesthorpe Ed. Endowment	- ditto -	- ditto - Grimesthorpe	2-3 for not more than 3 years.	Central Sec. S. Ent. Exam.
	Carver Street Endowment	2	Anglican p.e.s. pupils 12 yrs. & under	3 + 3½ + 4 + Tuition	- ditto -
3. Any Secondary School	Lancasterian Scp.C. 2nd Order	Not specif.	P.E.S. pupils under 14 years	5 + 7½ + 10 + 15 + tuition	- ditto -
	" " 1st Order	" "	" "	10 + 15 + 15 + 20 + tuition	- ditto -

B. To University

1. Limited to King Edward VII Pupils				
Scholarship	University Tenable at	Number P.A.	Value £ P.A.	Awarded on
Town Trustees	Oxford, Cambridge or Sheffield	2	50 + 50 + 50	Exam. set by Sheffield University
2. Limited to Girls				
Town Trustees	Sheffield	1	50 + 50 + 50	- ditto -
3. Boys or Girls				
Town Trustees	Sheffield	2	60 + 60 + 60	- ditto -
S.R.G.S.E.F.	Any	4	50 + 50 + 50 + 50	University exams.
4. For Postgraduate Research				
Town Trustees	Sheffield	1	75	Recommendation of Senate
Sheffield University	Sheffield	Max. 15	25 - 150	

APPENDIX B - SCHOLARSHIPS, EXHIBITIONS, AND BURSARIES AVAILABLE IN THE CITY, AND NUMBER OF SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS 1919-20

Nature of Scholarship	Provided by	Value of Scholarship	Tenable at	No. Offered Annually	No. Awarded during year ended 31st March 1920	No. of Scholarship Holders (31st March 1920)
Military Scholarship	Education Committee	£50 for 1 year	Royal Military Academy Woolwich, or Royal Military College, Sandhurst	1	-	-
Special Close Entrance Exhibitions	" "	Free Tuition, Books, etc. for 2 years, but renewable.	King Edward VII School	-	-	3
Close Entrance Scholarships	" "	Free tuition, etc. and payments of £3 for 1st year, £5 for 2nd year, £10 for 3rd year, and £15 for 4th year but renewable.	" " "	Variable	24	75
Intermediate Scholarships	" "	Half Tuition fees for 1 year	" " "	8	8	8
Open Exhibitions	" "	Half Tuition fees for 2 years, but renewable.	" " "	2	2	6
Technical Bursaries	" "	£5 for 1st year, £7 10s. for 2nd year, and Tuition fees.	" " "	3	3	6
Entrance Scholarships	Governors of Grammar School Exhibition Foundation.	£3 for 1st year, £5 for 2nd year, £10 for 3rd year, £15 for 4th year, but renewable, and Tuition fees.	" " "	-	-	-
"	" " and Education Committee	" and Books. Subscriptions to Games, etc. etc.	" " "	1	1	7
Classical Scholarship	Governors of Grammar School Exhibition Foundation	£3 for 1st year, £5 for 2nd year, £10 for 3rd year, £15 for 4th year, and tuition fees.	" "	1	1	2
Modern Side Scholarships	" "	" "	" " "	2	2	5
Lancasterian Scholarship	Lancasterian Scholarships Committee	1st Order: £12 10s. for 1st year, £15 for 2nd year, and £17 10s. for 3rd year and Tuition fees.	" " "	1	1	2
Close Entrance Scholarship	Education Committee	£10 for 1st year, £10 for 2nd year, £15 for 3rd year, £15 for 4th year	High School for Girls	1	2	6
Open Scholarships	" "	" "	" " " "	Variable	2	5
Bursaries	" "	£8 for 1st year, £10 for 2nd year.	" " " "	Variable	-	2
"	" "	£8 for 1st year, £10 for 2nd year	Convent of Notre Dame	Variable	3	5
Open Scholarships	" "	£10 for 1st year, £10 for 2nd year, £15 for 3rd year, £15 for 4th year.	" " " "	Variable	-	2
Government Bursaries	" "	Tuition fees and maintenance Allowance of £10 (c)	High School for Girls	Variable	-	-

From H.E.S.C., 13th May, 1921, S.E.C.M. 1921-2, p. 54.

APPENDIX C - SCHOOL CERTIFICATE AND HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE RESULTS,

SHEFFIELD SECONDARY AND INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS 1929-36

SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION.

SCHOOL	1929				1930				1931				1932			
	No. presented.	No. passed (incl. Matric.)	No. Matric.	% passed (incl. Matric.)	No. presented.	No. passed (incl. Matric.)	No. Matric.	% passed (incl. Matric.)	No. presented.	No. passed (incl. Matric.)	No. Matric.	% passed (incl. Matric.)	No. presented.	No. passed (incl. Matric.)	No. Matric.	% passed (incl. Matric.)
(a) London University School Commercial Certificate—																
Abbeydale Secondary Girls' ...	14	13	—	92·9	15	15	—	100·0	17	12	—	70·6	13	12	—	92·3
(b) Northern Universities Joint Board—																
Abbeydale Secondary Girls' ...	75	59	14	78·7	82	57	19	69·5	74	47	18	63·5	79	45	16	57·0
Central Secondary Girls' ...	132	105	36	79·5	114	78	31	68·4	145	80	27	55·2	151	112	38	74·2
Central Secondary Boys' ...	139	105	48	75·5	152	117	68	77·0	147	112	60	76·2	154	122	72	79·2
Firth Park Secondary Boys' ...	101	68	33	67·3	140	89	47	63·6	155	90	38	58·1	177	102	37	57·6
Nether Edge Secondary Boys' ...	—	—	—	—	47	33	8	70·2	83	58	23	69·9	101	70	30	69·3
Pupil Teacher Centre	161	119	51	73·9	190	119	37	62·6	202	112	50	55·4	194	133	49	68·6
TOTALS	608	456	182	75·0	725	493	210	68·0	806	499	216	61·9	856	584	242	68·3
Greystones Intermediate ...	35	18	8	51·4	25	21	9	84·0	36	27	12	75·0	28	20	4	71·4
Marlcliffe Intermediate	45	41	19	91·1	38	31	7	81·6	36	31	8	86·1	42	36	16	85·7
Carfield Intermediate	26	9	4	34·6	18	18	10	100·0	18	14	5	77·8	22	22	13	100·0
Owler Lane Intermediate ...	—	—	—	—	9	6	3	66·7	14	10	4	71·4	12	7	6	58·3
TOTALS	106	68	31	64·1	90	76	29	84·4	104	82	29	78·8	104	85	39	81·7
Country as a whole	—	—	—	67·5	—	—	—	68·6	—	—	—	68·9	—	—	—	70·2
(c) Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board—																
King Edward VII School ...	113	60	12	53·1	101	66	22	65·3	97	56	15	57·7	90	43	5	47·8
Country as a whole	—	—	—	63·7	—	—	—	65·9	—	—	—	66·4	—	—	—	65·6

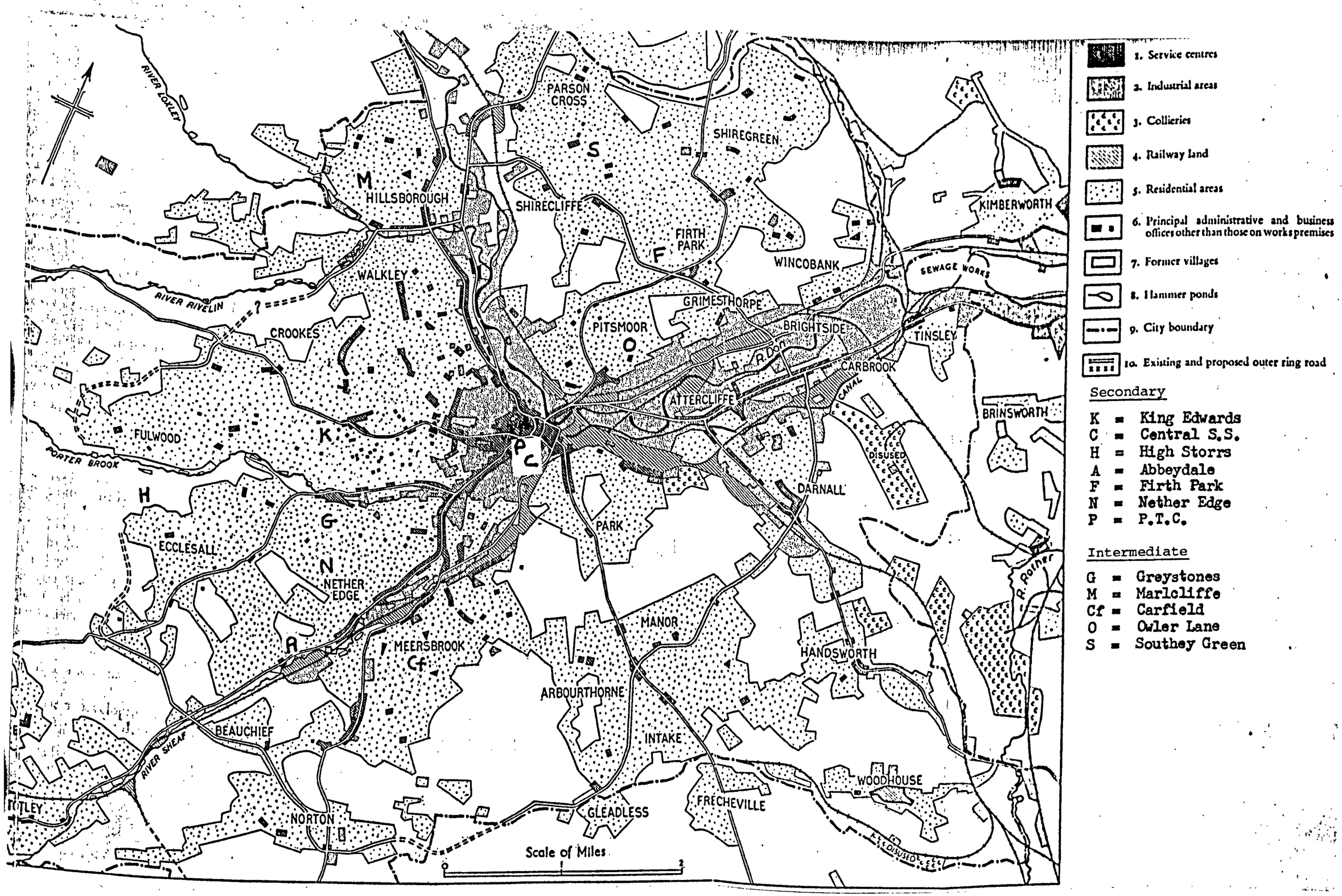
(GENERAL NOTE.—The King Edward VII School take the Examination of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, the standard of which is generally higher than that of the Northern Universities Joint Board Examination, which is taken by the other Schools).

SCHOOL	1933				1934				1935				1936			
	No. presented.	No. passed (incl. Matric.)	No. Matric.	% passed (incl. Matric.)	No. presented.	No. passed (incl. Matric.)	No. Matric.	% passed (incl. Matric.)	No. presented.	No. passed (incl. Matric.)	No. Matric.	% passed (incl. Matric.)	No. presented.	No. passed (incl. Matric.)	No. Matric.	% passed (incl. Matric.
(a) London University General School Examination —																
*Abbeydale Secondary Girls' ...	23	18	—	78·3	18	14	—	77·8	13	10	2	76·9	5	5	1	100·0
(b) Northern Universities Joint Board —																
*Abbeydale Secondary Girls' ...	63	48	21	76·2	72	57	12	79·2	66	47	12	71·2	73	36	8	49·3
Central Secondary Girls' ...	160	114	55	71·3	132	88	22	66·7	117	98	37	83·8	130	103	45	79·2
Central Secondary Boys' ...	132	101	46	76·5	129	101	60	78·3	138	115	53	83·3	145	114	56	78·6
Firth Park Secondary Boys' ...	151	118	59	78·1	114	80	35	70·2	112	88	33	78·6	131	108	48	82·4
Nether Edge Secondary Boys'	95	63	27	66·3	92	74	33	80·4	68	52	23	76·5	89	80	40	89·9
City Secondary (P.T.C.) ...	174	115	50	66·1	133	100	38	75·2	137	114	49	83·2	121	94	34	77·7
TOTALS	775	559	258	72·1	672	500	200	74·4	638	514	207	80·6	689	535	231	77·6
Carfield Intermediate	34	21	5	61·8	29	22	9	75·9	25	21	4	84·0	61	41	11	67·2
Greystones Intermediate ...	29	19	10	65·5	39	23	6	59·0	33	20	7	60·6	30	27	8	90·0
Marlcliffe Intermediate ...	37	32	12	86·5	33	29	14	87·9	24	21	6	87·5	29	23	7	79·3
Owler Lane Intermediate ...	16	16	5	100·0	18	17	4	94·4	15	14	10	93·3	17	12	4	70·6
Southey Green Intermediate...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	10	0	58·8
TOTALS	116	88	32	75·9	119	91	33	76·5	97	76	27	78·4	154	113	30	73·4
Country as a whole	—	—	—	70·4	—	—	—	72·0	—	—	—	72·7	—	—	—	72·4
(c) Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board—																
King Edward VII School ...	79	43	19	54·4	105	73	30	69·5	120	82	25	68·3	105	71	28	67·6
Country as a whole	—	—	—	61·6	—	—	—	67·3	—	—	—	74·6	—	—	—	74·5

(GENERAL NOTE.—The King Edward VII School take the Examination of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, the standard of which is generally higher than that of the Northern Universities Joint Board Examination, which is taken by the other Schools).

From: S.E.C.M.

APPENDIX D - THE SECONDARY AND INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS IN RELATION TO THE FUNCTIONAL AREAS OF SHEFFIELD



From D.L. Linton, Sheffield and Its Region, Sheffield, 1956, p. 242.

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Explanatory Note

The usual division into primary and secondary sources has been adopted, but within the former category material has been arranged according to archival source rather than manuscript or typescript sections etc.

The place of publication is London unless stated otherwise.

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Central S.S.	The Centralian	1922-39
City S.S. (Pupil-Teacher Centre)	The Holly Leaf	1927-39
Firth Park S.S. for Boys	The Firparnian	1928-39
King Edward VII School,	King Edward VII School Magazine,	1906-39
Nether Edge S.S. for Boys	The Torch	1931-39.

Intermediate Schools

Carfield	The Wise Owl	1930-39
Greystones	The Martlet	1929-39
Marlcliffe	The Marcliffian	1934-39

Catholic Schools

Notre Dame	Agamus	1922-39

J. Oral Evidence and Personal Letters

Oral Evidence on

Abbeydale S.S.

Miss F.V. Lucas	Teacher	1929-68
Mrs. N. McKenzie	Pupil	1929-35
Miss M. Oversby	Pupil	1929-36
Miss V. Robinson	Pupil	1919-24
Miss M. Shaw	Teacher	1920-52
Miss M. Tomlinson	Teacher	1920-63

Firth Park S.S.

Mr. T.F. Johnson	Teacher	1935-70
Mr. S. Skelton	Pupil	1918-21
Mrs. F.T. Wood	Secretary	1919-28

King Edward VII School

Mr. J.H. Allen	Pupil	1930-37
Mr. R.G. Beard	Pupil	1917-25
Mr. G.J. Cumming	Pupil 1923-31, Teacher	1936-53

Pupil-Teacher Centre/City S.S.

Mr. A.W. Goodfellow	Pupil 1916-20, Teacher	1924-46
Mr. F. McKenzie	Pupil	1928-34

Nether Edge S.S.

Mr. N. Jepson	Teacher	1936-61
Mr. H. Smith	Teacher 1927-35, Headmaster	1935-52.

General S.E.C.

Former Alderman S.H. Marshall, member of Sheffield Education Committee, 1926-69.

Letters to Author

R.F. Glover (Dep. Sec. H.M.C.) 13.10.78.

T.F. Johnson (teacher Firth Park S.S. 1935-70) 9.5.75.

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