

The University of Sheffield
Faculty of Educational Studies

The Rise and Fall of monotechnical
Teacher Training and Education in Sheffield
1875 to 1975

by

Roy Millington

a thesis submitted for the award of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

JULY 1981

THE RISE AND FALL OF MONOTECHNICAL TEACHER TRAINING AND
EDUCATION IN SHEFFIELD - 1875-1975

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This research traces the development of Teacher Training and Education in Sheffield from the time of the Sheffield School Board until the Government White Paper "A Framework for Expansion" and the Department of Education and Science Circular 7/73 brought about the reorganisation of Local Education Authority controlled Higher Education. The reasons, causes and means of development arising from demographic trends, and teacher-supply needs are set against a back-cloth of the national and local political scenes. The study also reveals the wielding of personal power set against the needs of individuals and groups both to effect change and to resist change and reflects certain qualities peculiar to Sheffield townsfolk, socially and politically.

While the City of Sheffield has a long record of educational progress, success has often been achieved only as a result of a peculiar combination of civic pride and "bloody-mindedness". The development of monotechnical Teacher Training and Education was no exception to this.

The research revealed that in response to local needs and national educational development the City constantly remained in the forefront. As a result, the reputations of some individuals were made; others broken. Some used situations and the institutions they created to advantage and moved to greater accomplishments; others stayed. When finally the need arose to introduce fundamental change, the task was not shirked. The immediate result foreboded disaster; the medium term result a little less so, as the birthrate plummeted, pupil rolls in schools shortened, and the number of teaching appointments shrank. Less drastic action in 1975 would probably have been the recipe for yet more problems and heart-searchings in the early 1980s, though a seed of doubt remains. Although with hindsight the decision which was made to form a single institution was the right one, was the course of action at that time taken for the wrong reasons?

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the many people who have assisted in the preparation of this thesis. Many are named in the appendix; some deliberately not named at their own request; others too made brief contributions which were, none the less, in total, valuable.

Particular thanks are due to Alan W Goodfellow, JP, MA, for invaluable assistance with the history of the Pupil Teacher Centre; to my former school practice mentor and later valued member of my staff, Alwyn Johnson, BA, for his assistance with research into Brincliffe Emergency Training College; to Professor "Bill" Carr for loan of richly annotated personal papers; to the City Librarian for special loan facilities and to the staff of the Department of Local History, Sheffield City Library for their research assistance.

To Professor W H G Armytage, my research supervisor, for his help, and encouragement; for his scintillating discourses; and for the privilege of being his last doctoral candidate before retirement.

Finally, to my esteemed secretary, Iris Harrison, for her work in typing, reading, checking, undertaking corrections and preparing the final work.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1975 the training and education of teachers in England and Wales underwent radical change which resulted in the virtual disappearance of the Colleges of Education as independent mono-technical institutions. After one-hundred-and-thirty-five years of development as unique institutions, in almost as many weeks as years, the life of the majority of the institutions either came to an end or they were transformed and absorbed into other institutions to continue in barely recognisable forms.

This research aims to survey the response and contribution of the City of Sheffield to the training, education and supply of teachers, from the inception of the Sheffield School Board to the demise of the Sheffield College of Education in 1975.

In approaching a study such as this it has been necessary to give some consideration to the developments prior to 1875, for the institution of the Monitorial System and the Pupil Teacher System and the establishment of the first Training Colleges in the 1840s not only set the scene but continued to influence and affect the philosophy and practice of teacher training and education until the 1970s.

Two main factors overlay a study of the development of teacher training and education: national policies and local aspirations. This research serves to relate how an organising authority and its institutions not only had to accommodate to national problems but also had to respond to local aspirations.

In relating this research to the City of Sheffield, there has long been a uniqueness arising from the City's social, economic and political structure which appeared to influence the actions of individuals and groups who wielded power within its structure. The result was that in the period 1875 to 1975 not only did the City respond to the need to train and educate teachers, but its response was whole-hearted.

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF TEACHER TRAINING IN ENGLAND

The population of England and Wales increased steadily in the eighteenth century. Although census figures were not available until 1801, it is estimated that in 1751 the population was some six-and-a-half millions. By 1781 the number had risen to seven-and-a-half millions and at the time of the first official census in 1801 it was almost nine millions.

Economic development too was taking place at a rapid rate but reforms in social administration did not keep pace with economic development for the institutions of civil administration were not readily able to accommodate the changes which were taking place.

One of the most serious and neglected areas of social concern was the education of the children of the working classes and the poor. For the wealthy and the privileged, public and private schools were available, but for the poor only charitable foundations attempted to offer facilities, and these were limited.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, considerable progress had been made by voluntary bodies to organise, expand and develop the provision of education for the children of the poor and working population. Unfortunately, resources were limited and the problem was becoming too great for real changes to be effected, but as education did not seem to be as pressingly urgent as some other national problems there was great reluctance on the part of Parliament to become directly involved in the problem.

Shorn of the political, religious and philosophical aspects surrounding the state of English education, there were two major resourcing problems: a lack of funds and a shortage of teachers; the latter to a great extent arising from the former.

With a rising population the situation was steadily worsening and in an attempt to remedy the shortage of teachers, the voluntary bodies which were involved in providing elementary education directed their attention towards the most cost-effective methods of staffing schools. As a result, the Monitorial system emerged, to be displaced later by the Pupil Teacher system.

The Monitorial system developed from an organisational process which Joseph Lancaster instituted at his school in Borough Road, Southwark in 1809, by which monitorial superintendents were trained to organise and utilise children as monitors. Lancaster's system proved attractive for a number of reasons, not the least being the systematic method of instruction which appeared to be effective when compared with the unsatisfactory provision elsewhere. The organisation of the provision developed independently until 1814, when, because of financial difficulties, it was taken over by the British and Foreign Schools Society which maintained the system.

In 1811, with the support of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor, the Reverend Dr Andrew Bell established the 'Madras' system, a mode of teaching which he had developed in India and which was not dissimilar to Lancaster's monitorial system. By 1812, Bell too had developed a model school in Baldwin's Gardens, near Grays Inn Road "where masters may be trained".¹

The systems were supported by two factions: the British and Foreign Schools Society, which was non-sectarian; and the National Society, which received support from the Anglican Church. Although rivalry existed as to which system was the more effective, it was the fundamental differences which existed between the two bodies and not the systems which they supported which had longer-term implications. As Dent observes:

"The rise of the two Societies institutionalised the Sectarian differences between the two Monitorial systems; and unhappily although both Societies were pursuing the same general aim, the religious and moral betterment of the poor, their competitive rivalry effectively prevented a united national effort."²

The introduction of the monitorial systems provided a means of raising a rudimentary but nevertheless readily available teaching force, but the quality of the products of the system soon gave rise to doubts. It was true that the systems provided a cheap solution (albeit with limitations) but by 1814 a sub-committee of the British and Foreign Schools Society investigating complaints relating to the training of monitorial superintendents observed that:

"No attempt has been made to teach the youths anything beyond the regular routine of school-training for children in general... the time which might have been employed to increase their knowledge and improve their minds has been lost..."¹

Such an indictment would appear to have established an unquestionable need for the introduction of a more liberal and a more generally broad-based curriculum, but the remedies proposed were influenced by other considerations. The training of school teachers was a sensitive issue and investigation into the shortcomings of the process tended to be negative, primarily because such criticism "... reflect(ed) discredit on the Institution..."² The sub-committee merely suggested it was necessary to ensure that monitors should have:

"... a knowledge of English Grammar, sufficient to qualify them to speak and write their own language with correctness and propriety"

that there should be an:

"... improvement of their handwriting and knowledge of arithmetic"

and monitors should be introduced to:

"... geography and history and, in addition, when time and other circumstances were present... other useful branches of knowledge".³

Although the immediate internal means of improvement were limited at least an attempt at improvement was made in the recommendations that academic standards of entry be introduced, that there should be an end-of-course certification, and that a probationary period to ensure competence was necessary.

While the setting of such standards was laudable enough, such control was to have long-term implications, for, as Dent observes: "The Society unwittingly stereotyped for generations the training college curriculum".¹

There the matter stood. For twenty years the monitorial system was maintained and the handful of training institutions continued to train that particular kind of teacher known as the certificated 'monitorial superintendent'. As Rich observed:

"By the 1830s it was obvious that the monitorial system had failed. It was not that the monitors were incapable of performing the task for which they had been recruited. The purpose... (of it) ... was to teach the three Rs, and it was believed that morality would emerge as a by-product. The new emphasis (in large part due to the social discontent of the time) was on the direct moral elevation of the masses, and for this purpose the contact of adult moral minds was necessary... it became plain that the main requisite was a supply of efficient, trained, religious and humble teachers."²

In 1835, Dr James Kay-Shuttleworth,³ an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner who had become involved in the provision of workhouse schools, made a study of the education of the poor in England. He followed this by visits to the Continent, as a result of which he was able to compare the effectiveness of a number of educational innovations. In 1839, he established a school in Battersea for the training of teachers. The school, based on Continental principles, was aimed at "the formation of the character of the school master",⁴ for as a result of his study of educational provision in England he had come to realise that the monitorial system had a very limited value and that class teaching under the direction of a suitably trained teacher was probably the most effective way of teaching.

Although Kay-Shuttleworth's pioneer work gained considerable support, doubts were raised on grounds of cost and sectarian issues. By the end of the 1830s, grants had already been made by the Government to aid the work of the voluntary bodies and a considerable proportion had gone to the aid of the educational activities of the Established Church. Opposition to the hold which

the Established Church had over educational provision was now raised in Parliament. Subject to increasing pressure, the Privy Council proposed, by means of direct grant, to establish four Normal Schools, to be located in London, Lancaster, Exeter and York. But, as a result of a strong Anglican lobby, the proposal raised considerable opposition in Parliament and the scheme was dropped.

Meanwhile, Kay-Shuttleworth put his ideas into practice. The experiment at Battersea was an undoubted success and it laid the foundations for the training colleges of the future. Frank Smith considered it to be:

"... an educational experiment on a large scale, where new methods of teaching were worked out, where continental reforms were adapted to English conditions, where text books were prepared and where methods of training teachers were modified." ¹

Although the venture was successful, its maintenance was too much for private funding and Kay-Shuttleworth turned to the National Society to secure permanence for the institution. Nevertheless, the early success of Battersea laid a foundation for the future. Rich contends that it was the:

"... example of Battersea (which) stimulated the Church to undertake a campaign for building training colleges" ²

for Chester Diocesan College and St Marks College were established in 1840, and Whitelands in 1841. Although Rich cites Battersea as the model for the rapid development of Anglican colleges, it seems more likely that the Church took more heed of the threat of non-sectarian, direct-government-dominated teacher-training. It is also particularly significant that colleges were established in approximately those areas which the Committee of the Council for Education had proposed in 1839.

As normal colleges came to be established, the nature of the content of courses raised many questions and doubts. As early as 1814, the British and Foreign Schools Society had deplored the lack of attempts to increase the knowledge and improve the minds of the student teachers, yet its remedy took a very narrow form,

becoming almost a codification of the three Rs for teachers, while maintaining that "at all times attention was to be paid to the moral and virtuous attributes required of a teacher".¹

Battersea College, under the direction of Kay-Shuttleworth, was concerned with the practical application of his ideals. Its students were directed towards becoming effective and efficient teachers by accentuating the art and practice of teaching. In contrast, Derwent Coleridge, the then Principal of St Marks, Chelsea, strove to emphasise the spiritual enrichment, social advancement and the acceptance of teaching as a learned profession. Thus the dichotomy of the education of teachers and the training of teachers came to be a significant, long-standing, largely unresolved issue.

Meanwhile, aided by Government grants, the Anglican Church proceeded to develop a near-monopoly of the teacher-training provision. By 1850 there were thirty colleges in existence and of these twenty-five were in the control of the Church of England either directly or through its agencies - a significant majority. Thus the Established Church strengthened its hold on the education of the children of the poor and working class in England and Wales through its control of the training and supply of teachers.

The emergence in the 1830s of the newly established colleges made but a meagre contribution to the overall supply of teachers and the population was continuing to increase. By 1841 it had risen to twenty millions, which meant that the numbers of young children were increasing also. Consequently, although there were many misgivings about the monitorial system, it could not be abolished until a satisfactory solution had been developed. Tropp observed that:

"It was obvious that only government intervention and assistance could solve the educational problem, and, under the conditions of the time this assistance would be acceptable only if it left the authority of the existing religious bodies virtually supreme."²

By 1846, Kay-Shuttleworth was Secretary of the Select Committee of the Privy Council and in a position to influence the Government. In the Minutes of the Council for 1846 there appeared the terms of the introduction of the pupil-teacher system:

"Their Lordships had further under their consideration (evidence) representing the very early age at which the children acting as assistants to schoolmasters are withdrawn from school to manual labour, and the advantages which would arise if such scholars as might be distinguished by proficiency and good conduct were apprenticed to skilful masters, to be instructed and trained, so as to be prepared to complete their education as schoolmasters in a Normal School...

Pupil Teachers - Qualifications of Candidates

The following qualifications will be required from candidates for apprenticeship:

They must be at least thirteen years of age, and must not be subject to any bodily infirmity likely to impair their usefulness as pupil teachers.

In schools connected with the Church of England, the clergymen and managers, and, in other schools, the managers, must certify that the moral character of the candidates and of their families justify an expectation that the instruction and training of the school will be seconded by their own efforts and by the example of their parents. If this cannot be certified of the family, the apprentice will be required to board in some approved household.

Candidates will also be required -

1. To read with fluency, ease, and expression.
2. To write in a neat hand, with correct spelling and punctuation, a simple prose narrative slowly read to them.
3. To write from dictation sums in the first four rules of arithmetic, simple and compound; to work them correctly, and to know the tables of weights and measures.
4. To point out the parts of speech in a simple sentence.
5. To have an elementary knowledge of geography.
6. In schools connected with the Church of England they will be required to repeat the catechism, and to show that they understand its meaning, and are acquainted with the outlines of scripture history. The parochial clergyman will also assist in this part of the examination. In other schools the state of religious knowledge will be certified by the managers.
7. To teach a junior class to the satisfaction of the Inspectors.
8. Girls should also be able to sew neatly and to knit.,,

It was agreed that certain schools which had received a favourable report from the inspectors were to be recognised as suitable for the training of pupil teachers. At the age of thirteen, a young person was to be engaged on a five-year apprenticeship and was to receive a stipend of £10 per annum, rising by annual increments to £20 per annum.

"One pupil teacher was allowed for every twenty-five scholars, and head teachers were required to give them one-and-a-half-hours instruction each school day. For this work head teachers received an addition to their salaries of £5 for one pupil teacher, £9 for two, and £3 for every additional one. At the end of their apprenticeship, the pupil teachers presented themselves for the Queen's scholarship examination. Those who were selected were awarded exhibitions to the value of £20 or £25 at a training college. Annual grants were paid to training colleges for each of the three years of training."¹

The pupil-teacher system was not unique: Kay-Shuttleworth had made a close study of it in Holland where it was well-established and the London Diocesan Board had experimented with the idea since the early 1840s. Curtis,² contends that faced with the problem of teacher supply, Kay-Shuttleworth had only two choices: the pupil-teacher system or the recruitment of candidates for entry to training colleges at eighteen years of age. The latter choice raised problems of sources of recruitment, for the task of attempting to draw from commerce and industry wage-earners of a sufficiently high educational standard to benefit from such a course seemed impossible. Furthermore, the financial rewards for teachers were poor and the social standing of the profession was low, but, above all else, the daunting prospect of a possible five year period between leaving school and embarking on a college course appeared to be the greatest obstacle.

The pupil teacher system therefore was a practical solution. With hindsight it was also a successful solution for, as Rich explains:

"That the pupil-teacher-cum-training college system was a fairly effective stop-gap is shown by the fact that secondary education did not come for about half a century after its inception."³

In the pupil teacher system there were advantages to be gained from the closed system of elementary-scholar, pupil-teacher, college-student, culminating in an appointment as a teacher. The aspiring teacher would serve a pupilage of five years, at the end of which he would qualify by examination for entry to a training college, hopefully via a Queen's Scholarship. The system seemed to provide an ideal solution and early reports indicated that pupilage was superior to the monitorial system. Kay-Shuttleworth's innovation marked a fair bid to bring direct government support into the realm of teacher training and provide alternatives to the church-dominated training provision. Rich points out:

"Government support and interference were inevitable, sectarian suspicion was as strong as ever and yet he succeeded virtually in nationalising the training of teachers without excessive wounding of religious susceptibilities".¹

As time went on, the weaknesses in the system began to show. It was a cyclical system, which became entrenched and incapable of responding to change. On the phenomena, Tropp observes:

"Under the regulations of 1846, the elementary school world was meant to constitute a closed system".²

Often pupil-teachers were incapable of further training. There was wastage and many who laboured hard to gain entry to a training college via a Queen's Scholarship "were mediocre, or worse, and their educational standards remained low".³

Remedies were prescribed. The Committee of the Council for Education increased the number of Queen's Scholarships to encourage more pupil-teachers into the training colleges. It attempted to standardise the length of courses, gave limited financial inducement to certain specialists on the college staff, and with the help of the Inspectorate a basic syllabus was produced. The reforms had some effect: by 1859 five out of every six students were Queen's Scholars - unsatisfactory private students had virtually been eliminated and efficient colleges were able to raise 75%-90% of their income from Parliamentary Grants.

But the progress made in teacher training and education was soon to slow down. The cost of the Crimean War had evoked a demand for reduced expenditure which made Parliamentary-aided education a prime target for scrutiny. The problems of balancing the economy and the need to maintain the teaching force led to the setting up of a Royal Commission under the direction of the Duke of Newcastle, which sought ways in which expenditure could be reduced.

The outcome of the Newcastle Commission was the introduction in 1862 of the "Revised Code". The conditions it imposed seriously affected both the pupil-teacher system and the training colleges. Specific grants to schools gave way to block grants payable to the schools' managers, with the result that pupil teachers were employed "on the cheap". The indentured apprenticeship of five years was replaced by contracts renewable at six-monthly intervals.

As a result, the number and quality of pupil-teachers coming forward for studentship in colleges began to fall. Wastage had always been high but now that it was possible to enter for the Teachers' Certificate Examinations without attendance at a Normal College, the situation in the colleges became serious.

The history of teacher-training is closely linked to two aspects of social phenomena: the annual birth-rate and the economy. The population of the United Kingdom in 1841 was reckoned to be twenty millions. Twenty years later in 1861 it had increased to twenty-four millions, and by 1881 it had risen to thirty-one millions, a growth which was destined to continue well into the twentieth century.

As the population grew in size, the economy coincidentally appeared to become less stable. Britain enjoyed many advantages as the leading manufacturing nation and as the pioneer of industrialisation. But the advantages gained were relatively short-lived as technology advanced, and consequently industrial leadership became difficult to maintain. Periods of boom and economic success were followed by slump and depression. The earliest signs of the trade cycle with

its periods of prosperity and poverty seemed, at first, to be attributable to relatively straightforward and explainable causes, but as the nineteenth century progressed, the cyclical economic conditions could not be readily explained nor could remedies easily be found. The recurring and pernicious instability brought out self-searching recriminations and blame, but little else. The Great Exhibition of 1851, conceived in the spirit of showing off Britain's manufacturers to the world, to some extent merely succeeded in revealing how ill-prepared the nation's industry was in meeting the challenge from Continental competitors.¹ The policy of European isolation had bred insularity and indifference, as the years succeeding the Great Exhibition were to prove. It was becoming increasingly clear that some other European nations were, industrially, not only catching up but also overtaking Britain. Comparisons were made as a means of identifying where the lack of success was likely to be found. One of the principal root causes, wrote observers, was the failure of the educational provision. The Continental systems of education were extolled and there developed a consciousness of inadequacy which increasingly prompted action.

Education was but one of several burning social issues. The Reform Act of 1867 had extended the voting population from one million to two millions which led to the return to power of a Liberal government. One immediate result was the preparation of an Education Act but there was another issue linked with it which was the cause of some agitation: the long-standing question of dis-establishment of the Anglican Church (a subject which overshadowed most educational issues).

By 1867, the need for fuller state participation in education was, as Read observed, widely accepted:

"... but the problem of religious instruction in schools wholly or partly supported by the state had not yet been solved. Should education in such schools be sectarian or non-sectarian? If sectarian should the Church of England be favoured as the Established Church?"²

While political and religious arguments raged and public debates continued, the problem of educational provision was steadily becoming yet more serious. In the late 1860s it was reckoned that there were about 4,300,000 children of school age, only half of whom went to school. Of those in attendance about one million attended Church of England schools whilst a further one million were in unsupported schools which were not subject to inspection.

To remedy the deteriorating situation, the 1870 Education Act was introduced. By the time it reached the statute book it was in many respects a compromise for instead of introducing a comprehensive system of national education it merely enabled local Schools Boards to be established in areas where existing sectarian or voluntary provision was insufficient.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROVINCIAL SCENE 1870

From the early eighteenth century, specialised industrial conurbations had been growing apace. The long-established woollen industry had first become mechanised and then industrialised, while the newer cotton industries developed in the less well-established textile areas. The exploitation of coal and the development of the metal trades begot manufacturing. These were industrial trends which were to continue in one form or another long into the nineteenth century, until finally, by the second half of the century, the network of railway transportation linked each separate and distinct industrial district into a total industrial entity.

Although industrialisation appeared to follow a common pattern - development from cottage-type industry, leading to mechanisation, followed by industrialisation - distinct local characteristics were manifested. Read¹ pointed out, for example, the distinct social differences between towns such as Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds and Manchester. The native industries of the first two towns had built close social bridges between masters and workpeople, a situation which was to encourage nonconformity and radical political movement. In contrast, industrialisation of the textile areas became subjected to the factory systems much earlier, consequently the relationship between masters and workpeople had grown remote and divorced. Notwithstanding their distinct social identities, by the middle of the nineteenth century the centres of urban growth shared similar problems: the new industry had attracted migrant labour and had created static communities which needed urban services. Furthermore, the situation was worsening as the birth-rate began to rise.

Cultural differences too abounded but none so marked as the attitudes struck up between the North and the South. Britain appeared to be a country divided: the North reflecting the age of industrialisation; the South the agricultural heritage of the past; London, the centre of political and cultural activity; the Provinces the epitome of

ignorance and squalor. What Elizabeth Gaskell described in her novels - "Mary Barton" (1848) and "North and South" (1854) had long existed in the North; while the situation was summed up by Edward Baines, junior, Editor of the "Leeds Mercury" in an open letter addressed to Sir Robert Peel in 1843, in which he claimed that there was a:

"... general impression that the Manufacturing districts are scenes of vice, ignorance, sedition, irreligion, cruelty and wretchedness".¹

The relatively isolated township of Sheffield, with its long history of cutlery and lighter tool products, was typical of the newer centres of industry. As technical knowledge improved and raw material and fuel exploitation developed, emphasis shifted until it became the centre of special steel making and heavy armament following the Crimean Wars. Migrant labour from the countryside and from the remote parts of the kingdom came in search of work and found housing either in the older parts of the town or in the newly-built terraced houses near the mines and factories. The township, in spite of its verdant geographical setting remained singularly forbidding for industrial pollution abounded.

Visitors to the town thought ill of its rough and uncouth inhabitants. It was squalid and renowned for its drunkenness and fighting. The troublesome and infamous nature of its workmen in forming societies, combinations and unions was known throughout the land. Indeed, in 1852, very conveniently on the edge of the town, a substantial barracks was erected to accommodate a regiment of horse - a singularly useful agency for maintaining public order should the need have arisen.

Even in the sphere of religion, extremes were plainly evident. From the seventeenth century, the town had been a stronghold of dissenters from all denominations - an aspect which was to have a considerable influence on the nature of the town's religious, cultural and political make-up. When John Wesley preached in the town in 1779 he "preached in Paradise Square in Sheffield to the largest crowd I ever saw on a weekday".²

Attempts were made by the Anglican Church in the nineteenth century to re-establish its influence in industrial districts but in Sheffield it faced considerable opposition due to the growth and strong support for nonconformity. While the parish church and many of the churches of the surrounding parishes had long been established and the livings filled with a number of outstandingly active incumbents, the town and its hamlets were remote from the see of York and edged up to that of Canterbury. In consequence, although there was a body of influential clergy, it was an unequal match against growing nonconformity and an increasing Roman Catholic community.

By 1871 the population of the township had grown to 255,247 and the Medical Officer of Health report recorded 9,765 births in that year - although 2,031 deaths were recorded under the age of one year, there were overall 7,734 births.

The Medical Officer's report of 1873 throws some further light on the growing population and the social conditions prevailing:

"A further investigation... discloses a large number of deaths among children of under one year of age. Obviously the most correct inferences are to be drawn by comparing the death rate of children under one year of age with the number of births. In periods of increasing trade, and the development of either new or existing branches of manufacture, Sheffield has its population continually increased by the influx of adults, of an age when child bearing may occur and infant mortality speedily follow..."¹

In the three years 1871, 1872, 1873, the average child mortality rate was 29.37% of child deaths from all causes. The report for 1873 went on to state that:

"... It must be conceded that a large proportion of infants are scarcely viable at birth and it follows that if such children be subjected to the surrounding influences of impure air, bad nursing, improper food, exposure to cold, narcotics and neglect they will surely die... The great excess must then be owing to ignorance, or neglect of the proper sanitary precautions essential to the sustentation of infant life... I have prepared a circular containing simple rules for the guidance of mothers in the management of infants. I consider that it might be most efficiently distributed by the Registrars at the time when the birth of the child is registered..."²

Such were the social conditions of those for whom the 1870 Education Act was passed.

Prior to 1870, elementary education for the poor in Sheffield had been developing since the early 1800s. As early as 1803, meetings were held to consider establishing a school "for bettering the conditions of the Poor on the Plan of our London Society".¹ In 1809 a Lancasterian school for boys was opened in West Bar in a building which had previously served as a Steel Mill and latterly an Equestrian Circus. By 1813 provision had been extended to educate girls. Commenting on the educational provision prior to 1870, Sir William Clegg, writing in 1924, observed:

"... National Schools were established in Hoyle Street in connection with St Philips Church and until the coming of the Sheffield School Board... the Church of England was constantly expanding its activities... the Wesleyans too had a number of... and there were several... run as private businesses for example... the Milk Street Academy which gave budding citizens very sound teaching".²

The purpose of the 1870 Education Act was to fill the gaps left by the voluntary system and although school boards began to establish their institutions it soon became clear that a compulsory system of elementary education was both feasible and desirable.

The state of elementary education in Sheffield at the time of the passing of the 1870 Act is revealed in a submission made to the Statistical Enquiry Committee by John F Moss, Secretary of the Sheffield School Board. The town was generating an estimated school population of 42,541. Investigation into the school population revealed that 17,850 children were in attendance at public elementary schools,³ 4,504 were being educated in private elementary schools, while there were some 934 in so-called Dame Schools. In the report, Moss calculated that there was total provision for 31,108 children and that the deficiency to meet the estimated school population of 42,541 was 11,433. Consequently, the newly established Sheffield School Board, empowered by the 1870 Act, set to work to make good the short-fall in the provision.

Although the first Triennial Report presented to the Sheffield School Board on the 13th November 1873 contained statistics which were a good deal less precise than those submitted to the Statistical Enquiry Committee, Moss describes the situation clearly:

"When the first School Board for the Borough of Sheffield came into existence on the 28th November, 1870, there were within the district nearly 40,000 children who ought to have been attending elementary schools; there were on the average little more than 12,000 actually in attendance, and there was room in efficient elementary Schools either projected or already provided for nearly 28,000 children; leaving a deficiency of accommodation for 12,000 children.

It therefore became the duty of the Board to supplement the existing elementary School provision by the addition of new buildings to accommodate 12,000 children, and to secure the attendance at School of 28,000 children more than had hitherto ordinarily attended."¹

The Report indicated that by 1873 the Board employed 87 teaching staff:

7	head teachers (males)
10	head teachers (females) for girls or infant departments
3	assistant masters
8	assistant mistresses
14	male pupil teachers
20	female pupil teachers
5	male monitors
20	female monitors

From this information it may be deduced that of the 87 teaching staff, 28 were qualified as opposed to 59 in various stages of development. At first sight, the existence of 25 monitors appears singularly remarkable. However, Bingham² explains that:

"Monitors were appointed in January 1874... at salaries of eight shillings per month. They appear to have been pupils who gave general help in the classes and were not of course pupil teachers".

The Revised Code of the 1860s had thrown a shadow over the development of English education which was not to be easily dispelled. Whether it served to make the implementation of the 1870 Education Act more realistic is a matter for conjecture. Did caution, control of expenditure, the need for the public to perceive "value for money" serve to ensure just that? Alternatively, if better financial aid for elementary education

had been forthcoming in the decade preceding the 1870 Act and the 1870 Act itself backed by even more generous provision, might the development of elementary education have been less inhibited? Such postulations are lost in the welter of activity and administrative expediencies to which the organisers of elementary education had to resort in order to implement the 1870 Act.

The pupil-teacher system which in the 1840s had been hailed as the complete answer to building an elementary education teaching force had revealed its shortcomings very early. By the 1870s its limitations were acutely obvious and the problems surrounding its reform appeared insurmountable:

"The growing number of uncertificated teachers made many people fear that the quality of elementary education would deteriorate. But the greater threat to quality was the increasing number of pupil-teachers. Far from being regarded as the saviours of the schools, as they had been twenty years previously, pupil teachers were in the 1870s widely felt to be lowering standards".¹

In 1870 there were about 28,300 teachers, 12,500 of whom were certificated and less than half of these college trained, the majority holding the Acting Teachers' Certificate, the remaining 14,500 or so were pupil teachers, and it was not until 1873 when the London School Board began to "build on the Prussian plan, with a separate room and teacher for each class"² that the beginning of the end of the pupil-teacher system can be marked. But the innovations of 1873 were slow to take effect. Indeed, the contrary occurred as the number of pupil teachers increased from 14,612 in 1870 to over 29,000 by 1875.

While the recruitment of extra pupil teachers was a means of raising the size of the teaching force, the educational standards of the teachers were falling. The teachers' organisations began deploring the employment of so many pupil teachers, while the Committee of the Council were urging the Inspectorate and the Colleges to foreshorten the training college period and encouraging the granting of teaching certificates after one year of study. The latter expedient only served to aggravate the situation yet

further for there was already an evidenced decline in the quality of the pupil-teacher applications to training colleges and suspiciously low standards of entry into the colleges themselves. As Dent observes:

"These were not exactly vintage years in most training colleges; in fact, there is reason for suspecting that never were their courses duller, their domestic life more dreary".¹

After the 1870s, pressure caused by inadequacies within the teaching force led to the introduction of the "New Code" which demanded a higher proportion of certificated teachers. Nevertheless, in spite of the increase in the number of schools, the staffing need was being met, though Dent contends that "the means by which this result was achieved were, to say the least, a trifle dubious".² There were few genuine certificated teachers, that is those who had qualified through attendance at a training college, but the majority merely held Acting Teachers' Certificates - being ex-pupil teachers who had taken the certificate examination after part-time study.

Faced with the problems created by employing teachers with low educational standards, many Boards began to consider how the education of prospective teachers might be improved. In 1875 the London School Board raised the age of pupilage to fifteen years, while there were further experiments elsewhere. In 1874/75 the Liverpool and the London School Boards developed centres where pupil teachers could be trained on a part-time basis. Indeed, "it was largely by means of the pupil-teacher centre that the pupil-teacher (system) was first emancipated and then abolished".³ Gradually, the teaching hours of pupil teachers were reduced and their hours of instruction increased.

The introduction of the New Code of 1871 brought an early response from the Sheffield School Board. Staffing levels proposed were incorporated in a "Report on a Scheme of Education" which was adopted by the Sheffield School Board on the 23rd October 1871. But there were many critics of the work of the School Boards both locally and nationally and constant criticism of the seeming

wastefulness of generous teacher-pupil ratios. Later, in a report made in 1882 by Skelton Cole, Chairman of the Sheffield School Board, which surveyed the Board's progress over the first ten years, he was at some pains to explain in detail the staffing ratio. He indicated that for forty scholars there was one certificated teacher and for each succeeding thirty scholars, one pupil teacher was permitted, but, where there were sixty scholars a qualified assistant was permitted in lieu of two pupil teachers. The explanation ends by an observation that no more than two pupil teachers were to be employed per certificated teacher.¹ However, the reason was not one of altruistic generosity but of expediency, for he warned that if the staffing levels were not in accordance with the Code there would be a reduction in Government Grant.²

CHAPTER II - REFERENCES

- Page 14 1. Read, op cit, p.35
- Page 15 1. Read, op cit, p.166
" 2. Commemorative plaque to John Wesley, Paradise Square, Sheffield.
- Page 16 1. Medical Officer of Health for Sheffield, Annual Report, 1873, p.14
" 2. Ibid, p.16
- Page 17 1. Bernard, Sir Thomas, "An Account of the Free School", 1812, p.181
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" 3. Schools of the denominational bodies and other public bodies which were in receipt of government grant.
- Page 18 1. First report of the Sheffield School Board, 1873, p.1
" 2. Bingham, J H, Sheffield School Board, 1870-1902, Northend, Sheffield, 1949, p.90
- Page 19 1. Dent, op cit, p.26
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- Page 20 1. Dent, op cit, p.22
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" 2. Bingham, op cit, p.89

CHAPTER III

SHEFFIELD SCHOOL BOARD'S DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

One of the incidental successes of the first decade of the 1870 Education Act can be seen in the need which was created for the provision of education beyond that for which the Act provided. The origins of this success could be seen in the higher grade classes provided for pupils who wished to extend their education. Gradually the demand for these classes grew, particularly in the more affluent working class suburbs of larger towns, and in response, arrangements were made to accommodate the pupils. As the provision required a standard of teaching higher than that which was normally offered in Board schools, the extension of higher work in existing schools did not seem appropriate. Furthermore, there was a need to provide for a minority of pupils who had distinct intellectual potential. Additionally, as this provision was not universally necessary and outside the remit of School Boards, sound arguments were put forward to make the provision available centrally, hence the term "Central Schools". The first expression of interest by the Sheffield School Board in the extension of elementary education is to be found in the minutes of the Sheffield School Board for 1876 and also in the Annual Report for that year, where the following passage appeared:

"... a project of the Board which has for some years occupied careful attention, it should be mentioned that the approval of the Education Department has now been given to the Board's scheme for Central Schools... The scheme... is looked upon with great interest, far beyond the confines of this district, and it is a decided step in advance, which is not unlikely to be followed throughout the country. Its aim is to furnish (in addition to some accommodation similar to that in other Elementary Schools) a distinct higher department, to which may be drafted deserving and clever pupils from the other Schools of the town. It has been proposed by the Board that in the Senior Departments, children only who are eligible for preparation for examination in the higher Standards should be taught, that scholars from all the Public Elementary Schools in the district, irrespective of class, shall be eligible, and that, in addition to the ordinary subjects for higher Standards, the curriculum for the senior boys and girls should embrace, as far as may be found expedient, all the specific subjects set forth in the fourth schedule of the New Code of the Education Department, viz.:- Literature, Mathematics, Latin, French, German, Mechanics,

Animal Physiology, Physical Geography, Botany, and Domestic Economy (for girls only). There should also be taught other subjects specially bearing upon the industries of this district, which may be taken under the regulations of the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education, such as Drawing, Chemistry, Geology, Mineralogy, Principles of Mining, Metallurgy, Machine Construction, Steam, Building Construction, &c. In both the Senior Departments, special attention should be given to the training of boys and girls intending to become Pupil Teachers. This may be so arranged as to greatly increase the efficiency of Pupil Teachers when placed on the staffs of the respective Schools. To scholars of special ability passing the competitive Examinations, and recommended to the Board by the Managers of any Public Elementary School in the district, it is intended that aid should be given from funds to be derived partly from local endowments and subscriptions, and partly from the Committee of Council on Education; the latter must, of course, be subject to the regulations under which the Elementary Schools' Scholarships and Local Exhibitions are offered. Such an arrangement will, it is expected, enable scholars to better fit themselves for most useful positions, either connected with the industries of the district, or with educational work. It is also important that facilities should be given for Evening Classes, and for other objects associated with the carrying on of Education in its most useful forms. These are, in brief, the objects which the School Board have in view. The plans of the building have been prepared specially with the object of providing for such a scheme of Education: and while the Schools are in course of erection, time will be given for maturing the Educational portion of the project in such a manner as will, it is hoped, be of very great benefit to the work of Education generally in this district, as well as creditable to the town in which it originated".¹

The emergence as early as 1876 of a plan to create Central Schools in Sheffield and thus develop a higher level of elementary education was unique and it appears to have been the first proposal of its kind in the country.

An equally difficult and related problem lay in the staffing of schools. The expansion of the teaching force required to implement the 1870 Education Act also raised considerable administrative difficulties. The Sheffield School Board's Annual Report of 1876 outlining plans for the establishment of the Central Schools also made particular reference to the training of prospective pupil teachers and subsequent training college entrance arrangements. The calibre of candidates for pupil teacher appointments and training college places was too low and it must have been a nation-wide difficulty. Already, in March 1875, the London School Board had

written to the Sheffield School Board enquiring whether difficulties had been encountered in obtaining trained teachers: Had they (Sheffield School Board) any plans to "secure a sufficiency"? Had the Board considered provision for the subsequent training of its pupil teachers? Although there is no evidence of the Sheffield School Board responding to this enquiry, it exemplifies the difficulties which other Boards were encountering.

By 1881, there appears to be a suggestion that teaching efficiency and certification were related. The Annual Report for that year observes that:

"Attention has recently been given to a revision of the Teaching staff, so that without extravagance the utmost amount of efficiency shall be secured, and though some of the changes involving the appointment of a larger proportion of trained Assistants may at the outset call for somewhat increased expenditure, there is reason to believe that the additional outlay will be compensated for by better results".₁

The new premises of the Central Schools provided a valuable resource for training teachers for it was agreed that arrangements be made for special instruction to be given to Pupil Teachers and Assistants on Friday evenings and Saturday mornings. The lessons were to be free and were generally to be given by suitable Head Teachers, with possibly specialists from outside, and it was expected to cost in all up to £120 per annum. These arrangements were made:

"With the view of assisting Pupil Teachers in their studies and promoting their intellectual improvement, lectures have been given weekly at the Central Schools, and have been fairly attended by Assistants as well as those for whom they were primarily intended. The subjects selected for the first courses were Higher Arithmetic, School Method, English Grammar and Analysis, Music, French, and Domestic Economy. It is not intended that this special instruction shall interfere with, or in the slightest degree supersede, the ordinary training of the Pupil Teachers, for which the Head Masters and Mistresses of the respective schools are held strictly responsible; but that it shall supply a means of getting a wider grasp of the subjects treated, and of gaining advantages resulting from special attention by different minds to those subjects".₂

While the Board appears to have been encouraged - almost surprised - when its facilities were taken up by qualified practising teachers, it was less happy with its pupil teachers. Not only were they failing

to prepare themselves for qualifications but they were not availing themselves of the opportunity provided by the Board, which led to comments in the Annual Report for 1881:

"Unfortunately some of the Pupil Teachers in the service of the Board have neglected not only this but the ordinary means of properly qualifying for their profession, and the School Management Committee find it needful to seriously consider whether those who fail to pass creditably the Government examinations and those of the Board's Inspectors shall be continued, as it must be apparent that unintelligent and unskilful teaching must seriously prejudice the interests of the schools".¹

The wisdom of entrusting the training of the pupil teacher to the head teacher of a school had been questioned for some time:

"It had long been felt that an improvement was necessary, as the method of letting the Head of each school be responsible for the instruction of his own pupil teachers was uneconomic and generally unsatisfactory".²

Furthermore:

"Very few head teachers possessed the qualifications for this task and it was the realisation of this fact (that) led to the development of Pupil Teachers' Centres after 1881".³

In 1882, John F Moss, the secretary to the Board, reported that:

"After much consideration the Board decided to organise a system of centre teaching, by way of experiment, for three divisions embracing 11 schools... Under the centre system the better classification of the Pupil Teachers according to their attainments and years of service, is practicable, while the time of the instructors is economised by the collective teaching in large classes".⁴

The idea of centralising the instruction of pupil teachers was not new. Both the Liverpool and the London School Boards had taken the lead in 1874 by establishing specially staffed centres. The surprising element is that the Sheffield Board took so long in adopting the idea. Whether it was preoccupied by the Central Schools project or whether it was unsure in its approach to the problem is uncertain. What is clear from John Moss's report is that the decision appeared to marry expediency with economy.

But the change was not effected without misgivings. Skelton Cole commented:

"... the idea of gathering the Pupil Teachers into classes according to the year of their apprenticeship, seemed to offer sufficient advantages to make it well worth a trial; but as there is some difference of opinion as to the best method of organisation, the Committee wisely (as I think) decided to arrange on this plan only for a part of the Schools at present.

Should the plan be found to work successfully, the remainder may then be dealt with similarly. Some dangers will need to be guarded against, and it cannot be too strongly impressed upon the Teachers at every School that they are still largely responsible for the success or failure of their own Pupil Teachers.

But I cannot refrain from referring to an admirable paper on this subject read by Mr Ricks (one of the London School Board's Inspectors) at the recent School Board Clerks' Conference at Leicester. He asks - "How then can we best classify?" and the answer is -

"Set the proper goal before you. That is not the mere preparation of the P.T. to pass certain specified yearly examinations (although that must not be lost sight of) but to give them such a liberal education, such a grasp of the subjects taught, in a word, such a culture, as will make them educators and not mere grinders for passes.

To attain this end each P.T. must be placed in that class which is exactly suited to his abilities and attainments and where he will derive the maximum of benefit. And it follows, as night the day, that there must be a separate classification for each subject according to proficiency.

But whilst maintaining that this is the best, nay, the only satisfactory organisation, I am aware that I must pay due deference to the Code requirements, and take care that our Pupil Teachers shall not suffer in comparison with their fellows in any single examination.

I trust that the advantages of such a system will ere long be fully realised."¹

The Sheffield School Board now set its plans in motion. The pupil teachers were grouped into eleven district centres and the work shared among the Heads of the Schools in the area so as to "provide thorough and effectual teaching and enable pupils to be classified in their respective years and stage of study"² while still leaving each Head the responsibility "for the careful oversight" of his own pupil teachers so that he could "exert a direct personal influence on their personal training, and more especially... advise them in the exercise of the art of teaching".³

By March 1883 the arrangements in three of the centres were reported on favourably to the Sheffield School Board and it was further revealed that the system was to be:

"... extended so as to include all the Pupil Teachers in the service of the Board with the exception of those engaged in Broomhill Manor, Darnall and Brightside Schools".¹

By 1884, five of the eleven centres proposed were open: Huntsman's Gardens, Woodside Lane, Walkley, Duchess Road, and Netherthorpe, and preparations for widening the curriculum were to be seen. Music classes were now provided for pupil teachers, but it was reported in May 1884 that the teacher, a Mr Drury, was finding it difficult to conduct music classes for pupil teachers because of the number of pupils:

"There were 136 (34 first years, 33 second years, 34 third years and 35 fourth years)".²

In addition to practising singing, based on tonic sol-fa, the theory of music was taught, and it was the view of the Inspectors and of Mr Drury that - with a little more assistance - old notation might be expected from third year pupils. Initially, the School Management decided that Mr Drury was to be given some assistance, but that the fourth year's course embracing old notation should be optional.

Gradually the debilitating effects of the Revised Code were being eased and the curriculum enlivened by the provision of improved in-service training. In 1885, in accordance with Article 110 of the New Code, a new scheme for Instruction of Assistant Teachers was introduced. Over a period of six hours per week; on two evenings and on Saturday morning, the pupil teachers were required to study Mathematics, Arithmetic, English Literature, School Method, English History, Geography, Dictation, French; with Domestic Economy and Needlework for females, and "if found convenient and desirable, Political Economy, Musical Theory and Latin".³

Although the students were required to provide books and stationery for themselves they were in return eligible to receive a grant of

either £10 or £15 which they could earn under the provisions of Article 110 of the New Code. Instructors were to be appointed by the Board, and paid 7s.6d per lesson or lecture, which would include supervision of studies and examinations and the correction of homework. As a reward, those students who passed the Certificate Examination received increases of salaries. Those obtaining a place in the first division qualified for £12.10s.0d. per annum; the second division £10; while the third division qualified for £7.10s.0d. Article 110 of the New Code also attempted to improve the quality and qualifications of Assistant Teachers who were unqualified with the result that:

"Special Instruction Classes for 'Assistants' were formally arranged in May, 1885, although they had actually commenced in the February previous - with separate sections for each of the three years of training".¹

Despite the fact that the Board was taking its responsibilities seriously, problems were soon to be encountered. The Assistant Teachers appeared to lack the necessary motivation, and in January 1886 the Secretary to the Sheffield School Board reported that:

"Out of 153 Assistant Teachers in the service of the Board, who at the close of the year might have been expected to be in attendance at the classes under the conditions laid down, there were 78 who had been granted exemption in accordance with the Regulations, while 15 others were absent on account of illness; 9 others were attending very irregularly; 2 had not commenced to attend, and 5 additional teachers ceased to attend because they were leaving the service of the Board."²

The School Management Committee therefore decided to recommend cancellation of the whole arrangement.

By 1886, the system of Pupil Teacher instruction at the five centres was providing for 142 pupil teachers. Separate provision was made for nine pupil teachers at Broomhill and Manor, where, probably because of travelling difficulties the Head Teacher conducted the teaching:

"There were in all thirty-one Instructors, teaching the eight subjects; and morning classes were held, 7.45 to 8.45; with Friday evening classes, 7 to 9 o'clock, in music, additional to the eight subjects".³

The development was short-lived. The establishment of further centres stopped in October 1887 when it was decided that:

"In future nearly all the Pupil Teachers under the Board will be taught at one Centre under improved conditions, by which a considerable saving in both time and strength of the Pupil Teachers is sought to be effected".¹

It was calculated that not only would there be much more efficiency of method resulting from the change, but the cost would be reduced from £376 per annum to about £238.10.0d., plus tram tickets "for each Pupil Teacher living in the outlying districts".²

Certain disadvantages had now become apparent. Concern was being expressed for the health of the pupil teacher and there was a need to provide more efficient teaching. But, as well-intentioned as these reasons may have been, it appears that it was the economies of scale which were really being considered. The most direct means of effecting economy was by reducing the number of centres and by reducing the number of instructors employed. Finally, a single centre was planned at which pupil teachers would attend on two evenings a week for two hours and on Saturday mornings instead of daily morning sessions.

The plan to develop a single centre brought accommodation problems in its train. While the education of pupil teachers remained on a part-time basis, and particularly as instruction was being given on evenings and Saturday mornings, the use of the Central School premises seemed highly appropriate and convenient. Then a major change in policy was made. In 1884, the London School Board had put an end to the instruction of its pupil teachers before and after school and introduced a system where half a pupil teacher's time was spent in teaching, the other half was spent back in the Centre. This idea was gradually adopted elsewhere, with the result that centres "tended more and more to resemble secondary schools".³

When the decision had been made to provide day instruction for pupil teachers and for "candidates" (those elementary school scholars who subsequently hoped to become pupil teachers) the accommodation problem had to be solved.

In July 1893, John Moss, Secretary to the Sheffield School Board, wrote to the Education Department:

"I am directed to respectfully apply for the sanction of my Lords to the borrowing by the Board from the Corporation of Sheffield of the sum of £1550 for purchasing and putting into proper repair the old Free Writing School premises, now the property of the Sheffield Church Burgesses, the repayment to be spread over 50 years. It is proposed to use the old School-room as a centre for teaching first year Pupil Teachers and Candidates during the day time, and the house adjoining is to be appropriated for the present as a Joiners' Shop in which the workmen of the Board will repair furniture and other woodwork connected with the various Schools of the Board.

The site contains 840 square yards, of which 655 are freehold, while upon the remaining portion there is a lease for an unexpired term of 727 years, at a rental of 7s.6d. per year.

The premises are within a very short distance of the offices of the Board and of the Central Higher Schools, where the Evening Classes for Pupil Teachers are now held.

It is possible that the premises referred to may be required some years hence for Corporation Improvements, but in that case arrangements will no doubt be made for the acquisition of other suitable property in exchange".¹

The choice of location on grounds of convenience and the low cost must have appeared to be an attractive proposition. What in general the local population and the School Board members themselves felt about the proposal to refurbish the "Old Free Writing School" is not known. What evidence there is relating to the purchase appeared to be couched in somewhat defensive terms. At the time it was acquired by the School Board, the School was in a very dilapidated condition and it was being used as a joinery workshop and store. The transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society set the scene in some detail:

"When first opened in 1721, the school had been on the edge of the town with orchards and green fields all around, but industry had grown apace, leading to increased building activity, and small houses and workshops soon engulfed the various scholastic institutions in the neighbourhood.

The Crofts area deteriorated rapidly during the 19th century, to become by 1880 slums of the worst character, extremely insanitary, becoming known later as the 'Plague Spot'. The narrow streets consisted of poor houses, 'little mester's' workshops, public houses and beer houses all jammed together, with gennals (passages) leading into tiny yards.

The schoolboys knew the geography of the Crofts well and it was a game of theirs to race round School Croft, Sims Croft, etc., down numerous gennals and over the low dividing walls. At other times they used to watch the various tradesmen at work through the open half-doors. All the processes of the cutlery trade, file cutting by hand, horn and pearl fashioning, the silversmiths' and saddlers' trades, all were open to view, and more of life was learned by the boys watching these craftsmen than from all their time in the schoolroom. The old lady making clay pipes was a great attraction, and of an evening many of the inhabitants, male and female, could be seen smoking, seated on the doorstep with their feet on the footpath. Policemen, and later the school attendance officers, went about in pairs for safety. It was common for rubbish and liquids to be emptied from doors and upper windows regardless of passers-by".¹

In spite of its limitations, the acquisition of the "Free Writing School" premises made it possible to instruct on seven half days per fortnight, each year being divided into two groups because of the size of classes. The Minutes of the Board for 8th February 1894 reported that:

"The remuneration of Mr J G Picknett, trained assistant, in the Central Higher School be at the rate of £120 per annum during the time he is in charge of the pupil teachers undertaking the Day Classes at the Free Writing School".²

The appointment was temporary for on the 18th July 1895, Mr J Batey was appointed "Superintendent and Instructor for the Pupil Teacher Centre Day Classes" at a salary of £180 per annum. The School Management Committee also reported that they:

"... have had under consideration the working of the Day Classes for Pupil Teachers, which have hitherto been regarded as to some extent experimental, and they have come to the conclusion that the system should now be put upon a permanent basis. It is also suggested that the Board's Inspector of Schools might with advantage be relieved of some of the duties he now performs in connection with the examination of candidates for engagement, which this year involved the marking of 1000 papers at a time when his services were much needed for other important matters".³

The quality of learning was still leaving something to be desired. Being dissatisfied with the results of the Pupil Teacher Examinations held in June 1895, it was recorded that it was the Committee's opinion:

"... that the number of failures is due chiefly to the

incapacity of a number of Pupil Teachers who have hitherto failed to give sufficient attention to their studies.

With the view of making the method of instruction more satisfactory, the Sub-Committee invited the Instructors of P.T.'s to make any suggestions which might occur to them as being likely to produce more satisfactory results in the future".

The instructors of the pupil teachers duly met on the 2nd of July and offered suggestions dealing with the arrangements for teaching Drawing and Science, Scripture, and Music. They further went on to comment on the:

"Neglect of Lessons, &c.: The Instructors further suggest that Pupil Teachers reported for neglect of lessons, incapacity, or misconduct at centre classes, be in the future more stringently dealt with by the Committee".

The Sub-Committee of the Board now agreed that the suggestions should be adopted and acted upon and went on to recommend:

"(a) That instead of private study at their own schools for 2½ hours per week, the second year Pupil Teachers receive instruction for one half-day per week at the Day Central Classes.

Note - As there are 60 second year Pupil Teachers, it will be necessary to hold two classes, and thus to give up the whole of one day, or two half days, to their instruction.

(b) That in consideration of the instruction given in the day time, the second year Pupil Teachers be only required to attend at the Bow Street Central Classes on one evening per week, and on Saturday mornings.

(c) That in the staffing of schools for the coming school year, arrangements be made, if possible, for the relief of the second year Pupil Teachers for another half-day per week".₁

The esteem which the Committee had for the instructors in its pupil teacher centre must have been high for it seems that the staff were closely involved with the problem and well supported by the Sub-Committee of the Board.

Unfortunately, the Free Writing School premises which had been acquired were by no means adequate for the whole pupil teacher instruction.² The evening and Saturday classes continued in the Bow Street Centre, the Holly Street Centre was used for Manual Instruction, and rooms were hired in the Church Institute:

"for use as a Pupil Teacher Centre at a charge of £33 per annum, this to include warming, lighting and cleaning".₃

Meanwhile:

"... the Free Writing School... consisted of one room and a bit. The room accommodated about 70 P.Ts., and the "bit" served at once as girls' cloakroom, Principal's Study and "house of correction" - in a double sense since in it was the mythical "carpet" for defaulting, refractory and more or less, penitent pupils...

Within these precincts Mr Joseph Batey and Miss Paddison attempted to instil into minds of varying retentivity prodigious quantities of knowledge of the hidden mysteries of mathematics, geography, history, English, music, French, all made much more fearsome by voluminous notes, issued at the rate, as it seemed to us, of about 20 sheets a day, and woe betide the student who had not duly fixed them in his note book, made supplementary notes thereon and mastered them in every detail to be prepared for the daily inevitable "Take out your test books". We... used to wonder greatly how our revered master and mistress found time to do all the marking and cyclostyling involved. A 24 hour day and 7 day week seemed to be barely enough for half the labour entailed.

Latin was an extra and for boys only, and necessitated a hurried tea in town on Fridays (usually 3½d. at the Y.M.C.A.) in time for the Latin hour at 5.30." ₁

The settlement of the Pupil Teacher Centre in the Free Writing School was short-lived. The site in School Croft lay amongst slum and dilapidated properties of the worst kind and road improvements and clearance necessitated demolition.

"The Town Council could not allow this state of affairs to continue, and on 12th April, 1893, the Medical Officer of Health asked for an improvement scheme covering about 5¾ acres of land in Sims Croft, Hawley Croft, School Croft and Lee Croft. The Health Committee was required to acquire the land and buildings for demolition and to arrange for the closure of three existing streets, including School Croft, and the making of two new streets, 40 feet to 50 feet wide, running in a contrary direction. In March, 1896, the Health Committee purchased the Writing School property for £2,200 from the School Board, the Board retaining the tenancy on a two months' notice basis at a rent of £70 per annum." ₂

The "Sheffield Independent" of the 24th February 1900 reported that the work of demolition had begun. Thus ended the life of the Free Writing School.

The School Board had no alternative but to seek other accommodation. It was then decided to erect a purpose-built centre on a corner site in Orchard Lane and Holly Street so that the instruction of Pupil Teachers from both Board and Voluntary Schools could be provided under one roof.

The relative importance, or otherwise, which was placed on the status of Pupil Teacher training is difficult to understand. The Sheffield Board, in common with its contemporaries, needed the services of its pupil teachers to maintain the system. While the National Union of Elementary School Teachers saw pupilage as a means of dilution, neither the majority nor minority reports of the Cross Commission, nor the Department Enquiry of 1898 could foresee an immediate end to it. Yet, as useful as it was for maintaining the education service, the system was consistently maintained "on the cheap" and the acquisition of the Free Writing School serves to reinforce the point. It is difficult to understand the underlying motives of the School Board in its decision to acquire the Free Writing School - a building which was over 170 years old, dilapidated and in the worst possible area of the town, except on the grounds of cheapness. Adding to the administrative mystery is the question of why the land and buildings were acquired in March 1893, only to be the subject of a Medical Officer of Health's development plan within days (12th April, 1893).

Maybe the five-year tenure represented money spent in "buying time" when the whole future of the pupil teacher system was one of uncertainty; or, alternatively, it may have merely afforded time to plan more comprehensive provision for the future.

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CHAPTER IV

A HOME FOR THE SCATTERED AND NEGLECTED

The Established Church's involvement in and commitment to elementary education was considerable, but in the wake of the 1870 Act its position was open to challenge. In the area of teacher-training its control was paramount and its influence extended into the pupil-teacher system too. But, as the power of the School Boards increased, the Church of England's influence over elementary education began to wain as many of the denominational schools became relatively impoverished. The newly established Board Schools were housed in new and substantial premises and the teaching force was on the whole better qualified, largely because the salaries and career opportunities were greater. Although constant efforts were made by the Conservatives to ensure that the grants of the Committee of the Council on Education favoured the aspirations of those committed to denominational elementary education, in which the Anglican Church had the greatest interest, the Liberals and the nonconformist denominations resented the Anglican influence in education and wished to see it reduced.

While the pupil-teacher system produced potential candidates for the training colleges, obtaining a place became difficult for those who were not adherents to the Established Church. The colleges were largely controlled by the Church and religious tests were imposed which favoured Anglican candidates and, more particularly, pupil-teachers from Church schools:

"A pupil-teacher's chance of entering college varied greatly, for two main reasons: one, his religious denomination, and two, the availability (and quality) of a Pupil-Teacher Centre. Members of the Church of England had a built-in advantage, because they had sole access to 30 out of the 55 training colleges. Pupil-teachers in the areas of well-to-do and progressive School Boards had a great advantage, because these provided excellent Pupil-Teacher Centres. Small School Boards, and most Voluntary schools, could offer at best evening and/or Saturday classes".¹

During the early years of the Sheffield School Board, denominational and sectarian difficulties were constantly arising which provided arguments for the anti-School Board lobby. Although the Established Church was losing ground in the elementary education field, it still

By 1881, Sheffield School Board, frustrated by the regulations imposed for training college entry sought the aid of the Committee of the Council on Education to remedy the disabilities which pupil teachers in Board Schools were facing when seeking admission to training college. Article 98 of the New Code (Article 121 in the 1882 Code) allowed the managing body of each training college to set its own terms for admission and as these terms invariably demanded a religious test, pupil teachers from Board Schools were distinctly handicapped. It was proposed that a memorial on the subject be sent by deputation to the Lords of the Committee of the Council on Education:

"That the Sheffield School Board... feel that a training in college is of the greatest importance for pupil teachers who propose to... adopt the profession of teachers in elementary schools... it is essential that the pupil teachers selected for such training should be the best and most capable of their class... pupil teachers under the various School Boards labour under special disadvantages when seeking admission to some existing training colleges...

... the Board... have arranged that efficient Bible instruction... be given to their pupil teachers but (this) should not be distinctive of any particular denomination...

... in the opinion of the Board, candidates of superior qualifications should not on denominational grounds be passed over in favour of candidates of inferior qualifications... The Board accordingly pray that the Education Department will... remove the disqualifications affecting pupil teachers from Board Schools who seek admission to training colleges".¹

Little progress can have been made for in the following May (1883), a resolution was tabled and, though not carried, it sheds further light on the problem:

"That... Article 121... which gives Managers of Training Colleges the sole right of fixing the terms of admission to their respective Colleges, should be so far modified as to preclude the possibility of any intending students being excluded on religious or denominational grounds only, and that institutions which are supported mainly, as these Colleges are, out of public funds, ought to be open to the public on equal terms: that a deputation be appointed to wait upon the Vice-President of the Committee of the Council on Education, to urge modifications in accordance with this resolution, and that the various School Boards throughout the country be communicated with, with a view of their joining such deputation".

Little, if any, progress was made in the matter and faced with a problem which was insoluble at local level, and on which action

could not be promoted at national level, the Board set about ensuring that its pupil teachers who intended to proceed to training college should not be disadvantaged. Biblical and religious studies were introduced and became an important aspect in the pupil teacher course.

Over the years, the Sheffield educational scene nurtured a number of individuals who were destined to play significant roles in the developing politics of the Education Service. In an environment from which James Yoxall progressed to become Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, Member of Parliament, and was ultimately elevated to Knighthood, there were others who nevertheless exerted some considerable influence. The professional teachers and certain head teachers in particular, had a different view of the pupil teacher difficulties. Although pupil teachers from Board Schools were disadvantaged on religious grounds, pupil teachers in the Church Schools appear to have had shortcomings in other directions and one group of teachers was determined to do something about the situation. In May 1898, Batey, the Superintendent of the Pupil Teachers Central Day Classes, and three highly respected Head Teachers, Morris, Champley and Wright, who were also instructors at the Pupil Teacher Centre, formed a deputation to the School Management Committee urging that representation be made to the Chief Inspector of Schools:

"That all Pupil Teachers from Board and Voluntary Schools should be examined at the same time and by the same set of question papers, as the results were intended to be competitive and comparative and the framing of two separate sets of papers failed to give this fairly".

The deputation also requested that not only should:

"the examiners be requested to consult together and fix a unified standard of marking"

but

"that the worked papers of Pupil Teachers under the Board be shown to the Instructors of the Pupil Teachers' Centre classes".

The essence of the deputation was that:

"The results of Pupil Teachers in their respective years of apprenticeship at present vary very considerably and greatly discouraged the Pupil Teachers".₁

Whilst this may be seen to be commendable altruism, there remained the underlying resentment against weak Pupil Teachers from Voluntary Schools who were not only able to pass through the system but to have distinct advantages over School Board Pupil Teachers when applying for entry to Training Colleges. Contemporary accounts cite many instances of weak candidates who, having been unsuccessful in gaining pupilage in Board Schools, were offered places in Voluntary Schools, where standards were much lower, where examination standards were less rigorous, and when such candidates made application for a place at a Training College they frequently gained admission at the expense of well-qualified Board School Pupil Teachers.

The deputation did not go unheeded. Although no immediate action was taken, a report on Pupil Teachers' Centre classes made by the Inspectorate in 1901 observed:

"It is regretted that uniformity of practice does not exist between the School Board and some Voluntary Schools in the matter of receiving candidates. Thus it is possible that a candidate rejected by the Board may be accepted by a Voluntary School, and though unable to pass the examination of the Board of Education, may actually be placed at this Centre, in a class doing more advanced work than the class into which this candidate failed to obtain admission... In addition to this, candidates from Voluntary Schools who would be unable to pass the (Sheffield School) Board's examination, or were rejected on actual examination, may be working in the same class with candidates who have passed it".¹

The matter was now raised by the Inspectorate and an agreement made to remedy the situation. Although this was only a local agreement, possibly made to appease the Sheffield School Board and its staff, other Boards too must have found the same problem. Faced with the problem nationally, the Education Department took an easy way out by merely abolishing the Annual Pupil Teacher examinations - a decision which Sheffield School Board viewed as being:

"Detrimental to the best interest of pupil teachers and to the elementary education of the country in the future".²

It is difficult to understand either the inability or the lack of willingness on the part of the Inspectorate or the Board of Education to take strong action. But avoidance of confrontation

in matters relating to the delicate relationship between the Board School System and the Voluntary bodies appears to have been the cornerstone of official policy.

After sixteen years of state elementary education, many criticisms were levelled at the quality of the teaching staff and the arrangements for teacher-training. Between 1886 and 1888, the Cross Commission had examined the problem. On the subject of pupil teachers, the Majority report of the Committee considered it to be the only sustained source from which a supply of teachers could be maintained and although in its recommendations it proposed that the system should be modified, it still supported its retention. The Minority report took a different view. It concluded that the pupil teacher system was one of the weakest parts of the educational provision and radical changes were needed if the system was to continue.¹

Questions were raised as to the value and future of the pupil teacher system and the issue became a matter of some considerable debate. School Boards were critical of the standard of entry to the teaching profession and sought improvements in the quality not only of trained teachers but also in pupil teachers. Meanwhile, educational administrators and teachers brought pressure to bear on the Committee of the Council until finally in 1896 a Departmental Committee was set up "to inquire into the workings of the Pupil Teacher System".²

The Departmental Committee encountered similar difficulties to those which beset the Cross Commission in the previous decade. While it was agreed that the system left much to be desired, some form of pupilage was still considered to be necessary and useful. The Committee was particularly concerned about the effects of pupilage on the schools, there being:

"a conviction that too frequent practice of committing the whole of the training and teaching of classes to immature and uneducated young persons is economically wasteful and educationally unsatisfactory, and even dangerous, to the teachers and taught in equal measure".³

Even after its deliberations, the Departmental Committee was unable to see how, if the system was completely abolished, the supply of teachers and the supply of suitable candidates for places at training colleges could be maintained. Nevertheless, a number of innovations were advocated and implemented in an attempt to improve the system. The final view of the Committee was that there should be an:

"... ultimate conversion of those centres which are well staffed and properly equipped into real secondary schools, where although perhaps intending teachers may be in the majority, they will have ample time for their studies, and will be instructed side by side with pupils who have careers in view".¹

While in retrospect criticism may be made of the failure of both the Cross Commission and the Departmental Committee to put forward solutions - the problem is brought into better perspective if cognisance is taken of the fact that at the turn of the century, of the 139,818 teachers in the schools, 30,783 were pupil teachers.

During this time, Sheffield School Board was preoccupied with a more urgent pupil teacher issue: the provision of permanent buildings. In October 1898 the minutes of the Board recorded that building work had begun in Holly Street on a new Pupil Teacher Centre, while in December, the Clerk to the Board was authorised to advertise for a "Principal of the College" at a salary of £300 per year rising to £400. By February 1899 it was reported that Arthur John Arnold, BA, Principal of the Tottenham Pupil Teacher Centre, had been offered the post and had accepted.

"... One well remembers the sensation he made when he came to the Centre in a silk hat and frock coat and his London accent quite took our breath away, but we soon learned to respect his merits..."²

Joseph Batey, erstwhile Superintendent of the Centre since 1895, moved elsewhere.

In a typescript checklist of Sheffield School Board establishments, the provision of the Pupil Teacher Centre is described as follows:

"This building, opened on 9th October, 1899 forms part of the complex of buildings formed by Leopold Street, Orchard Lane, Holly Street and West Street. It faces Holly Street. The accommodation consisted of 3 classrooms at the rear of the building on three floors with ancillary rooms - library, staff and other purposes facing Holly Street".³

On the eve of the Boer War, 9th October 1899, a group of distinguished educationalists, politicians and local worthies gathered to mark the official opening of the Pupil Teacher Centre. The "Sheffield Telegraph" reported that:

"The interior of the building was completely furnished for yesterday's ceremony and the comfortable appearance of the class-room with the rare collection of proof engravings from Professor Ruskin's works must have made a favourable impression on all who had the opportunity to take part in the proceedings".

While the "Sheffield and Rotherham Independent" observed that:

"The specific purpose of this latest addition to Sheffield's many educational institutions is to afford centralised accommodation for the training of the pupil teachers of the city. While essentially a School Board institution, the advantages of the new centre will be shared by the whole of the 537 pupil teachers in Sheffield. Of these, as many as 180 are attached to denominational or voluntary schools and these will be admitted on practically the same terms as Pupil Teachers articulated under the School Board itself".

But the speech made by W B Esam, the Chairman of the School Board Buildings Committee was almost an apologia and seemed to be tinged with uneasiness. Esam was a leading solicitor in the City and had been described in the "Sheffield Independent" as having:

"The power of inspiring a thoughtful confidence - he is so fair and judicious, and thinks of everything so quietly... everywhere he sets a fine example of quiet judgment and complete freedom from 'censure rash'." ₁

Consequently, a feeling of some self-searching is detectable as he observed:

"It might be that some regretted not obtaining a new site with more room; but the attendance would not always be so numerous and he hoped that for many years to come the building would be found sufficiently large to answer the very useful purpose for which it has been erected". ₂

The speech made by the Chairman of the School Board too bordered on justification of past decisions. Folliot G Sandford was Vicar of Sharrow and of him John Derry wrote:

"For sheer concentrated hammer and tongs, on the spot ability, the most masterly practical man in the Church here or anywhere near, and it may be questioned whether outside the Church, there is anyone in public life who surpasses him in alertness, energy and perfect direction of intellectual forces. He never lapses into dreaminess... What a tremendous Bishop he would make, if they wanted skilfully regulated energy, business grip and rapid and sure brain power in a Bishop. There is not an

ounce of flabbiness in him. Yet he is not hard, and, indeed such of his associates on the School Board as have human feelings regard him with affection".¹

Gradually, the undercurrents of that auspicious occasion are revealed. Derry, editor of the "Sheffield and Rotherham Independent" was a Liberal deeply interested and involved in the educational life of the City and a severe critic of the School Board system. Sandford therefore was singularly defensive when he justified the new premises. On the previous accommodation (the Old Free Writing School) he observed:

"the building used was too small and incapable of being adapted to modern requirements, it was also included in the condemned area by the City Council. Another place rented by the Board to supplement the work made adequate supervision impossible and the number of persons engaged in the work of teaching prevented continuity.

It is the unanimous desire of the members of the Board that all Pupil Teachers engaged in the elementary schools in the City and not only those engaged in Board Schools should share the advantages of the new centre. It is not possible for us to admit them on precisely the same terms as those under our more immediate care but no unnecessary regulation will hinder all from sharing in all that the Centre can offer".²

The two principal guests were the Duke of Devonshire - the Lord President of the Council in a Unionist government which had come to power in 1895 - and the Archbishop of York. The government had been in office for some four years and the involvement in educational problems was increasing. But the immediate problem of the day lay not in home affairs but in the Transvaal. The accounts of the day's proceedings in the local press set great store by the fact that the Duke had not chosen to cancel his engagement but noted that he had to shorten the formal luncheon following the opening of the Pupil Teacher Centre because of "the gravity of the situation in South Africa".

At national level, the Departmental Committee had, in the previous year, made recommendations for pupil teachers and while these were intended to improve the situation, the dilemma of reliance on the system continued. Nevertheless, it is difficult to understand why, after at least ten years' experience of the centre system, there

were still reservations, particularly in official quarters, questioning such seemingly petty points as the relationships between the pupil teacher, the centre and the head teacher. The Duke of Devonshire opened:

"Well Ladies and Gentlemen, I say we scarcely get all the definite guidance we might hope and expect from our educational authorities. The only inference I can draw is that while this system is one which we are bound to maintain it is one which still requires careful watching on the part of the central and local education authorities...

... it has been pointed out that there are certain special dangers which attach to the centre system".

Commenting on the 1898 Departmental Committee:

"... the Departmental Committee, to which I have referred, which only reported last year, was composed entirely of educational experts. They, after taking a good deal of evidence, could not bring themselves to say more than that they were agreed in thinking that for the present the pupil teacher system is established so firmly in the economy of national education, that it would be impossible, even if it were admittedly desirable, to sweep it away, or to make any violent and revolutionary changes. They went on in another paragraph to say, 'We do not think that the pupil teacher system deserves all the adverse criticism directed against it. It has some merits, as well as many defects, but its deficiencies are so serious that we hope to see early measures taken by the Legislature and by the administrative action of the Education Department towards its ultimately complete reformation.'"

(The legislation to set up the Board of Education was but three months old at the time.)

"But it has been pointed out that there are certain special dangers which attach to the centre system. Some of them have been pointed out in the report of the Committee of the National Society which was published in January of the present year".

(The National Society was critical of the centre system because the Anglican Schools were at a considerable disadvantage.)

"These dangers and risks may briefly be referred to as the fear that the pupil teachers may feel themselves to be the servants of two masters: that in some cases such centres may generate into something in the nature of cramming institutions, imparting learning but not real instruction. There may be a risk that pupil teachers will attach more importance to their work at the centre than to that in their own school. There may be a risk that the personal relations which ought to exist between the head teacher and the pupil teacher may be impaired. These are

possible risks, which can only be guarded against by the utmost care on the part both of the managers of the school and of those who are entrusted with the management of a great centre such as this. The Education Department is fully alive to the risks which must attend any such system, and it has done its best by some recent changes and alterations in the code, by raising the age of admission of pupil teachers, by making provision for better supervision of their work, and by increasing the facilities for their instruction, to guard against such dangers as have been pointed out; but in my opinion, in the system which is carried on under such varied conditions as I have endeavoured to describe, it is impossible that full provision should be made by the terms of any code for its satisfactory working, and a great deal must be left to the advice and guidance which the managers of schools and the managers of these institutions will best obtain from the ripe experience of the inspectors who are so well qualified to supply it. Therefore, while the Education Department will not lose sight of this question and of all the difficulties which surround it, I do not think we shall do best by making our regulations as elastic as possible, and by not attempting to make our regulations rigidly conform to one standard under circumstances which must necessarily vary in different localities".¹

Devonshire disavowed any pretence to be an expert in educational matters and therefore his address was no doubt "ghosted" by the Education Department - probably the Permanent Secretary himself, Sir George Kekewich. On the very threshold of great changes which were subsequently to take place, the Lord President's speech was singularly unimaginative. It was full of anachronisms and harked back to old scores. Why such topics were included is somewhat puzzling. The subsequent newspaper commentaries almost imply incredulity that the administration should seem to be so out of touch with the grassroots. This was particularly so with regard to the situation in Sheffield, but Devonshire could not let the comments made by Sandford and Esam on financial provision go unchallenged and went on to say:

"Ladies and gentlemen, I think the chairman said something about the large expenditure which the establishment of this centre had involved on the ratepayers of Sheffield. I think I may be very grateful to him and to Mr Esam for not having taken this opportunity of making an appeal to me as the head of the Education Department for increased financial assistance. (Laughter) I know very well that the training of pupil teachers might in many respects be met by more liberal grants from the public funds and I am very grateful as I said, that this opportunity has not been taken for impressing the fact upon me. I am bound to say that I do not think the present is

a particularly favourable time to make demands upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to which he will probably give a somewhat cold reception, and I have myself hesitated at pressing upon the Treasury demands for further expenditure on education, which expenditure is already certainly enormous if not excessive".¹

Three subjects which were topical and related were raised:

Education, Finance and the Religious difficulty, and on this last and most vexatious issue, Devonshire commented:

"The religious difficulty, which is in some ways closely connected with the financial, for in our case it is very difficult indeed to give additional assistance to schools without rousing the susceptibilities of one or other of the parties into which we are educationally divided... (there are) those who are in favour of undenominational teaching; but I believe that this difficulty is certainly one which is not increasing in intensity. It has been stated, and I think it has been very truly said, that the religious difficulty is mainly a political difficulty, and that it does not exist in the schools themselves. It may be added that it certainly does not exist in some of the school boards. One of the most satisfactory features of what I have seen and heard today, is the spirit in which this School Board has come forward to offer to the schools of all the denominations all the advantages of this centre, and of the other training agencies which it provides for the teachers of its own schools, and an equally satisfactory feature is the manner in which this liberality has been responded to and accepted by the managers of the Voluntary schools. I cannot but think that if the same spirit were to prevail in more of the school boards of the country, and if the same spirit were to come to prevail as evidently prevails here - a spirit of conciliation and mutual toleration - the religious difficulty and the financial difficulties which it involves would very speedily disappear".²

The Archbishop of York too observed that:

"There had been School Boards where religion appeared to have been studiously excluded from the programme or only introduced in such a way as to disparage and discredit the subject itself".²

But the "Sheffield and Rotherham Independent", unlike the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph", had little intention of ignoring what the Archbishop said. An article entitled "Popular Education in Sheffield" which appeared in the issue of the 10th October 1899, read:

"The Archbishop of York made a speech which positively bristled in a mild way with contentious points. He still clung to the

old bogey of the Godless School Board though he handsomely exempted Sheffield. We do not believe that religious education under the Sheffield School Board is better or worse than religious education under a vast majority of the great Boards of England... it is at least as efficient as it is in the denominational schools. The only difference between Sheffield and some other cities is that we have rather more candour... the Archbishop expressed a hope that the elementary school system would presently be cut down more nearly to the teaching of the rudiments of learning. We hold the contrary hope".

It was not surprising that these somewhat caustic comments came from the "Sheffield and Rotherham Independent": the ownership was strongly Liberal and John Derry, its editor, did little to cover his outspoken views. His support for School Boards was limited to a view that they had made it possible to successfully challenge the denominational and voluntary school system. Otherwise, he was a strong supporter of radical educational reform and was destined to make a considerable contribution to the work of the newly established Sheffield Education Committee and towards the implementation of the 1902 Education Act even though the final form of the Act fell short of the hopes of many Liberals. On this day, he could scarcely allow the President of Council in a Unionist Government and the Archbishop of York to have it all their own way. Hence the somewhat tart observation in his column "Near and Far":

"The Archbishop of York did not seem to us to have quite the breadth of survey one would have expected from a leader of men in his position when proposing the Sheffield School Board".

Nevertheless, the "Independent" produced an interesting summary of the day's proceedings and expressed something of the aims of the new Centre:

"The occasion was more important than might appear on the surface... The School Board is making permanent provision for the teaching of nearly 600 young people who... will be the teachers of the great mass of future generations of Sheffielders... The feature of the speech making yesterday was not the rather academic discussion of the pupil teacher system... but the laudation of the friendly and workable spirit of the Sheffield School Board and other Sheffield educational institutions. Here it was pointed out, we have practically no religious difficulty, none of the angry feelings which seem to be inseparable in some towns from a discussion of the educational question. We venture to give the reason. It is because both sides of the Board have for the most part cordially accepted

an educational ideal. Let any body of men once believe sincerely in education and nine tenths of the difficulties in the way of its public administration will vanish. There was more said yesterday by the two most distinguished speakers... calculated to start warm discussion than would be said in three months at the meetings of the School Board, where all the members who have any influence are practically of one mind. For example, the Duke of Devonshire himself expressed a doubt whether the country is not spending rather too much on education. The expenditure he said was 'enormous if not excessive'. A doubt coming from such a source is positively staggering... The feature of Sheffield popular education which strikes the outside observer... is the unity and good feeling displayed in its public administrative department: and the basis of that good feeling is a devotion to an educational ideal which excludes smaller considerations, an ideal that is evidently not quite realised by some of the most distinguished of the speakers who were good enough to honour the City with their presence yesterday".

Meanwhile, the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph" too gave full coverage of the day's proceedings and was a good deal more supportive, but John Derry could not resist a further tilt over the religious difficulty:

"While disavowing any idea of posing as an expert, he (the Duke of Devonshire) put before his audience opinions which were eminently in sympathy with the views of our truest educationalists. Even when he touched on delicate ground - more particularly when he said that the religious difficulty was chiefly a political difficulty - he had his hearers with him: time was, and that not so long ago, when such an utterance, although given by the Lord President of the Council, would have been received with noisy dissent. Yesterday there was nobody to differ from it, and although possibly we could have indicated several who "liked the religious difficulty" none the less on that account, the equanimity with which the opinion was received was eloquent of the happy change wrought in our educational administration by the wiser and more generous views which have led up to the present development".¹

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CHAPTER V

TOWARDS THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE CENTRE

At the close of the nineteenth century, the English educational system left much to be desired and it needed strong and swift action to reform it. Robert Morant described its administration as:

"... unplanned, illogical, muddled confusion without clear responsibilities, duties or powers".¹

In the elementary school system, one teacher in every four was a pupil teacher and although many of the pupil teachers were by this time only engaged in "half-time" teaching, the contribution which they made to the teaching force was considerable. Additionally, there were some "probationers" - young people who were under the age of sixteen and who were employed in schools in order to gain experience but who were not necessarily committed to teaching. These too, though a minority, represented yet another element of the untidy system.

When the Board of Education succeeded to the Committee of the Council on Education's responsibilities in April 1900, the minimum age for acceptance as a pupil-teacher was fourteen. From July 1900 it was to become fifteen and to qualify for acceptance the candidate had to be approved by H M Inspectorate, pass a Board of Education examination in Reading and Recitation, English, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra. For boy entrants, a knowledge of Euclid was required, while for girls, skills at Needlework were examined. Additionally, both for boys and girls, a test in practical teaching was set. Finally, prospective candidates were required to pass a medical examination.

There appeared to be two distinct policies operating. Some authorities employed their pupil teachers in the classroom for no longer than the minimum of three hours per day and looked on the arrangement as being the principal means of ensuring a longer-term source of recruitment for elementary school teachers; other authorities (and these seem to have been predominantly the

impoverished Church Schools and schools in rural areas) expected and ensured that much longer periods were spent in the classroom.

The decision by the Board of Education to institute an examination to monitor the level of admission into pupil teaching was welcomed by many. It was yet another step towards an improvement of the system; and improvement of it appeared to be the only way in the face of an unwillingness to scrap the system.

Meanwhile, the early euphoria expressed at the opening of the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre quickly began to fade. The Pupil Teacher Centre buildings in Holly Street left much to be desired. An early student writing in the Centre's magazine, "The Holly Leaf", observed in later years that:

"The enthusiasm for the new building... is hard to understand if one knows the place, unless one also knows the makeshifts which had preceded it, for by modern standards it was ill-designed. It had originally no provision for science classes, it had no hall, no free space for staff or student, narrow steep stairs, and but one entrance. Its alleged ventilation system necessitated the intermittent puffing of damp heat from vents in the walls, by a clanking engine in the basement. But, strangely, its inmates grew to love it. The fact was that here was a home for the scattered and neglected, and a place where instruction became education".¹

At the turn of the century, the Board of Education began to bring considerable pressure on the education service, but even before such pressure became overt, the Inspectorate had become increasingly directly involved. The Sheffield School Board was quick to take steps to ensure conformity with the Inspectorate's wishes in order to effect improvement in the performance of its pupil teachers. The Minutes of the Sheffield School Board of the 8th February 1900 carried the regulations for Instruction in the Art of Teaching:

"Criticism Lessons for Pupil Teachers... the Regulations for the Management of Schools be amended so as to read as follows:-

Head Teachers to be responsible for the careful oversight of the School work of their Candidates and Pupil Teachers and for their instruction in the best methods of Teaching and School Management.

Criticism Lessons and instruction in the Art of Teaching to be given as specified hereunder:-

Pupil Teachers who are in the last two years of their apprenticeship to prepare notes of a lesson and teach a Class in the presence of the Head Teacher once a week; other Pupil Teachers and Candidates once a fortnight.

The Notes of Lessons and the Head Teacher's Criticisms of the Lessons to be kept in the School for examination by the Board's Inspector of Schools, who will generally arrange to hear, once each quarter, one of the lessons or exercises already given in the School.

Instruction in the Art of Teaching.

Syllabus for Pupil Teachers in Upper and Junior Mixed Schools.

First Year Pupil Teachers -

To set copies on Black Board. To give out and correct Dictation. To correct exercises, sums, copies. To hear Criticism and Pattern Lessons, and to write an account of a lesson given by a Certificated Teacher. To question a class on an object or story so as to obtain answers in whole sentences. To teach Arithmetic (including Mental Arithmetic) to Standard I. To be able to dismiss a class.

Second Year Pupil Teachers -

As above, and the following in addition:-

To question a class on the above-mentioned work. To prepare and give Object Lessons. To hear Criticism Lessons and to reproduce a lesson given by a Certificated Teacher. To teach Arithmetic (including Mental Arithmetic) to Standards II and III. To take one class in Drill (eight exercises at least).

Third Year Pupil Teachers -

As above, and the following in addition:-

To draw up and write notes of lessons (short and full). To teach a class in any one of the subjects - Arithmetic of Standards IV. and V. (including Mental Arithmetic), Geography and History. To teach two kinds of Drill (at least eight exercises).

Fourth Year Pupil Teachers -

To draw up and write Notes of Lessons for each class or Standard in the School and for each subject taught to such classes or standards. To be able to conduct the Physical Exercises of any class in the School.

Syllabus for Pupil Teachers in Infants' Schools.

First Year Pupil Teachers -

To teach Reading, Number to 6, Drawing (Free or Kindergarten) to the Babies' Class. To be able to get ready the apparatus and specimens needed for Occupations, Games and Object Lessons. To hear Criticism and Pattern Lessons, and to write an account of a lesson given by a Certificated Teacher.

Second Year Pupil Teachers -

To teach Reading, Number to 10, Writing and Drawing to Lower Division of Infants. To assist with Games and Occupations. To hear Criticism and Pattern Lessons, and to reproduce a lesson given by a Certificated Teacher.

Third Year Pupil Teachers -

As in Second Year, but to Upper Division of Infants. Form and Colour Lessons. Two occupations. Notes of Lessons. To dismiss a Class. To hear and give Criticism Lessons.

Fourth Year Pupil Teachers -

To teach all Elementary subjects. Form and Colour Lessons. A song. Recitation. Object Lessons. Drill and Occupations of one class. To hear and give Criticism Lessons.

Candidates and Pupil Teachers, in all Schools, should have practice in sketching on the blackboard throughout their engagement.

As a general rule a Pupil Teacher should not be kept for more than one year with any one class or Standard".

The complexities, vagaries and ambiguities of the grant system relating to higher education had been singularly valuable. It enabled much useful educational development to take place. Unfortunately, the "Cockerton Judgment" brought an end to the situation. Even before the judgment was pronounced it appears that various items of grant payable were being subjected to closer scrutiny.

During the Autumn of 1900, the Sheffield School Board had been informed that the rate of grant payable in respect of instruction of Pupil Teachers in Science and Art Classes had been reduced. The matter was raised at the Sheffield School Board meeting of the 20th December 1900 and it was proposed that the following letter be forwarded to the Board of Education at South Kensington:

"I am desired by the Board to respectfully beg that they may be favoured with an explanation as to the ground upon which the lower award for instruction in Art Subjects has been made.

I am to point out that:-

(1) An Art Room has been built and fitted for the work, and a considerable amount spent on examples, apparatus, and special furniture.

(2) Those of last session's teachers who had only the lower qualification have been replaced by others holding at least the Art Class Teacher's Certificate; or in Geometrical Drawing, the qualification to teach all stages of Science Subject i.

(3) The lessons were mainly of 1½ hours' duration instead of 1 hour, as last session. The amount of Art instruction given was much greater this session than last.

(4) The successes in the examinations, considering the altered standard of difficulty, would, it is believed, bear favourable comparison with those of last session.

It is thought that the class having been detached from the Central School, may have been treated as a new class, although new only in name and number".

The plea did not go unheeded. In January 1901, the Clerk to the Sheffield School Board reported that:

"In reference to a request for reconsideration of grants awarded for Art instruction at the Pupil Teachers' Centre that the following rates of grant have now been allowed - Group 1, 2½d., Group 2, 3d. (being an advance of ½d. per attendance per group)".₁

The decision of the Board of Education to abolish the annual pupil teacher examinations met with considerable disapproval from many School Boards, and in July 1901 the Worcester School Board sent a resolution to Sheffield School Board seeking its support:

"Annual Examinations of Pupil Teachers.

That the following Resolution, which has been adopted by the Worcester School Board, be forwarded to the Secretary of the Board of Education, viz.:-

That in the opinion of this School Board the clause in the new Code whereby Annual Examinations of Pupil Teachers after the beginning of next year are abolished, is detrimental to the best interests of Pupil Teachers and to the elementary education of the country in the future."₂

a resolution which Sheffield agreed to support.

While relations with H M Inspectorate appear to have been both cordial and co-operative, the Inspector for Northern Division was one, William Peveril Turnbull, of whom John Derry wrote:

"Turnbull (is) Chief Inspector of Schools for the North of England (and) resides in Sheffield. He was a distinguished mathematician in his young days and has gone on with his studies ever since with the result that he has theories about every process from simple addition upwards. He is a fiddler, a chess player, a mountaineer and a writer of official reports which measure out praise by a grain at a time".₃

However, by 1902 the Sheffield School Board was becoming somewhat irritated by H M Inspector Turnbull. Having undertaken an inspection of the Pupil Teacher Centre in 1901, adverse comments had been made by him to the Board of Education. It appeared that

matters were still unsatisfactory for when he inspected the following year his findings were again communicated to the Board of Education. The report was subsequently passed to the Sheffield School Board and the minutes record the text of the report:

"In premises which are not too large for the great numbers concerned, the order is good. The Centre is conducted with earnestness and ability and hard work is done. But some difficulty arises from the presence of Board and Denominational candidates at the same establishment. It is to be hoped that the organization will become such that evening attendances of Pupil Teachers will be disallowed. The School Board is advised to provide help in respect of clerical work and thus enable the Principal to attend more easily to the educational supervision of the Centre".¹

The Committee of Sheffield School Board were not prepared to accept the report and at the meeting of the 2nd February 1902 they directed that the following letter be sent to the Secretary of the Board of Education:

"(Pupil Teachers' Central Classes)
Adverting to your letter of the 30th ultimo, transmitting copy of a Report by H M Inspector, Mr Turnbull, upon the above-named classes, I am directed to request that the School Board may be furnished with some explanation as to the remark that 'some difficulty arises from the presence of Board and Denominational candidates at the same establishment' as they are not aware of the existence of any difficulty in the working of the Institution."²

To which the Board of Education replied on the 15th March 1902:

"Adverting to your letter dated the 20th ultimo, I am directed by the Board of Education to refer you to the Report (Form 32, P.T.C.) on this Centre sent to you on the 26th February, 1901. The Board of Education understand from H M Inspector that the difficulty alluded to in the Report of 1902 is the same as that of 1901.

H M Inspector adds however:-

'I am willing to withdraw the remarks from both Reports as I do not feel able to say that I fully understood the matter when I made the remarks.'³

The relationship between H M Inspector and the Pupil Teacher Centre does not appear to have become strained, except that H M I Turnbull probably proceeded a little more cautiously for on the 14th December 1903, it was recorded that:

"A report (had been) made to the Board of Education by H. M. Inspector, Mr Turnbull, upon the Central Classes for Pupil Teachers.

The Centre is conducted with energy and marked ability. It is rendering valuable service to education.

As candidates for apprenticeship have less than a full year at the Centre to prepare for examination for admission, it is suggested that their courses of history and geography should be very simple."

"(Note. - The Principal of the Pupil Teachers' Centre quite agrees with the remarks of H M Inspector, and will modify his syllabus accordingly.)" ₁

By 1903, the Higher Education Sub Committee of the newly established Sheffield Education Committee was taking stock of the situation. The number of qualified and certificated teachers had been growing but there were still many unqualified assistants as well as pupil teachers. As a basis for considering what facilities might be offered to induce uncertificated assistants to qualify, the Minutes of the Meeting of the 13th July 1903 estimated that:

"... in Council and Voluntary Schools within the City there are about 277 teachers under Articles 50 or 51 who might avail themselves of this opportunity of gaining the advantage of higher status. The figures given do not include about 24 teachers who may be expected to enter Training Colleges for the usual course, nor do they include about 75 who may be unwilling, from various causes, to enter such classes. There are also 111 Teachers under Article 68 serving in Voluntary Schools, a certain number of whom might be induced to apply themselves to systematic study, with similar aims." ₂

In response, arrangements were made at the Centre to offer evening and Saturday morning classes in order to encourage the untrained teachers to qualify. Meanwhile, following the issue of regulations from the Board of Education, local arrangements had to be agreed. It was reported that:

"As to the Staff to be employed, alternative plans are proposed for consideration. The first plan is to strengthen the permanent staff of the Pupil Teachers' Centre, so as to cover the work of the increased number of classes, but in view of the Revised Regulations just issued by the Board of Education, under which the Classes for Probationers might be removed from the Pupil Teachers' Centre and the work there restricted to the instruction of Pupil Teachers above 16 years of age, it may eventually be found practicable to so re-arrange the duties of the present staff as to cope with the greater portion of the

new work now contemplated. It seems desirable that the tentative plan should be adopted, and the alternative suggested is to engage for the new work qualified teachers from amongst those connected with Primary or Secondary Schools, special regard being had to their fitness for dealing with this class of work. The regular staff already deals with the work of the present Evening and Saturday Morning Classes for Pupil Teachers, in addition to the classes which are held during the ordinary school hours".¹

Having seemingly successfully overcome the "religious difficulty" with regard to the Anglican and other Voluntary Schools, the Sheffield Education Committee now encountered another problem - a rival Voluntary Pupil Teachers' Centre. On the 9th November 1903, the Sheffield Education Committee received the following communication:

"St Marie's Rectory, Norfolk Row, Sheffield, 9th November, 1903.

Dear Sir,

We, the undermentioned Managers of the Cavendish Street R.C. Pupil Teachers' Centre, respectfully ask you to give this P.T. Centre assistance from the rates. We would point out to you:-

1. That this P.T. Centre has been in existence for well nigh 30 years.
2. That it is now acknowledged by the Board of Education as a P.T. Centre under the Education Act of 1902.
3. That the Education Committee of Sheffield City Council accept the pupils of this School as properly qualified Pupil Teachers.
4. That the Catholic Body have ever considered the training of Catholic Teachers in a Catholic School quite as necessary as the teaching of Catholic children in a Catholic Elementary School, and in the past have made many sacrifices to maintain the Centre.
5. That the Leeds and Middlesbrough R.C. Diocesan Association for the distribution of Aid Grant, allowed £4 per Pupil Teacher to the Cavendish Street R.C. Centre.
6. That this Aid Grant is now paid over, not to the Leeds and Middlesbrough Diocesan Association, but to the Sheffield City Council.
7. That the loss of this Grant is a very heavy burden on the School.

Inasmuch as the Board of Education are pressing us to make a return of the estimated income and expenditure, we trust that you will give us your attention. The Managers are quite ready to re-organize the management, and are willing to consider any suggestions your Committee may think it necessary to make.

We beg to remain,

Yours truly,

Bernasconi E. J. Callebert"

The Pupil Teacher Section of the Higher Education Sub-Committee were not slow to reach a decision:

"After considering this communication the Section see no objection to the handing over to the Managers of whatever Government Grant is earned exclusively for the instruction of female Pupil Teachers who attend the Roman Catholic Centre, but they cannot recommend the payment of a subsidy out of the rates for the training of Teachers in any denominational Institution, seeing that the Pupil Teachers' Centre provided by the Local Education Authority is open alike to Teachers in Council and Non-Provided Schools." 1

But the matter was not to be resolved quite so easily. The issue was a sensitive one and it was raised in the Higher Education Sub-Committee of the following month, to become the subject of a detailed minute of the full Education Committee on the 21st December 1903:

"With regard to the application of the Managers of the Cavendish Street Roman Catholic Pupil Teachers' Centre for assistance out of the rates, the facts appear to be as follows:-

Up to the passing of the Education Act, 1902, there were two statutes - both of which were repealed by the Act of 1902 - known as the Voluntary Schools Act, 1897, and the Necessitous School Boards Act. The latter related of course solely to Board Schools. Under the former, a grant, averaging five shillings per scholar, was given to all Voluntary Schools "for the purpose of helping necessitous Schools, and increasing their efficiency". Up to the passing of the Education Act, 1902, there was no Aid Grant whatever to Pupil Teachers' Centres other than the £2 per head which was granted under the Code of Regulations of the Board of Education, but the Roman Catholic Pupil Teachers' Centre conducted at the Convent of Notre Dame, the subject of the Very Rev. Dean Dolan's letter, did receive assistance out of the Grant under the Voluntary Schools Act in the following way. One of the objects which was considered to come under "increasing the efficiency of the Schools" was the better training of Pupil Teachers, and accordingly the Leeds and Middlesbrough Roman Catholic Diocesan Association received the Aid Grant in full and distributed it as they thought fit, and part of it was given by the Association to the Convent of Notre Dame in respect of their Pupil Teachers' Centre there. This is the only way in which any Aid Grant came to the Roman Catholic Pupil Teachers outside the ordinary grants paid for the instruction of Pupil Teachers, which will still continue, in increased amount, by virtue of the new regulations of the Board of Education, which must come into operation not later than August, 1905. The Voluntary Schools Act, 1897, having been repealed, as already indicated, the Aid Grant to the Schools, out of which assistance was given, no doubt, to the Roman Catholic Pupil Teachers' Centre, disappears.

On the other hand, however, the Education Authority of Sheffield, under the Education Act, 1902, has to bear the entire cost of the education in the Roman Catholic Schools, which of course is an excellent substitute for the previous Education Grants in respect of primary education and the Aid Grant under the Voluntary Schools Act, 1897. It will thus be seen that there is only an indirect connection between the Roman Catholic Pupil Teachers' Centre and the Aid Grant to Voluntary Schools.

The question, therefore, for the consideration of the Committee is whether, under the circumstances above set out, and notwithstanding their liabilities in respect of the whole of the education in Roman Catholic Schools, they should recommend a grant to be made out of the rates in respect of the Pupil Teachers' Centre for the training of Female Pupil Teachers carried on at the Convent of Notre Dame. At the present time, all Male Roman Catholic Pupil Teachers receive their training at the Education Committee's Pupil Teachers' Centre... the simple question is whether the Education Committee can be justly called upon not only to maintain its own Centre with its vacant places, but also a Special Centre for Roman Catholic girls only at the Convent of Notre Dame, and the Committee can only come to the conclusion that no case has been made out for special aid from the rates under the circumstances set out in this Report. They are, therefore, of opinion that the request contained in the letter of the Very Rev. Dean Dolan cannot be acceded to.

At the same time, they desire to point out that the admirable facilities of their own Pupil Teachers' Centre are available for the instruction of Roman Catholic Female Pupil Teachers, just as, at the present time, those privileges are being taken advantage of by the Male Roman Catholic Pupil Teachers".¹

It seems that the Catholic Education group had not been prepared to accept the situation and there were in all probability, communications between them and the Board of Education. At the meeting of the Higher Education Sub-Committee of 11th July 1904 the following letter from the Board of Education was considered:

"Board of Education, Whitehall, London, S.W., 6th July 1904.
College of Pupil Teachers, Notre Dame, Sheffield.

R. 04/8436

Sir,

I am directed to state that the Board of Education have received the enclosed application for the recognition of the above Pupil Teacher Centre under Article 11 of the Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers.

I shall be much obliged if you will, as soon as possible, furnish the Board with an answer to the following questions:-

Questions.

1. Would the Local Education Authority be prepared to agree that Pupil Teachers instructed in this Centre and employed in Schools maintained by them, should be engaged under Articles 2 to 10 of the Pupil Teacher Regulations, instead of under Articles 23 to 42 of the Provisional Code for 1903?

2. Would the proposed arrangements for attendance at the Centre be convenient in view of the duties of the Pupil Teachers in Schools maintained by the Authority?

3. Would the Authority be prepared to give financial assistance to the proposed Centre, either directly or by way of assisting Pupil Teachers employed in Schools maintained by them to pay for instruction at the Centre?

Answers.

1. Yes, for all Pupil Teachers engaged from and after August 1st, 1904.

(Candidates already appointed to Schools will receive half-time instruction at the Pupil Teacher Centre until they are qualified for a two years' engagement as P.Ts. After July, 1906, all Candidates will receive full time instruction in Secondary Schools prior to engagement as P.Ts.).

2. Yes.

3. Female Pupil Teachers under Agreement and employed part time in Schools, will receive as salary £15 in the first year, and £17.10s. in the second year, but the Education Committee is not prepared to subsidise the Centre, there being ample room for all P.Ts. in the Committee's own Centre. Up to July, 1906, however, certain Candidates who are serving half-time in Schools instead of being placed in Secondary Schools will receive remuneration at the rate of £10 per annum after reaching the age of 15.

The Board will be glad to consider any observations which the Local Education Authority desire to make upon other points connected with the proposed Centre.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
John R. Dasent." ₁

The matter finally came to an end when it was reported in the Sub-Committee that:

"Recognition of Roman Catholic Pupil Teacher Centre.
A communication has been received from the Board of Education, South Kensington, dated 18th August, 1905, inviting the Local Education Authority to offer their observations in regard to

the application by the Sheffield Roman Catholic Pupil Teacher Centre for recognition during the ensuing year under Article 11 of the Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, 1905-6."

The Sub-Committee recommended:

"That the Board of Education be informed that the Education Committee see no objection to the proposed recognition of the Sheffield Roman Catholic Pupil Teacher Centre during the ensuing year under Article 11 of the Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, provided that the requirements of H. M. Inspectors are carried out, as stated in a Report of July 11th, 1905." ¹

And at the same meeting, the members were informed that following the HMI's inspection of the Pupil Teachers' Centre for the year ended 31st July 1905 that:

"The School (PTC) is efficient, and the progress made during the session is satisfactory." ²

The legislation which brought into being the unified Board of Education in 1900 paved the way for the preparation of the 1902 Education Act. After several unsuccessful attempts to regularise secondary education by Liberal and then by Unionist governments, A J Balfour succeeded in forcing through Parliament a contentious but comprehensive education bill. The drafting of the bill largely stemmed from the work of Michael Sadler and Robert Morant who were respectively Director and Assistant Director of the Office of Special Inquiries at the Education Department. The task of advising Balfour on educational matters and particularly the intricacies of the clauses of the 1902 Education Act fell to Robert Morant who had been transferred to a senior post in the newly established Board of Education in 1901. Following the enactment of Balfour's Education Bill, Morant succeeded to the office of Permanent Secretaryship of the Board of Education - his predecessor and superior, Sir George Kekewich being placed on early retirement. As Allen ³ points out in his biography of Morant, Kekewich had consistently supported the maintenance of the School Board system and his personal views ran contrary to those of the Government. He had little in sympathy with his senior colleague at the Department of Art and Science whose department was merged with the Board of Education, and, finally personal differences

existed between the Unionist political secretary to the Board of Education, Sir John Gorst - a situation which was resolved by his removal from the Department.

It was under the Secretaryship of Kekewich and as late as 1898, that the Departmental Committee enquiry into the Pupil Teacher system had declared that there was little possibility of ending dependence on it.

The Board of Education with Morant at its head now took a very different view and "Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers and Students in Training Colleges" were issued in 1903 - one of a number of documents which Morant caused to be issued. The document was direct, it was personalised - Morant wrote and signed a prefatory note - and its appearance differed from the usual official documents.

It provided significant regulations which were calculated to change the system:

- From August 1904 the minimum age for admission to pupil teacher appointments would be raised from 15 to 16 - probationers must not be regarded as part of the establishment of a school.
- From 1905 no pupil teacher was to be employed in teaching more than half-time.
- Courses of at least 300 hours would only be allowed in approved pupil teacher centres.
- Pupil teachers would only be allowed to practise in schools approved by H M Inspectorate.

The regulations left no doubt as to what was expected of local education authorities: the delaying of the entry of young aspirants to pupilage to enable them to improve their general secondary education and the continuation of their general education during their period of pupilage.

As the report stressed:

"Pupil Teachers... should receive a sound general education in Secondary Schools for three or four years, with school fellows intended for other careers."¹

Morant indicated that not only did the Board of Education intend, through the Inspectorate, to supervise Pupil Teacher Centres more directly but that the curriculum was also to be scrutinised more closely. The report also indicated that where Pupil Teacher Centres were near to a Secondary School it was expected that the work of a Pupil Teacher Centre would be closely co-ordinated with it.

The Board of Education's new regulations were now reported to the Sheffield Education Committee. Michael Sadler had already prepared a special report on the subject of Secondary Education in Sheffield and in the light of this report and the pupil teacher regulations of 1904, the Committee were advised on the 19th January 1904 that:

"At present, Candidates for Pupil Teachership may be accepted for a three years' engagement, and they have heretofore been recognised as Candidates upon probation for at least one year previously; but on and after the 1st August, 1904, Pupil Teachers will be engaged for two years only, and they must have had suitable preliminary training in a Secondary School, or in some special cases in Special Preparatory Classes, if required by local circumstances, temporary or otherwise.

The Principal of the Central Higher School can arrange to deal satisfactorily with Candidates of 14 years of age who have failed to obtain admission into the Central Higher School in the ordinary course, and who may be qualified to take up a shorter course of instruction, and it is proposed to admit such Candidates without payment of fees, on undertaking to train for Pupil Teachership, but without Bursary or Scholarship, in which case they would not be required to perform any duties in Public Elementary Schools until the time for their admission as Pupil Teachers. Head Teachers of Public Elementary Schools should, however, be urged to specially bear in mind the extreme desirability of presenting all who are eligible at the Entrance Examination for admission to the Central School in accordance with the usual conditions, and the advantages to be gained by the Scholarship and Bursary system should be clearly set forth.

The Managers see no objection to the Preparatory Classes for instruction of Candidates being continued at the Pupil Teachers' Centre until July, 1906, for boys and girls not connected with the Central Higher School who may be appointed not later than

August next, and it should be distinctly understood that any future admission to Preparatory Classes will be mainly confined to those Candidates who have developed at a later age than that at which they should be ordinarily admitted to the Central School, or whose parents may have had sufficient reason for withholding them from the proper course." ¹

Detailed planning to meet the Board's regulations continued and on the 22nd February 1904, the Sheffield Education Committee were informed that:

"During the period which must elapse before the new Regulations for the instruction and training of Pupil Teachers come into full operation, it will be necessary to provide for the instruction of Candidates recently appointed and who may be engaged before August next. It is proposed that, for the present, boys and girls of 14 years of age who have failed to obtain admission to the Central Higher School in the ordinary course, and who undertake to pursue a course of training with a view of becoming Pupil Teachers, shall, if qualified to take a shortened course of training at the Central School, be admitted into that School for full time instruction, without payment of fees, but without any allowance for maintenance.

Other Candidates for Pupil Teachership will receive half-time instruction at the Pupil Teachers' Centre, as heretofore, but the Preparatory Classes held at the Pupil Teachers' Centre will cease to exist after July, 1906, when all Candidates must get their preliminary training at the Central Higher or other Secondary School.

It has been found necessary to re-classify the Candidates recently appointed in consequence of the alterations in the new Regulations, whereby the term of apprenticeship on and after the 1st August, 1904, be for two instead of three years, and dating from August instead of January; and of the Candidates appointed last year it is proposed to apprentice 12 for two years, from August, 1904, to July, 1906; 61 for three years, from January, 1904, to December, 1906, 25 for two years, from August, 1905, to July, 1907; and 49 for two years, from August, 1906, to July, 1908.

It is assumed that Pupil Teachers in the last two years of service will shortly become half-timers, and will thus require increased attention from the staff." ²

By March 1904, the Principal of the Centre had produced:

"A scheme for Instruction of Pupil Teachers from August 1st, 1904.

	Times of Attendance			
	At Centre		At School	
3rd Year Pupil Teachers,	6 or 5	(alternate weeks)	4 or 5	(alternate
2nd " "	6 or 5	" "	4 or 5	"
1st " "	5 or 6	" "	5 or 4	"
Probationers	5 or 6	" "	5 or 4	"

This scheme provides for 9 attendances at School per fortnight, or 196 per annum. This number falls within the maximum limit of the Board of Education's regulations."

The Principal also added a singularly telling footnote:

"The Wednesday afternoon holiday should be appropriated by the Centre, and spent in organised games, excursions, visits to the Art Gallery and Museums, and so on. The staff should be under my control as for an ordinary school meeting. I have the strongest objection to students either studying or lounging away a holiday." ¹

The Pupil Teacher Centre now pursued that section of the Pupil Teacher Regulations (Article 9c) which allowed Centres to conduct their own entrance examinations for admission to pupilage. In a letter from the Board to the Sheffield Centre, agreement was confirmed on condition that:

"(1) A Paper in Elementary Science should be included in the examination of the three highest grades.

(2) A Paper in Geometry should be included in the examinations of the two highest grades.

(3) In the examination in Music alternative papers should be set on the Staff Notation." ²

The Board also went on to stipulate that:

"... as soon as the result of the examination is made known you will forward, for the consideration of the Board of Education, copies of the papers set, together with a Schedule shewing in alphabetical order the full names of all the candidates examined, whether successful or not, with their ages, the percentage of marks which they obtained, and whether they were regarded as having passed or failed...

It will be necessary that successful candidates should be presented to H. M. Inspector for approval before they are actually admitted as Pupil Teachers." ³

While the Board of Education's long-term strategic objective was the abolition of the pupil teacher system, the tactical objective in the Centres was measured in terms of the number of pupil teachers who could successfully gain a King's Scholarship for entry to a training college. At the meeting of the Higher Education Sub-Committee held in May, 1904, the Principal of the Pupil Teacher Centre, Mr A J Arnold, summarised the success gained at the Centre in the examination for King's Scholarships:

"	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	Failure
Whole Country, Men	19.8%	36.5%	31.0%	12.6%
Sheffield P.T.C., Men	42.8%	35.8%	21.4%	0
Whole Country, Women	16.1%	28.9%	33.8%	21.1%
Sheffield P.T.C., Women	29.5%	52.6%	15.8%	2.1%

"

And went on to observe that:

"There are several students qualified by position for entrance to Training Colleges and desirous of admission, who are unable to find places. For those who wish to take the Acting Teachers' Examination in 1906, and thereafter seek admission for one year into a Training College, the Principal suggests that a new class be formed after the Summer holidays, the present three divisions of the Certificate Class being compressed into two. Mr Arnold is anticipating that by the time they would be ready to enter, the new Sheffield Training College will be ready to admit them, and this arrangement would prove convenient for the College and for the Students." 1

The new regulations caused problems in respect of the provision of science teaching. The minutes record that:

"... certain alterations are necessary in order to meet the requirements of the Board of Education, in order to secure the recognition of the Centre under the new regulations. Hitherto the Science work of the Pupil Teachers has been mainly done on Saturday mornings in the Laboratories of the Central Higher School by Mr Bedford and the staff of the Peripatetic Science Department, but it is now required that a regular Science Teacher shall be appointed on the staff of the Centre, who shall be able to give practical instruction throughout the week. A portion of the Chemical Laboratory of the Central Higher School can be temporarily set apart for the purposes of the Pupil Teachers' Centre, and the benches which are proposed to be partitioned off can be so altered as to be available for Practical Physics, as Central Higher School is satisfied that for the present the suggested arrangement will not interfere unduly with the Science work at the Central Higher School. It will, however, be necessary that in addition to the Science Teacher to be appointed for the Pupil Teacher Centre only there shall also be a Junior Teacher with Science qualifications, dividing his time between the work of the Pupil Teacher Centre and the Central Higher School, so as to be responsible for the apparatus and reagents, and give some assistance that is needed in the Science work of the Central Higher School". 2

The instructions which Morant had issued were now beginning to be put into practice, though not without a struggle. Extra expenditure on facilities was necessary and there was increasing resentment of the vigorous pressure emanating from the Board of

Education. Nevertheless, the recommendation that facilities at the nearest Secondary School be utilised was being adopted. Consequently, it must have been with some considerable relief when the Board of Education wrote to the Secretary of the Sheffield Education Committee:

"Board of Education, Whitehall, London, S.W., 19th April 1904
Sir,
The Board of Education have had under consideration the report of H. M. Inspectors who recently visited the above Centre in consequence of the application for its recognition under the Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers.
The Board will be prepared, subject to the submission of a satisfactory time-table and curriculum, to recognise the Centre provisionally under Article 11 of the regulations and to regard it as entitled to grants under Article 24 from the 1st August, 1904. Such recognition will in the first instance be given for one year only as it is thought that, when the contemplated re-organisation of the Secondary Schools in the City has been brought about, your Committee will probably find it desirable to introduce some modifications into their arrangements for the instruction of Pupil Teachers...
I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
A W Newton."

The Principal too must have gained some comfort from the news for he wrote to the Secretary of the Sheffield Education Committee:

"Pupil Teachers' Centre, 11th April, 1904.
J. F. Moss, Esq.
Dear Sir,
Will you be good enough to convey to the Education Committee this expression of my thanks for their resolution of the 28th ult., and for the mark of confidence shown therein?
I am, dear Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
Arthur J Arnold."₁

Both the Principal and the teaching staff of the Pupil Teacher Centre were ready to seize an opportunity for salary increases and an appeal for consideration was made to the Committee. The minutes recorded:

"A special appeal from the members of the staff at the Pupil Teacher Centre for the revision of their salaries on a more liberal scale has been carefully considered, together with information as to the salaries paid at other Centres, and as to the amounts earned by Assistant Teachers in the service of the Education Committee who are allowed to take extra work in

connection with Evening Classes. The Instructors engaged on the permanent staff of the Pupil Teacher Centre are debarred from engaging in outside work of this character, and must devote their whole time, day and evening, to the service of the Committee for the fixed salaries paid to them. It is understood that when the New Regulations of the Board of Education come into full operation next year, and the Ordinary Classes for Pupil Teachers are reduced in consequence, the permanent staff will be able to undertake the whole of the work in connection with the Classes for Acting Teachers, and they may be called upon to give three evenings per week for this purpose and to give from four to six more lessons each week. The service of outside Teachers now receiving extra remuneration at the rate of about £350 per annum will then be dispensed with." ₁

The teachers' plea was not ignored. The Committee agreed that increased salaries be paid as follows:

"	Years of service at the Centre	Present salary per annum £	To be increased to per annum £
Name of Teacher			
Head, John	5	150	170
Wills, Octavius E.	4	135	170
Dudley, Luther C. (B.A.(Lond.))	4½	135	170
Buchan, Christina (L.L.A.(St.Andrew's))	3	115	125
Dobson, Agnes L.	4½	115	125
Keyworth, Florence	4	110	120
Simonson, Edith E.	4	110	120
Atkins, Edith (B.A.(Lond.))	1½	105	115
Tym, Edith	½	90	100,,

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CHAPTER VI

A PERIOD OF CHANGE AND CONSOLIDATION

From 1906, the Pupil Teacher Centre began to change. The age restriction of the student intake ensured that slightly older and maturer candidates came forward, the status of the staff was enhanced and there seems to have been a more liberalised and collective esprit de corps even though the number of students was falling.

Accommodation was still a pressing problem but some alleviation came. In 1906, the Sheffield Education Committee purchased the Firth College buildings from Sheffield University, which were adjacent to the offices of the Education Committee and situated on the corner of Leopold Street and West Street and forming a collection of buildings of which the Pupil Teacher Centre was also a part. On the 19th February 1906 the Governors of the Central Secondary School had before them a report of the proposed utilisation of the buildings:

"The Governors considered the report furnished by Messrs. Gibbs and Flockton to the Special Committee appointed to consider the question as to the purchase of the University College Buildings, and also the suggestions by Mr Iliffe, the Principal of the Central Secondary School, as to the utilization of the building formerly known as Firth College, for the purpose of the School. They also took into consideration the need for Laboratory accommodation in connection with the Pupil Teacher Centre, and the further requirements of the Board of Education as to the provision of a Mechanical Laboratory for evening work, and a room for Practical Elementary Science in connection with the Day School.

It was understood that the Principal of the Pupil Teacher Centre would be satisfied if the room in the basement of that building, now used as a Gymnasium, could be furnished as a Science Laboratory, provided that arrangements can be made whereby the Pupil Teachers, or at least the Female Pupil Teachers, might take Gymnastic Exercises in the large hall of what was formerly known as Firth College..."₁

The excessive number of pupil teachers qualifying for entry to training colleges had been a problem for some time. As School Boards took over the work of training pupil teachers and as the Centre System became established, it was inevitable that the numbers who qualified for entry to training college would increase yet further. Over the years, there had been considerable natural wastage. Those less able and less enthusiastic moved into other careers; while many of those who had completed their course, including a high proportion of those who had actually passed the Queen/King's Scholarship, sought appointments as uncertificated teachers, with a view to qualifying later - usually as a result of part-time study. Indeed, provision still had to be made for the uncertificated and at the November (1905) meeting of the Committee the Principal reported that:

"... during the present Session there are in attendance at the Classes for Uncertificated Teachers, established in 1904, 216 students, of whom 110 are in the employ of the Sheffield Education Committee, 98 of the West Riding, 4 of Nottinghamshire, and 4 of Derbyshire.

Some of the successful students who attended last session have again joined the classes this year, and continue their interest in the work.

The classes yield an ample return for a trifling outlay, since they are all but self-supporting."₁

As the Board of Education's policy was aimed at eliminating both the pupil teacher and reducing the number of untrained and uncertificated teachers, anxiety and pressure began to be felt. In the spring of 1906, the Principal wrote to the Higher Education Sub Committee warning that there would be large numbers of pupil teachers entering that year for the Preliminary Certificate examination and only a small number would be able to gain entry to Sheffield Training College. Several suggestions were considered and finally the Sub-Committee recommended:

"That all the Pupil Teachers referred to should take, during their apprenticeship, the next Preliminary Examination for Certificate, or other examination which will qualify them for appointment as Uncertificated Assistant Teachers after the completion of their engagement as Pupil Teachers.

That the Pupil Teachers referred to above, who cannot be accommodated at Training Colleges next year, be urged to

secure admission into the Sheffield or other Training Colleges for the following year; and that the Higher Education Sub-Committee be requested to make provision for the instruction of such of these Pupil Teachers as can arrange to enter College in the year 1908, on one or two evenings and on Saturday mornings, in such subjects as may be thought necessary by the Principal of the Training College, the Principal of the Pupil Teacher Centre, and the Committee's Senior Inspector of Schools".¹

The Board of Education still continued to maintain close supervision over the annual examinations of the students. By 1903, the Board had agreed that the Pupil Teacher Centre could set and mark its own papers "in lieu of its own collective examination" but the Board insisted that approval for this was given only on a year-to-year basis and that all the marked papers had to be submitted to the Inspectorate for scrutiny. In a letter to the Authority dated 5th August 1904, it was observed that:

"... the standard required for passing the Examination appears to the Board of Education to have been rather low in certain cases. All the successful candidates must be presented to H.M. Inspector for his approval before they can be actually admitted as Pupil Teachers...".²

The 1902 Act had empowered local education authorities to establish teacher training colleges. The grant regulations too were changed. No longer was grant to be paid to individuals but direct to colleges. Therefore, by 1906, it was considered that the Queen/King's Scholarship system had out-lived its usefulness. Many students entered and passed the Scholarship but did not take it up - using the success of gaining the scholarship as a mark of academic attainment. Meanwhile, other candidates, particularly from the secondary schools, were coming forward as candidates for teacher training places with comparable qualifications. As a means of monitoring progress towards certification a "Preliminary Examination for the Elementary School Teacher's Certificate", in two parts, was to be introduced after 1907. Further developments were also pending. As a means of encouraging potential candidates for the teaching profession to continue with their general educational development, the Board introduced a scheme of Bursaries which enabled pupils to continue at school for a year beyond their sixteenth birthday and subsequently to pass into a further year as a "student teacher" or,

if they had passed examinations for entry to a training college, enter the two-year normal training college course during their seventeenth year.

The cost and the possibility of wastage led the Sheffield Higher Education Committee to declare a safeguard:

"Pupil Teachers who are accepted at the Sheffield Centre will be required to enter into an agreement to serve for at least two years, if the Education Committee should so desire, as an Assistant Teacher in a School maintained by the Education Committee for the City of Sheffield, either after their apprenticeship or after going through a regular course of training at a Training College."₁

While the arrangements for the bursaries award had already been laid down in 1904, it was announced that:

"... a special examination to be held for the purpose of awarding these bursaries, the examination to be conducted by the Principal of the Pupil Teacher Centre and the Education Committee's Inspectors of Schools, but that candidates who have passed the Oxford or Cambridge Senior Local Examination, or the Oxford or Cambridge Junior Local Examination, in (a) Arithmetic, English Language and Literature, Geography, and English History, (b) Arithmetic, English Language and Literature, Mathematics, and one branch of Science, (c) Arithmetic, English Language and Literature, and two foreign languages, be accepted without further examination."₂

The Centre was subjected to its first full inspection by the Board of Education from the 14th to the 18th May 1906. The subsequent Report produces considerable evidence of the development of the Centre. The enrolment statistics indicate a strong bias towards girls:

"Number of...	Boys	Girls	Total
Pupil Teachers	48	239	287
Pupils in the Preparatory Class	16	49	65
Pupils not recognised under the Pupil Teacher Regulations	4	16	20,,

while the break down of the student group into age bands is most revealing:

"Ages of..."	14	15	16	17	18	19 and over
Pupil Teachers	-	-	-	75	103	109
Pupils in Preparatory Class	-	5	23	35	2	-
Pupils not recognised under the Pupil Teacher Regulations	-	-	-	-	-	20

The Report was somewhat critical. Of the accommodation it observed:

"The building contains the following accommodation: a basement, entered by a separate entrance at the back and inaccessible from the main buildings, a large but ill-lighted room used at present for physical exercise and music; leading out of this a small dark room, almost without light and entirely without ventilation, used as a store-room for the girls' gymnastic costumes and as a changing room, but altogether unsuited for such a purpose. This basement accommodation is only a poor provision for the purposes for which it is at present used, and could not with any advantage be utilised for any other School purpose at all. The main building contains three classrooms on the first floor, three upon the second floor, and one large room used for drawing, and also at times as a classroom on the third floor. Besides this there are four small rooms, 10 feet by 11 feet in size (useless for class purposes, but used at present as a Head Master's room and Staff rooms), and cloakroom and lavatory accommodation for boys and girls, which are barely adequate.

The building does not provide adequate accommodation for a Pupil Teachers' Centre of even moderate size. There are no Laboratories; at present the Pupil Teachers use one of the Laboratories at the Secondary School, borrowing apparatus and materials from the Secondary School's stock... There is no Assembly Hall, no Library, no Common Room for the girls, and no accommodation for dining. All these are needed in a fully-equipped Pupil Teachers' Centre. In the present instance many of the pupils arrive by early trains, and have nearly an hour to spend before work begins; many, again, are unable to return home to dinner at mid-day, the need of common room and dining accommodation is therefore urgent. The Teachers' rooms are too small, 6 Masters have to use a room 10 feet by 11 feet, and 9 Mistresses one of the same size, and correction of exercises often has to be done upon the landings.

The number of pupils in attendance has altogether outgrown the accommodation. There are 372 pupils, of whom 65 are in preparatory classes and attend full time, and the remainder are Pupil Teachers attending half time. As the classes are at present arranged 224 pupils are in attendance at the same time. One class consists of 48 pupils, two others of 40, and according to the time-table 10 classes have on some occasions to be provided for at the same time, and eight classrooms, at the outside, are available. The present overcrowding is a serious matter, and urgently calls for remedy. Next year the number in attendance will inevitably be larger than at present. Owing to changes in the period for which Pupil Teachers are recognised, only 25 pupils will be leaving, and places must somehow be found for about 80 newcomers. One of the preparatory classes will, it is true, disappear; but the other will remain, attending full time until July, 1907. Hence next Session there are likely to be in all 420 pupils to provide for, and, even if they are equally divided into two sections, over 200 at one time. The number of Pupil Teachers in the future is not likely to fall much below these figures, for Sheffield itself needs an annual supply of about 160, and the demand for

places from the county area round Sheffield for which Sheffield is the natural centre is not likely to decrease. At the beginning of the present Session there were in the Centre 52 Pupil Teachers from the West Riding area, and three from Derbyshire. In considering the accommodation necessary to provide for these numbers, it is necessary to remember that no class should exceed 30, and that there must inevitably be at least two, and probably three, small classes of pupils in each section working for University examinations. Hence the minimum accommodation required, besides a cloakroom, Head Teachers' room, and two Assistant Teachers' rooms, is eight classrooms, two laboratories, a library, a girls' common room with some provision for dining, an art room, and a gymnasium. The problem would be somewhat simplified, and the accommodation which is required somewhat lessened, if the boys were removed from the Pupil Teacher Centre, and provided for in the Secondary School...

The present building is ventilated on the 'plenum' system, and the apparatus does not seem to secure either pleasant or efficient ventilation. The Inspectors, at any rate, found the atmosphere anything but refreshing.

An excellent playing field is provided on a high plateau to the south of the town, about 10 minutes walk from the nearest train terminus. The girls play tennis and hockey, the boys cricket and football. Round about the field the pupils have themselves constructed small gardens, and take the keenest interest in looking after them. The field is a recent acquisition, and the pupils have taken up all the interests connected with it with enthusiasm. The very competent organisation of this side of the life of the institution reflects the greatest credit upon the Principal." ¹

Although the buildings and accommodation left much to be desired, the Report commented most favourably on the Staff:

"The Assistant Teachers are, as a whole, well qualified for their work... They spend 20 hours in teaching (day work and evening work included), devote three hours to the supervision of games or school societies, and have seven hours a week for correction and preparation of work. This seems to be a fair apportionment of work, and the number of Assistants is adequate to carry it out. On the mathematical and scientific side the staff appears to be rather stronger than on the literary side. As opportunity occurs it would be wise to strengthen the literary side by the appointment of a teacher specially qualified to teach French." ²

The teaching arrangements were described as follows:

"The pupils are divided into two sections: (1) those who are working for the Preliminary Examination to certificate, and (2) those who are working for University Examinations, either Matriculation or Intermediate Arts or Science. The former section is of course by far the most numerous. The variety

of attainments in the latter makes inevitable the existence of two or three smaller classes among both juniors and seniors, who are doing more advanced work and call for more advanced teaching. This classification of pupils is quite justified, but in carrying it out the Centre has been much hampered by lack of proper accommodation. The Classes working for a University Examination have suffered from lack of sufficient classrooms and two classes have at times to be held in one room; and in the larger section some classes are far too large to admit of really efficient instruction.

Within the limits possible under these conditions the arrangement of curriculum and the proportion of time devoted to various subjects are satisfactory and well suited to the pupils."

The Report gives considerable insight into the effectiveness of the Pupil Teacher Centre through the eyes of the Inspectorate:

English Literature: "... Several of the classes appeared to enjoy the books chosen for them..."

History: "... something more might be done with advantage in encouraging independent work by the pupils themselves..."

Latin: "... too much seems to be done for them in class..."

French: "... it seems of very doubtful value to begin a new language with pupils of very average ability... if a teacher does not feel quite certain of her spoken French, she had better refrain from using the oral or conversation system..."

Mathematics: "... (the) careful and laborious revision of homework is often quite unnecessary..."

"... Geometry is taught entirely from Euclid..."

Needlework: "... the amount of time spent in securing rapidity and skill in finishing a sampler in a definite period of time... is scarcely justified by the usefulness of the work done. Some of the garments to be drafted and cut out are so old fashioned that the task is rather purposeless."

Physical Exercises: "The boys take drill in the Gymnasium, in the basement of the Centre. The accommodation is poor, but the instruction, which follows the usual lines, is good. The girls get one lesson of 45 minutes a week of drill, but the going backwards and forwards to the Centre and the time taken by the changing of shoes, &c., &c., considerably shortens the lesson. The system adopted is a mixture of some Swedish exercises and some of another kind, all being accompanied by music. The girls' carriage left something to be desired, and the lack of energy and vitality displayed by some of the pupils clearly indicates a great need for more time being given to this subject. More energy was displayed in some jumping exercises and some apparatus work. The floor of the Gymnasium should be scrubbed more frequently, as owing to its position in the basement, the rooms is apt to become very dusty and stuffy."

In general the Inspectorate's comments were favourable but they were critical of the complicated structure of the entrance examination to which the prospective pupil teacher was subjected:

"Pupil Teachers from Sheffield and the immediate neighbourhood are admitted to the Centre on passing an examination held by an Examining Board. The Board has 10 members, and among them are the Principal of the Pupil Teacher Centre and one of his assistants. Owing to an attempt made to adapt the syllabus of examination to suit the various institutions from which pupils are drawn, the examination is becoming needlessly elaborate and complicated. As many as five different papers have on one occasion been set on a single subject. Some one simple entrance examination, including the compulsory subjects and optional papers in French, Latin, and Mathematics ought to meet the needs of the Centre. In this connection it should be noted that very close co-operation ought to exist between the Centre and the Schools from which the Pupil Teachers come, especially the Central Secondary School, which is by far the largest source of supply. Without it the change from a Secondary School to the Centre involves a very serious breach in the continuity of education, and a consequent loss of time, and the task of classifying incoming pupils, and arranging curriculum for them which is anyhow a difficult matter, becomes impossible... Two internal examinations are held in each year to test the progress of the pupils. Of these, one is conducted by the Class Teachers and is informal, the other is conducted by the Principal and has a more formal character, and upon the results of it prizes are awarded".¹

The concluding remarks of the Report give an interesting insight into the general ethos of the Centre as it was developing:

"This Centre, with its buoyant and pleasant social life and efficient work, deserves to rank high among institutions of its kind. Besides the organised games already mentioned, there are several flourishing societies, viz., a library and debating society, a reading circle, a needlework guild, a rambling club, and a cycling club. Punishments are practically unnecessary; the pupils are conscientious and hard working; they have behind them a tradition of orderliness and quiet seemly behaviour which they first acquired in the Elementary School. The atmosphere and tone of such a Centre is different from that of a good Secondary School, and yet in its own way it exercises a good influence. There is a real danger in the case of many of the girls that they will overwork themselves, but in this case great care is taken to prevent over-pressure, and there are no signs of it".²

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CHAPTER VII

DYING BUT NOT DEAD

With Morant in the seat of power at the Board of Education the education of pupil teachers continued to be directly influenced by him. In 1909 the Board intimated that it was only prepared to recognise those candidates for pupilage who had attended a Secondary School for three years and who had passed the entrance examination. In the "Report on Pupil Teachers" (1903-07), the desirability of maintaining the system was questioned, even though many changes had been wrought. The Inspectorate were critical too of the relationship between Secondary Schools and Pupil Teacher Centres - a link which they had been so careful to develop by recommendations and close monitoring. By 1908, they had come to the conclusion that the links between institutions were generally unsatisfactory and major organisational problems were frequently encountered. Furthermore, it was also considered that the option which allowed pupil teachers to enter college at the age of seventeen was administratively untidy. Finally, and in a different direction, the arrangements made for pupil teachers to gain experience in the schools were becoming increasingly difficult to organise as they represented almost half the total course hours over an extended period and were undertaken in schools where pupil teachers had become supernumeraries.

After completing a course of secondary education, students were either to enter directly into a training college or would be able to undertake a one-year teacher Studentship. The matter appeared to be a fait accompli: it seems that the Board of Education was anxious finally to bring an end to the system. Even the President of the Board of Education, Walter Runicman, declared in 1909 at the opening of the Bingley Training College "that the pupil teacher system is dying out all over the country".¹

The directives from the Board of Education put considerable pressure on the Local Education Authorities, particularly those who rightly or wrongly found it convenient to augment their teaching forces with pupil teachers and student teachers. Consequently, there developed an increasing hostility towards the Board which served to foster resentment and opposition to what was regarded as undue interference. As it was, with Pupil Teacher Centres in the grip of H M Inspectorate and under pressure from the Board of Education, Local Education Authorities had little option but to effect the changes which were thrust upon them.

The Sheffield Education Committee agreed to restrict entry to the Pupil Teacher Centre. In the years prior to their sixteenth birthday, pupils were to receive a secondary education elsewhere (and many of the pupils were to come from the adjoining Central School). But the abandonment of the pre-sixteen preparatory classes and the reducing number of pupil teaching appointments quickly began to have an effect on the number of applicants. Between 1906 and 1912 the reduction was most marked:

1906	-	367
1908	-	212
1910	-	167
1912	-	143

The problems of supply of both prospective and of trained teachers now began to loom. The "Report of the Board of Education" for 1909-10 revealed that the state of the teaching force in England and Wales was:

"College Trained Certificated Teachers	53,313	or	33.6%
Untrained Certificated Teachers	44,059	or	27.8%
Uncertificated Assistant Teachers	45,121	or	28.4%
Supplementary Assistant Teachers	15,779	or	9.9%
Other Teachers (Head)	<u>422</u>	or	.3%
	<u>158,694</u>		

In addition to these adult Teachers there were recognised on School staffs, 2,460 Student Teachers (Ex-Government Bursars) and 10,402 Pupil Teachers, the last named, however, not being counted as satisfying the minimum staff requirements of the code." ₁

By 1912, the pressure to end pupilage was laid open to question. The minutes of the Sheffield Education Committee reported that:

"The teaching profession is mainly recruited by the appointment of Government Bursars and Pupil Teachers, and the Board of Education estimate that about 14,000 of these are required annually for England alone. Of that number it is anticipated that 25 per cent would fail to become qualified adult Teachers.

For some years there has been a serious decline in the number of candidates seeking to enter the teaching profession. In the year 1907-1908 there were 11,294 entrants; in 1908-1909 and 1909-1910 the numbers fell to 9,628 and 8,022 respectively, whilst in 1910-1911 there were only 6,187 candidates accepted, or more than 1,000 short of the estimated "wastage" on the present number of adult Teachers.

So far as Sheffield is concerned, the difficulty of obtaining suitable candidates has not been so great as in other districts, but there seems now to be ample justification for drawing the attention of parents to the desirability of adopting the teaching profession for their children, as the demand for well qualified Teachers is certain to be continuous." 1

The expected demise of the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre was not to be, but counter pressure came from the Board of Education relating to the implementation of the provisions of the 1902 Act. On the 19th June 1913 the Sheffield Education Committee received the following communication:

"Secondary School Accommodation in the City.
Board of Education, Whitehall, London, S.W., 19th June 1913.
Sir,

(1) I am directed to say that the Board have recently devoted considerable attention to the question of the facilities for Secondary Education available for boys and girls in the area of your Authority. According to the latest Census returns the population of Sheffield is in round numbers 460,000, and in the year 1911-1912 there were 1,786 pupils in attendance at the following five Secondary Schools and the Pupil Teacher Centre, which together constitute the Efficient Secondary provision of the City:

Central Secondary School - Boys	408
Central Secondary School - Girls	428
High School for Girls	283
King Edward VII School - Boys	403
Notre Dame High School	121
Pupil Teacher Centre	143
	<u>1,786</u>

(2) It will thus be seen that in Sheffield there were 39 pupils in the Efficient Secondary Schools and the Pupil Teacher Centre for every 10,000 inhabitants, and the Authority may be interested to compare these figures with the following statistics

which deal with England as a whole and with 26 large Boroughs (including Sheffield) each with a population of over 100,000:

	Population	No of Pupils in Efficient Schools and Centres	No of Pupils per 10,000 inhabitants
England	33,649,571	174,597	52
Large Boroughs	7,030,000	44,346	63

(3) The Board have further to observe that in Leeds, which is the only other University town in Yorkshire, there were in 1911-12, 3,297 pupils in attendance at Efficient Secondary Schools or 74 for every 10,000 inhabitants. The small provision in Sheffield is the more serious because the University must look to the Secondary Schools of the City for its main source of recruitment.

(4) It is clear... that the existing facilities for Secondary Education in Sheffield are very much less than the similar facilities provided in the aggregate by the large boroughs with which Sheffield is comparable, or even with the provision made by England taken as a whole.

(5) As the Authority are no doubt aware the quality as well as the quantity of the Secondary School provision is gravely defective in the Central Secondary Schools. In this connection the Board think it right again to draw the Authority's attention to the following remarks....:

Girls' School,

It is much to be regretted that the neighbouring street has become increasingly noisy, partly owing to trams which now run immediately outside the main class rooms, partly owing to a stand for motor cabs most inconsiderately placed exactly under the windows. The Inspectors were unable to hear anything at times in some classrooms but the outside traffic. Class teaching has at times to pause and wait for a lull and it is not surprising that some Mistresses complain of over-strained voices. Unless some remedy can be devised, two of the classrooms will, it is feared, have to be condemned as unfit for Class work altogether...

The Board recognise... that work cannot be done under efficient conditions in some of the classrooms used by the girls at Firth College, by reason of the traffic in the neighbouring street..."₁

On the 15th and 16th January 1912 a second inspection of the Pupil Teacher Centre was undertaken, and although the Higher Education Sub-Committee directed that the report of the inspection should be printed and circulated to members of the Education Committee, no copy appears to have survived. The findings may not have been too critical. On the 12th April 1912 the Higher Education Committee accepted a recommendation that:

"In all cases, a satisfactory certificate of fitness in respect of the candidate's temperament, character, and attainments, from

the Head of the School previously attended, to be required."
and:

"A candidate for appointment as Pupil Teacher who has been four years in an approved Secondary School will be accepted on the recommendation of the Head Teacher of such School that he (or she) is sufficiently well qualified in the following subjects:- Arithmetic, English (including Composition), Geography, History, and one of the following:- Latin, Greek, French, Mathematics (Algebra and Geometry), Mechanics, Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Hygiene." ₁

But the most significant recommendations passed the Committee on the 8th March 1912:

"That the existing system for the instruction of Pupil Teachers at the Pupil Teacher Centre be continued.

That the School Management Sub-Committee be requested to make such arrangements as will admit of the appointment of at least 100 Pupil Teachers annually in future..." ₂

The same meeting also adopted a recommendation:

"That the sum of £12 be expended in the provision and fixing of a new Liner with joints and packings, and one new Piston complete with full set of Rings and Piston Pin, for the Gas Engine at the Pupil Teacher Centre."

and:

"That the hours of instruction at the Pupil Teacher Centre on Wednesday and Saturday mornings be from 8.20 to 11.30 o'clock."

The Board of Education Regulations extended even into the management of the Pupil Teacher Centres. They required now that every Pupil Teacher Centre on the Grant List should in future be conducted by a Board of Governors "acting under, and in accordance with, a scheme or minute which defines the constitution of functions of the Governing Body and their relation to the teaching staff". ³ Whereupon the Higher Education Sub-Committee recommended:

"That the following Rules be adopted for the management of the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre, in accordance with the Regulations of the Board of Education:-

... The Centre to be under the management of a Body of Governors consisting of 12 members, to be elected annually in the month of November by the Education Committee, one of such persons to be selected as a person specially representing the interests of Higher Education; the Governors to elect one of their number to act as Chairman.

... The Principal of the Centre to have free access to the Body of Governors, and full opportunities of stating his views when questions relating to the government of the Centre are involved, to the Governors, before any decision is arrived at.

... The Principal to be authorised to select and recommend for appointment all Assistant Teachers.

... The Secretary of the Education Committee to be appointed Correspondent of the Centre with the Board of Education." ¹

With the outbreak of war, problems began to emerge. In September 1914 the Principal reported that:

"24 past students of the Centre have informed me that they have joined the colours, but there are probably many others concerning whom information has not yet reached me." ²

While on the 2nd November 1915 the Principal, Arthur J Arnold, in a letter to the Secretary of the Governors wrote the following sad commentary:

"... I regret to inform you that William H Adsetts, one of the four Pupil Teachers who won Town Trust Scholarships in 1912, has died of wounds received during the recent British offensive. Adsetts tried to enlist in the Buffs at the outbreak of War, but was rejected. He then joined the R.A.M.C., and subsequently obtained a commission in the Special Reserve. At the time of his death he was attached to the 1st Battalion of the York and Lancaster Regiment." ³

The supply of teachers and the number of applicants for training colleges began to dwindle as young men joined the colours. The Board of Education issued Circular 908 indicating that there were insufficient numbers coming forward to maintain the teaching force and urged Authorities to take all possible steps to increase the number of intending teachers. The matter was discussed by the Governors. It was observed that the number of boys and girls coming forward for the teaching profession had been falling for some years and was well below the requirements of the City but there appeared to be little prospect of improving the supply. However, it was noted that the accommodation and facilities at the Centre were now under-utilised and the Governors heard from the Principal that about a hundred additional pupils could be admitted. The Governors, therefore, moved that:

"application be made to the Board of Education for the recognition for a period of two years, of a Preparatory Class...

for boys and girls 14 years of age and upwards, in attendance at Elementary Schools, who are recommended by their Head Teachers as likely to be suitable candidates for the Teaching Profession." 1

On the 21st September 1915, the committee was informed that Board of Education approval had been given to the scheme but that this approval was limited to two years and would be subject to careful reconsideration after that time.

From 1st August 1915, after a lapse of eight years, Preparatory Classes were re-introduced as an integral part of the work of the Pupil Teacher Centre. Whether the decline in student numbers could be solely attributed to war-time conditions is a matter for conjecture. Certainly the economic conditions both nationally and locally immediately prior to 1914 had been improving - an aspect which always influenced the choice of career openings. Other reasons may also be valid. While officially the pupil teacher system was being declared redundant, the need for pupil teachers to supplement the teaching force, particularly in rural areas, still prevailed and many in the education service fought a rear-guard action for its retention. It was accepted also that the pupil teacher system provided an attractive and stable source of recruitment for the training colleges. Another view was that with the development of more generous provision for Secondary Education following the 1902 Act, many pupils who had formerly entered pupil teaching as a means of acquiring a higher level of education were no longer "conditioned" into entering the teaching profession - particularly when other professional and "white-collar" opportunities were seen to abound elsewhere.

The war continued and the problems of the Centre were mainly concerned with the satisfactory recruitment of potential pupil teachers, interspersed with epitaphs:

"Since the last meeting of the Governors, the following information has come to hand respecting Old Boys of the Centre now serving with the Forces of the Crown:

Arthur Tomlinson, Captain Middlesex Regt., has been awarded the Military Cross.

Tomlinson was a Pupil Teacher in the St. Mary's Schools under Mr F. Bye, and attended the Centre from 1900 to 1908.

Sydney Marchant has been commissioned for Service in the Field, and attached to the 12th Battalion of his own Regt., the Northumberland Fusiliers.

(It has since been ascertained that Sydney Marchant has died of wounds received in the recent advance.)" ₁

Even though the accepted age range of the Centre was 16 to 18 years, the question of Preparatory Classes was pursued:

"The Governors have further considered the question of the Preparatory Classes at the Pupil Teacher Centre for boys and girls between 14 and 16 years of age who have formerly attended Public Elementary Schools.

In view of the fact that the number of candidates for Pupil Teachership is practically the same as in 1915, and is below the requirements of the City, and as the number of candidates admitted to the Preparatory Classes in 1915 was only 38, as against an estimated number of 60, the Governors have requested that the Board of Education's sanction to the scheme approved in 1915 will cover actual admissions to the Preparatory Classes during the two years 1915 and 1916." ₂

A year later the Governors were still considering the matter:

"The Governors have had under careful consideration the question as to the advisability of continuing the Preparatory Classes at the Pupil Teacher Centre, which have been recognised by the Board of Education for admissions to the Two Years' Course in August, 1915 and 1916.

The number of entrants to the Teaching Profession, including those from the Preparatory Classes, is still insufficient to meet the Committee's requirements, and, in view of the fact that the Committee are unable through conditions occasioned by the War, to proceed with a scheme for the extension of the Secondary School accommodation in the City, the Governors recommend -

That application be made to the Board of Education for the continued recognition of the Preparatory Classes at the Pupil Teacher Centre, and for admissions thereto for a further period of two years, of boys and girls of 14 years of age and upwards in attendance at Elementary Schools, who are recommended by their Head Teachers as likely to be suitable candidates for the teaching profession." ₃

Even with the War at an end, the problem of potential teacher recruitment continued and seemed likely to worsen as provisions in the Education Act of 1918 would require implementation. In May 1920, the Director of Education reported to the Governors that:

"... as a result of a special appeal which had been made

recently to the Head Teachers of Elementary Schools with the object of securing their whole-hearted co-operation in bringing to the notice of parents of children the advantages of the teaching profession, it had been found possible to approve of 240 out of the 300 candidates presented for examination. These additional pupils will necessarily occasion the appointment of additional teaching staff, and the Governors authorised their Chairman, in consultation with the Director of Education and the Principal of the Centre, to make such staffing arrangements as they consider necessary. Additional accommodation will also be required, and the Governors recommend -

That, subject to the approval of the Board of Education, arrangements be made with the Trustees of the Carver Street Wesleyan Schools for a portion of their premises to be used as an annexe in connection with the Pupil Teacher Centre, in accordance with the terms now presented, which have already been accepted by the Chairman of the Education Committee on behalf of the Governors." ₁

Although the recruitment problem was overcome for 1920, this success must have been short-lived, for in May 1921, an advertisement was inserted in the local press:

"offering facilities for young people of good education to qualify as Uncertificated Teachers after a course of training for 18 months."

Later, the Principal was to report on the results of the experiment:

"In 1921, May to July, there were 35 students in the class, but of these 8 left in July as not being sufficiently qualified to proceed from an educational point of view.

From September to December 1921, 16 other students joined for the Course.

(In the period) January to June 1922, 5 students were admitted to work for the School Certificate Examination (held in) July 1923.

Of all admitted, 5 have become Pupil Teachers.

A net result of 43 students." ₂

There were other problems which must have weighed heavily. Recruitment to courses was one problem and the Principal had proved this could be overcome by actively publicising the Centre. When pupil and student teachers were not readily able to obtain places in a Training College even though they were sufficiently qualified this was disturbing:

"At the present moment eleven students have not yet been accepted in a University or Training College. If these students are not placed this year it would be well to establish some method of providing instruction during the year, so that they do not lose the habit of study whilst waiting for admission next year".¹

The position of the Centre in the educational structure now appeared ambiguous. By the nineteen-twenties most other local authorities had phased out their Centres, relying on Secondary Schools to provide candidates with an all-round general education, the evidence of such being exemplified in their success in either the School Certificate Examination or the Higher Certificate. In the eyes of the Board of Education, Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre was considered to be irregular. However, although they questioned the advisability of retaining the Centre, caution needed to be exercised. The Sheffield Local Education Authority had expressed its determination to retain the institution and the City's Director of Education was not to be trifled with. His influence and reputation in local and national educational circles was such that his whims were not to be challenged lightly, particularly when fully supported by the Local Education Authority.

At the July 1920 meeting of the Higher Education Sub-Committee a delicately worded letter from the Board of Education was tabled:

"Sir, I am directed by the Board of Education to state that they have carefully considered Mr Percival Sharp's letter of the 3rd ultimo, submitting proposals for the establishment of a Central Elementary School for candidates for the teaching profession, and to make the following observations thereon:

... The Local Education Authority are aware that a proposal to establish a Central Elementary School consisting entirely of intending Teachers is new to the Board and of a kind not contemplated by them hitherto. They appreciate the Authority's intentions in the matter, and the effort they are making to deal with the great problem of the supply of Teachers. They therefore wish to raise no unnecessary difficulties with reference to the proposal, but to regard it as an experiment, designed to meet an immediate need, which they will consider further as part of the scheme of the Authority for education in their area as a whole, and will watch in operation. If, therefore, they are now obliged to say that they cannot be committed to approving the proposal as a permanent arrangement for the purpose of the education of intending Teachers, this does not imply any presumption against its ultimate acceptance,

but only the desire to watch what is a new way of dealing with the subject, and one which is obviously open to some objection.

... the Board gather from Mr Sharp's letter of the 3rd ultimo, and the enclosure thereto, that the Authority intend the present arrangements to be of a strictly temporary character, and that it is their intention to carry out the scheme for permanent premises which is outlined in the Report of the School Management Sub Committee, approved by the Education Committee on the 31st May, as soon as the situation with regard to school building allows. Upon this understanding, I am to state that the Board will be prepared to approve the accommodation shown on the enclosed plan as generally satisfactory...

... The Board regard it as important that the scheme for permanent premises should be pushed forward by the Local Education Authority at the earliest possible date, as the Carver Street premises cannot be regarded as satisfactory for anything but purely temporary recognition...

The Board understand from H M Inspector that, taking the whole institution together, that is to say, the Pupil Teacher Centre and the pupils who have not yet attained the status of Pupil Teachers, there are or will be this year, no less than 498 pupils at an age range from 13 to 17+ years actually under instruction. This is much larger than the number which the Board regard as the proper maximum for a Central School under one Head Teacher. They do not, however, propose to offer objection to the excessive numbers on this occasion, since they recognise that the extension of the existing Pupil Teacher Centre in the way desired would otherwise be difficult. They would be glad, however, to hear what arrangements the Authority will make for ensuring that the special interests of the large proportion of girls in the institution are looked after, whether by a Chief Woman Assistant Teacher, or otherwise...

... (the Board) suggest that the Authority should be prepared, when the permanent buildings are eventually available, to divide the institution in a way which will make it more manageable, whether by separating the boys from the girls, or otherwise...

... In view of the early age at which the children concerned are being encouraged to enter upon a particular vocation the Board will be glad to know whether the Authority propose in any way to bind them to continue in the school for a certain length of time, or to become Pupil Teachers, or in any other way. In this connection I am to refer to the policy which the Board have already laid down... to the effect that their approval of Pupil Teacher Centres would depend... upon their being satisfied with the provision for Secondary Education made in the district concerned, and with the means of access provided to it. To that they would now add that they assume that the development of advanced instruction in other Elementary Schools will be proceeded with, so that entry into this institution will constitute only one of the alternatives available to parents and children who desire to obtain the benefit of further education.

... The Board understand that the course of instruction proposed will extend up to the end of the school year in which the candidate attains the age of 17, and that the period of teaching in Public Elementary Schools will be the year which follows that age...".¹

The Director undertook to reply to the various points raised by the Board of Education in the foregoing letter. It appeared that the Board was prepared to accept, with some concessions, the plan to continue the Centre. But neither party was particularly prepared to change its stand. In September 1921 the Higher Education Sub-Committee was informed:

"That careful consideration has been given to the application put forward by the Education Committee for the recognition of the Centre as a Secondary School with a Pupil Teacher Centre attached thereto, but that the Board are not able to accept the arrangements proposed.

That they are unable to entertain the proposal that they should take into account, for grant purposes, expenditure incurred in paying Secondary School salaries to the Teachers in the Preparatory Department of the Pupil Teacher Centre".

On this last point, Percival Sharp must have been under some pressure from the Board of Education for he reported to the meeting of the Pupil Centre Governors:

"... that he had not yet put into operation in the Pupil Teacher Centre the Scale of Salaries provided for Secondary School Teachers, and for which provision was made in the Estimates of the Committee for the year ending 31st March, 1922".

Whereupon it was recommended:

"That the Director of Education be instructed to put the Burnham Scale of Salaries for Secondary School Teachers into operation for the whole of the Staff engaged at the Pupil Teacher Centre, as from 1st September, 1921".²

After the considerable negotiations, it must have been with some relief the Governors learned in February 1922 that the Board of Education was prepared to recognise the institution as consisting of:

- "(a) a Pupil Teacher Centre;
- (b) Preparatory Classes, with an age range from 14 to 16 years, and
- (c) a Public Elementary School, with an age range from 12 (or under) to 14 years".³

CHAPTER VII - REFERENCES

- Page 80 1. "The Schoolmaster", 25th May 1909
- Page 81 1. SEC Minutes, 1909-10, p.371
- Page 82 1. SEC Minutes, 1911-12, p.373
- Page 83 1. SEC Minutes, 1913-14, p.229
- Page 84 1. SEC Minutes, 1912-13, p.3
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1911-12, p.577
- " 3. SEC Minutes, 1910-11, p.77
- Page 85 1. SEC Minutes, 1910-11, p.78
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1914-15, p.252
- " 3. SEC Minutes, 1915-16, p.319
- Page 86 1. SEC Minutes, 1915-16, p.130
- Page 87 1. SEC Minutes, 1915-16, p.107
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1916-17, p.107
- " 3. SEC Minutes, 1917-18, p.33
- Page 88 1. SEC Minutes, 1920-21, p.60
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1923-24, p.102
- Page 89 1. SEC Minutes, 1920-21, p.165
- Page 91 1. SEC Minutes, 1920-21, pp.167-170
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1921-22, p.259
- " 3. SEC Minutes, 1921-22, p.531

CHAPTER VIII

SHEFFIELD PUPIL TEACHER CENTRE - THE FINALE

The expansion of the Centre in the early nineteen-twenties had necessitated the use of additional premises. Although the Board of Education had intimated it would consider a scheme for the building of a new Centre on the outskirts of the City, the provision of new accommodation was a long way off and student numbers such that extra accommodation was an urgent necessity. By courtesy, a number of classrooms and the assembly hall of the Central Secondary School was used; the College of Domestic Science housed in the former Firth College building allowed some classes to be accommodated; and the Sheffield School of Art provided advice and instruction in Art, sometimes at the Centre and at other times in one or other of the School of Art annexes near Arundel Street. But the most useful temporary accommodation was to be found in the "Carver Street Schools" - the premises of the Carver Street Methodist Chapel.

The expansion appears to have been short-lived. In June 1922, the Principal reported that:

"... on 1st June we ceased to occupy the premises at Carver Street and that a large section of the Centre activities was transferred to the premises in Arundel Street. The transfer was accomplished with expedition and without any hitch. Four rooms were entirely furnished anew from furniture already in store in the Committee's premises, and although the desks are not of a modern type, yet they are infinitely superior to the conditions of working at Carver Street, and quite fitting to the work to be done under the present stress of economic consideration. The premises at Arundel Street are in every respect more fitting and more suitable for our work than those at Carver Street."₁

The economic situation now led the Authority to effect a more rational use of resources and in consequence the Principal reported to the Governors:

"I have completed the re-arrangements of classes consequent upon the reduction of staff as suggested in the recent report of the Director of Education by combining small classes, by the enlargement of classes to at least 35 students, and by the exclusion of a few students who have not fructified from their stay in the Centre; the 25 Forms having been re-arranged into 18 Forms. These, with the admission of 3 Forms of new pupils, will constitute the full complement of the Centre after Easter. The six Teachers, Miss Hardy, Miss Humphrey, Miss Hirst, Miss Wilkinson, Miss Worrall and Mr Macintyre, ceased to be members of the staff as from 31st March. Miss Hirst has been appointed Head Mistress of a Council School at Driffield and the other five have been appointed to posts in Sheffield.

I should like to express my appreciation of the services of these Teachers during the time they have been on the Centre Staff, and particularly of the general good feeling evinced in the present change.

... I recommend that three Forms of 40 each be admitted at once - Form Im. of 40 boys (about half over 13 and half under 13), Form In. of 40 girls over 13 years, and Form Io. under 13 years of age. The number 40 in each Form will allow for withdrawals between now and Midsummer, as it has been found that a few pupils are not able to adapt themselves to the strenuous life at the Centre and they desire to withdraw quite early.

It is interesting to report that the general standard of work is on the whole above that of previous years, especially in Arithmetic. The Intelligence Test in Arithmetic for the 13 years plus was particularly well done.

I have personally seen each pupil to be admitted and have also had a meeting of the parents, when the conditions and character of the work at the Centre were explained to the parents. It was particularly interesting to note the keen interest of the parents in the welfare of the pupils, as evinced by the sensible and searching questions asked, particularly as to the prospects of the Teaching Profession." 1

The arrangements for attendance at the Centre were raised by the Director of Education at the June 1924 meeting of the Higher Education Sub-Committee when proposals were submitted for the re-arrangement of classes for the year 1924-25:

"... so as to provide for their attendance at the Centre full time during the first year of Pupil Teachership and at the Elementary Schools for continuous teaching practice on 9 half-days per week and at Centre on 1 half-day per week during their second year of Pupil Teachership: this to take the place of the present system of attendance at Centre on 6 half-days and at school on 4 half-days per week throughout the two years' course of Pupil Teachership.

In consequence of the suggested change, the number of Pupil Teachers in attendance at the Centre during the first year of the revised arrangement (1924-25) will be considerably increased,

necessitating the appointment of two additional Assistant Teachers to the staff for that year." ¹

The uncertainty over financial limits and staffing must have created considerable problems both for the Principal and the administration. On one hand economies were being exercised, on the other, every opportunity was taken to develop. In June 1924, the Director of Education reported that:

"... it had been found possible to arrange for an additional class to be formed at the Pupil Teacher Centre from the commencement of the School Year 1924-25 consisting of "over-age" candidates who obtained a high position on the order of merit list at the recent examination for admission to Secondary Schools. An additional assistant teacher will be needed on the staff in consequence of this new class." ²

At the September 1924 meeting of the Higher Education Sub-Committee, the Principal reported:

"The addition of an extra class, together with the re-arrangement of classes for the New Year, is making a big demand upon the School of Art for the provision of Art Teaching. The present arrangement for Drawing demands 36 periods one week and 38 the next, i.e. an average of 37 per week, which is 5 more periods per week than was given during the last School year.

The carrying out of Physical Exercises in the Centre is causing me some anxiety. In the first place, the Gymnasium has to be used for a class-room at such times when it is not used for Physical Exercises. This necessitates the removal and the replacement of 40 desks and chairs every day of the week and on some days more than once. These desks and chairs have to be stored in the same room, and this minimises the amount of space available for Physical Exercises. This curtailing of the space, combined with the fact that a pillar is in the very centre of the Gymnasium, makes the carrying out of the work not only difficult but also fraught with anxiety as to the question of accidents. A very heavy demand is made upon the rooms of the Pupil Teacher Centre which makes organisation very difficult indeed.

For a long time I have not been satisfied with the arrangement we have to make on 'wet field days'. We have not a single spare room at Centre, every available space is used every lesson, and when the weather conditions have been unsatisfactory there has been no other alternative but to send the students home. I do not like this arrangement - it neither acts fairly to the students as a whole nor does it give us that opportunity of personal contact as often as we desire under such conditions.

I would like to gather the students together for recreative purposes of a different type to those engaged in at the field, e.g., combined singing, advanced and fancy needlework, folk dancing, and short lectures on subjects not connected with the academic course..." ³

The Committee were not unsympathetic to the pleas of Joseph Batey. They negotiated with the Trustees of the Carver Street Wesleyan Chapel for the hire of a hut adjacent to the Carver Street School room to be used as a Gymnasium for £60 per annum and for the use of the large hall of the Sunday School "when the wet weather conditions prevent their attendance at the field on field days at a charge not exceeding 5/-d. per occasion".

Whether the arrangements proved to be satisfactory or otherwise is not known. They may have been unsuitable or possibly inadequate for by the Autumn of 1926 the Centre was using the British Legion Hall in Townhead Street as a Gymnasium. But this latter expedient for whatever reason proved to be short-lived for in the following July (1927) the Sub-Committee were considering their tenancy with the British Legion and recommending that it be ended and instructed the Director of Education to negotiate for gymnasium facilities at the Edgar Allen Institute.

Pressure on the accommodation issue continued. In July 1930 it was reported that the accommodation used by the Pupil Teacher Centre for Art Classes in the Arundel Street Annexe was urgently needed by the College of Arts and Crafts and that:

"... in consequence enquiries are being made as to the possibility of the premises adjoining Carver Street Wesleyan Chapel, other than those now occupied by the Classes for Unemployed Women and Girls, being rented by the Education Committee for a period of at least two years to accommodate the classes of the Pupil Teacher Centre which at present utilise the Arundel Street Annexe".₁

Unfortunately these arrangements did not work out satisfactorily either. Within weeks of the beginning of the new term, the Principal reported:

"That I have been compelled to transfer the teaching of Drawing from the rooms at Carver Street to the Centre. We found the task of moving furniture day by day was most difficult to carry out and most wasteful in time. The Authorities at Carver Street have helped us excellently and removed one of our greatest difficulties by allowing us to use a large basement room in lieu of the Girls' Institute".₂

The policy of the Sheffield Education Committee appears to have been one of making every possible effort to recruit would-be aspirants to the profession of elementary school teaching. Special efforts were made to accommodate those who signified their intention at the time of the entrance examination to secondary schools and if this was not sufficient, to "cull" those candidates who were "over age" by making it possible for them to attend the Centre and accommodate such candidates in special "over age" classes. In principle, the idea proved impractical for although the "over age" pupils aspired to higher education, many were not capable of responding to the shortened School Certificate course. While a great deal of effort was applied by both staff and pupils it seems that there was much heart-searching and disappointment. Those candidates who had had the benefit of a secondary school course of four years appeared to be at a distinct advantage in the School Certificate performance compared with Pupil Teachers, the majority of whom were following a three year course having been recruited from among senior council school pupils.

The poor educational attainments of the "over age" pupil teachers was but one cause for concern. Questions were being raised in other directions. The emergence of Secondary Education brought with it a system of competitive selective examinations as a basis for the award of local authority scholarships and bursaries but as there were many critics both nationally and locally who questioned the ever increasing educational expenditure, tangible measures of assessing its value in terms of results were sought for. It was in the early twenties that the Director of Education began to take an interest in the examination of basic subjects, particularly in Arithmetic. No educational institution in the City appeared to have been spared; from training college to primary schools. The results of such examinations provided evidence that standards were low. The knowledge of arithmetic of students at the Sheffield Training College appeared to leave something to be desired and it was decided by the Sheffield Education Committee that there would be:

"An examination in Arithmetic of First Year Pupil Teachers, Intending Pupil Teachers, and Student Teachers."

Subsequently the Sub-Committee were informed that:

"The Director of Education has conducted the Examination in Arithmetic of the First Year Pupil Teachers and of the intending Pupil Teachers and Student Teachers in accordance with the decision of the Education Committee.

The results are as follows:

Number obtaining 80 per cent of marks and over	5
" " 70 " and under 80 per cent	25
" " 60 " " 70 "	33
" " 50 " " 60 "	37
" " 40 " " 50 "	30
" " 30 " " 40 "	27
" " 20 " " 30 "	25
" " 10 " " 20 "	3
" " 10 " (Under)	<u>1</u>
	<u>186</u>

The following is an analysis of the Results: Candidates who have obtained 40 per cent of the possible number of marks have been regarded as having "passed" the Examination." ₁

Of the 186 candidates, 148 came from the Pupil Teacher Centre while the remaining 38 came from local secondary schools. The failure rate among pupils from secondary schools was approximately 40 per cent, which was regarded with some dismay. Of the 70 second-year students of the Pupil Teacher Centre who were examined, 27 (38%) failed, while the results of the 78 first-year Pupil Teachers revealed that 14 (18%) had failed.

This state of affairs called for action. The matter was raised in the Elementary Education Sub-Committee which met in July 1925. The minutes record:

"The question of the retention in the service of the fourteen First Year Pupil Teachers who have failed to pass the Examination in Arithmetic arises, and after consultation with the Principal of the Pupil Teacher Centre in order to obtain information as to their general fitness for the teaching profession, the Director of Education recommends that twelve of the fourteen First Year Pupil Teachers be retained and that the engagements be terminated in the cases of the remaining two girls who are unable to obtain satisfactory reports from the Principal of the Pupil Teacher Centre." ₂

The standard of entry to Training Colleges had been fixed at a prescribed number of credit passes and it was proved consistently

that the over-age candidate failed to secure sufficient credits to gain entry to College. It was therefore decided at the end of the 1925 session to end "over age" entry.

There must have been some considerable disquiet, both in the Sub-Committee and without, in connection with the School Certificate Examinations. Reference to the inability of the "over-age" candidates was probably but one aspect. Weak students must have either been dissuaded from entering the examination or kept back in order to undertake a further year or two years' study in an attempt to improve performance. In November 1928, H M Inspectorate visited the Centre and raised queries regarding the nature of the course provided for those pupils who had completed their School Certificate at 15+ and the nature of the course prior to entering College. Later, in 1929, the Sub-Committee asked for the numbers of pupils not entered for the School Certificate examination. The result was a minute to the effect that:

"The Sectional Sub-Committee have decided that it be an instruction to the Principal of the Pupil Teacher Centre that, as a general rule, pupils in the Centre shall be presented for the School Certificate Examination in forms as a whole at the end of four years' instruction at the Centre, and that the reasons for withholding shall be furnished to the Sub-Committee in advance in all cases where it is not proposed to present for the Examination pupils who have completed this period of attendance." ₁

The Bursary system introduced by Morant did not materially affect the situation in Sheffield for a number of years; indeed, the Student Teacher was a rarity before 1920.

Throughout the nineteen-twenties, the Sheffield Local Education Authority continued to appoint a high proportion of Pupil Teachers. The table below provides an indication of this continuance:

	"Pupil Teachers			Student Teachers		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1920	5	68	73	-	2	2
1921	9	25	34	2	71	73
1922	9	53	62	1	35	36
1924						
1925	5	19	24	3	16	19,,

The career path of pupil teachers leaving the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre provides interesting study. Although from 1905 onwards the Sheffield Training College made a major contribution to the training of teachers, it is surprising that so few local ex-Pupil Teachers entered the Sheffield City Training College. This is a particularly curious phenomenon in view of the parochial attitude of the Sheffield Education Committee and the stubbornness with which it had continued to maintain its Pupil Teacher Centre. On the 9th October 1928, the Principal laid the following results before the Sub-Committee:

"I beg to submit the following report with regard to the results of the School Certificate Examination:

140 students sat for the Examination.

107 students obtained the School Certificate, and of these 34 reached Matriculation standard. 33 students failed.

The following table shows the results compared with past years:

Year	No who sat	No obtained School Certificate	No who Matriculated	No who failed
1925	154	114	49	40
1926	127	97	37	30
1927	107	82	28	25
1928	140	107	34	33 ¹

At the February 1929 meeting it was reported that Pupils had been accepted at Training Colleges for the following September:

"	Boys	Girls
Sheffield	3	Sheffield 4
Leeds	1	Homerton 4
Cheltenham	6	Whitelands 2
Goldsmiths	2	Stockwell 3
Winchester	2	Avery Hill 3
Westminster	2	Tottenham 2
Chester	1	Lincoln 1
Borough Road	3	Leeds 1
Sheffield University D.T.D.	1	Ripon 1
Bristol	1	Cheltenham 1
	<u>22</u>	Norwich 1
		Goldsmiths 1
		Southampton <u>1</u>
		<u>25</u> " 2

By 1934 it seemed evident that the usefulness of the Pupil Teacher Centre had outlived itself. Two kinds of pupil were emerging; a group with some academic ability destined to enter teacher training and another group who may best be described as unsuccessful. In a report to the Sub-Committee the Principal reported:

"(a) Of those who obtained the Higher School Certificate before leaving -

Boys	Girls	
1	-	proceeded to a University.
4	1	entered a Training College for Teachers.

(b) Obtained School Certificate -

Boys	Girls	
11	22	entered a Training College for Teachers.
2	5	were appointed Clerks.
3	-	are employed in a laboratory.
1	-	is a Fitter and Machinist.
1	-	is a Flour Packer.
2	-	are employed in the Fruit Trade.
1	-	is a Collector.
-	4	are taking a course in Commercial Subjects.
-	8	are Shop Assistants.
-	1	is a Cleaner.
-	1	entered the nursing profession.
-	1	is engaged in home duties.
-	2	have left the city.
4	3	have not yet obtained employment."

1

Earlier in the session it was reported:

"The total number of pupils in full time attendance at the Centre on October 2nd, 1933, was 646, compared with 697 in October, 1932. The reduction has chiefly occurred in the 16-17 age group and is due to two causes:

(a) students of leaving age have found situations more readily this year than in recent years.

(b) since fewer pupil teachers are being appointed, fewer children are prepared to stay at the Centre until the end of that school year in which they become 17 - which is the minimum age for appointment as pupil teachers - especially if they feel that their chance of appointment is not strong." 2

In 1936 the engagement of pupil teachers finally ended. The Minutes of the Primary School Management Committee record the number of student teachers appointed as follows:

"Number of applications	78
Number recommended for appointment	57
Number not recommended (including 8 who have failed to reach the required educational standard)	19 "
	1

The Board of Education had intimated in the 1920s that it considered the accommodation afforded in the Holly Building to be inadequate but the restraints of the period precluded ambitious remedies. By the early 1930s, the economic climate began to improve. The long held playing fields of the Pupil Teacher Centre at High Storrs had been "traded" for playing fields at Hagg Lane, Intake, where twenty acres had been purchased with a view to the erection of two secondary schools. At the June meeting (1930) the Higher Education Sub-Committee learned that:

"It is now proposed that a new Pupil Teacher Centre be erected on this site owing to the very unsatisfactory arrangement and crowded state of the various premises used by the Centre at the present time".²

Thereupon, the Sub-Committee recommended:

"That the City Architect be instructed to prepare sketch plans for the erection of a new Pupil Teacher Centre on the site at Hagg Lane, Intake, for the accommodation of 650 pupils, with playing fields".³

Speedy relief from the long suffering came seemingly too late. The building of a new school at High Storrs was completed and arrangements were made to transfer the staff and pupils of the Central Schools. It was then that the Secretary to the Education Committee reported:

"... as a temporary measure and subject to the consent of the Board of Education, ... the Pupil Teacher Centre shall be transferred to the Central Secondary School buildings in Orchard Lane immediately after the Summer Vacation, 1933".⁴

The site at Hagg Lane did not prove to be wholly suitable for the new premises and negotiations between the Estate's Surveyor and the Authority resulted in the Education Committee paying a further sum (£750) in respect of a larger piece of land in Hurlfield Road, Intake.

Finally, the end of the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre was in sight. At the April meeting of the Sub-Committee, the Chief Education Officer presented a Report which suggested that application should be made to the Board of Education for recognition of the Centre as a Secondary School from the commencement of the school year 1936-37, on the understanding that the new building would be erected at Hurlfield Road at the earliest possible date.

In response to the application, the Board of Education replied:

"... The Authority will doubtless bear in mind the desirability of adjusting the numbers of boys and girls at present in attendance so as to bring them more nearly to equality...

It is pointed out that when the Centre is finally recognised as a Secondary School, the Board will need to be satisfied that the development of the school's work... will not be prejudiced by the appointment of any undue proportion of Student Teachers...

The Board note that new premises are to be provided after the Centre is recognised as a Secondary School and the Board's recognition will be given on this understanding." ₁

At the close of the summer term 1936, the Pupil Teacher Centre ceased to exist. Its successor became the City Secondary School.

Six months after the event, the Board of Education wrote:

"... With reference to previous correspondence, I am directed to enclose for the information of the Local Education Authority the Report of the Inspectors of the Board of Education on the above named School, hitherto recognised by the Board as the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre and as a Public Elementary School (The Central Council School)...

After considering the report the Board have decided to place the School upon the List of Secondary Schools recognised for the purposes of grant as from the 1st August, 1936...

The Board's recognition is given on the understanding that no further pupil teachers are to be admitted to the School and that, as regards the appointment of Student Teachers, the pupils of this School will be in the same position as those of the other Secondary Schools in the City. The

attention of the Authority is drawn to the comments in the report on the unsatisfactory results which are likely to follow from the presence of an exceptionally high proportion of Student Teachers in one School.

The Authority's attention is also drawn to the section of the report dealing with 'Premises and equipment'. The Board are glad to note... that it is the Authority's intention to provide new buildings for this School at the earliest possible date, and the recognition conveyed in this letter is given on this understanding. The Board hope that proposals will be put forward by the Authority in the near future, so that there may be no delay in providing the School with the new buildings that it needs...".₁

In fact, no new premises came. Delays in approval were finally overtaken by the Second World War and the successor to the Pupil Teacher Centre was never to move to Hurlfield. Instead, it celebrated transfer to new buildings at Stradbroke, Woodhouse, on the 19th February 1964.

CHAPTER VIII - REFERENCES

- Page 93 1. SEC Minutes, 1922-23, p.102
- Page 94 1. SEC Minutes, 1923-24, pp.16-17
- Page 95 1. SEC Minutes, 1924-25, p.96
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1924-25, p.255
- " 3. SEC Minutes, 1924-25, p.284
- Page 96 1. SEC Minutes, 1930-31, p.225
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1930-31, p.395
- Page 98 1. SEC Minutes, 1925-26, p.199
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1925-26, p.200
- Page 99 1. SEC Minutes, 1928-29, p.90
- " 2. SEC Minutes, (Extracted from annual statistics in Minutes for period 1920-25)
- Page 100 1. SEC Minutes, 1928-29, p.377
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1929-30, p.608
- Page 101 1. SEC Minutes, 1934-35, p.501
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1934-35, pp.452-3
- Page 102 1. SEC Minutes, 1936-37, p.264
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1930-31, p.150
- " 3. SEC Minutes, 1930-31, p.150
- " 4. SEC Minutes, 1933-34, p.32
- Page 103 1. SEC Minutes, 1936-37, p.201
- Page 104 1. SEC Minutes, 1936-37, pp.610-611

CHAPTER IX

AN END TO THE MEANS TO AN END

The distinct identity of the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre appeared to emerge almost at a time when the system was becoming an anachronism. From 1906 onwards and particularly during the brief period when the number of pupils was small and entry restricted to those of sixteen years of age and over, the institution began to establish a reputation in a whole range of activities.

While contemporary accounts of the lot of the pupil teachers both in the Centre and out in the schools tell of the arduous nature of the system and of the demands it made on the young people who embarked on the course, student societies, clubs, sports and extra-curricular activities nevertheless began to burgeon forth. The Centre magazine, "The Holly Leaf" first appeared in manuscript form and from 1907 it was printed and continued to be published for over sixty years.¹

There was a strong urge among the students and the staff to establish a corporate identity. The Centre crest² comprised a crown surmounted by a rampant lion holding a shield bearing part of the arms of the City, while a scroll at the base carried the Centre motto: "Discimus ut doceamus" - we learn in order to show others the way. A Centre song "Carmen Illicis" was written, together with a special Centre hymn. Both pieces were regularly sung at special events, annual prize givings and concerts. (See page 119 Appendix)

Of times past, one writer recalled:

"1904 saw a holiday granted for an annual excursion - imagine if you can, brake-loads (horsedrawn wagonettes) of staff and students setting off from Leopold Street for Ashopton, or parties trailing on the hills and converging on Castleton - and the grant of playing fields at High Storrs..."³

H M Inspectors' reports are singularly elusive documents and seldom are they seen after the event. In the early days of the Sheffield Education Committee, H M Inspectors' findings were reprinted in full and circulated with Committee members' minutes, but as time went on it must have been regarded as being more prudent not to publish them. One such report had some comments shown in a later issue of "The Holly Leaf". Coming at a time when the Board of Education wished to see

the end of the Pupil Teacher System "... it was also the Inspectorial opinion that the career of an intending teacher in Sheffield is one of a long series of external examinations..."

The Headmaster's Report at the first speech day of the newly established City Secondary School raised several interesting aspects of pupil activity at the Centre:

"Since our last Speech Day we have experienced a Rebirth and a Visitation. On August 1st, 1936, the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre became the City Secondary School. I know that many friends of the School view the loss of the old name with regret and as this is the last report relating to the Pupil Teacher Centre I wish to spend a few moments in tracing the history of the School in order to show that the change in the name is but the last incident in a metamorphosis which has been proceeding for some years... From the beginning the Sheffield Centre distinguished itself in scholarship for, in 1900, its pupils obtained a number of high places in the examination list, including the first place in all England. Again, two years later, of the 19 girls from all parts of England and Wales who were placed in Division I, no less than four were students of the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre... In 1906 the Centre broke new ground by sending thirteen students abroad to take vacation courses at a continental university. From that year until the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, parties of boys and girls went every year to spend a month in various university centres in France and Switzerland. Evidence of academic success during this time is afforded from the fact that, over a period of ten years, no fewer than 134 former students of the Centre gained degrees at various universities and that, during a period of six years, they gained no less than 26 out of a possible 46 open scholarships at the Sheffield University. It was during the same period that the Centre's hockey club had a remarkable record. In 1913-14, the 1st XI played 16 matches, won 16 and scored 112 goals against 10: their opponents including the first teams of the University and of the Training College." ¹

The introduction of vacation visits to the Continent makes interesting reading:

"... the visit of nine matriculated students from the Centre who attended a summer course held by the Authorities of the University at Dijon, and who were made grants of £5 each from the Education Committee..."

Dijon was selected after correspondence with various Centres on account of the special advantages it presented for the purposes of the students...

The authorities at Dijon having desired to know how far the course had been successful, Mr Dudley has accordingly embodied

his own and the students' criticisms in a memorandum, which he has forwarded to Professor Lambert, who acted as Secretary on behalf of the University. This gentleman from the first manifested the greatest interest in the party, and was untiring in his efforts for the success of the experiment.

Accommodation was secured at the Maison de Famille, an institution under Roman Catholic management. Undertakings were required and given on both sides that no reference to matters of politics or religion was to be made, and these undertakings appear to have been faithfully carried out and for the small price paid (60F per month) the accommodation was remarkably good and the restful atmosphere of the place made a suitable contrast to the strenuous University programme. The students were debarred from going out after 7 o'clock dinner at night, but soon became reconciled to their routine. The Directress and other officials did all they could to make the stay at Dijon comfortable." ¹

Further memories of times past were evoked by an article in the Hallamshire Teacher":

"Readers will remember (if they are old enough) A J Arnold's Olympian pose, his withering sarcasm, his powerful reading; Paddy's weekly test (numbered down to 40) and her tea-party detention for those who could not reel off the names of the stations on the L. & N.W.R.; John Head's Maths lesson (how afraid some of us were of him - unnecessarily) and his devotion to the care of the flower-beds outside the Pavilion; Alfred Meetham in his Lab. which he shared with Miss Buchan taking Botany;... If you played hockey you cannot forget the way L.C.D. drove you on to victory. If you were a smallish boy you will remember how you were "set on" to weed the sacred cricket pitch where L.C.D. played croquet. Happy days... Did you like the grey overalls with white collars and cuffs which the girls wore? Did you walk in solemn procession to Carver Street Chapel on Armistice Days so long ago? Perhaps you were one of those who fainted during the long periods of standing? It was in 1920 that the School was reorganised. Mr Batey came back as Principal and pupils were admitted in such numbers that classes had to be held in Carver Street (remember the horse-boxes?), Townhead Street (cock-loft and all), and Arundel Street." ²

Although much was expected of the pupils in terms of effort and progress, their welfare must have been constantly uppermost in the minds of the staff. The pupils travelled into the Centre both from the various suburbs and sometimes from the adjacent areas in Derbyshire and the West Riding. Practical solutions had to be found despite the accommodation problems and the Principal reported to the Governors that:

"... arrangements are being made to provide proper accommodation and facilities for the students who live a long way from the Centre to take their Mid-day Meal in comfort and with reasonable decency. Chairs and Trestles, with the use of temporary desks, make adequate Table accommodation, and by the provision of table cloths and crockery, the students are able to lunch together under the supervision of a member of the staff. Liquid refreshment is being provided, the entire cost of which is borne by the students." ¹

The nature of the school meal provision is not known but it was quite obviously a profitable proposition. In 1933, the Principal announced:

"The profit on School Dinners for the Autumn and Spring Terms of the present school year seems to warrant a reduction in the price, and so, as an experiment, I propose to charge 6d. per dinner instead of 7d. for the Summer Term." ²

Eccentricities no doubt abounded and in among the records is a note:

"That the tender of Messrs. H. Boot and Son, for providing and fixing a Greenhouse over the girls' offices at the Pupil Teacher Centre, at the corner of Holly Street and Orchard Lane, for the sum of £30.10s.0d., be accepted; the work to be carried out to the satisfaction of the Committee's Inspector of Buildings." ³

The unique feature of the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre lay in its continuation when all but two Local Education Authorities had abandoned their Centres. Sheffield Education Committee maintained theirs against considerable pressure from the Inspectorate and the Board of Education.

The need to maintain the Pupil Teacher Centre should probably be considered against the background of local views and opinions. At the time of the passing of the 1902 Education Act, the majority of teachers, and in particular head teachers, had passed through the pupil teacher system and whether they thought it could be improved or not, many considered that what had been good enough for them was good enough for their successors. With the pupilage system so entrenched it was difficult to effect change easily. Disciples of the system were also to be found in the Education Committee and in the "Education Offices". John Derry, a staunch local Liberal, and

editor of the "Sheffield Independent" had started his career as a schoolmaster in London:

"He left his chief mark upon the education of the city by the work he did in connection with the Act of 1902. When this statute came into force, necessitating the establishment of the Education Committee which would include Secondary as well as Elementary education in its operations, Mr Derry had the distinction of drafting, in co-operation with the late Sir Henry Stephenson, a committee scheme of a purely educational character, which was accepted without modification by the City Council and approved by the Board of Education. It was a scheme which (to quote the late Sir William Clegg) "overcame the scruples of both Political parties and all religious denominations". The smoothness with which the Sheffield Education Committee does its business, and its freedom from religious differences are advantages due largely to Mr Derry whose scheme has worked with general efficiency and a notable absence of friction." ¹

While John Derry was a teacher-turned journalist and the leading voice on the Liberal "Sheffield and Rotherham Daily Independent", the chief executive of the Sheffield School Board was John Francis Moss - a journalist-turned educationalist and administrator. Before joining the Sheffield School Board, John Moss had first served an apprenticeship as a printer in Rotherham and had then progressed to journalism. He gained promotion quickly and by his early twenties he became chief reporter of the local Conservative daily paper, the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph". While both Derry and Moss shared common objectives in attempting to ensure the best provision for the City, they were opponents on many issues of policy.

In 1870, at the youthful age of twenty-five, Moss was appointed Clerk to the Sheffield School Board and quickly established a formidable reputation:

"Mr J F Moss... plays several parts, either from duty or liking... There are at least three separate shapes in which (he) appears. One as the clerkly martinet, the drawer of resolutions, the understander of bye-laws, the person who, educationally, is perfectly informed as to What's What... (he) is a terror for particularness - if we may coin a word... fair and courteous, but unbending, as befits one who knows that his own official language cannot be bettered... his favourite part is between the extremes of grim clerk and jolly

companion - it is the part of a genial diplomatist. Nobody knows how to "work a point" better than Mr Moss, whether it be a stupid Education Board, a crabbed School Board Member, or an irate parent who needs management".¹

But John Moss was much more than the figure the satirised sketch implied. Early in the life of the School Boards he led the Sheffield Board into the newly formed Association of School Boards and from the beginning was a member of its executive committee - an honour which he held against challenges from many eminent national educational figures of the time. He made persistent representation to the Council of Education with his case to set up Central Higher Elementary Schools and succeeded - the Sheffield Central School being reputedly the first of its kind in England, and which in the course of time brought him wide respect. He gave evidence to the Royal Commission on Education in the 1880s and was at the hub of School Board Association policies for over thirty-five years. Not unnaturally, there was considerable antagonism between Moss and Derry. Lively debate spilled over from educational committees into local newspaper journalism, for Moss, as one of the founders of the Sheffield and District Press Club, maintained his links with the press throughout his life.

The 1902 Education Act put the prime responsibility for elementary and secondary education in the hands of local education authorities controlled in essence by local borough councils - responsibility having been wrested from the politically ambiguous School Boards and the sectarian voluntary bodies. But in the years following 1900, the Board of Education as well as deciding strategy, increasingly and directly involved itself specifically in operational matters. While many welcomed the reforms which Morant set in train, there were critics, and indeed opponents, not so much against what was being effected but by the way it was being effected. However, although the financing of education was dependent on direct grant, supplementary finance by rate support was playing an increasing part. Consequently, local education authorities (particularly those large city boroughs) were not prepared to accept undue interference from the Board of Education.

There was no surer way of uniting factions in local institutional politics than pressure or direction from the centre and this is exemplified by the way the Tory, Sir Henry Stephenson, and the Liberal, John Derry, worked together to establish the committee structure of the Sheffield Education Committee. In spite of political differences, the business of education for Sheffield was uppermost in the minds of those who served on the Education Committee.

Local patriotism and educational professionalism was not limited to apolitical laymen. In the late eighteen-eighties and nineties there was a band of teachers in Sheffield who were particularly closely involved in the development of the profession. From amongst their number some were to leave the City and take up the lot of the elementary school teacher through political activity. In the City itself there was considerable activity both in the organisation of education and in the establishment of teachers' unions. So far as the training of teachers went, head teachers had a long connection with the development of pupil teachers for whom they had responsibility. Consequently, when the Centre system began to develop, several prominent head teachers took a lively interest and became involved in the on-going instruction.

In addition to the several reasons put forward in favour of the original idea of district pupil teacher centres, there was an implied reason that only the more able head teachers would be involved in tutoring the pupil teachers and such heads were probably selected because they ran effective schools and had shown a commitment to the development of their young staff - a point which is often alluded to in H M Inspectors' reports of the period.

It was to George Champley's School at Pye Bank that Joseph Batey came as a certificated assistant in 1890, having been born and educated in Clifton near Penrith. He had served a pupilage at the Penrith Wesleyan School and then entered St John's College, Battersea for his teacher training. Under Champley's watchful eye, promotion for Batey came rapidly. By 1892 at the age of twenty-four, he was appointed head teacher of Carbrook School and joined

that select group charged with the task of instructing Pupil Teachers in the district Centres. It was later written of him:

"He was one of the best all-round headmasters... in Sheffield... He was a man who took a great interest in his pupils and was never happier than when he was introducing subjects which were likely to be of special interest to them... pupils never spent a dull moment in his company... He was full of original ideas and in carrying them out was broadening the minds of his pupils and taking them down avenues of thought usually unexplored by juvenile minds." ¹

When, in 1895, the Sheffield School Board began to establish the Pupil Teacher Centre in the Old Free Writing School, the youthful Joseph Batey at the age of twenty-seven was appointed its full-time Superintendent.

Surprisingly, his stay was brief. When the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre was established as a permanent institution, the Sheffield School Board decided to appoint a Principal. The post was advertised, candidates were interviewed and one, Arthur J Arnold, was offered and accepted the appointment in 1899. The incumbent Principal was born in Greenwich in 1864, having trained as a teacher at Borough Road College and gained his B.A. at London University in 1889. After teaching at Woolwich he became involved in instructing Pupil Teachers at the Finsbury Park Centre and in the organisation of an evening institute at Hackney. In 1896 he moved to Tottenham to take charge of the Pupil Teacher Centre.

As a character, he now appears to have been somewhat enigmatic. John Derry wrote a feature on his appointment which appeared in the "Sheffield Weekly Independent" on the 25th March 1899, copies of which were destroyed by fire during the Second World War. Nevertheless, fragments of that sketch were to be quoted in later articles:

"Mr Arnold is coming to Sheffield... on the unanimous invitation of the School Board. A glance at his educational history will show that the Board and the City have every reason to expect him to take a high place in educational circles in the City and to do great work in our midst." ²

By 1900, John Derry was observing:

"How completely Mr Arnold has realized the high expectations formed of his abilities as a tutor is indicated in the success of his pupils in the Kings Scholarship examination recently announced... His organising capacity is great and he has a magnetic way of developing the power of his pupils and of winning their confidence and esteem. He is not a showy worker, but quiet, steady, and inspiring in his methods..."¹

Of Arnold the man, little is revealed. While tributes to past principals by past students tend to err on the side of generosity, indications are that Arthur Arnold was dour, humourless - probably frightening. "His Olympian pose, his withering sarcasm, his powerful reading" coupled with some of the unbending comments in his reports to the Pupil Teacher Centre Governors seem to evince little popularity. In terms of success, his period of office brought its share both in academic and sporting terms but in a situation where there was an ever-present threat of demise, tangible results were probably the only means of maintaining continued support for the centre.

With the 1914-18 War at an end, Arnold retired. His principalship had run for twenty years. Through his efforts the permanent centre was developed. The institution was steered through the period of Morant's reign at the Board of Education, at a time when there must inevitably have been many difficult relationships between the Local Education Authority and the Inspectorate - a situation exacerbated by the inadequacy of the buildings and shortages of accommodation. Indeed, collectively and to some extent unwittingly, the students, staff, educational administrators and local politicians all probably played a part in preserving the Centre.

Meanwhile, in the intervening years, Joseph Batey, the former Superintendent of the Centre, had been pursuing his career elsewhere. That he was not appointed to the Principalship of the Centre in 1899 must have been a great disappointment. Was he too young for the post? Did the Sheffield School Board think that an "outsider" should be appointed? Did the School Board and the Inspectorate in 1898 take exception to one so young leading a deputation to their offices to effect action? Militancy manifested against the efficiency of the

Pupil Teachers from Voluntary Schools was hardly likely to inspire confidence at a time when the "religious question" was at the forefront of education. There seems to be little doubt that the appointment of Arthur Arnold was influenced by John Moss, the School Board Secretary. His activities in connection with the Association of School Boards brought him into very close contact with the London School Board from within which Arthur J Arnold emanated and the late-twentieth century personnel practice of "head-hunting" was not unknown in the eighteen-nineties. Speculation alone remains - the reasons now lost in the mists of time.

But Joseph Batey was never one to let grass grow under his feet. In 1900 he became Head Teacher of Pomona Street School and successively thence as Head Teacher of Anns Road School, Carter Knowle School and finally Hammerton Street Council School. He extended his teaching activities into extra-mural work at Firth College and the University of Sheffield. His very popular lectures in Literature "were attended not only by young people but by adults, including school teachers and others connected with education work". He was appointed a Diocesan reader and became a leading member of the City's Anglican Laity. His interest in charitable works led him into Chairmanship of the Teachers Benevolent Fund with particular interest in the Tapton Grange Orphanage for Girls (a memorial to Joseph Batey was installed therein after his death to commemorate his unstinting efforts for the institution).

Whatever success Arthur J Arnold may have had as Principal of the Centre, on his retirement, Joseph Batey appears to have succeeded him twenty years later with considerable support and goodwill both from the Sheffield Education Committee and the teaching profession, with whom he was so closely identified. His period of office commenced in January 1920 and continued until 1931.

The appointment of Batey to the Principalship did not go unnoticed.

"Observer" wrote in the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph":

"Mr Joseph Batey's return to the Pupil Teacher Centre as its Head will interest all sorts of people. It will do more than interest teachers - especially young teachers. It will stimulate them. The appointment is a demonstration of the value of grit, determination, and personality.

As a much younger man, Mr Batey, without artificial aids, secured the headship of the Centre. Then a new wave swept over the School Board, which was then in command of Sheffield Schools, and Mr Batey disappeared. When he re-appeared he was Headmaster of one of the Elementary Schools.

What had happened? Some one had been judging him - as so many men are judged - not by his head, or even his body, but by his tail - or his absence of tail. There were no letters at the back of his name: and his ability and the power of his personality counted for nothing against that fact.

I am not going to condemn the value of a degree. It is a sort of hallmark. It sets a useful standard. But where is the degree - which are the magic letters - which establish a man's power and success as a teacher? The power to pass examinations is great. The power that helps others to pass examinations, and to become valuable citizens, is greater.

Mr Batey had the one: he had not got the other. He had the power to influence: he had not the hall mark. But he has returned to the P.T. Centre as its Head. Which fact is a condemnation of the action of years ago, and is a sign that men plus ability and plus personality may, by and by, be accounted of as much worth as men plus only degrees.

"Turn Again Whittington"

These points are interesting, but what is more useful is the fact that Mr Batey took the change in his status like a man. When he went to the elementary school, he gave to it the energy and the initiative and the inspiration he had given to the Centre. It was a hard test of the greatness of the man. He might have lost hope. Lesser men would have done.

I don't know that he ever heard, as he climbed the hill to Gleadless Road, the bells of Bow Street or Holly Street calling across the smoke-laden atmosphere - "Turn again Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London", or - "Keep it up Batey, we mean to have you back again". I have had many intimate conversations with him, but he has never revealed to me that calls of that kind came to him. Whether they did or not, he carried on as though there had been voices or bells.

The fact is, of course, he could do no other. He is built that way. Some men are. He has an inexhaustible supply of energy and ideas. He could not give less than his best. His make-up would not permit. When he grows slack and slow he will die." ₁

If his predecessor had had to face difficulties in the preceding twenty years, these dwarfed into insignificance compared with the decade of the twenties. Economic stress brought continued instability in pupil numbers and staff changes. There was continual

uncertainty surrounding the future of the Centre; its long term role was almost permanently under review and there must have been times when Batey and the Centre felt like mere pawns in a game played between the Director of Education for Sheffield and the Board of Education.

The changes in the political structure of the City also presented problems. The highly successful and largely non-partisan system of Governors-management which had been established for each institution and which had been introduced in the years following the 1902 Education Act was swept away in 1926 when the Labour group gained control of the City Council. The management of the Pupil Teacher Centre was assigned to the direct control of the Pupil Teacher Centre Section of the Higher Education Sub-Committee and the Principal lost direct access to the Governing body which had been a distinctive feature of its governance for over twenty years. Thereafter, the Principal, was summoned when required to attend sectional meetings and had considerably less opportunity to directly influence the situation through the management committee.

When finally the future of the Centre was almost resolved, when the hopes for a newly planned centre were running high, Joseph Batey contracted pneumonia and died on the 10th February 1931 aged 63. Appointed as Principal at the age of 52, he had served the Centre for eleven years. A glowing obituary paid tribute to the contribution which he had made to Sheffield education and its institutions. Strangely, it somewhat condescendingly observed - he was "the son of a working man", a singularly inexplicable comment made in a community of self-made men, many of whom by 1931 had achieved success and raised themselves from the direct labouring class via the Pupil Teacher Centre or the Central School. Unsaid, but implied, was the feeling that his late, but ultimate succession to the Principalship righted old wrongs and was truly deserved.

Alfred Meetham, the Acting Principal and Physics Master, was appointed to the principalship from August 1931 but after a mere three years in office, he too died on the 4th September 1934. The

appointment of a successor was now somewhat delayed until the future of the Centre had been resolved and then a headmaster would in future be appointed as the Centre became a Secondary School. Stephen Northeast, a member of the former Central School staff, was appointed.

The real battles for the continuance of the institution had been fought elsewhere - battles not concerned with raising student numbers, finding accommodation or passing examinations. The "old guard", Moss, Derry and the founder members of the Education Committee, had succeeded in winning the arguments emanating from Morant's pupil teacher policies.

The "new guard" appeared in 1919 when Sheffield Education Committee appointed Percival Sharp as Director of Education. Sharp was 52 years of age:

"... (he) had been concerned with teaching from the age of twelve, when he was a paid monitor in a school in Bishop Auckland. From that he became a pupil-teacher, then successively teacher, headmaster, inspector and Secretary for Education in Lancashire, until 1914 when he became the first Director of Education for Newcastle..."₁

During the life of the Sheffield School Board (from 1870 to 1901) and of the Sheffield Education Committee (from 1901 to 1919) both bodies had been under the direction of administrators: John F Moss for thirty-six years, G S Baxter for twelve years. In contrast, Sharp came to Sheffield not only as a highly experienced educationalist but:

"He knew the profession from every angle, and if he asked a good deal of the Sheffield teachers he asked of them nothing he had not done himself"₂

He also came with a formidable zest for efficiency. One who worked with him described the experience as that of "working with a whirlwind":

"Dr Sharp could be very brusque and forthright... (and)... he was frank to the point of rudeness. He had the Napoleonic trick of beating down those who opposed his wishes until they were in despair, and then sending them away happy with all they sought. He loved a fighter, and the more a man or woman fought him the better he liked them.

(He) stood for efficiency above all else and... allowed no feelings - his own or those of anyone else - to stand in the way of that objective...

... he made enemies in Sheffield... (for) ... he never courted popularity..."₂

Such was the character of Percival Sharp, "but things were difficult in those days" and Sharp had the task of administrating and developing an education service which was faced with cuts in expenditure each time an economic crisis arose. If he scourged those around him and those working in his schools, he was equally uncompromising with the Board of Education and the Inspectorate. So much so that on the question of Sheffield's insistence in maintaining its Pupil Teacher Centre, the Board of Education did not press the matter. Sharp's views and influence on the subject were too well-known. He believed in the Pupil Teacher system. It had enabled him to achieve success and in his view it not only provided a means of identifying those who were unsuitable for a career in teaching but it provided for those who had ability the means of gaining valuable experience in the classroom before entering the teacher training course. The justification for this policy is to be seen in the text of a brochure which he prepared for "Education Week" held in Sheffield in 1924:

"(The Pupil Teacher Centre)... by providing the necessary complement to the period of apprenticeship... enables the young teacher to gain the necessary further practice in the art of teaching and the academic equipment for the realisation of the Teacher's Certificate granted by the Board of Education... The fact that Sheffield (in spite of much opposition in high official quarters) has maintained its Pupil Teacher Centre proves that the promotion of this high standard of efficiency has been a matter for serious consideration and generous interpretation on the part of those responsible for education in the area..."¹

Percival Sharp retired in September 1932 at the age of 65. On his retirement he became the first full-time Secretary of the Association of Education Committee - a post he held until 1944. He was knighted in 1938 and took his second retirement at the age of 77. From the time Percival Sharp retired, the Pupil Teacher Centre rapidly lost its pupil teaching role and finally, in 1936, its identity. Was its protracted life really a necessary expedient to the training and supply of teachers or was it merely a by-product of a power struggle between the Local Education Authority and the Board of Education?

CHAPTER IX - REFERENCES

- Page 106 1. On commencing this research but a few copies of "The Holly Leaf" magazine appeared to remain and these are in the Sheffield City Library's "Sheffield Collection". Later I discovered that Alan W Goodfellow, a former pupil teacher and later senior master at the PTC, had in his possession an almost complete set, including the early MS copies of the magazine which preceded "The Holly Leaf" entitled "Thoughts and Fancies". I am indebted to A W Goodfellow for the loan of this material.
- Page 106 2. The incidence of the armorial figures - crown, torque and rampant lion holding an ancient shield bearing arrows - recurs frequently in armorial bearings related to Sheffield. They are to be found in the Borough Coat of Arms prior to the City receiving county status, and on the arms of Firth College and University College. The City Training College adopted the crest without the crown, but in later years had to drop the design because of objections. The Pupil Teacher Centre kept the same design throughout.
- Page 106 3. "The Holly Leaf", 1946
- Page 107 1. "The Holly Leaf", December 1937, No 73, Vol 29, p.3
- Page 108 1. SEC Minutes, 1906-07, pp.359-360
- " 2. "Hallamshire Teacher", No 15, 1963, p.18
- Page 109 1. SEC Minutes, 1920, p.166
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1934, p.26
- " 3. SEC Minutes, 1908, p.340
(Author's note: seventy years after its installation, the greenhouse can still be seen implanted on the roof of the Holly building)
- Page 110 1. "Sheffield Daily Telegraph", 20th February 1937
- Page 111 1. "Sheffield and Rotherham Independent", 24th November 1900
- Page 113 1. "Sheffield Daily Telegraph", 11th February 1931, p.7
- " 2. "Sheffield Weekly Independent", 25th March 1899
- Page 114 1. "Sheffield and Rotherham Independent", 30th March 1900
- Page 115a 1. Reprinted in "The Holly Leaf", No 38, Vol 13, July 1920
- Page 117 1. Woodham, H S, "Stories of Percival Sharp", "Sheffield Daily Telegraph and Independent", 3rd January 1938
- " 2. Ibid
- " 3. Ibid
- Page 118 1. Handbook, Education Week, 1924, p.66. Issued by Sheffield Education Committee

"Carmen Ilicis" appears to have been written about 1926. The words were by Alan W Goodfellow, an ex-pupil of the Centre, who returned in 1924 to take up a teaching appointment. The music was composed by the teacher of music, Edward Taylor:

"Carmen Ilicis"

1. The Oak, the Ash, the bonny Ivy tree
Are known in story, famed in song;
But we who know thee, certain are
That, search the woodlands near or far,
Ye ne'er will find, tho' seek ye long,
A bush so worthy song or eulogy
As Centre's Holly - ever green.

Chorus

Semper discamus
Ut doceamus
Nil nisi verum.
Sive docemur,
Sive docemus,
Vitam degamus
Ut maneamus
Omnes amici!

2. No stately mansion holds thee 'neath her tow'rs;
No flow'rs for thee their fragrance shed
Nor birds enchant with minstrelsy;
No silvern stream encircles thee,
Nor trees their shady verdure spread;
But we who know thee, love thee, School of ours,
And know thee worthy of all we give.
3. We grow to know thee in that first long year,
When all thy rules in turn we break;
But when are gone our tiny woes,
In Games - as every student knows -
At High Storrs Field a pride we take;
We proudly wear grey overalls, and fear
The day we doff our lion badge.
4. By thee we first were gently taught to heed
The quiet voice the Muses use
To those who search in questing Youth,
For Beauty, Knowledge, and for Truth.
Thy place in Mem'ry ne'er shalt lose:
Thy inspiration evermore shall lead
To noble labours, nobly done.
5. In College Hall, and - maybe - 'Varsity,
In stranger, wider circumstances;
When, too, we teach in after years,
We'll find thro' all our hopes and fears
The name of Centre there, perchance -
As one may find empress'd in Memory,
A Holly Leaf - an ever-green.

CHAPTER X

THE DAY TRAINING COLLEGE OF SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Pupil teachers had been passing through the schools since the 1850s. A proportion completed their pupilage, passed into the Training College and re-entered teaching as qualified teachers. But for a variety of reasons, wastage was high and many fell by the wayside, finding employment elsewhere. Of those who remained on the educational scene a proportion took up appointments as unqualified assistants, often with the intention of gaining recognised status at a later stage. By the 1880s it was becoming increasingly clear that to meet the demands steadily created by the increasing school population the staffing of elementary schools was dependent not only on pupil teachers but also on uncertificated assistant teachers. Clearly, the situation relating to the maintenance of a properly trained teaching force could not be improved until either the number of training colleges was increased or until the number of places in training colleges could be increased. While the voluntary bodies attempted to meet the demand by increasing the number of places, little financial inducement was available to encourage the establishment of further colleges. The School Boards too were placed in an increasingly difficult position for, under the terms of the 1870 Education Act, they had no means of establishing teacher training facilities either legally or financially. The Cross Commission in its terms of reference was asked to consider the feasibility of setting up non-residential "Day Training Colleges". The pressure for this came from the School Boards¹ who not only suffered directly from the shortage of trained teachers, but who encountered considerable difficulties over denominational restrictions imposed by the majority of the training colleges. A solution had to be found which would not alienate the various religious factions and which would not stir up too much political argument. It was therefore with a good deal of caution that the Cross Commission proposed that a limited number of Day Training Colleges be set up either in the universities or in

university colleges in order to supplement the supply of trained teachers.

From the outset, the Education Department exercised strict control over the arrangements. Part Two of the New Code for 1890 contained precise instructions for the administration of the "day-training" grant and the arrangements for the scheme were quite definite:

"The students were to receive their general education in the ordinary classes of the university institutions, their professional training being the work of a special department of the college (university)".₁

It was envisaged that the course would be of two years' duration but in cases where students wished to read for a degree, sympathetic consideration would be given to those students wishing to continue for a third year so that they could complete their studies. The proposals appeared attractive enough both for students and for the institutions which were to receive them.

Unfortunately, serious difficulties were soon encountered:

"University degree courses had not been planned for intending teachers (consequently the arrangements)... threw a much greater burden upon... (intending teachers) than upon the private student reading for a degree. Moreover, there was always the tendency to attach greater importance to the academic studies and belittle the professional training...".₂

In spite of the control which the Regulations of the Education Department manifested and what promised to be the almost day-to-day oversight of the day training arrangements by H M Inspectorate, the universities and university colleges were glad of the opportunity to respond. Six institutions opened their doors to Queens Scholars in 1890, four more in 1891, and a further four in 1892.

While the School Boards welcomed the introduction of day training they were less happy in respect of their lack of direct involvement in the arrangements. Notwithstanding the fact that many School Board representatives and officers were involved in the lay governance of the provincial universities and university colleges,

the Boards gained little or no ground in the field of teacher training, indeed, the overall effects of the Cross Commission's recommendations served to reinforce a particular view that the authority, influence and scope of School Boards was to be contained, if not reduced.

The attitude towards the establishment of day training arrangements varied from belittlement to grudging acceptance. Evidence to the Cross Commission quite clearly expressed by the supporters of the normal colleges was that the residential "closed-community" experience of the training college was the only means of educating teachers whose previous background had in many cases been that of the working class family. The working class conditions and home influence figured highly in the debate. Sir Josuah Fitch was to express to the Cross Commission that:

"... (day training arrangements) will be defective, no doubt, in the discipline and some of the moral influences which now belong to the training colleges".¹

Similar attitudes prevailed and were reflected at local level. When the employment of a young pupil teacher was in question by the Sheffield School Board because her parents were publicans and the prospective pupil resided at a public house, the appointment was endorsed on the condition that the pupil teacher took up residence elsewhere!

Transcending the problems of the recruitment and training of teachers were underlying issues relating to social status which divided the teaching profession. The training of elementary school teachers had become synonymous with pupilage and with the two-year course in a normal training college. The perception of the elementary school teachers' rise from working class origins contrasted with the alumni of the universities. Even the students of the new or civic universities came predominantly from local lower middle class families. The profession of teaching for an aspirant from a middle class family equated with employment in a grammar, private or public school. But attempts to establish training standards for such teachers in the 1880s had largely been

abortive. Consequently graduates from the universities who entered teaching did so on the strength of a degree and without professional training - albeit with a knowledge that the central administration appeared to support that view. As Tropp observed:

"The bitter class hostility between the "cultured" middle-class secondary teacher (who had often "come down" in the world) and the "uncultured" elementary teacher (who had "come up" in the world) has affected relations between the two branches of the profession to the present day. Each side had a stereotyped view of the other. The elementary teacher was regarded as uncouth and uncultured, a drillmaster employing tyrannical methods to enforce rote learning while the secondary teacher was regarded as incapable of teaching his limited store of knowledge and relying solely on the snob value of his class background and his degree (if any). These stereotypes still poison relations in the profession long after any justification there may have been for them has vanished".¹

Nevertheless, day training appeared to augur well for the future for it married academic standing with professional training and offered, for the more able, an opportunity to gain a degree. Furthermore, its introduction was a development of some significance. It came to be regarded by some as being "one of the most important points in the history of teacher-training in England"² for not only did it serve to increase the number of training places but it challenged the near exclusive control of teacher training held by the voluntary bodies:

"... it meant the 'seminary idea' popularised by Kay Shuttleworth, was challenged after it had held the field for over fifty years. No longer could their authorities prate, without fear of contradiction, of the inestimable advantages for moral growth and social development of herding together young men and young women, all preparing for the same work, in institutions where narrowness of outlook and meanness of administration were too often the rule".³

In spite of doubts as to the efficiency of the day-training proposal, the hosts to the experiment had reason to be more than grateful to the Cross Commission for initiating the arrangements.

The civic universities and university colleges which burgeoned forth in the 1880s were facing serious problems. They were

essentially civic universities drawing students from relatively local catchment areas. Public subscription, benefactions and patronage had been forthcoming in an eagerness to establish the local institution. Civic pride was at stake and appeals were made to support local patriotism. Unfortunately, it was not the initial establishment of such institutions which presented difficulties but the problems of subsequent maintenance and development.

In Sheffield, Firth College, a University College, had been created and chartered in 1879; but its work was limited - it could not award degrees and its meagre financial resources were stretched:

"The early years of the college were perilous: funds were short and its founder and chief benefactor died in the first year that students were admitted... As it was the College survived on its endowment and annual subscriptions... By the mid-1880s Firth College, along with many other newly established university colleges, was in severe financial straits".¹

Pressure from the newly created university college institutions finally led to the establishment of direct government aid - a means of support which the then Principal of Firth College, Professor W M Hicks, did much to achieve. While Firth College was able to survive, money and resources nevertheless remained in short supply. As the 1890s approached, the future looked bleak until a mutually useful innovation was proposed: the establishment of a Day Training College:

"In 1889, ... the question was raised... of opening a Day Training College for students wishing to become elementary school teachers. After a year of inquiries and discussion, the new section was opened and was recognised by the Education Department for a maximum of nine students in its first year, the permitted number being increased as time went on... Students were expected to read for London degrees while attending the College, though probably not many reached their final examination..."²

The account of the establishment of day training in Firth College by Chapman hides the reality of the situation. When the department was opened "there were nine applicants (who had applied) for admission but unfortunately they all failed in the Queen's Scholarship examination".³

Nevertheless, in spite of early set-backs, the day training arrangements continued to develop. T W Quine, the Headteacher of Duchess Road School, was one of a group of heads who had considerable practical experience in training pupil-teachers, particularly under the district centre arrangement. Quine was appointed in 1890. He established the day training department and was responsible for the teaching of educational subjects. After three years he resigned to take up an appointment as Inspector of Schools.

In 1880, Sheffield School Board had engaged a mistress for the new Central School, one Miss Lydia D Murdock, a Scot. The Board, apparently was much impressed by this lady's efficiency, for a year later she was appointed an Inspectress of Schools. In 1882, Miss Murdock resigned her appointment with the Sheffield School Board in order to marry a Mr Henry, who subsequently went to Ceylon as a tea planter. He died suddenly in 1891 and his widow, along with her young children, returned to England. Undeterred by widowhood, and having of necessity to provide for her children, between 1891 and 1893 she held lectureships at Stockwell and Southlands Training Colleges, returning to Sheffield in 1893 when she was appointed to fill the vacancy created by the departure of T W Quine.

The number of two-year, normal, students was about fifty during the early years of the Day Training College and Lydia Henry was responsible for their professional training. The teaching arrangements were somewhat complicated. Training in some non-academic subjects such as drawing, needlework and handicrafts was undertaken in other institutions such as the Sheffield School of Art. Academic studies were provided in the University College, while Mrs Henry had the formidable task of organising and supervising teaching practice in local schools - an arrangement made more difficult by the rules of the Sheffield School Board which only allowed four students to practice in any one school. This restriction necessitated the tutor having to travel considerable distances between schools. The hard work and dedication of Lydia Henry appears to have been well rewarded, for her students were

highly successful. But the Day Training College was a Cinderella. Chapman observed:

"Not all sections of the (University) College... shared the development that took place in those for which earmarked grants were available, and some departments were almost stifled for lack of money... one such was the Day Training College..."₁

With hindsight, this was a remarkable situation. Government grant was flowing into University College in respect of day-training students. From 1897 to 1905 the Day Training College provided almost half of all the students registered in Arts and Science. Indeed, the very substance of the nature of the student body at the time the University received its Charter might well have been questioned. Chapman revealed that out of 585 day students registered in 1905-06, only 114 were registered for degrees or diplomas. Of the remaining 471, 81 were in reality full-time students of the City of Sheffield Training College, who attended classes in the University because they could not be provided for in the Training College. Finally, the records of the University reveal that 220 students were not even registered in a particular faculty.

Clearly the marginally adequate provision in the Day Training College could not continue without longer-term adverse effects resulting.

The reports of the Inspectorate were favourably disposed towards the staff, which reflected well on the work of the tutor Lydia Henry, but the Inspectorate constantly criticised the lack of provision in the Day Training College, and the Sheffield School Board, who had a vested interest in the supply of elementary school teachers, also began putting on pressure. This was hardly surprising. The School Boards had been seeking to extend their work into teacher-training for a number of years with little real success and the Sheffield School Board was no exception. In 1898, a further communication from the London School Board was circulated to other Boards, the text of it containing a copy of memoranda which it intended to submit to the 'Lords of the Council':

"... urging that the present supply of training college accommodation should be increased, by the establishment of colleges under public management".¹

On the 20th March 1899, the Chairman and members of the Sheffield School Board wrote:

"To the Secretary of the Education Department, Whitehall, S.W.
We, the whole of the members of the Sheffield School Board now serving on the Sheffield Day Training College Committee, being satisfied that sufficient provision is not made for the training of students for the proper and efficient discharge of their duties as teachers in Elementary Schools, hereby request that the Education Department will institute an enquiry into the management of this Department of the College.

Folliott G Sandford, Chairman
John Sutton
John Derry
Thos. W. Holmes
William B. Esam".²

Succumbing to pressure from the Board of Education, the University College Council passed the following resolution:

"That the Day Training College Committee be authorised to nominate an additional assistant at a salary not exceeding £120 per ann. on the understanding that at least eight additional students be received and that a rearrangement of the teaching be made whereby at least £70 per ann. will be saved".³

The result was that a Mr Boyde was appointed as an assistant Master of Method to help the overworked Mrs Henry. Unfortunately, Mr Boyde remained for only one year and indeed from the time of his appointment in 1899 until the Day Training College was merged, no fewer than three persons held the post.

Contemporary accounts indicate that the University College Council resented both the pressure from the Education Department and from the School Board. Although the University College Council fixed the assistant's salary at £120, the Day Training College Committee expressed a hope that the salary would not necessarily remain at £120 per annum. That it did not - for the salary of the second incumbent was reduced to £90 per annum! Although the University

College had to exercise care over expenditure, there seems little doubt that there was a considerable degree of parsimony in matters concerning the Day Training College. The appointment of an assistant for Mrs Henry carried a stipulation that the holder of the post was to undertake teaching duties in subjects (drawing and arithmetic in particular) which had hitherto been previously taught outside University College.

The situation seemed insoluble: the problems remained and pressure continued. By 1902, Professor Hicks, the Principal of University College, was prompted to write to the Day Training College Committee:

"... the income is not adequate, with the result that instead of efficiency, economy and parsimony must necessarily come first and efficiency take a second place... As it is, there is friction between the Committee wishing to make changes and extension, and the Council wishing to keep expenses down".¹

CHAPTER X - REFERENCES

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CHAPTER XI

ESTABLISHING THE FIRST PUBLIC TRAINING COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS

The first three years of the twentieth century were critical ones: the Boer War, numerous international incidents, and the death of Queen Victoria seemed to symbolise the passing of the old order - the age of imperialism was ending and a new era was about to take its place. In national politics, 1895 to 1905 was the decade of Unionism, led in the earlier years by Lord Salisbury. In July 1902, Salisbury retired and the following session of Parliament opened with Arthur Balfour as Premier. Before the Boer War there had been many complaints about the lack of progress in secondary and higher education but with the war drawing to a close, there was much self-searching. Much of Germany's newly acquired efficiency in science, war, commerce and industry was attributed to her educational system, and in comparison with France and the United States, Britain's educational provision seemed appallingly undeveloped.

The Salisbury Government had taken one step forward in 1899 when public education in England and Wales was made the responsibility of a unified government department - the Board of Education - under a politically appointed President. Unfortunately, the war in South Africa delayed improvements which would have followed naturally upon the founding of the new body. But, as in many cases, good arose out of evil. While the Boer War revealed deficiencies both in the health and in the education of the male population, it had the effect of hastening reforms. Some years earlier, a Fabian Society tract written by Sidney and Beatrice Webb had advocated a completely restructured educational system organised under committees responsible to county and borough councils. The tract was widely discussed and Balfour favoured the proposals sufficiently enough to direct that they be considered as a basis for draft legislation - a task which was undertaken by Robert Morant in his role as Assistant Director in the Board of Education Office of Special Inquiries.

Finally, in March 1902, Balfour introduced proposals for a new Education Act. For some time there had been a general view that the Education Act of 1870, which created School Boards, needed reform. Although School Boards had worked well in the towns, they were on the whole too parochial in both personnel and policy. The 1902 Education Act abolished the Boards and placed elementary and secondary education in the hands of statutory committees of Borough and County Councils. The denominational schools belonging to and maintained by the Anglican Church were brought into the organisation *pari passu* with the undenominational Board Schools and for the first time in England the provision of secondary schools was recognised as the duty of the state and brought under public control.

The passage of the bill through Parliament was extremely difficult. Its proposals were bitterly resisted by the Liberals, particularly by those supporting the Nonconformist lobby, and by many Unionists from northern constituencies who withdrew their support. Balfour said afterwards that his objective was to lessen the grievances which the Anglican element in his party had against the setting up of School Boards arising from the Act of 1870, and admitted that the result of the 1902 Act was to put Church Schools on a permanent footing.

As the School Boards were replaced by Local Education Authorities the inherent problems passed from one to the other. In 1870, one million or so children were in attendance in elementary schools; by 1902 the number had risen to 5,030,219. Unfortunately, the annual output of teachers from the normal training colleges was under 3,000 (in 1902 it was 2,791)¹ and this was insufficient to meet the rapidly rising school population. Although much had been achieved in the first thirty years of state education, the situation in terms of staffing the schools remained difficult. There was a need to generally up-lift the educational quality of the teaching force, but it was not always easy to attract entrants with the most desirable mental calibre, particularly as pay was low and opportunities for the better educated abounded elsewhere.

The passing of the 1902 Education Act brought instant activity to the scene in Sheffield. In local politics, the Liberals were strongly represented and the demise of the Sheffield School Board was seen by some as a political victory, though there was considerable consternation with the way the Church Schools had been brought into the system. The Conservatives too were not sorry to see the School Boards come to an end. Indeed, those Conservatives who had strong Anglican sympathies had not been enamoured of the School Boards from the very beginning, for different reasons.¹

In Sheffield, the task of drawing up the structure of the new Education Committee fell to Sir Henry Stephenson and John Derry, and although politically each was on different sides, they had one important common interest: the efficient working of the city's education services. With some considerable speed and enthusiasm the two set to work and the fruits of their labours were to be seen in the first meeting of the Sheffield Education Committee, which took place on 1st April 1903, under the Chairmanship of Sir Henry Stephenson. It consisted of 43 members, 24 of whom were Council members, the remaining being co-opted by reason of their wide experience in educational matters. It was agreed that there would be eight sub-committees, each under a chairman, reporting to the main Committee. The Committee's energies in the first few months were primarily devoted to bringing the work of the School Board and the voluntary bodies into a unified system.

The speed with which the new Education Committee was set up must have been a source of considerable satisfaction to its main architects, and particularly so for John Derry. He had trained as a teacher at the Borough Road Training College and was subsequently appointed to headmasterships in London and Lincoln, until finally he became a journalist. In 1895 he became Editor of the "Sheffield Daily Independent". In a tribute to his work published in later years, it was written that:

"John Derry fought the 1902 Act tooth and nail, but it was characteristic of him that when it became law no one rendered more sterling service than he did in bringing about the smooth and efficient working of the New Education Committee".¹

The problems of teacher supply could not be remedied merely by legislation. There had been some improvement arising from the establishment of day-training arrangements, which spurred the normal residential colleges to increase their intakes and enlarge their facilities and amenities. However, the situation still left much to be desired. While approximately 6,000 candidates annually passed the Queen's Scholarship Examination and qualified for entry to teacher-training, the residential colleges were only able to admit some 2,500 annually, while by 1900, a further 1,500 were being admitted to university day-training courses. Consequently, many candidates were unable to obtain a place: in short, only two applicants out of every three obtained a place at a training college. Clearly, the situation could not continue, particularly as the rising school population was straining to the full the resources of the local School Boards. The need for teacher recruitment and for additional training facilities was now urgent.

The 1902 Education Act encompassed within its wide ranging powers a somewhat ambiguous and openly-worded section which empowered Local Education Authorities to support arrangements for teacher-training.²

Even as late as 1898, the Departmental Committee could see little progress in prospect except by an increase in the day-training facility and they looked towards that arrangement as the one most likely to provide "any large extensions of training college facilities",³ but little immediate progress was made until the influence of Robert Morant, Secretary of the Board of Education, emerged. Within three months of the 1902 Act coming into operation in July 1903, Morant caused the Board to issue regulations for the training of teachers and invited local education authorities to submit schemes for the improvement of teacher training and

supply. The degree of response is unknown, but it was probably either very slow or non-existent as many of the newly established local education authorities were still struggling with organisational problems. Early in 1904, seemingly impatient at the lack of response, the Board of Education issued a precise and direct statement within its regulations:

"A new type of training college may be recognised which, though not in connection with a University or University College, need not on that account be a Residential College, as has hitherto been the case".¹

Notwithstanding the seeming dilatoriness of other local education authorities, in Sheffield there was considerable activity afoot. Within the newly formed Sheffield Education Committee, the sub-committee responsible for higher education quickly set to work to improve the provision of secondary education. The minutes of the meeting of 8th June 1903 reported that Michael E Sadler,² the then recent Director of Special Inquiries and Reports to the Board of Education, had been invited to review the City's Higher Education provision. The securing of Sadler's services to work on a survey for Sheffield coincided with his departure from the Board of Education. Morant, his Deputy at the Office of Special Inquiries had been appointed Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education following the enforced retirement of Sir George Kekewich. As a result of Morant's promotion, Sadler had become subjected to considerable pressure and felt unable to continue his work as Director of the Office of Special Inquiries - he resigned amidst an outcry of protestation. Sheffield's decision to employ Sadler was a wise one and although the instigator of the idea is not known,³ it indicates that someone in the Sheffield Education service was very close to the day-to-day affairs at the Board of Education to have been in a position to approach Sadler as soon as his services were available. Sadler had scarcely ended his service with the Board of Education⁴ when, on the 8th of June 1903, the Education Committee was advised that it had been possible to secure his services. Sadler was to undertake many such surveys in the years ahead. For Sheffield, it was another 'first', as Grier relates:

"In general the reports (prepared by Sadler) were well-received by the authorities for which they were written. Sheffield, the first authority to receive one... was written at a time of great stress at the Board. (Sheffield LEA) was so deeply impressed by the proposals of the Report as to promote them all immediately..."¹

During June and July 1903, Sadler was at work collecting information from various bodies and visiting institutions in the city, and on 10th August he presented his findings² to the Higher Education Sub-Committee.

The Report recommended that as the city had no really first-class grammar school, the Sheffield Royal Grammar School and Wesley College should be amalgamated to make one institution of high standing. The Pupil Teachers' Centre should admit, after 1st August 1904, only pupils who had reached sixteen years of age; they should not spend more than half their time in teaching, and, after 1st August 1905, they should follow a two-year course, the first year of which would be spent at the Centre and the second year engaged in teaching in a school - the beginning of the "student-teacher" scheme which followed the pupil-teacher system.

Sadler further envisaged that the Sheffield Day Training College would have an increasingly important role to play and held that, although it should be an organic part of the University, it should also have a distinct identity. He endorsed the idea of two categories of student; those who had matriculated and were reading for a degree, and non-matriculated students working towards a teaching certificate. The report went on to advise that fewer students should undertake a degree course as it was beyond many of them, and that it made the work too heavy for the tutorial staff. On the subject of accommodation, it was his view that separate and suitable buildings should be found for the Day Training College and that the women students in particular should be provided with a residential hostel.

Sadler urged the Authority:

"To aim at quality rather than quantity; to lay stress on the need for having first rate teaching without which costly schools, buildings and equipment are money almost thrown away; and to avoid children of mediocre ability the cruel kindness of encouraging them to enter on a course of education designed to prepare them for professions in which they have not the capital or the intellectual capacity to succeed..."¹

At its meeting of 21st December 1903, the Higher Education Sub-Committee proposed that Sadler's recommendations be implemented and that representatives from the local authorities of the West Riding, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Rotherham be invited to participate in the establishment of a local education authority controlled Training College. It was further suggested that for the time being the management of the university's Day Training College should be under a separate committee, and should include representatives from the authorities which agreed to support the proposed new institution. Although it was to have an organic connection with the University College, the Training College was to be under the direct control of a principal who was to be appointed by the committee and who would be qualified to fill the chair of Professor of Education at the university, being responsible both for students reading for degrees and those "normal" students who were taking a two-year certificate course.

The proposed development left the university authorities in something of a quandary. The Day Training College affairs had been administered by a joint committee somewhat aside from the main university government, an arrangement which in itself created problems. The Inspectorate were continually critical of the Day Training arrangements and facilities and the Sheffield School Board had expressed strong views on staffing and resources. But two other inter-related problems were affecting the university. Firstly, University College wished to achieve full university status and negotiations planned to achieve this were already at an advanced stage. Secondly, the situation relating to the Day Training College posed problems: the continued admission of non-matriculated, non-degree course students was not compatible with the academic aspirations of a fully independent university.

Although the University College of Sheffield had been granted a charter in 1897, it was still unable to award degrees and was dependent on the examinations of the University of London and the external examinations of other bodies. By 1904 it was clear that a University of Sheffield would be created and this was confirmed when a Royal Charter was granted on the 31st May 1905.

The problems of the University did not distract the Higher Education Sub-Committee from its purpose. The minutes of the 21st April 1904 reported:

"That the approval which the Board of Education has been pleased to give to the scheme for the Instruction and Training of Teachers is duly appreciated...".¹

On confirmation from the Board of Education of the acceptance of the arrangements for establishing a teachers' training college, the Higher Education Sub-Committee decided to take the initiative. More than five months had elapsed since Sadler's Report had been adopted. Now a meeting of interested parties was arranged to take place early in May 1904 under the Chairmanship of Councillor H Hughes. As Hughes opened the meeting, he expressed a view that "frank and free discussion" should take place on the following:

- a. The establishment of a college to provide accommodation for 150 to 200 students, most of whom would be in training for two years but some of whom would remain for three years.
- b. The provision by the City of Sheffield Education Committee of buildings, including a hostel (for women only at first).
- c. The basis of allocation of student places to local education authorities who wished to make reservations for candidates from schools administered by them.
- d. The degree of financial support to be made by local education authorities towards maintenance of the college on the basis of the number of places reserved.

Having made considerable progress through ad hoc committees and exploratory meetings, the Sheffield Education Committee proposed the establishment of a governing body for the new institution. It was to meet under the Chairmanship of Councillor Hughes and report to the Higher Education Sub-Committee, from which the majority of its members were nominated.

The Committee met on the 29th August 1904. From the outset the University College was represented, but there was a dearth of representatives from the other local education authorities who had previously been approached and involved in the early discussions. The Board of Education was later to question these conspicuous absences. Meanwhile, a first necessity was to discover how training colleges were organised and to find suitable premises. One group of committee members visited voluntary colleges at Darlington, Ripon and Cheltenham, and information was obtained from Durham to ascertain the requirements of such an institution. Another group was given the task of inspecting the premises which were becoming vacant as a result of the merging of Sheffield Royal Grammar School with Wesley College. It was a problem which could readily be solved. The premises situated in Collegiate Crescent, Broom Park possessed many advantages: they were sound and relatively well-furnished (the Grammar School had benefited in the 1890s from grants from the Whiskey Fund); they were close to, but separate from, the University College; there were substantial grounds; and finally, they were both available and cheap.

On the completion of these preliminary surveys and negotiations, a special conference was called on the 16th December 1904, to which representatives of the participating Local Education Authorities, College Managers, the Board of Education, the Inspectorate, and Michael Sadler were invited, and it was agreed:

That the Royal Grammar School premises coming into the possession of the Education Committee should be adapted for use as a Training College to provide accommodation for about 120 to 150 students of both sexes.

That the science teaching should be undertaken in the university laboratories and instruction given in the Municipal Technical School of Art.

That the headmaster's house should be used at the beginning to accommodate 18-20 women and two women tutors and that this accommodation would be placed in the charge of a lady superintendent.

But the all-seeing eye of Morant's Education Department was quick to ensure that the new venture was properly established and controlled:

"Whitehall, London, S.W., 12th January, 1905.

Sheffield Day Training College
04/21229 R

Sir,

... The Board understand that... it is proposed to transfer the control of the Day Training College, now a part of the University College, Sheffield, to a Committee representing the Local Authorities of the neighbourhood; and the Board would be glad to learn, at an early date, the names of the Local Authorities concerned, and the estimated extent of the financial responsibility each is prepared to bear in connection with the proposed scheme.

I am further to invite attention to Sections 3, 4 and 5 of the Training College Regulations, and to inform you that when any scheme of the nature contemplated comes before the Board of Education, it will be necessary that full information on the points there mentioned should be forthcoming. I am, therefore, to suggest that the matters dealt with in the following paragraphs should be carefully considered by the Local Authorities and other Bodies concerned, in order that the Board may be placed in a position to consider the Scheme when it has taken a matured form, without having to refer it back for essential information.

It appears that the Training College will in future be housed in special premises which will not form part of the University College, although a considerable part of the instruction, it is hoped, will, as before, be given in the latter. When the full plans of the proposed premises are submitted some statement should, therefore, be furnished, indicating the numbers of students for whom it is desired that the College should be recognised, and the amount of the work which will still be carried on within the walls of the University College.

Full particulars will also be required of the numbers... and qualifications of the staff... and a statement should also be submitted showing the members of the University College Staff, whose classes will include students of the Training College. I am also to remind you that the

arrangement contemplated will probably require the appointment of a responsible Principal, to be occupied solely with the conduct of the training of teachers.

Under the head of general arrangements, the Board would also be glad to be furnished with particulars showing how, apart from the actual teaching, the University College will take part in the direction of the studies of the Training College students; and in view of the great importance of the pursuit of a course of study which shall be thoroughly adapted to the future calling of the students, the Board should be informed what courses it is intended that they should follow. I am to remind you of the conditions contained in Section 17(b) of the Training College Regulations which governs the substitution of courses alternative to that leading up to the Board's Examination of Students in Training Colleges. The courses of study sanctioned for the present year in the case of students now in training may not be suitable to the new conditions, and the fact that the University College will cease to be responsible for the training of teachers will be taken by the Board into serious consideration.

... in the event of the grant of a Charter to the University College, ... (it will not be possible to) ... regard the new Training College as being closely connected with the University... and as being entitled to admit students for three years... the authorities of the new College would do well to consider whether the students proposed for a three years' course should not be a definitely limited proportion of the total number admitted.

Inasmuch as a large increase in the number of students in training will require a corresponding increase in the special provision made in Practising Schools for the training of students in the art of teaching, full details should be given of the arrangements which will be made under this head. Information should also be given as to the fees which it is proposed to charge to the students.

The Board further understand that the full Scheme under consideration includes the provision of Hostel accommodation for Women Students, and therefore, so far as may be necessary, separate information of the nature above indicated should be furnished as to the Hostel.

In conclusion, I am to state that the Board of Education will of course regard the Committee which is conducting the training of the present students as responsible for these students until they have completed their several courses.

I am to request that you will be good enough to communicate the substance of this letter to the Education Authorities who may be associated with the Sheffield City Council in the matter of the training of Teachers.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

E. K. CHAMBERS. " 1

It was evident that the Board intended from the outset to monitor development closely. In retrospect, the decision to establish a municipally controlled training college was something of an innovation and put Sheffield once again in the van of higher education development. Indeed, at the beginning of 1905, there appears to have been only two or three authorities at a near stage of embarkation upon such a venture.

The Secretary to the Sheffield Education Committee responded to the Board in terms which politely hinted that they were not going to be rushed:

"Education Office, Sheffield, January 26th, 1905.

Sir,

... the Managers are not yet prepared to submit details concerning Curricula, and they cannot tell exactly what will be the numbers of students in the various departments, but they have been most anxious to frame the arrangements in the spirit of the paragraph which indicates that regard must be had not only to the interests of those individual students who seem capable of graduating, but also to "the necessity for providing adequately for the careful instruction and training of the many students for whom the general course would be more suitable". It is intended to take the fullest advantage of University teaching for those students who are suitable by reason of their ability and previous preparation to profit by it, and the College will be worked in cordial co-operation with the University, with due regard to the requirements and wishes of the Board of Education as to the Training of Teachers.

With reference to the points mentioned in your letter, I am to state that the following authorities have joined:- The Education Committee for the West Riding of the County of York, and the Education Committee for the Borough of Rotherham, who have appointed Representative Managers, while the Education Authorities for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire have not yet announced their decision. It is proposed that

the College Buildings and Hall of Residence shall be provided by the Education Committee for the City of Sheffield with the aid of such grants as may be allowed by the Board of Education, without calling upon the other Authorities for any share of the capital required, but the West Riding Committee and the Education Committee for the Borough of Rotherham agree to contribute towards the annual charges other than those for repayment of loans in proportion to the number of places which they will need to have reserved for students from their respective districts.

The Managers expect it will be necessary to provide for 200 students eventually, but at the outset they propose to commence on a smaller scale, and plans are now being submitted for the adaptation of the Grammar School Buildings so as to accommodate from 120 to 150 students in class and lecture rooms, and for the extension of the buildings at present in the occupation of the Headmaster of the Grammar School by the addition of a Hall of Residence, so as to afford accommodation in all for 80 women students. It should be explained, however, that this extension cannot be carried out until next year, so that for the forthcoming session hostel accommodation will be available for only about 18 or 20 women students in the existing house. It is proposed that the male students shall be housed in registered lodgings for the present, and the question of hostel accommodation for them will be decided upon later. There will be a number of day students of both sexes..." 1

Finally, the Training College Management Committee was constituted. At its meeting on the 5th April 1905 under the Chairmanship of Councillor Henry Hughes, it was reported that as a result of negotiations between the Secretary to the Education Committee and the Principal of the University College:

"The Managers of the proposed Training College (were) to become responsible for the Day Training Department of University College as from the 1st October. (1905)

The Managers to continue the arrangements for the instruction of present Students who remain for another year on the present lines, and to be responsible for the fees hitherto paid to University College.

The instruction hitherto given by Mrs. Henry and her Assistant to be in future given at the Grammar School.

All other instruction to Students already on the books to be given at the University.

The applications of all King's Scholars who may have applied to the Day Training College Committee for admission at the beginning of October, 1905, to be considered by the Managers of the New College." ¹

The question of financing the proposed College was uppermost in the minds of the members of the Higher Education Sub-Committee. As early as 21st April 1904 it was minuted that:

"... it seems desirable now to inquire whether any grant from Government towards the cost of the necessary buildings may be expected..." ²

The Sub-Committee had every reason to be anxious. Delegated powers under the 1902 Act was one issue, the raising of capital another. Reporting back to the Sub-Committee, the Town Clerk advised that:

"... although the Education Act of 1902 empowers the Local Authority to make provision for Education other than Elementary, including the Training of Teachers, there appears to be no direct authority given to Corporations to hold property for these purposes, and it will be necessary to have recourse to the facilities afforded by the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, and obtain the sanction of the Treasury..." ³

Even before the establishment of the College Managers, the Board of Education agreed with the Sheffield Authority that it was necessary to begin work on the hall of residence as soon as possible, with a proviso that the building should be so planned as to be capable of expansion at a later date. With such encouraging responses from the Board, the work of adaptation of the Royal Grammar School buildings was placed in the hands of Messrs Gibbs and Flockton, architects.

On the question of direct governmental financial aid, the Sub-Committee proceeded with caution and their misgivings continued. It was reported that two members of the Sub-Committee had:

"... joined the Deputation from West Riding Educational Authorities which attended before the President of the Board of Education, Sir Wm. Anson, and Mr. R. L. Morant, in London on February 21st, 1905, to urge that the Imperial Exchequer

should bear a larger proportion of the cost of Training Teachers. After representations had been made as to the cost of Training Teachers in Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield, and the West Riding, Lord Londonderry intimated that he regretted it was impossible for any further aid to be looked forward to from the Treasury at present." ¹

What further financial aid Sheffield Education Committee had been expecting is not known, but the report from the deputation did not deter their endeavours. The work and arrangements proceeded apace. The plans of the alterations to the buildings were submitted to the Board of Education for approval in January 1905. The Collegiate School in its original form is shown on plate I and although it had several minor alterations before 1885, the main fabric remained unchanged. The illustration shows that the building had altered little by 1889 but, in the ten years which followed, the Grammar School governors received several grants from the Technical Instruction Committee which enabled them to build a west wing. In order to make the block suitable for use as a training college, some internal building work had to be carried out. The headmaster's house, which stood at the lower end of the grounds nearest Ecclesall Road, had to be modernised and re-decorated in order to provide the necessary accommodation for 27 women students. Although the Board passed the plans generally, the Board architects raised a number of interesting observations and reservations on points which had obviously been considered most carefully. The reservations bore marks of genuine concern and a very practical understanding of potential difficulties:

"... Hostel for Women Students with accommodation for 82... the arrangements... are quite satisfactory, except that there does not appear to be any provision for extract ventilation from the dormitories. The windows are arranged so that ample through ventilation can be obtained and the aspect is very good, but as it often happens that all the windows are shut at night in Winter there should be some means of ventilation in addition to the windows, especially as the heating is apparently to be by hot water.

Educational Block -

It is necessary that a Training College should have two rooms each capable of taking the students of a year, as well as the necessary class rooms for use when the students

are divided. This building provides one room for 60, and one room for 50. This is sufficient for the present needs, but if, as proposed, the numbers in each year rise to 65, there is hardly sufficient room; in addition to these there are three class-rooms for 30.

The lighting of the rooms in this building is not satisfactory, and is principally supplied by means of skylights... as one face of the skylight is south, the room will become intolerably hot in Summer and very cold and draughty in Winter..."₁

The Managers were determined that the College should be ready by September 1905, but as a result of delays caused by negotiation with the Board's architects, the tender of £1,855 was not agreed and signed until 9th June 1905. This was now likely to cause serious problems and the feasibility of admitting students in September 1905 was in question until it was agreed to write into the building tender a condition that the work had to be completed by the third week in September.

The second urgent task which faced the Managers at their first meeting was the choice of a Principal and teaching staff. Naturally, the first need was for a Principal and a Lady Superintendent - the Board of Education was pressing the Authority on this issue. After discussion, it was agreed that the former Headmaster of Wesley College, the Reverend Valentine Ward Pearson (who had become redundant as a result of the amalgamation of Wesley College with the Grammar School) should become Principal at a salary of £600 per year. Pearson had a reputation in Sheffield as an educationalist and had for thirteen years, since 1891, conducted the affairs of Wesley College most successfully. There were two obstacles to his appointment. The first was his religion: being a Wesleyan minister he was under the jurisdiction of the Wesleyan Conference, but he received their support and was congratulated on being appointed. Secondly, while Pearson was well-versed in grammar school administration, he had no knowledge of training college practice. The Managers, therefore, while approving the appointment, sought to provide the opportunity for him to acquire some knowledge of modern teacher-training techniques by recommending

that he be sent to visit both Continental institutions and colleges in the United States. At its meeting on the 10th February 1905, the Chairman of Managers pressed the Higher Education Sub-Committee, as a matter of urgency, to grant three months' leave in order to allow Pearson time to visit America before the College opened, and to endorse the payment of a cheque for £200 to cover his travelling expenses! (The visit actually cost £121.2.4d)

The next task of the Managers was to appoint a Lady Superintendent. The post of Lady Superintendent was a curious relic of the days of the voluntary college. The men's voluntary colleges had always been staffed by male clergy, while the direction of women's colleges was generally vested in a clergyman who combined the function of chaplain and general supervision of the work of the institution. As Rich discovered:

"... it was usual for the domestic life of the place to be under the direction of a resident Lady Superintendent, who was generally the widow of a clergyman or professional man..."₁

It was not unnatural therefore that when the post of Lady Superintendent had to be filled, Mrs L D Henry should be appointed.

With a clergyman as Principal and a widow appointed as Lady Superintendent, the new institution began to take on the characteristics of the nineteenth century normal college.

Conscious of the progress made, it must have been with some satisfaction that the Clerk to the Education Committee was able to write to the Board of Education:

"... As to staff, the Rev. V. W. Pearson, B.A., the Headmaster of Wesley College, has been selected for the Principalship and he will devote himself entirely to the work of the Committee, and Mrs. L. D. Henry, L.L.A., is to be transferred from the Day Training College Department of the University College as Lady Superintendent and Mistress of Method, with charge of the students in the Hall of Residence. It is understood, however, that both may be called upon to take part in examinations for candidates for admission as Students, candidates for Pupil Teacherships, or candidates for Scholarships. The other members of the staff have not yet been selected, but it is proposed to include at least one Assistant Master, and an

adequate number of specially qualified Lady Tutors. It is hoped that the appointments already made will meet with the approval of the Board of Education.

It has been recommended by a section of the Managers appointed to consider various questions, that a Board of Studies shall be constituted to advise on matters relating to curricula. It is proposed that it shall consist of the Vice-Chancellor of the University when the Charter is granted, or for the present the Principal of the University College, two representatives of the Senate of the University, the Principal and Lady Superintendent of the Training College, and one person to be appointed by the Managers. It is understood that the Vice-Chancellor will be the Chairman of the Board of Studies. This, however, requires confirmation by the full Board of Managers.

The Council of the University will appoint six of the Managers, and in addition, four of the members of the Committee of the Day Training Department appointed by the Council will be Managers, while it may be mentioned that seven other members of the College Council are also members of the Managing Body for the New College. The Principal of the College is also a Manager. The Managers are to report their proceedings to the Council of the University College as well as to the Education Committee.

It is desired that the present Day Training College Committee should be continued separately for next year, the Managers of the proposed Training College will have no difficulty in heartily co-operating with them, but it is understood that the Managers of the proposed College will undertake the financial responsibility.

The fees payable by students are proposed to be fixed at £10 per annum.

The Managers will await a recommendation from the Board of Studies as to Curriculum, before submitting detailed proposals, and they have yet to develop their plans as to the facilities to be afforded for the training of students in the art of teaching, but care will be taken that the arrangements will be both convenient and adequate.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

SECRETARY." 1

Candidates for entry to the College had been interviewed and the first year's intake was agreed as follows:

Students from:	MEN	WOMEN
City of Sheffield	3	39
West Riding	20	14
Rotherham	1	1
Other districts	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
	<u>28</u>	<u>62</u>

Thus the total number of students admitted in the first year, 1905, was 90, to which were added 42 students transferred from the Day Training College (10 men, 33 women).

The students transferred from the Day Training College, who were to constitute the second year, had always been boarded out in private houses, or, in the case of Sheffield students, lived at home, and these presented no problem. In the case of new students, the provision of accommodation was limited; 27 women students were placed in residence in the former headmaster's house situated in the grounds of the Grammar School, while the remaining women and all the men students were placed in officially approved lodgings.

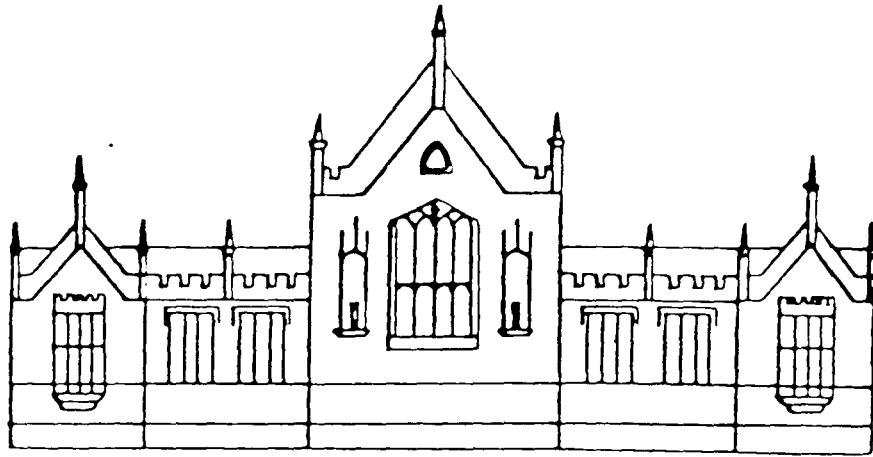
The new College opened its doors to students on the third week in September 1905, and an official opening followed on Friday, 13th October 1905, when Sir William Anson, Bt, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, formally declared the College open. At a gathering of many notable guests, he reminded the audience that a training college was not a place where students could further their own education but where they could learn to teach, and commented, amidst laughter, that he was pleased that local authorities were taking up the task of teacher-training and hoped there would never be a day when the government had to take over the institutions and reduce the local borough councils to the role of visiting committees, as had happened in the case of state prisons.

Archdeacon Eyre, representing Anglican interests, reminded the audience that before the passing of the 1902 Act, he had been Chairman of the Governors of the Royal Grammar School, and he knew what benefits the pupils had derived from the school grounds, which prompted him to say how glad he was that no buildings had been erected on the space between the college building and the headmaster's house. In his speech, he openly advised the students not, on any account, to allow the field to be taken for building purposes: a comment which was noted by Councillor Hughes, Chairman of the Training College, who reassured those present that it would never be taken for building purposes - "An announcement", to quote a contemporary source, "which was greeted with great applause".¹

A report of the opening ceremony was published in the "Sheffield Telegraph" of 14th October 1905, in which it was observed that the premises had been purchased by the Education Committee for £12,000 and that the cost of adaptation had been £1,800. The proceedings were suitably enlivened by a concert given by "the Staff and the School Choir" - apparently the press was not aware of the new status of the institution.

Amidst the congratulations and the general aura of satisfaction, the most important point was missed: Sheffield City Training College was the very first training college to be established by a local education authority under the powers conferred by the 1902 Education Act.²

THE GROWTH OF THE COLLEGE BUILDINGS, 1835 - 1955



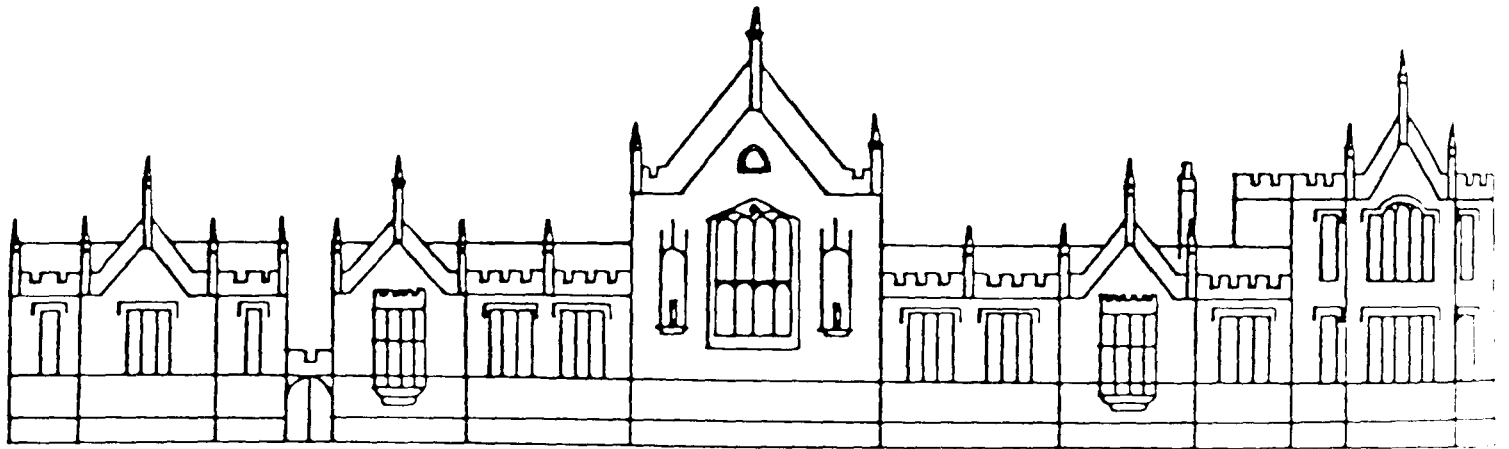
SHEFFIELD COLLEGIATE SCHOOL 1835 - 1885

Dates in brackets
indicate completion of
extensions.



SHEFFIELD ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL [1892]

Sheffield Royal Gram-
mar School established
by Charter 1604 and
transferred to the
Collegiate School
premises in 1885.



UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD TEACHERS' COLLEGE [1906]



SHEFFIELD CITY TRAINING COLLEGE [1911]

CHAPTER XI - REFERENCES

- Page 131 1. Curtis, S J, op cit, p.329
- Page 132 1. Tropp, op cit, p.179
- Page 133 1. "Sheffield Telegraph & Independent", 1938, "Recollections"
" 2. Education Act, 1902, Section 22
" 3. Rich, op cit, p.257
- Page 134 1. Regulations for the Training of Teachers and for the
Examination of Students in Training Colleges, 1904,
Article 2(a)
" 2. Later Sir Michael Sadler, Vice Chancellor of Leeds
University
" 3. It may well have been John M Moss, Secretary to the
Sheffield Education Committee
" 4. 12th May 1903: Grier, Lynda, "Achievement in Education -
The Work of Michael Ernest Sadler 1885-1935", Constable,
London, 1952, p.106
- Page 135 1. Grier, op cit, pp.133-134
" 2. Michael E Sadler, City of Sheffield Education Committee
Report on Secondary and Higher Education, 1903
- Page 136 1. Sadler Report, p.6
- Page 137 1. SEC Minutes, 1904-05, p.383
- Page 141 1. SEC Minutes, 1904-05, pp.677-679
- Page 142 1. SEC Minutes, 1904-05, pp.679-680
- Page 143 1. SEC Minutes, 1905-06, p.677
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1904-05, p.383
" 3. SEC Minutes, 1905-06, p.639
- Page 144 1. SEC Minutes, 1905-06, p.639
- Page 145 1. SEC Minutes, 1904-05, p.682
- Page 146 1. Rich, op cit, p.162
- Page 147 1. SEC Minutes, 1904-05, pp.680-681
- Page 149 1. "The Crescent", 1905, Vol I, No I, p.5
" 2. Professor Dent in his work "Training of Teachers 1870-
1970" contends on page 60 that Herefordshire LEA was
the first to establish, in 1904, a publicly controlled
Training College under the terms of the 1902 Education
Act. Reference was made to the records of the then
Ministry of Education in 1955 on this matter and their
reply was not wholly conclusive. However, dates and
minute references still appear to establish Sheffield
Training College as the first residential Training
College to be established under the 1902 Act.

CHAPTER XII

STUDENTS AND COLLEGE LIFE

With the adaptation of the Royal Grammar School complete and the College officially open, the Managers considered expansion of the facilities. Plans were discussed for the provision of hostel accommodation and for the enlargement of the college block to provide classroom accommodation for 200 students. By August 1905, tenders had been accepted for a building to cost £9,905, providing accommodation for 82 women students and it was decided to name the new building "Collegiate Hall".

During the first three years there was no hostel accommodation for the male students, and those who were from out of town had to live in lodgings, the standards of comfort of which varied considerably. One house in Hunterhouse Road took six students and was highly respectable, while another house in Havelock Square was noted for its poor conditions. Apparently the students were very high-spirited: close to Hunterhouse Road lodged the son of a Sheffield Member of Parliament, whom the students took a delight in tormenting. At night they would steal from their beds, and, armed with a bag of peas and pea-shooters, shoot at the bedroom window of their victim. The victim's landlady complained and as a result the worst offenders were moved, as punishment, to the lodgings in Havelock Square.

In contrast with the pranks of those students in lodgings, the discipline and routine within the college was very strict. The women in the hostel were ruled over by the Lady Superintendent, Mrs L D Henry. Lectures began at 9 o'clock each morning and the lunch hour was from 1 to 2 pm. Afternoon lectures, except on afternoons set aside for sport, were from 2 until 4.30 pm. Students were allowed out between 4.30 and 5.30, but they had to

return for tea at 5.30. Every evening, from Monday to Friday, was devoted to private study, when, between 6 and 8 pm, every student was required to work. At 8 pm, supper was served and from 8 to 9.30 pm the women students were allowed to entertain themselves; they were not, however, allowed to leave the hostel. At 10.30 each evening, lights were put out. Regulations were relaxed a little on Saturdays, when women students did not have to be in the hostel until 7 pm, and an extra hour was allowed on Sundays in order that they might attend church.

Although the institution admitted men and women students, it was in practice a two-sex college. Co-education appears to have been limited to a series of lectures on mathematics. To such extremes was the division maintained that men and women had to use separate doors to gain entry to the assembly hall.

One of the earliest student activities was the production of a College Magazine. The first attempts were unofficial and unpublished - a single manuscript copy being passed round among the male students. Its title was "The Razor" and one source explained that it was given this name "because its comments were so cutting". This work gave place to the official College Magazine, named "The Crescent", organised by a committee of eight students and published each month, eight copies per year completing a volume.¹

During the first year at college, the male students, lodging in different houses or at home, lacked a common room, and were at a distinct social disadvantage. "Where was the corporate college life which was the hallmark of a college education?", asked one student. The Principal was very much aware of this deficiency and suggested that they should form a "Students' Union" and he made available the college hall on Saturday evenings from 8 to 10 pm, where dances, socials and debates might be held. The Principal also made the hall available on Tuesday evenings for a men-only social evening. This gathering became known as the "smoker" and

took the form of a concert of various items of mixed quality. One of the founding students recounted that "at one of these gatherings certain students had to make three-minute speeches on topics such as 'cohesion', 'nothing', and 'are we football mad?'. Others would group into quartets and render popular songs of the time".

The facilities at college for "drill" were limited and the college Managers sought for a room which could be used. Eventually the gymnasium belonging to the YMCA in High Street was rented for two guineas per year. This pleased the male students, for a period spent in drill meant a trip into the town away from college. Another less meritorious incentive was the fine billiard tables which had been installed on the floor above the gymnasium. On many occasions, students missed the drill period in favour of a game of billiards.

Early in 1906, the college Managers fixed the term times and the holiday periods. As the college was directly connected with the university and the students forming the second year had been used to the same terms, the arrangement was allowed to continue. But the public appeared to take a keen interest in the activities of the college and as a result of the long vacation during the summer of 1906, comment was raised in the local press:

"When I was preparing for my profession, I not only took no vacation, beyond, perhaps, four or five days, but I worked day and night. The idea that young people preparing for a life's work should have 16 weeks' holiday is perfectly horrifying... The school teacher is the spoiled darling of modern life".₁

A further letter comments on the employment of servants to wait on students:

"I cannot think myself, how the latter (college students) can accept so many gifts... Can young people, brought up thus to ape the university life of the wealthier classes, possibly make good instructors for the children of poor folk? I doubt it".₂

It was also about this time that the managers rented a house in Bromsgrove Road to be used as a temporary hostel and an advertisement appeared for two housemaids and two kitchen maids. Another letter appeared in the local press under the signature of "Matron":

"Why not let the young women do the work themselves, as is done in Moravian schools and convents? It would be a healthy change from study, train them to be good wives and mothers, and save the money of the overburdened ratepayer".¹

Naturally enough, the comments aroused deep indignation in the students and the following month's college magazine described the writers as 'miserable inkslingers' and pointed out, in answer to "Matron's" letter, that "we are in England, not Moravia" and that "this is a training college for teachers, not a matrimonial agency".² The publicity which the college was receiving at the hands of the press did not go unnoticed. The managers' meeting of 4th October 1906 had the question of holidays on the agenda and after comparison with other colleges, those of Sheffield were fixed on the lowest scale. The matter was not so easily solved. Those students taking degree courses were likely to get four weeks less vacation than their fellow-students in the University. After fruitless discussions, the managers reluctantly agreed to let the vacation days remain as they were.

It was during the summer vacation of 1906 that the first real extension of the college premises took place, and when the students re-assembled the first stage was complete. During the first year the headmaster's house had been the only college hostel. In September 1906 the new west wing of Collegiate Hall was ready and occupied by 82 women students.

The decorations and furnishings had largely been the responsibility of Mrs Henry, the Lady Superintendent. According to contemporary accounts they were a real achievement as the provision of hostel accommodation for women students was an innovation at that time and many people regarded the living conditions as model. Cubicles

were painted light green and so were the lockers and wardrobes. Each student had her own washhand jug and bowl, and water was carried by the student in an urn to her cubicle. Discipline in the hostel was strict at all times. Students were compelled to wear carpet slippers whenever they entered the lounges or the dining hall. Tidiness was second only to Godliness and when students littered the place with personal belongings, Mrs Henry would 'confiscate' the articles, after which they might only be redeemed by the payment of a fine. There were strict regulations against speaking in the dining hall or in private study periods and if any student failed to observe this rule she would be sent immediately to bed, or worse, might be confined to college for a weekend.

The extension of the college building was completed about this time. It consisted of a two-storey wing built on to the east side. The original building is to be seen on plate II, with a further illustration on plate III showing the west wing. The original building had only one level but the additions of 1906 added the first upper storey (see diagram on plate IV). In order to maintain some unity in the neo-Gothic style of the building, the architects were careful to retain the design of the original Collegiate School which incorporated in the stonework the rose of York emblazoned on a shield.

The criticism of the students' holidays had brought the college to public notice. Yet more publicity was to come during the building of Collegiate Hall. The firm employed to make the furniture, cupboards and lockers, contravened, according to the Amalgamated Union of Cabinet Makers, the Fair Wages Clause. The grievance which the union held against the firm was that it was not paying its members the negotiated rate of wages. The union attempted to involve the Managers in the dispute but they passed the matter to the Secretary of the Education Committee. Nevertheless, the local press reported that:

"The Training College Managers had before them further correspondence from the Amalgamated Union of Cabinet Makers as to the furniture supplied to the Hall of Residence, together with Messrs W and T May's remarks thereon, and the Secretary of the Education Committee has been instructed to forward Messrs May's explanation to the Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Cabinet Makers and to explain that a communication has been received from 12 of the men who had worked upon the furniture, stating that the prices at which the articles were made were settled by themselves before the contract was entered into, and they considered the same fair".¹

With the extensions to the college teaching block and the first part of Collegiate Hall complete, the Managers decided that the extensions should be officially opened. The opening date was agreed as Tuesday, 8th October 1906, and the Rt Hon A H Dyke-Acland, who had been the Minister responsible for education in the previous Liberal Government, was invited to officiate. Earlier in 1906, the Liberals had gained a sweeping victory over the Unionists in the general election and the occasion offered a suitable platform from which to launch political ideals.

The ceremony took place in the dining room of Collegiate Hall, where civic representatives and representatives from other local authorities were seated in the body of the hall, while the students were packed tightly round the sides and back of the hall.

The chief guest, Dyke-Acland, addressed the audience on the need for adequately trained teachers and reminded them of the debt the country owed to both the Anglican and the Nonconformist educational bodies. The students' choir sang under its conductor, Dr Henry Coward, and the guests then proceeded to inspect the buildings.

The next day, reports appeared in the local press. The "Sheffield Telegraph" observed that:

"... The entire proceedings yesterday were extremely pleasant. The Lord Mayor with his usual bountiful hospitality, entertained a representative company at luncheon at the Town Hall to meet Mr and Mrs Acland. Subsequently one of the new tramcars was placed at the disposal of the party,

and, with the Bishop of Sheffield riding out in the front and the Lord Mayor behind, took them to the Hall of Residence (Collegiate Hall) just off Ecclesall Road..."₁

In contrast, the "Sheffield Independent" somewhat sensationalised the event. Its headlines ran:

"INADEQUATE FACILITIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY"

"SPENDING OF ANOTHER MILLION ADVOCATED"

"LETHARGY OF THE BRITISH PUBLIC"₂

When the Liberals took office under Campbell-Bannerman in 1906, it was their intention to introduce legislation which would amend the 1902 Education Act - particularly those clauses which favoured the voluntary schools. On the day following, the editorial, written by Derry, commented:

"Mr Arthur Acland yesterday made a conclusive defence of the policy of the Sheffield Education Committee in building a Training College. It has been said: Why should this work be done locally? There are several answers, the first being that if not done locally it would not be done at all, and neither the country nor the city can afford that it should be left undone. Furthermore, the work, if only the Government will look at it fairly and take its right share of the expense, is not - as, indeed, it ought not to be - a heavy burden. Four-fifths of the cost of the buildings should be borne by the country, and practically the whole of the current expenses. Sheffield, in short, is giving the Government a helping hand with its national work, at some local cost, but not at a heavy cost, for if all the gains and losses were counted up, it is probable that the advantage to the Sheffield schools of having such a fairly copious supply of young teachers near at hand would bring the balance on the right side. We want good teachers so much that it is worth our while to rear them. If, having reared them, we find they leave us, the probability is that our treatment of them is in some way at fault. Anyway, we have the first chance with the teachers in our own college, and do not fear the consequences of their observation of local conditions.

Mr Acland said many wise things yesterday, which I have not room to discuss today. Some points may serve for future comment. Suffice it here to mention one or two matters which escaped notice yesterday. There has been a good deal of talk about the lack of architectural ornament, a lack due entirely to the rigid economy of the committee, which would not sanction any expense beyond the purest necessity.

But before anyone criticises the college he should carefully examine the interior and study the adaptation of the building to its uses. I have heard thoroughly competent judges declare that there is no training college in the kingdom so well arranged and fitted up. If the visitors and speakers had fully examined the buildings before instead of after the speech-making more would have been said about the practical features of the institution, and the part taken by the architect.

The college has had an auspicious start. Those who know the members of the staff, and the work they are bound to do - being what they are - will be confident that the output of well-equipped and ardently-inspired teachers will be satisfactory in a high degree".¹

The severing of the close ties with the University was not a move which the students welcomed. Apart from the loss of benefit arising from joint academic pursuits, the social prestige of the link with the University was highly prized. The disappointment manifested itself in several minor ways. The College students were no longer entitled to sing "Floreamus", the Sheffield University song, and a number of pleas are to be found in early college magazines for a substitute. Eventually, in 1909, Dr Henry Coward, the Sheffield-based internationally famed choral conductor, set to music words written by the Principal, the Rev V W Pearson. The song was sung for many years, especially on formal occasions, but it fell out of favour during the 1930s. Along the way, the College acquired another song which was to survive long into the 1960s - it originated during the period of "The Smokers". The Principal would often join the informal Tuesday night male students' concert and render solo items, being himself a singer and raconteur of no mean ability. It was for one such concert that he wrote a set of verses to be sung to the tune of "There is a tavern in the town". It quickly became a firm favourite with the students and was adopted as the closing item for all social events, when the students would link arms and sing:

"There is a college in the town,
And there we often sit us down,
And take our notes with counterfeited glee,
And gaily prove that S is P.
Then Hurrah for "Alma Mater".
She's a right good mother to us all.

CHORUS

We are a merry students crew,
Tonight we do not mean to stew;
We'll raise our song to our College ever fair,
And with our chorus fill the air.

At lectures and at study too,
We grind and swot till all is blue,
But when we meet at our Socials bright and gay,
It's good-bye work and welcome play.
X and Y to winds we scatter,
Plain or squared it makes no matter,
Locke and Herbart we abandon for the time.

At football when we take the field,
We strive to make the foemen yield,
But, if misfortune smacks us in the face,
We take our licking with good grace.
And our girls win all before them.
And their comrades all adore them,
For their courage and their skill are quite unique.

Our days at Coll. will quickly pass.
We know full well and cry 'alas';
But come what may, as through the world we roam,
The College in the Crescent is our home...
And where'er the fates may drive us,
Time nor distance shall deprive us,
Of the memory of the days we spent at Coll." .₁

Another custom followed the singing of "The Smoker", that of "The College Clap". The origin is obscure, but one suggestion put forward was that it was introduced by Pearson following his visit to America, for the purpose of "cheer leading" at college sporting events. The custom came into existence during the first term of 1905, being performed by a circle of students, several of whom set the clap in motion by shouting in unison "Three - Four!", which signalled the remainder to clap the following rhythm:

1 2 3 - 1 2 3 - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 - 1 2 3 - 1 2 3 4 5 - this sequence being repeated until the whole group's clap was in unison.

During October 1905, a proposal was made that the new college should have a motto. Pearson suggested that the students should devise their own and a competition was held to encourage the submission of suitable ideas, and Professor Moore-Smith of the University was called upon to adjudge the entries. The following extract from a letter written in May 1950 from an early student, Frank Hollas (1905-07) to A J Holdsworth, Secretary of the Old Crescenters' Association, tells the story:

"All the students... were invited to submit words for the badge and I thought of the words 'Not new things but in a new manner', but being no Latin scholar I submitted these words to my brother, who was at that time a pupil at Rishworth School, near Halifax. He tried his hand and sent on to me Non Nova Sed Nove... imagine my amazement and delight when from the platform... Pearson announced the winner..."₁

Many of the students were not aware of the meaning of the motto and the following month's college magazine called for an explanation. Hollas, writing under the nom-de-plume of "Rex", said:

"I was asked quite recently (November 1905), What has the motto to do with college life? I say a great deal... consider the matter from the standpoint of the college buildings. Were they not once used for a Grammar School? They are now used for a similar purpose on a higher scale. Our studies too are not new. Many of the subjects in which we receive instruction are not alien to us but come to us through more enlightened channels than before, and are dressed in more scientific language"₂

The choice of the motto was necessary to complete the design of the college crest. After two months at the new college, the students were getting very impatient, and one wrote:

"I think we are all feeling anxious about the College Badges, which will, I hope, be ready soon. We all feel eager to turn out labelled 'non nova sed nove' and to let people know who we are"₃

Since 1899, the Pupil Teachers' Centre had used part of the design of the arms of the City of Sheffield, namely: "a lion rampant argent gorged with collar and holding between the paws an antique shield azure charged with eight arrows", to which was added a motto: "DISCIMUS UT, DOCEAMUS". It seemed logical that the College should adopt a crest based upon something similar. Moreover, the newly established King Edward VII School had also adopted the same argent lion rampant motif.

The new crest finally appeared in late November 1905. Blazer badges were embroidered in silver on a navy blue ground, while buttonhole and brooch badges were made available in metal. About 1911, it is related that the City authorities raised an objection to the use of the design on the grounds that it was part of the civic coat-of-arms, which the City Council had directed should not be used in part or complete except by Sheffield Corporation Departments. No documentary evidence of this objection remains but an early student of the College contended that the matter was raised by the Town Clerk with the Principal. It was necessary to make a change and Ernest Collington, a student of the 1910-12 years, was asked to design a crest incorporating:

"A sheaf of arrows and rampant lion, both representing Sheffield; the book of knowledge, showing the connection of the college with the university; and a crescent, representing Collegiate Crescent and the Collegiate School connection".¹

Over the years, variations found their way into the design. As a result, the Past Students' Association conducted an enquiry into its accuracy. A search was made at the College of Arms and the Windsor Herald replied:

"March 2nd, 1951.

Dear Sir,

I have now made a search in our Official Records regarding the Coat of Arms of which you sent illustration.

I find that no Arms have been recorded to the Sheffield City College.

It would seem that the shield which you sent me seems to consist of a miscellaneous assortment of elements from the above (local coats of arms) thrown together on one shield, plus the crescent, which I do not find anywhere else in connection with Sheffield.

If the Sheffield City College is not part of the University of Sheffield, and if it is an Incorporated Body, it would be open to the Governors to apply for a Grant of Arms to be made to it by Letters Patent in the usual way. This is done by means of a Petition to the Earl Marshal.

The only alternative to a registered Grant of Arms would be for the Sheffield City College and/or the Old Crescenters' Association to adopt a badge of a completely non-heraldic character... so as to avoid shields and all pseudo-heraldry.

Yours truly,

R. P. Graham Vivian,

Windsor.

" 1

The reply brought considerable disappointment and provoked much discussion on what should be done, if anything, to regularise the situation. Finally, it was decided to keep the design as it was, for while it was made up of irregular heraldic devices and failed to meet the standards of the College of Arms, it was too well established to warrant a change. Furthermore, the cost of registering an official coat of arms was estimated at £200. The Old Students' Association did not feel that expenditure of their meagre funds could be justified, while the Principal did not consider a sufficiently strong case could be made for the expenditure of public funds for a grant of arms.

From the earliest days, the students' dress was closely prescribed. One old student recounted:

"The uniform of the college was blazers and caps for the male students. "Straw boaters" were worn in summer, particularly when walking out on Sundays and at Sports events. The girls wore long blue skirts, white blouses, blazers and felt hats. They too were required to wear "straw boaters" in summer.

There was a prefect system and prefects were identified by a long golden tassel attached to the "schoolboy type" cap".₂

The earliest students of the College were younger than normal. Most of them had been pupil teachers and having passed the King's Scholarship examinations were admitted to the College on or about their seventeenth birthdays. For many, Sheffield had a distinct attraction. It was a large flourishing city and offered a break from small town or village life - a feature not always held highly by some students' parents. But the new College in Sheffield possessed a distinct advantage - it carried within its title the word "University". The accuracy of the name was often conveniently waived. That the College carried the word "University" in its title - no matter how tenuously - was a distinguishing feature of some consequence.

Interviews conducted years ago with some of the early students of the College revealed interesting social aspects. Tropp has highlighted the aspirations of social mobility among teachers and the early student enrolment indicated that the majority were "coming up" in the world. Many were nonconformists by religion and the first year's intake included thirty-four West Riding students, a high proportion of whom hailed from the Huddersfield/Dewsbury/Batley area. There was therefore a strong influence from the "Chapelfolk" of the West Riding towns and villages, a phenomenon which continued for a number of years. Later, they were to become pillars of the teaching profession in Sheffield and in the north. As they became senior teachers and headteachers, they were to make significant contributions to the cultural and educational scene. The early students as a group stood uniquely as products of the new generation of publicly trained teachers.

Later, self-satisfaction and complacency typified their social group. They were not slow to criticise the up and coming younger generations of teachers. There were cries of "teachers nowadays aren't what they were", to be enjoined with "when we were at college". With all the piety of yesteryears and in spite of the strict arrangements to ensure that there was no lapse in morals

or time wasted, there were pregnancies out of wedlock, students referred, and students failed. Sometimes it seemed from unwitting research and subsequent reflection that some of those who had "come up in the world" and who most deprecated the younger generations of teachers that followed them, had the greatest number of "skeletons in cupboards" morally, academically and socially.

CHAPTER XII - REFERENCES

- Page 153 1. "Sheffield Daily Telegraph", 1906
" 2. Ibid
- Page 154 1. Ibid (Reference to Moravian schools seems out of context but in the latter half of the nineteenth century there was a flourishing Moravian school in nearby Derbyshire and it was probably this to which the writer was alluding)
" 2. "The Crescent", Volume 2, No 2, p.57
- Page 156 1. "Sheffield Daily Independent", 22 September 1906
- Page 157 1. "Sheffield Daily Telegraph", 9 October 1906
" 2. "Sheffield Daily Independent", 9 October 1906
- Page 158 1. John Derry, "Sheffield Daily Independent", Editorial, 9 October 1906
- Page 159 1. From a duplicated newsletter sent out to old students during the period 1943-46.
- In the 1920s, Pearson added another verse as a gesture to the students taking the one year course in Physical Training:
- "But who are these, a stalwart crowd.
With martial mien and laughter loud.
They've come to make the college rafters ring.
And raise the ghost of good old Ling,
Tommy Atkins was their victim
Into shape they quickly licked him
Now it's jerks for little Tommy that they plan."
- The majority of the students on this course had been Physical Training instructors during the 1914-18 War and were naturally somewhat older than the average student. "Good old Ling" was a reference to an originator of the Swedish drill which was fashionable in Physical Education at that time.
- Page 160 1. Letter from Ernest Collington to George Oversby, Secretary of the Old Crescenters, circa 1924
" 2. "The Crescent", Vol I, No 2, November 1905, p.70
" 3. "The Crescent", Vol I, p.48
- Page 161 1. Letter from Ernest Collington to George Oversby, circa 1924
- Page 162 1. Letter from Windsor Herald to A J Holdsworth, OCA, 1951
" 2. Verbal account by George Oversby, circa 1955

CHAPTER XIII

AN EARLY ATTEMPT AT A POLYTECHNICAL APPROACH

The Board of Education continued its close monitoring of the new institution. At the opening of the second year the district HMI carried out an inspection and his report was submitted to the Managers on 6th November 1906:

"The work of the college during the past year has been subject to disadvantages necessarily attendant upon a period of transition to a new system of organisation and government. In particular, the arrangements by which the students of the second year attended the University for their academic studies, rendered the effective organisation and supervision of their professional training a task of extreme difficulty, and though every effort has been made by the lecturers of the college to overcome this difficulty, it is not surprising that the results in Teaching, Reading and Recitation fell somewhat below the level of former years. I have, however, every confidence that under more favourable conditions the long tradition of excellence in this department of college work will be maintained, and I am glad to record my appreciation of the readiness of the Local Education Authority to facilitate in every way the practical training of the students in teaching.

With regard to the instruction of First Year Students, much good work is being done. The staff is able and zealous, and in its new buildings and with a settled organisation, the College bids fair to have a prosperous career. The Hostel for women is in excellent hands, and is already having an admirable influence on the women students".¹

The College Managers were soon made aware of the problems relating to the difficulties encountered by students attempting to acquire both a degree and a teaching qualification in three years. The problem was brought to their attention by a minute from the Board of Studies:

"Having regard to the pressure of professional work on those students in the Training College who are taking a University Course, this Meeting of the Board of Studies of the Training College suggests to the Managers that it will be advantageous if the subject of Education could be

included in the University Course as a subject counting towards a degree, and thinks it desirable that the University Authorities should be approached on the question." ¹

After discussions, the Managers then came to the conclusion that it would be:

"... distinctly desirable that a Chair of Education should be founded at the University, and that Education should be recognised as one of the subjects which students may offer for a degree. Among other advantages to be derived by the students of the Training College, it would afford facilities for those who have passed the Matriculation Examination to go on with a University Course and proceed to a degree without undergoing the severe strain which seems unavoidable under existing arrangements..." ²

Consideration of the problem went further:

"Assuming that Education be substituted for one of the other subjects for the University Degree, seven or eight hours a week of class work would be saved, and the work of the University students at the Training College would be proportionately lightened. On the other hand, students who wish to train for service in Secondary Schools, might if the University Authorities so desire, have opportunity afforded them while taking the Degree Course of getting professional training and practice in teaching in connection with the Training College for Teachers. There are other advantages which need not be enlarged upon in this connection, but the suggestion of the Board of Studies is in the opinion of the Section worthy of the special consideration of the University Authorities, and it is recommended that a communication to that effect should be addressed to the Council of the University" ³

To a large extent the action of the Managers was of little consequence for the University had already begun responding. A minute from the Faculty of Arts in October 1905 resolved:

"That a strong recommendation be made to the Senate that a Professor of Education should be appointed as soon as possible and that he should be responsible for the organisation of the training of secondary teachers and for the instruction in Advanced Psychology and in Education" ⁴

The appointment proceeded and "John Alfred Green, hitherto Professor of Education in the University of North Wales, Bangor"¹ filled the new Chair.

The arrangements between the College and the University remained a source of difficulty - a situation not made easier by the constant inquiries posed by the Board of Education as to the true nature of the relationship between the institutions. The Education Authority reports express a good deal of optimism and appear to "gloss over" difficulties but the Board of Education and the University Authorities had a different view of the situation. In March 1906, the Secretary to the Sheffield Education Committee reported the contents of a letter to the College Managers, which stated that:

"... The Board are not able to recognise the Sheffield Training College as a College receiving students for a Three Years' Course of Training, since they are not satisfied that it has such a close connection with the University of Sheffield as is contemplated by Section 43 of the Training College Regulations. The five students proposed as Three Year Students may, however, be admitted as Two Year Students with a view to their taking the University Courses proposed on their behalf, and it will be open to the College Authorities to apply later for a third year of training in any of these cases if the progress made by the student appears to justify it".²

The letter obviously "tried" the patience of the Managers, who approved the following letter drafted by the Secretary:

"Sir,

Referring to your letter of the 29th March, I am directed to ask that the Managers may be favoured with some further explanation as to the close connection with the University, referred to in Section 43 of the Regulations for the Training of Teachers.

The five teachers referred to, entered with the view of taking the Three Years' Course ending July, 1908, and they rely upon gaining Degrees at the Sheffield University. They have jointed the University Classes for all the subjects they require to take for their Degree, and they take their professional studies only at the Training College; the University Fees being paid by the Managers of the College.

It is expected that an increasing number of students will be both capable and will be found suitably prepared to take such courses in the future.

There would thus be two sections of students - a larger section taking the Ordinary Training College Course, and the University Section, whose studies would be apportioned as indicated. All would be subject to the discipline of the College in the College and at the Practising Schools, but the students in the University Section would, of course, attend the University Classes and take the University Examinations, and must pledge themselves to proceed to a Degree, if within the compass of their attainment.

Elementary Science is taken by all the students of both Sections of the Training College at the University under the Professors of Physics, Biology, and Chemistry, and it is further intended, if practicable, to have occasional courses of lectures by University Professors, which will be helpful and stimulating. Thus the Training College students take certain subjects which they can best take at the University, and the instruction in other subjects is carried out at the Training College, where, it is thought, they will work under conditions more suitable for them.

The Council of the University nominates six of the Managers of the Training College, and, in addition, seven other Managers are also members of the Council of the University; besides, the Board of Studies consists of the following:- The Vice-Chancellor of the University (Chairman), two Representatives of the Senate, the Principal and Lady Superintendent of the Training College, and one person appointed by the Managers.

The Managers will be perfectly content to accept the suggestion now made of having the students recognised as Two Year Students with the understanding that they are to be recognised for a Third Year if they are found to have made sufficient progress, but they would be glad to have the position of the College more clearly defined so far as the meaning of Section 43 of the Regulations is concerned.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
Secretary. " 1

While the College Managers wished the link with the University to continue, the University Authorities were facing different problems. Teaching certificate work was of non-degree level and the University was in financial difficulties as the departure of students from the

University of the Day Training College had resulted in a loss of grant income in the Arts Faculty. Sir Charles Eliot commented:

"... With regard to the number of students, I would like to point out that this is directly affected by the relations prevailing between the University and the Training College. If the Training College is kept separate, the number of students, and consequently the Government Grant, will be less. I quite understand that different views may be held as to the best possible relationship between the University and the Training College, but if a new University is started under circumstances of some financial difficulty, it cannot be businesslike to adopt the view which is likely to curtail the grants received from the Government".¹

Later, Chapman was to observe:

"It might perhaps have been expected that the University and the Training College would thereafter each go its own way. What happened, however, was quite different, and for some time their relationships were complex and unstable. Two lines of thought and action, not fully compatible with one another, seem to be discernible in these affairs: the first a collaboration between the two institutions so close that for a time it looks almost like an attempt at fusion; the second the development of a Department of Education within the University, conceived and carried out in a spirit of co-operation with the Training College, but inevitably tending towards complete separation.

There were several reasons for all this. For some years after its foundation the staff and equipment of the City Training College, though adequate in respect of professional training in the art of teaching, was not sufficient to teach all the academic subjects also required for a teacher's certificate. Moreover, a few students had entered with a view to taking a degree as well as a teacher's qualification, and the only courses in degree subjects suitable for them were being given in the University. On the University's side it was realized that a large proportion of students taking courses in Arts or Science intended eventually to become school teachers, and it was feared that, if no specific preparation for that profession could be offered, many such students would be lost to the University and the grants received by the University from various sources might be reduced in consequence".²

The situation relating to student grants was a vexatious one. If the University's income was threatened, students' support was even more difficult. Many students could only afford to follow their course of study if they received the grant which was awarded to those who were intending teachers and for the University to secede completely from the training of teachers would have meant a loss of income and a loss of potential students. The partnership therefore continued.

But pressure from the Board of Education continued, until finally a joint Committee to consider the whole relationship was instituted. At the Managers' meeting of the 12th June 1906, the members recommended that the Education Committee adopt the recommendation of the Report which had been prepared by the Vice-Chancellor of the University and the Professor of Education:

"Report on the Practical Working Out of the Suggested Scheme for a Closer Alliance Between the University and the Training College.

Government of the Training College.

The Principal's authority must necessarily be unimpaired, and to this end it is suggested that -

- (1) He should be Director of Studies of Normal Students, both matriculated and un-matriculated. That is to say, he should be responsible for the discipline and for the actual arrangements being such as meet the requirements of the Board of Education.
- (2) He should be Chairman of the Board of Studies.
- (3) He should be in direct control of the subjects which are inspected by the Board of Education, so far as these do not come into the degree courses of Matriculated students.

The Training College Managers should retain the financial control of the Training College. Amongst other things this would include the appointments to the staff, the determination of salaries, the fixing of financial and other terms of admission, and the general expenditure in regard to equipment and maintenance. They should also have submitted to them for approval all proposals of the Board of Studies.

The University Senate, acting through a Board of Studies, would recognise the specialist teachers, approve the syllabus of work, and make arrangements for the annual examination.

The Board of Studies should be constituted as follows:-

Chairman: The Principal.

From the University: The Vice-Chancellor, the Professor of Education, History, English, and of such other subjects as are represented in the Teaching assistance given by the University.

From the Training College: The responsible teachers of Education, English, History, Mathematics, Geography, French, and Music, so far as these subjects are in the hands of special teachers.

Organization.

- (a) The First Year Courses should be given entirely by the Training College Staff.
- (b) The Second Year Courses should be given by the College Staff - except in History and English, in which subjects University Courses should be substituted, and, perhaps, in Geography.
- (c) Certain students who excel in French might pursue Second Year Optional Courses by the University Professor.
- (d) All the teaching under (b) and (c) should be given at the Training College so far as its equipment allows.
- (e) All Matriculated Students should be required to take University Courses, which will include Education (Theory and Practice). An endeavour should be made to secure a due supply of this class of student to whom preference should be given.
- (f) In order that the practical work in Education for the University students may be really effective, a demonstration and practising school should be specially organised and attached to the University".₁

The Principal became a member of the University Senate and the Managers agreed that the College should be styled "The University of Sheffield Teachers' College". Many of the recommendations were implemented and the work proceeded. But as Chapman observed:

"The system had advantages, but it was not really satisfactory... The University undertook responsibility in matters of curricula and examinations for a large number of 'two-year' students who were not of degree standard and not its own. On the other hand, the 'three-year' students, though registered in and coming under the discipline of the Training College, had little otherwise to do with it and really belonged to the University".¹

By 1907, John F Moss, the Secretary to the Sheffield Education Committee, must have been sorely tried. A further letter was received from the Board of Education dated 28th January 1907:

"Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 15th November, I am directed to state that the Board have had under consideration the proposed scheme agreed upon between the authorities of Sheffield University and the Managers of the above-named Training College for bringing about a closer connection between the Training College and the University. Before the Board can offer an opinion on this scheme, I am to request that the following points may be further elucidated:-

(1) The exact relation of the Principal to the Three-Year Students under the proposed scheme is not quite clear. I am to enquire what position the Principal will hold in the University, and whether his position as Director of Studies for the Three-Year Students would be incompatible with an arrangement whereby all the academic work of these students and their practise in teaching should be controlled directly by the University.

(2) It is not quite clear to what students reference is made in the paragraphs of the letter marked (a) - (f), under the head "Organisation". The Board understand that paragraphs (a), (b), and (c) refer only to Two-Year Students. If this is so, I am to enquire whether paragraphs (e) and (f) refer only to Three-Year Students, or also to any Two-Year Students failing courses leading to a University degree. It would be of great assistance to the Board if the exact arrangements proposed for students of these different types could be set out in more detail for their information.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

E. K. CHAMBERS.

To which communication, the Board of Education Secretary replied:

"Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 28th January, I am to say (1) in regard to the relation of the Principal to the Three-Year Students under the proposed scheme it is the intention of the Managers that all the Academic work of such students and their Practice in Teaching shall be controlled directly by the University. The duties of the Principal, as Director of Studies for the Three-Year Students, would be to advise them as to the selection of their subjects where an option is allowed under the Regulations of the University. The Principal would also be responsible to the Board of Education for the discipline of the Three-Year Students.

(2) The paragraphs (a) to (d) refer entirely to Two-Year Students not Reading for a Degree; paragraph (f) refers to Students Reading for a Degree, whether they be Three-Year Students or Two-Year Students. The expression "University Course" in paragraph (e) means Course leading to a Degree, and Matriculated Students who are duly qualified according to the Regulations of the Board of Education, shall ordinarily be required to take such Course; in the event, however, of such Matriculated Students not proceeding to a Degree, they shall follow the Course as organised for Two-Year Students at the Training College.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant, &c. " 1

The Board of Education was still not convinced. The Inspectorate had been very busy not only at the Training College but also in the University. Early in 1907, after inspecting the arrangements, the following report appeared:

"Many of the difficulties which attend the organization of a new College, and which were alluded to in last year's report, have now been overcome. On a review of the work as a whole, it may be said, without hesitation, that the Committee are to be congratulated on the success which the College has already attained. It bids fair to have a prosperous career, and to be in every way worthy of its place in the educational system of a great city.

Premises and General Arrangements. - The premises have now been completed. The new Hall of Residence is admirably adapted for its purpose. It has been furnished with exceptional taste, and is under the able management of the Lady Superintendent whose long experience of Training

College work renders her specially qualified to hold this important post. There is already to be seen abundant proof of the benefit which the students in residence are deriving from their College life.

The College building itself is satisfactory for the present number of students. The only points to which I should desire to direct the attention of the Committee are the extension of the Library and (should it prove practicable) the provision of a playing field for the men students at a less distance from the College than the one in use at present.

Instruction and Discipline. - The Principal has already achieved a considerable measure of success in the conduct of an Institution which, as regards the details of its working, was necessarily unfamiliar to him at first. His administration of the College is marked by distinct ability, and he is supported by an adequate staff which is, as a whole, very well qualified, and contains some members of exceptional competence. Some of the younger Lecturers are new to Training College work, and still have some difficulty in adapting their instruction to the needs of the students; but further experience will doubtless correct this defect. The only point of decided weakness is in the Mathematical staff, where Mr. Browne needs more competent assistance.

During the past year the instruction in various academic subjects has been partly given by the University Lecturers. Owing to the inability of the mass of the students to profit by methods of instruction which presuppose a higher degree of education than they at present possess, the arrangements have not been entirely successful, and some reconsideration of them appears to be necessary. It may be suggested that greater benefit would be derived from a connection between the College and the University if the share taken by the University Lecturers in the College work took the form rather of occasional lectures and conferences with the staff than of continuous and detailed instruction of the students in a subject which is set for Examination.

With regard to the professional work, the least satisfactory feature was the Reading and Recitation, which was often defective as regards the essential qualities of clearness and ease of articulation and enunciation. Arrangements should be made for systematic training of the students' Speaking and Reading; and in future all students, including those taking University courses, should receive adequate instruction in this subject".₁

Meanwhile, with the provision of hostel accommodation having proceeded, the Managers now approached the Board of Education for permission to increase the intake. Every encouragement was being made nationally to increase the number of teacher training places. It was still a national problem in two ways: firstly the effects of the 1902 Education Act were being felt by the expansion of secondary education, and secondly, the high and rising birth-rates were now beginning to affect the available educational resources. The Secretary to the Managers wrote:

"March 25th, 1907.

Sheffield Training College for Teachers.

Sir,

I beg to make application for an extension of the number of Two-Year Students allowed to be taken in the Training College up to the number of 180. We shall probably have near 40 students reading for a Degree, and if we are to be limited to 200 for the whole College that will leave us only 160 places for those taking the ordinary course at the Training College. The Degree Reading Students make no encroachment upon our space except on Wednesday afternoons for Singing and Music, and therefore we could well accommodate over the number of 200 if a large proportion of them are Degree Reading Students.

I am, Sir, &c. " 1

The Board of Education responded in its now familiarly guarded and equivocal way:

"16th May, 1907.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 25th March last, I am directed to state that the Board of Education have now had under consideration the proposed scheme for the organisation of the above-named Training College, the application for increase in the number of recognised students, and the course of study proposed for them.

With regard to the Three-year Students and the Two-year Students following University Courses, the Board approve in general the scheme proposed for the organisation and direction of their studies, whereby the Principal will be responsible for their discipline, and will advise as to

the selection of courses, while their academical work and their instruction in the Theory and Practice of Teaching will be directly controlled by the University of Sheffield.

With regard to the Two-year Students who will not follow University Courses, the Board observe that it is desired to increase the number of these students, bringing the total number of students in the Training College up to 220. Before assenting to this proposal the Board will require to be satisfied as to the sufficiency of the Training College Staff for the instruction of these students. In this connection I am to call your attention to H. M. Inspector's Report on the above Training College, a copy of which was forwarded to the College on March 14th last, and to request that the Board may be informed as to the exact arrangements proposed for the ensuing session for the employment of University Lecturers to assist the Training College Staff.

With regard to the course of study proposed for these Two-year Students, I am to inform you that these appear to the Board to be in general satisfactory. The courses, however, in English and in the Principles of Teaching, especially that proposed for men students, appear to be unduly heavy, and in particular the number of books required for detailed study appears to the Board excessive. I am, therefore, to suggest that it might be well to reduce to some extent these proposed syllabuses of study so as to avoid overburdening the students.

With regard to the Examination proposed for these students at the end of their course, as set forth in the scheme of work forwarded to the Board on March 27th, I am to enquire whether it is the wish of the Training College Authorities that this Examination should be recognised under Section 27 (b) of the Training College Regulations, and, if so, whether the University of Sheffield are prepared to accept full responsibility for the conduct of the Examination and the awards of success and failure.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant." ₁

To which the Secretary responded:

"June 4th, 1907.

Sir,

Adverting to your letter of the 16th ultimo, I am directed to point out that during the present year 175 Non-Degree Students have been instructed at the College, the remainder of those received being Degree Students who have been dealt with at the University. The object of the Managers' request

is that for the present they may be enabled to accept about 220 students, of whom it is probable there will be about 40 who will follow University Courses.

Since the receipt of H. M. Inspector's Report, the Managers have taken steps to obtain the services of a suitable Assistant Tutor in Mathematics, and they are of opinion that the Training College Staff is amply sufficient for the instruction of the ordinary Two-year Students.

The courses of study for such students in English and in the Principles of Teaching have been re-considered, and I am to submit herewith amended syllabuses showing a reduction in the work to be taken in both these subjects.

In respect of the enquiry as to the arrangements to be made in the future for University teaching in the College, the Managers propose that the present basis of connection between the University and the College should be maintained, and that instruction in History and English Literature and Language should continue to be given by the University Professors, but that the amount of help given should be reduced. In any arrangements that are to be made they will see that as little as possible may be done in the way of dividing responsibility, the University Professor taking a definite part of the syllabus and the College Tutor another part.

The Managers desire that the Examination of Students at the end of their course shall be recognised under Section 27(b) of the Training College Regulations for 1906, the University of Sheffield being prepared to accept full responsibility for the conduct of the Examination for the awards of success and failure.

As the results of the Preliminary Examination may be expected shortly, I am to ask for an early decision of the Board upon the subject of the number of students to be accepted in order that arrangements may be made for receiving the extended number of students this year.

I am, Sir, &c. " 1

By the close of 1907, the work of the University began to take on a more stable form. Courses of study were regularised and student recruitment brought more appropriately into line with the expectations of a major academic institution. Under Professor Green's direction, educational studies had made significant progress and some departmental role definition was rapidly becoming necessary.

A special Committee of the University Council had for some months been considering the arrangements and in February 1908 it was recommended to the University Council that the University should set up its own separate teacher-training facilities to admit either "three-year" students reading for a first degree or "one-year" students seeking postgraduate professional training.

While Chapman contended that "this proposal was fully welcomed by the City Education Authorities"¹ there must have been some reservations. Indeed, the Managers took a very different view for when the University decision was reported to them at their meeting of 3rd March 1908, the matter was reported somewhat curtly and coolly:

"... The Managers are in sympathy with the establishment of a Training College in conjunction with the University of Sheffield..."²

But the final severance certainly pleased the Principal of the Training College, Valentine Ward Pearson, for from the outset he had expressed reservations on the University connexion. No doubt the Local Education Authority Secretariat too were very relieved in view of the long-drawn correspondence to which it was subjected by the Board of Education.

The innovation in teacher-training at Sheffield during the period 1905-08 was unique. The Day Training College arrangements introduced in the 1890s represented a complete departure from the mono-purpose teacher-training institutions founded in the 1840s. The lead, arising from the Cross Commission, which the Council of the Committee on Education gave to the development represented an expedient which avoided the difficult problem of delegating further power to the School Boards. Unwittingly or otherwise, the opportunity which was created for breaking down the traditional normal college approach, was welcomed.

The opportunity which presented itself in Sheffield was a bold experiment which failed for a number of reasons: there were the problems of a new university seeking status; there were entrenched ideas on the part of teacher educators; many students came

inadequately prepared educationally; and there appeared to be overbearing bureaucracy and interference from the Board of Education. Were these the reasons for failure or was the innovation merely too advanced for the time?

The Sheffield experiment was unique. The development of Day Training arrangements elsewhere took a different turn - most of them being absorbed as Departments of Education within their respective Universities. Pursued more vigorously or given a more positive lead from the Board of Education, the arrangements may have worked, particularly if the Board had used its influence a little more constructively.

But events were overtaking the departmental architects of the 1902 Act. Beatrice Webb was to write in later years of the opinions which Morant held of his departmental and political superiors:

"The Duke of Devonshire, the nominal Education Minister, failing through inertia and stupidity to grasp any complicated detail half an hour after he has listened to the clearest exposition of it, preoccupied with Newmarket, and in bed till 12 o'clock; Kekewich trying to outstay this Government, and quite superannuated in authority; Gorst cynical and careless, having given up even the semblance of any interest in the office, the Cabinet absorbed in other affairs, and impatient and bored with the whole question of education. 'Impossible to find out after a Cabinet meeting', Morant tells us, 'what has actually been the decision. Salisbury does not seem to know or care, and the various Ministers who do care give me contradictory versions'." ¹

In such a climate there can be little wonder at the way Morant seized power, at the discomfiture of colleagues - particularly Michael Sadler. In the heydays of the Department of Special Inquiries, both Sadler and Morant appeared to be striving to establish a generalist approach to the curriculum of the new secondary schools. In a report which Sadler prepared for Liverpool Education Department, he wrote:

"... the humanities should have a large place in the course of studies pursued in our secondary schools..." ²

The liberal approach to secondary education was constantly in danger. Innumerable instances appear in Sadler's reports of the dangers of subjecting the secondary curricula to the needs of commercial and technical interests, followed by advice to maintain an open, general approach to studies.

Detailed commentary relating to the relationship and subsequent dispute between Sadler and Morant fall outside this study, but some points of the situation need to be analysed for they affected the development of teacher-training. After Morant's death, Sadler wrote in a private memorandum:

"... he hated the School Boards... he was regarded by some people as a 'good Civil Servant'. But there was a vein of indiscipline and duplicity in his character which made him an adventurer rather than a trustworthy subordinate".¹

Lynda Grier reveals the fundamental rift which had arisen between Sadler and the Board:

"... as time went on he differed more and more from the Board of Education in the interpretation of the regulations... (for) ... he had not contemplated that they would be so interpreted as to stifle good experiment and to fit children only for working in a rut for the black-coated".²

This differentiation was not merely Sadler battling against the Board but a personal struggle between Sadler the Educationalist and Morant the Administrator.

In summarising Morant's contribution to the Education Service, Grier contends that:

"He was interested rather in the creation of an efficient administrative machine than in education itself. And it seems very doubtful whether he was truly interested in educational research as compared with educational administration. His contributions to the special reports are much concerned with administration and the ruthlessness with which he finally made it all but impossible for the research work of the office (Office of Special Inquiries) to be carried out indicates he cared for that very little".³

The Sadler and Morant relationship was finally severed in May 1903. The incoming Liberal administration of 1907 brought foreboding and if not drastic change at least significant legislative adjustment

to the 1902 Act to make innovation a risky venture. The opposition to Morant finally brought about his transfer elsewhere. A decade of change was over and what followed was a period of relative stagnation. What could have heralded a complete reform of teacher education finally resulted in nothing more than an expansion of the traditional two-year normal course under municipal control.

Commenting on the Day Training Colleges and the University connection, Rich was to write:

"... (although) the day student lost a great deal through lack of experience of collegiate life... He had the chance of mixing with students preparing for all kinds of professions, and stood a chance of avoiding that professional self-satisfaction which was one of the characteristics of the teachers sent out by the training colleges".¹

Had Sadler become Secretary to the Board of Education, the course of teacher training in England and Wales may well have developed differently.

CHAPTER XIII - REFERENCES

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CHAPTER XIV

EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION

Towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century, national demographic trends annually averaged under 900,000 live births. However, during the decade 1895 to 1904 the annual total began to rise until, in 1904, it reached an unprecedented 945,000 - a high peak which was not to be exceeded for some years.

This was a trend which was not reflected in the statistics for the West Riding of Yorkshire. While there were peaks and troughs, these were contrary to national averages. Indeed, the birth-rate of the region was falling progressively and had been so doing since the high-peaks of the mid-1870s.¹

Although similarly the birth-rate in Sheffield had also been falling steadily for some twenty-five years, a considerable upturn was recorded in the decade 1900-10, when there was an average of slightly under 14,000 births recorded annually. Not unnaturally, the Sheffield Education Committee foresaw a likely requirement for additional teachers after the year 1909. It appeared therefore to be prudent to increase the student teacher intake into the Training College. With this objective in view, application for permission to increase the number of training places was sought. The response from the Board of Education was swift and positive: additional places could be created. This agreement was hardly surprising since the 1904 national birth-rate too was high and if the College increased its intake, there would be just sufficient time to train and supply additional teachers before the 1904 peak entered the schools in 1909.

As the 1907-08 academic year opened, there were 36 men and 78 women first-year students, bringing the total number of students to 217. At the September meeting of the Managers, the advisability of providing a hostel for at least forty male students was raised.

There had been some discussion on this matter previously, but the idea had failed to materialise. Now that the College had grown, it was vital that the male students, who had hitherto lived in lodgings, should receive the benefits of college life by being able to take up residence.

A suitable site was sought within easy reach of the College and a house known as "Southbourne" situated in Clarkehouse Road appeared to be a distinct possibility. The grounds and premises covered three acres and were being disposed of by the trustees of a Mr J Gamble. The Managers, having visited the site and having considered its suitability, decided to purchase the property for £4,000, and agreed estimates of expenditure for £10,000 for adaptation and furnishing.

Plans were drawn up and submitted to the Board of Education. On 7th April 1908, the Managers were informed that the scheme had not been approved and revised plans were submitted. Finally, in October 1909, after seventeen months of negotiation, the Board accepted the proposals. It was agreed that Southbourne was to provide accommodation for sixty male students, the Principal and his family, and the domestic staff, and that the dining hall was to be large enough to accommodate 120 students. Hurriedly, a contract was signed at an estimated cost of £17,680.10s.0d and work began. Within days of the commencement of building work a legal difficulty arose. The architects reported that in connection with the filling up of the pond at Southbourne:

"An intimation has been received from the owner of adjoining property that he is entitled to draw water therefrom by a lead pipe for gardening and other purposes and as the pond is to be filled that he wishes to claim £13 compensation for the cost of installing a new supply".₁

The Managers and the City architects discussed the matter, and being unable to resolve it, referred the problem to the Town Clerk, who promptly advised them to pay the £13 compensation. The matter being settled, the task of adapting Southbourne continued.

The proposal to increase the number of students created a demand for yet more accommodation for the female students. Although a house in Broomgrove Road was rented at a cost of £45 per annum as a temporary measure, by March 1909 it was evident that additional permanent hostel accommodation would be required, which led the Managers to propose the building of an east wing on to Collegiate Hall. The City Architect prepared plans and these were submitted to the Board of Education. On the 14th October 1909, the Board of Education replied:

"Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 20th August, 1909, I am directed to return the accompanying plans of the proposed enlargement of the Hostel, and to state that the Board consider that a second small room should be provided in the old wing (West wing) where a tutor could see students individually, if need be. Subject to this being done, the Board are prepared to regard the plans, so far as educational requirements are concerned, as satisfactorily providing for the following accommodation:

- 68 Women Students in 68 Cubicles.
- 2 Lady Tutor's Study-Bedrooms.
- 2 Studies, 30 ft by 26 ft, for 60 students.
- Library 45 ft by 26 ft.
- Students' Societies Room, 17 ft. 3 in. by 14 ft. 3 in.
- Prefects' Room, 20 ft. by 14 ft.
- Small Room. 14 ft. by 9 ft.
- Tutors' Sitting Room 22 ft. 9 in. by 14 ft. 3 in.
- Visitors' Waiting Room 17 ft. 3 in. by 7 ft. 6 in. ...

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

R. G. Mayor."₁

While the adaptation of Southbourne and the additions to Collegiate Hall provided extra residential accommodation, it became obvious that extra classrooms in the college block would also be required. Furthermore, the College,² needed to be self-sufficient as it was still dependent on the University for laboratory facilities. Elaborate plans were drawn up for the extension of the main college building and these were approved in November 1909.

A major organisational problem now arose; the difficult task of extending and rebuilding the college block was scheduled to take

place over a period of nine months, yet the college work had to continue. Of necessity it was decided to rent sixteen rooms belonging to the Wesleyan Schools in Carver Street at a cost of £100, and during May 1910, the college transferred its activities to Carver Street while the builders began work on the east wing of Collegiate Hall and on the main college building.

The addition of an east wing to Collegiate Hall was straightforward but it was not so with the main college building. It was necessary to dismantle the upper half of the building and rebuild a whole first floor in order to provide a main hall. Parts of the frontage were brought forward a distance of fourteen feet, while four buttresses were added to give support. The main gable was rebuilt, and new sets of windows were let into the ground floor. The large Gothic window which had been part of the original Collegiate School hall window was raised to provide a window for the upper hall.

With the completion of Southbourne Hostel, the Principal, the Reverend Valentine Ward Pearson, and his family, took up residence there. At the meeting of the Managers on 10th January 1911, it was agreed that the Reverend and Mrs Pearson should be paid jointly for their responsibility for the college and the hostel. However, the Principal was required to pay 12s.6d. per week towards the upkeep of each of his sons; and if he entertained visitors at the hostel, he had to report the matter to the Managers so that a charge could be made in respect of them.

On the whole, the Board of Education seemed highly satisfied with the growth of the college, but on the 11th May 1911 it intimated to the Managers that it was concerned in respect of the future internal organisation of Collegiate Hall, particularly as the increased student intake was expected in the following September. The Managers directed the Secretary to write to the Board explaining that a house-system scheme was to be introduced whereby

each tutor would be in charge of a house, and each house would include four prefects, the whole system being under the direction of the Lady Superintendent.

By the 18th August 1911, the extension programme was complete and the buildings were ready for use. The college could now function completely independently of the university. On the ground floor were lecture and demonstration rooms, while the newly-built first-floor provided lecture rooms, laboratories, and an assembly hall which could also be used as a gymnasium, and which could also serve as an examination room.

When the college opened in September 1911, a total of 189 students were admitted:

First Year	32	Men	66	Women
Second Year	<u>31</u>	Men	<u>60</u>	Women
	<u>63</u>		<u>126</u>	

The completion of the extensions was an event of considerable importance and the Managers decided to mark the occasion by an official ceremony. It was known that the Lord Chancellor, the Right Hon Lord Loreburn, GCMG, KC, DCL, had been invited to Sheffield as principal guest of the Cutlers' Company and it seemed fitting to the Managers to extend to his Lordship an invitation to officially open the College extensions on the day following the Cutlers' Feast.

The ceremony took place on the 18th October 1911. The following morning's local papers carried very detailed reports of the proceedings. The "Sheffield Daily Telegraph" reported:

"LORD LOREBURN
EDUCATION LADDER IN SHEFFIELD
COLLEGE EXTENSION
THE CITY'S PROGRESS IN RECENT YEARS

The Lord Chancellor, Earl Loreburn, played a notable part yesterday in the consummation of an important educational advance that has been made by the Sheffield Education Committee. His Lordship closed a heavy day by performing the opening ceremony of the new buildings and extensions that have been carried out by the Education Committee in connection with the Teachers' Training College. The 200 students who were present gave him a most vociferous welcome, and sang for him with powerful fervour their ringing college song, of which the Principal, the Rev. V. W. Pearson, is the author. Dr. Coward, the composer, made a picturesque figure with his gorgeous robes, and sunburnt face as he conducted the chorus from the platform.

His Lordship addressed a few familiar words to the young people, and afterwards gave a lengthier address, though quite as modest and unpretentious, to a gathering in the dining room of the women's hostel adjoining the Training College. He especially emphasised the value of collegiate life in its effect upon character, which he set even above intellectual equipment. He warmly congratulated Sheffield upon the educational ladder it has made for itself right from the kindergarten school to the University, and held it up as an example in that respect to other cities...

... Before the formal ceremonies, the Lord Chancellor inspected the new buildings. He was accompanied by the Lord Mayor (Alderman H. K. Stephenson), the Master Cutler (Mr. Arthur Balfour), ... and was met at the men's hostel, Southbourne, by Sir William Clegg (Chairman of the Education Committee), ... Councillor J. Derry (Vice-Chairman of the Training College Managers), ...

The work which has now been accomplished makes the College entirely self-contained, an advantage that is obvious. Great inconvenience was caused by the students having to go to the University for science lectures and instruction in other subjects. Not only was valuable time lost in travelling, but H. M. Inspectors continually urged that all the work should be done under one roof, in order to secure proper supervision. Extensive additions, in enlarging the Training College and the women's hostel close by, and in forming a new hostel for men at Southbourne, were decided upon.

The enlargement of the College building has cost about £6,000, and includes the extension of the central hall and assembly room and gymnasium, and provision of physics laboratory and nature study laboratory. Its full cost up to date is £22,833. The women's hostel will now

accommodate 140 students, and has cost altogether £31,170, whilst the men's hostel has cost £19,173, and will accommodate 60 students. The total cost of the Training College and its two hostels is £73,176, towards which the Board of Education has contributed £45,809, leaving £27,367 to be found by the city.

... There was a happy crowd of students waiting for the Lord Chancellor at the Training College, and his arrival was the signal for a great outburst of applause, followed by the hearty college song.

'It does a man of my age good to see so many young faces, bearing so much hope for the future of the country', said the Lord Chancellor, his own face beaming with gratification. 'You constantly hear people when they are becoming old going back to their youth and trying to make out that everything was so much better then than it is now. Don't you believe it.' (Laughter and applause) He did not mean that things were bad. On the contrary there were a lot of kindly and friendly people, and young men and girls then who wanted to do their duty. But they had not the same opportunity as people had today.

He hoped that they would help to make a better England than there is now. The work they had to look forward to in life was one of the most important things that anybody could undertake. It was said the greatest asset of the country was the youth of the country, and so it was. Upon that depended what the position and influence of this country would be, and how it would be used, which was quite as important a thing. He heartily hoped every one of them a happy and busy life, 'and no life', he added, 'is very happy unless it is busy, too. So I wish you a busy life with interest in your work, and that you may all be happy and do your duty to England.' (Applause)

Sir William Clegg presided at the gathering in the Collegiate Hall, which was crowded. Expressing their indebtedness to the Lord Chancellor for his kindness in attending, he spoke of the encouragement he had received from a phrase in his Lordship's letter accepting the invitation - 'I think we all ought to do what we can to help the high efforts that are made in Sheffield for education'. Sir William called for a greater interest in educational matters by those who criticised what they were doing, because if they knew more of the work they would appreciate the efforts the Education Committee were making on behalf of education.

The Rev. J. W. Merryweather (Chairman of the College Managers) made a statement in regard to the work and growth of the college. (The Managers) he said, encouraged the principle of give and take. They thought Sheffield students should go and get broader conceptions

in other towns, whilst they gladly welcomed students from other towns to come and get broader conceptions in Sheffield. Their success in every department had been most gratifying. The students of the Sheffield Training College this year gained distinctions in additional subjects more than any other training college did last year...

The maintenance of the Training College, barring the service of debt, would only cost the rates some £3.5s.6d. a year. (Laughter) The prophecy made by experts three or four years ago that the excess of teachers would gradually go down to a shortage in five years was being rapidly fulfilled.

... The Lord Chancellor... modestly observed that he had no pretensions to be an expert upon the subject of education, and knew no more about it than every intelligent man, and every intelligent man who valued his own education ought to take an interest in what was going forward in the country. He did not forget that he was, like everybody else, in the course of being educated, and should be so to the very end of his life. (Applause) There had been one chapter of it that day, when he had had the pleasure of going through some of the great works of Sheffield. It had certainly opened his eyes a good deal, and let in ideas and thoughts which were not naturally familiar to him.

His Lordship commented upon the progress that had been made in regard to education since his boyhood, as shown by the improvement in the class of buildings. He was particularly gratified at the determination which could not be too highly commended to impart a collegiate life and collegiate sense to those who were about to enter upon the most important and responsible duty of teaching the youth of the country. The advantages to be derived from that many of them had themselves experienced, and were quite undeniable. They had a community of interest and of duty, an exchange upon intimate terms of thoughts and ideas amongst the young - and the ideas of the young were very often a good deal more valuable than those of older people. There was, too, a kind of infection of enthusiasm and thoughts and aspirations for the future which would be for their good.

The training of character was more important than all the training of intellect in the world. (Applause)

'My observations through life', he said, 'which has been neither short nor restricted, show me that the stuff of which a man is made is much more important than what he has in the way of intellectual equipment. I don't mean to disparage intellectual equipment. On the contrary, we are living in a time when unless we keep our wits

pretty sharp we shall not be able to hold our own. That is all very important, but far more important is the spirit in which men approach their work, the self restraint, self-control, self reliance, the moral courage, the wish to help others and the recognition that it is our duty to help other people as well as ourselves.' All that was furthered by the kind of collegiate common life, which was the commencement of many life-long friendships.

... Intellectual instruction was a most excellent thing, but they had to teach a number of children, nearly all of whom were destined for the path of manual labour. Although they could not perhaps teach them a great deal, they could give them the means to begin with, and impart to them, a taste for, and love of, learning. Just as education was life-long, so the most lasting education was what men and women acquired for themselves. It was most desirable that there should be an enthusiasm for learning amongst those who had to teach others, and he would almost say, though very likely it was quite unscientific, that the best teacher was the teacher who got the most children to pursue their own education for their own interest after they had left school. (Applause)

He congratulated Sheffield upon having a complete equipment for education from the kindergarten right up to the University. (Hear, hear)

'It is no business of mine what money you spend', he said. 'I hope you get a lot from the Government; I wish you could get more (applause and laughter) - but what money you spend in this kind of work you will find it well spent.' He hoped Sheffield would show an example that would be followed by other cities. It was the way to prepare for the times that were to come, good times, he hoped, but if they were to be evil times it would be all the better if they had made provision for the thorough education of the youth of the country. He then declared the buildings open.

... Mr. A. J. Hobson, (speaking for the Managers) observed that one thing that struck him in Lord Loreburn's speech the previous night was his statement that so much of the energy of Imperial politicians was spent in fighting each other, and so little left for the affairs of the country. In Sheffield he should say 80 per cent of the energy of the members of the Council was devoted to the affairs of the Corporation, and less than 20 per cent to the wrangling that the Lord Chancellor deplored. (Hear, hear)..."₁

The Managers' policy of encouraging students from outside the city limits to enter the College began to have an effect. In 1905, the first year's intake was 90 students, 42 of whom belonged to Sheffield, but the intake of 1911 comprised 98 students, of whom only 12 were from Sheffield, which appears to suggest that the College was receiving wider recognition.

It was during 1911 that Mrs L D Henry was promoted to the newly created post of Vice-Principal. Not only had she achieved success in her early days as a lecturer, but since 1904 she had played an important part in planning the detailed organisation of the college, especially with regard to the management of Collegiate Hall, which was a relatively new venture.

From the earliest days, sport was an important aspect of collegiate life. When the College opened in 1905 there were no playing fields. Although the University College had acquired a sports field at Crosspool, it was felt that an effort should be made to find a suitable ground elsewhere. Through the energies of the Principal and the Secretary of the College Football Club, a ground was acquired at Intake. It was situated near Elm Tree, in an area bounded by pit-hills and colliery workings. It was scarcely passable as a football field and quite unusable as a cricket pitch. In the summer of 1906 the cricket enthusiasts began to search for a suitable pitch. After extensive enquiries and pleas for help, Millhouse Cricket Club allowed the College the use of its ground on certain days. According to the cricket reports in the College magazines, the first match seems to have been played against Wadsley Asylum on the 5th May 1906, followed by matches against Sheffield City Police and Sheffield Wednesday Cricket Club.

The female students too appear to have shared a similar enthusiasm for organised games for early in the first term, hockey teams sprang into existence but on the question of facilities, the women were more fortunate than the men, for the "cabbage patch" - the ground between the College and Collegiate Hall - was large enough to accommodate several teams.

The successful development of sporting activity was due in no small part to the support and encouragement given by the Principal and the Lady Superintendent. The Principal in particular would often travel long distances to support the College teams at play. Notwithstanding his varied enthusiasm for sport, he enjoyed above all watching cricket, especially when Yorkshire played at Bramall Lane. A former student recalled that:

"One afternoon in the summer of 1907, two of us decided we would like to see the cricket match at Bramall Lane. We "skipped" the afternoon lectures and went to the cricket match. After we had been there some considerable time, we saw the Principal sitting a few rows in front and near the exit. We kept our eyes on him for the rest of the match, for we dare not depart until he had gone. Not a word was said and we thought we had successfully evaded him. However, at the following morning's lecture on Logic, Pearson turned to us and commented: "I trust you enjoyed the cricket match yesterday? I did".¹

The first of the Annual Sports Days took place on the 30th June 1906 and it enjoyed the patronage of at least a score of prominent people in the city, many of whom appear to have generously contributed to the prize-list. The following paragraph, taken from "The Crescent" of October 1906, describes the Edwardian scene on what must have been a very pleasant afternoon:

"Did we not all see the gentle flow of visitors, calmly but light-heartedly winding along under the old trees to take up their seats in the shade? What a pretty effect had the shining colours of the ladies' costumes, interspersed here and there with the more modest mien of the men's attire; the rich, green, grassy expanse, bespangled with coloured pennoncelles to mark out the tracks for the various races; the bandsmen in their gorgeous uniform and the men students in their light flannel outfits. Those of us who had friends present, especially if they had come from "dear old home", did we not realize an inward glow of pride that rejoiced at being a part of the college that could afford the visitor such aesthetic charm?"²

Because the football pitch was situated at Intake, the women's hockey pitch in the College grounds, and the uncertain arrangement with regard to facilities for cricket, this led to comment from the Inspectorate. In March 1907, they suggested that a more spacious playing field should be provided, nearer College. This

proved to be difficult. Although attempts were made to find a suitable ground near the College, these were unsuccessful and by 1910 the need for provision of playing fields had become acute. The College had grown and the provision of a sports ground had become an urgent necessity. Finally, on the 3rd May 1910, the Managers were able to recommend that ten acres of land at the junction of Derbyshire Lane and Hemsworth Road should be purchased for £2,000 for use as a playing field. Land alone did not solve the problem for it was necessary to prepare the land and provide a pavilion. Plans were drawn up and after much delay the Managers were informed at their meeting held on the 18th June 1911 that the Board of Education had approved the purchase and sanctioned the building of a pavilion at a further cost of £700.

REFERENCES - CHAPTER XIV

- Page 184 1. A phenomenon ascribed by Ethel M Elderton to the rapid expansion of the Yorkshire Coalfield.
Elderton, Ethel M, "Report on the English Birth Rate Part I, England North of Humber, Plate X Galton Eugenics Society Publication, 1913
- Page 185 1. SEC Minutes, 1909-10, p.395
- Page 186 1. SEC Minutes, 1909-10, p.428
- " 2. Students attended the University for instruction in science subjects as late as July 1911
- Page 192 1. "Sheffield Daily Telegraph", 19th October 1911
- Page 194 1. Related in a letter from a former student
- " 2. "The Crescent", October 1906

CHAPTER XV

OH! WHAT A NOT SO LOVELY WAR

The problems of teacher-supply and financing of the teacher-training provision remained uppermost in the minds of the Government and the administration. In the past, many students had used both the pupil-teacher system and the normal training college course merely as a means of acquiring a secondary education. The development of Day Training provided an even more attractive opportunity, not only to obtain a higher education but a university degree also. By 1904, the Board of Education came to see weaknesses in the grants system and was determined that money spent on grant to students training for teaching would produce corresponding results. To this end, "the pledge" was introduced, whereby student teachers agreed to take up and serve in teaching appointments. Men were required to serve at least seven years in teaching during their first ten years after leaving training college or university, while women were required to serve five years out of eight after leaving college.¹ While the need for teachers remained, "the pledge" served to discourage those who may have entered into teacher-training for different reasons. Unwittingly, "the pledge" created a social and policy implication. At times when the birth-rate took a downward turn or when governments faced periods of economic stringency, the education service had a history of subjection to financial cuts. Such situations invariably had repercussions in the recruitment of students to Training Colleges and Pupil Teacher Centres. However, a tacit implication arose out of the pledge: that teachers once they had trained could expect to find employment in their chosen profession.² Moreover, "the pledge" was one of the instruments which maintained the closed system. Teachers were educated at school, trained as teachers in a monoteknical situation and finally re-entered the schools - being held there by "the pledge" and by a narrowness of education, training and social experience which precluded all but the most adventurous from seeking careers elsewhere.

The expansion of teacher-training facilities proceeded apace. The response of colleges to the anticipated needs of the schools due to the high peak birth-rate of 1904 was creditable. Unfortunately, it was somewhat misjudged for in 1907 the outcoming students from colleges found difficulty in obtaining appointments. The annual output of trained teachers had grown and was growing. In 1907, 7,000 trained teachers completed their courses. By 1912 the number had risen to 12,000 but because of the large number of children born in the period 1904-07 who were now entering the schools, there was a sudden shortage of teachers.

On the 16th October 1912, the Secretary of the Education Committee reported to the College Managers the substance of a communication from the Board of Education requesting that the Managers consider ending the 1911-1913 course at the following Easter in order that vacancies might be filled in the schools, a course of action to which the Managers refused to agree. There was considerable uneasiness surrounding employment opportunities after the College course and the Managers did not consider a short-term expedient to be justified, albeit at the request of the Board.

The prospect of employment after completion of the College course was one of the key factors in the recruitment of students to colleges. Instability caused potential students to look elsewhere, even though there was still generally a shortage of trained teachers. The numbers of prospective training college students began to dwindle. Commerce and industry now began competing with the education service for young people who had followed a secondary education course. At Sheffield, the College Managers became increasingly concerned because the number of applicants was falling and agreed to the preparation of an illustrated prospectus, "the cost of which was not to exceed £85", in the hope of encouraging applications. There is no means of telling whether the publication of a prospectus had any effect, but analysis of students admitted in September 1913 shows the following:

	Men	Women
Sheffield	3	8
Other areas	<u>27</u>	<u>55</u>
	<u>30</u>	<u>63</u>
First year students	30	63
Second year students	<u>30</u>	<u>62</u>
	60	<u>125</u>
Total number of students:		185

In spite of the ever recurring problems of attracting a sufficient number of students, when the Summer term of 1914 came to an end, both the tutorial staff and the College Managers had reason to be proud of the achievements of the previous nine years. It had been a period of steady growth and experiment. For the first three years there had been that close and unique connection with the University, which many were sorry to lose. Nevertheless, since 1908, the College had grown to independence. There then followed difficulties of organisation, exacerbated by the very extensive and inconvenient building programme, which meant that the College was never really settled until 1912. Therefore, it must have been a source of some pride that when the students of the 1912-14 course left College they were the first to be trained entirely in the new buildings, with the College at its then planned size of 200 students.

As the 1912-14 students completed their examinations and made application for appointments, international tension was rising. During June and early July, there was talk of war. But these rumours had been recurring for some years and the public had almost ceased to take seriously the newspapers and the politicians. However, events worsened until, at the beginning of August, the Continental countries declared war and with the German invasion of Belgium on the 4th August, 1914, Britain too had no alternative but to enter the struggle. The keynotes of those first few weeks were 'mobilisation' and 'requisition'. Meetings took place between ministries and local authorities. The voluntary organisations too planned how they might give their utmost support to the war-effort.

The College Managers called a special meeting in view of a communication which the Authority had received from the War Office. In the circumstances, they had to report to the Education Committee:

"It has been decided that Sheffield should be adopted as a hospital base in connection with Naval and Military Operations, and the Authorities have for this purpose requisitioned the Training College premises including the hostels in Ecclesall Road and Clarkehouse Road. These buildings will, therefore, not be available for their special use until the end of the war.

As it is undesirable that the training of elementary school teachers should be impeded more than is necessary, in the interests of the community the Managers of the Training College have decided to make arrangements for carrying on the educational work of the college in rooms connected with Carver Street Wesleyan School, to be hired for the purpose on terms agreed upon, and the City Architect has been instructed to carry out the necessary alterations to the premises.

The Managers are arranging for students whose homes are in or near Sheffield to reside with their relatives, and they hope to be able to obtain residential accommodation for non-local students in suitable homes in the City".¹

The requisitioning took place during the college vacation. The Lady Superintendent, Lydia Henry, was to write later:

"The military authorities were quite ruthless when they came to turn the place into a hospital. In Collegiate Hall, cupboards, lockers and wardrobes were to be seen sliding and crashing down the staircases; soft-furnishings were ripped down and anything considered useless was thrown out of the windows. Some furniture was placed in the grounds, where it either rotted or was stolen for firewood, whilst a large number of desks were taken to the grounds of Endcliffe Hall, where they were stored under a tarpaulin for five years".²

For the college authorities, the immediate task was to remove as much furniture, apparatus and books as possible to the Wesleyan Schools in Carver Street. The College was again on familiar ground and it was no doubt past experience of the Carver Street building which made it possible to re-open the College on 28th September 1914.

The Principal wrote to former students:

"23 October, 1914.

I write to you from the top floor of the Carver Street Wesleyan School... one consolation is that the College and Collegiate Hall make a splendid hospital containing about 400 beds. Belgians and Britons lie side by side, thankful to be in a bright clean room after weeks of incredible hardship... after a few days most of them begin to walk about, and on the bright days of late August and September they would lie down on the slopes of the hockey field and watch the members of the R.A.M.C. kick a football about...

V. W. Pearson".₁

Lydia Henry wrote too. In her letter she describes her return to Collegiate Hall with her family after the summer vacation of 1914.² The speed with which Collegiate Hall was, in the space of a few days, transformed into a military hospital must have taken even Lydia Henry by surprise, while the way in which it was done must have tried her patience, even though she was the most patriotic of souls:

"13th October, 1914.

My dear Old Student,

... Soon after the outbreak of war Collegiate Hall was commandeered by the Military Authorities, and was transferred with almost kaleidoscopic rapidity into the 3rd Northern Base Hospital. You can very well imagine how strange it seemed to be met with a military salute at the door when I returned after the holidays, and to find the corridors crowded with men in khaki, instead of the familiar happy, white-bloused girls. Nor did the feeling of strangeness disappear, when I lay in bed that night, after all the lights were out, listening to the sentry walking up and down in front of the building; nor did it leave me in the morning when I woke up to the strains of "The Blue Bells of Scotland" played on a mouth organ, followed by "Tipperary" in a deep bass voice issuing from the open transoms of what was once the Library.

Can you picture the Common Room, the Library, and the Studies full of beds, and all the other appurtenances of hospital wards? Can you imagine all the cubicle partitions removed so that long rooms extend from the stair-case landings to the fire-escapes? Beds down-stairs, beds upstairs, beds everywhere, occupied for the most part by men with their heads, of their arms, or their legs swathed in bandages. That is your hostel today...

Of course we are all very busy knitting socks, and body belts, so that the Queen and the women of the Empire may be able to send the 300,000 gifts to the troops which they have promised for 1st November. It is very little we women can do at such a time, but I know that you will all very gladly do what you can...

L. D. Henry."₁

The Principal remained in residence at Southbourne throughout the war, but Mrs Henry and her family were obliged to leave Collegiate Hall and took up residence in a house situated in Whiteley Wood Road.

In the Autumn term, 1914, with patriotic fervour, the women students under the guidance of Mrs Henry formed "The College Working Guild" with the object of "giving help in the present crisis, either by relieving distress at home or by making articles of clothing for our soldiers and sailors".²

The position of the male students was very difficult. Patriotism and good sense are not often the wisest of bedfellows. The call to serve in "Kitchener's Army" was strong - even stronger was the social pressure from without. Some immediately threw up the course and enlisted. Others held back hoping for some official guarantee as to their position. It was a difficult period for the Principal who was often called upon to advise the young men. Pacifism was not popular; seeming inaction was quickly taken for cowardice. In November 1914, the Principal was able to tell the male students that Principals of training colleges were recommending to the Board of Education that all men who had completed their first year at college should be allowed their certificates at the end of the war. The Board of Education agreed to this proposal and in January 1915 published the following circular:

"Any students who have served in the Colours for a year and are recommended by their College Authorities will be granted temporary recognition as Certificated Teachers without further training or examination. This temporary recognition to hold good for a period not exceeding two years, during or at the expiration of which period the recognition will be confirmed and made permanent if a report is received from the Local Education Authority and H.M.I.'s that the work of the teacher is satisfactory".₃

There was an immediate response. Over two-thirds of the men volunteered for service; consequently when the college session opened in September 1915, the students numbered 165:

	Men	Women
First Year	7	78
Second Year	<u>18</u>	<u>62</u>
	<u>25</u>	<u>140</u>

As the men went away to fight, the links between former students grew closer. Back in 1907 there had been meetings to consider the possibility of holding annual reunions, and as early as 1908, arrangements were made for a football match between the past and present students, following which the past students were entertained to tea at the college. The first annual reunion was arranged and the past students formed themselves into a body which adopted the title "The Old Crescenters' Association". Its first President, a Mr Gascoigne, was installed at the first annual reunion on 24th April 1908. The occasion took the form of a dinner and dance and was held at the Royal Victoria Station Hotel, Sheffield. This reunion was the first of many, and when linked with the Past and Present Football matches, the two became annual events. The membership of the Old Crescenters' Association increased year by year until by 1914 there were branches not only in Sheffield but in London, Huddersfield, Hull, Grimsby and Pontefract.

The war scattered many of the members, and the annual reunion had to be discontinued until the end of the war. Yet the existence of the Association helped those serving to keep in contact with one another. Through the efforts of the Principal and George Oversby, the first General Secretary of the Association, contact was kept with about 250 old students who were serving with the colours, as well as with other former students scattered up and down the country.

As the war continued, the number of male students dwindled until by January 1916 it became evident that if the college was to continue some drastic changes would have to be made, particularly as there were very few male students available to take the course.

The Board of Education urged the Managers to discontinue teacher training for the duration of the war, and the situation was made even more difficult when the Board decided that the grants payable for the 1916-17 academic year would not be at hostel rates, but at day training rates, a move which increased each student's costs by £12 per year. On these terms it was likely that many candidates would be deterred from applying for admission. The Managers approached the Board to ascertain whether they might be allowed to convert a number of houses for use as hostels. The entreaties from the Managers failed to move the Board, which declared that not only would it not approve the Managers' proposals but pressed further for the closure of the college and put forward a scheme for amalgamating a number of colleges.

The Managers considered the situation, for there were good reasons for maintaining a college at all costs, in spite of the pressure from the Board. If the institution was closed completely, certain on-going costs would still be incurred; its re-opening after the war could most likely prove to be a very expensive exercise inasmuch as a whole year's body of students would be missing; and finally, the break in the continuity of the college would seriously damage its prestige. The Managers, therefore, with the support of the Higher Education Committee, were resolved to maintain independence of action by assuming full financial responsibility for the upkeep of students. It was a course of action which not only swept away the prospect of increased student fees and a possible loss of enrolments as a result of increased fees, but it also rendered meaningless the threat of closure through lack of grants.

But the Managers' and Committee members' action provoked considerable local opposition. At the full meeting of the Education Committee on 24th January 1916, the action of the Managers came under a barrage of criticism from all sides, and worse followed when on the 26th January the columns of the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph" carried a scathing criticism written under the nom-de-plume of "Observer":

"... drop the makeshift training college at Sheffield (where there is now no college building) and send the students elsewhere.

This looks like a reasonable business proposition. But Sheffield Education Committee does not agree. It wishes to keep the makeshift college running, although the Government has refused to see a deputation on the subject, and will pay no more hostel grants".¹

The article went on to relate at what great expense the college was being run, pointing out that it was a burden to the ratepayers of Sheffield. The tenor of the complaints was not new. The training college had always suffered from ill-informed criticism and the press was seemingly ready to publish such complaints. Much of the antagonism arose from the fact that the majority of the students came from outside the city - a situation which many critics found difficult to understand. But the Principal was not slow to defend the Managers' policy. In the following issue of "The Crescent" he outlined six points in favour of keeping the college open:

"1. That 342 Sheffield students have entered Sheffield College in eleven years - over 30 per cent of our total number. In times of stress, had it not been for the existence of Sheffield College many Sheffield students would have lacked training.

2. That more trained students have entered the service of the Sheffield Education Committee during the past nine years from Sheffield College than any other.

3. That for every external student received into Sheffield College a place is opened for a Sheffield student in some external college.

4. That the College pays about £630 a year to the City of Sheffield in rates.

5. That it is normally carried on without any loss on its current expenses.

6. That the expenses of upkeep are normally more than met out of income, moreover there is usually a balance of about £200 towards 'service of debt'. Service of debt is not 'loss'."²

Whether the Board of Education was taken aback by the resolution which Sheffield Education Committee was showing is not known, but finally, after weeks of waiting and much conjecture, the Managers heard at their meeting on 7th March 1916 that the Board had finally given consent for the college to remain open.

The continuance of the college had its price and financial economies had to be made, for the estimated total student body for the 1916-17 academic year was forecast at only 96 women. While three members of the staff were serving with the colours, which had the self-made effect of a cut in staff, the rent for the Carver Street Schools was proving to be expensive. However, the Training College was not the only institution suffering through lack of students for Sheffield University was facing similar problems. The University, therefore, knowing the difficulties under which the College was working, offered facilities in its buildings for the duration of the war - an offer which the Managers gladly accepted.

The College work now moved to the University and on the 12th September 1916, the Vice-Chancellor welcomed the students to their war-time home - where, despite the earlier gloomy estimate of student numbers, the 1916-17 year opened with 142 on the roll. Further help came from the University in June 1917 when it made available the Stephenson Hostel in Severn Road. This last gesture eased the situation considerably. The Managers were now able to claim increased grants from the Board of Education and the financial burden on the rates was reduced.

Later in 1917, help came from a different source when Ranmoor College became vacant. Ranmoor College had been founded in 1860 as the result of a bequest by the Sheffield manufacturer, Thomas Firth, who donated money for the purpose of founding a college for the training of candidates for the ministry of the Methodist New Connection. The bequest gave rise to a distinguished building in the style of English Collegiate Gothic of the fourteenth

century, which was well-appointed to accommodate about sixteen students. After 1900, when the Methodist New Connection became the United Methodist Church, its character changed somewhat though the building still continued as a Methodist seminary. But the war drew away most of the men who were in residence until finally in 1917 it had to close. The Training College Managers took advantage of the situation and a decision was reached to rent the building for the duration of the war for use as a hostel.

The new hostels came into use in September 1917 and when the 1917-18 academic year opened the Managers were given the following analysis of hostel accommodation:

	Ranmoor Hostel	Stephenson Hostel	In Lodgings	Own Homes
First Year Students	24	21	28	16
Second Year Students	<u>25</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>20</u>
	<u>49</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>36</u>

Total number of women students: 154

As the session opened, peace still seemed a long way off but the Managers, flushed with success at acquiring temporary hostels, continued their search for accommodation. Two houses in Clarkehouse Road became available and these too were acquired on rental to provide for a further twenty-eight students.

The 1917-18 academic year passed. It was yet a further year of war-time exile, of students accommodated in at least a half-dozen hostels with barely adequate comforts, and of voluntary work undertaken in leisure and preparation periods. When the 1918-19 academic year opened, the war was drawing to a close and with the signing of the armistice, plans were drawn up to restore the College to its former state. The reversion was not as easy as expected as the military authorities were still nursing casualties long after the cessation of hostilities.

Eventually, after much pressure, the military authorities vacated the college buildings and Collegiate Hall in May 1919. It was not

too soon, for although the University had sheltered the training college for nearly three years, it too was facing difficult problems, for there was an influx of students and there was little accommodation to spare. The training college premises had served the country well during the time that they had been used as the 3rd Northern Base Hospital, for they had received as in-patients no fewer than 64,555 sick and wounded.¹

The college had undergone some change as a result of the war. The grounds now contained rows of huts and a wooden chapel. A semi-permanent building had also been erected by the side of the East Wing for use as an operating theatre. As the wooden huts could serve no useful purpose they were dismantled, but it was decided to retain the operating theatre, which was purchased from the War Office for the sum of £200.

The college's contribution to the war in human terms was not inconsiderable. The majority of the former male students had served with the colours, some gaining decorations for distinguished service; many were wounded, and thirty-nine killed, their names being recorded on the War Memorial Roll of Honour. One group were members of the 12th Battalion "Sheffield Pals" of the York and Lancaster Regiment which was destroyed at Serre on the Somme on the 1st July 1916. As time passes, names on Rolls of Honour become meaningless lists, human stories dying with them. In the 1950s, while casually glancing at the Roll of Honour, Clement Lenthall, a member of staff who had been educated at the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre, who had attended Sheffield Training College as a student during 1910-12 and had returned in 1919 to take the Physical Training course, recounted:

"... that War Memorial bears the name of G McNamee. He came from a highly respected Catholic family, had a first-class education, and was destined for the priesthood. While a student at the English Seminary in Rome he lost his faith and renounced his vows. He was kept a virtual prisoner, seemingly in the hope that he would see the error of his ways. He escaped and was all but hounded across the Continent, arriving at the channel ports penniless, begged his ferry passage from English travellers and returned home. He was subsequently

excommunicated and shunned by his family. He decided to enter the teaching profession and became a student at Sheffield on a very meagre personal allowance. He and Pearson, the Principal at that time, would spend hours together discussing religion and philosophy. As an older student, he was a great influence to we young students who had entered the College straight from school or form the Pupil Teacher Centre. At the outbreak of the war he volunteered for service in the Royal Navy and was killed in action... What a waste it all was...".¹

The history of social change in Britain reveals a strange phenomenon in that the embryo of change has often been laid at times of greatest national crisis. The Education Act of 1918 was no exception. In December 1916, at a point during the 1914-18 war when the course of the struggle and its likely outcome was far from clear, Lloyd George set in train political thought designed to prepare for post-war reconstruction. The development of educational provision was to have high priority. Almost twenty years had elapsed since the 1902 Act had been passed and apart from relatively minor amendments to that Act, no major educational legislation had been introduced.

Lloyd George invited H A L Fisher,² the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield, to take up the Presidency of the Board of Education. Although Fisher had a distinguished academic record and could claim to have considerable experience in the field of university education, he could not in the widest sense be considered an educationalist. To most people:

"Sadler (by then, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds) was the (more) obvious choice, as he was out and away the greatest living English authority on education".³

Grier commented on Sadler's situation:

"His name was freely canvassed for the position and there is no doubt that he felt it was a distinct slur on him that the post should be offered to a neighbouring Vice-Chancellor... whose work was that of a most distinguished historian rather than of an educationalist".⁴

But Sadler appears to have done little to promote his appointment to the post. Although many may have questioned the wisdom of appointing Sadler to the Presidency on the grounds of departmental

expediency, his false modesty is somewhat revealed by the further observations made by Grier of Sadler's reaction to the appointment of Fisher:

"... he could not but feel... that he and his office lost prestige through the choice of the other... he talked freely... of his expectation... (and) ... did not conceal his disappointment..."₁

The character of Michael Sadler is probably best summed up in an entry in the National Biography:

"He was gay, witty, keenly sympathetic and almost incredibly kind, but not immensely popular. Many were disconcerted by a buoyancy which concealed a dogged faithfulness to the cause of education; and his modesty concealed his Herculean labours".₂

Fisher was made of sterner stuff. He immediately rose to the occasion. With a combination of political acumen and firm resolution, he steered his Bill through Parliament and it became law on the 8th August 1918. As a result, the powers of the local education authorities were widened and the scope of state education for both infants and adolescents increased. In short, the new Act appeared to be the answer to Britain's post-war educational needs.

Meanwhile, in Sheffield, when the armistice was signed the academic year was already in progress and had to run its course. Nevertheless, planning for the coming years had to be set in train as it was necessary to make good the losses of male entrants to teaching as a result of the war. After discussion, it was fully agreed with the Board of Education that the College would admit fifty male students, who would attend for a term's duration in order to complete or refresh their teaching skills. Provision was also made for fifteen male ex-service students newly recruited to teacher training to follow a college course of four terms' duration.

A further innovation was planned: the establishment of a one-year specialist course in Physical Training. There had been a movement towards the development of physical education in schools since the Boer War, indeed, several specialist courses had been established before 1914. Although Sheffield Training College had long before the war responded to the growing need to concern itself in physical education, the Inspectorate's Report of 1912 severely criticised both the facilities and the teaching - a criticism which led directly to the appointment of H A Cole as a physical training instructor in 1913.

The war brought to light the ill-health and poor physical condition of the working class. As a result of reports from the War Department Medical Examinations Board, forty-one per cent of all recruits and conscripts medically examined had been found to be either medically unfit or in such a low medical grading as to make them unfit as troops, and state educated children were five inches shorter than their public school contemporaries.¹ It had clearly become necessary for improvements in physical and health education standards to be effected through schools.

In December 1918, Sir George Newman, the head of the Medical Department of the Board of Education, visited the College and proposed that an advanced course in physical training should be established in order to provide specialist teachers. It appears that in Newman's mind, four main considerations made Sheffield Training College suitable: the well-equipped gymnasium, the availability of a suitable hostel, the availability of facilities at the University for instruction in anatomy and physiology, and that the College Physical Training Tutor, H A Cole, was regarded as being one of the leading physical training specialists in the country. The proposed arrangements were soon completed and Cole was promoted to the post of Director of Physical Training for Sheffield and made responsible for the proposed one-year course.

In September 1919, the United Methodists intimated to the Managers that they were contemplating selling the Ranmoor College premises. This posed something of a problem for plans had already been made to use it as a hostel to accommodate the physical training course students; indeed, physical training students were already in residence. Unfortunately, there were two prospective purchasers: the Training College and the University, both of which required the Hall for use as a hostel. The United Methodists declined to make a selection and declared that the contending parties must decide which institution was to purchase it. Unable to decide, the two took the unprecedented step of asking the Board of Education to decide which had the greater need for the building.

A personal reply was received in January 1920 from Fisher, President of the Board, stating that he felt unable to judge which of the two institutions should have preference, and in view of his connection with the University he had decided to pass the matter to Herbert Lewis of the Board of Education, who would arbitrate. After examining the case, Lewis came to the conclusion:

"... that in view of the urgent need for the training of physical instructors and the advantages in that direction this purchase would yield, the building should go to the Education Committee".¹

And so, the building passed to the Sheffield Education Committee for the sum of £11,000.

The facilities for the physical training course soon proved to be inadequate - particularly in respect of gymnasium provision. While the college already possessed an assembly hall and gymnasium combined, with the extra numbers in the college and with the extended needs created by the physical training course, further provision was necessary. The architects produced plans for a physical training pavilion to be built in the grounds of Southbourne. This idea was considered and rejected on the grounds that it would be more practical if the pavilion was built in the south-west corner of the college ground adjoining Collegiate Hall. Great stress was laid on the urgent need for a gymnasium and three sound

reasons were put to the Managers by the Principal on the 5th July 1921: the noise from the gymnasium was upsetting work in adjoining classrooms; some students had free periods and classrooms were needed in which they could study privately, and the best room available for this was the hall; and it would have been more advantageous if physical training could have been carried out in a gymnasium specially planned for the purpose. The Principal wrote afterwards:

"... the noise of the Gym work seriously interfered with the academic work. This was particularly so when the PT Department existed. With thirty or so hefty young men doing country dance to the persistent strumming of the piano... and the shouting of orders of the instructor... made hash of every other form of activity. My room was next to the Assembly Hall - it was like Bedlam...".¹

It was 1921 before the College was finally and fully re-established after its war-time exile, by which time the Principal, Valentine Ward Pearson, found it necessary to retire - his health having been failing for some time. He had been very active outside his duties as Principal, having been President of the Sheffield Branch of the National Union of Teachers, the Froebel Union and the Dickens' Fellowship. He was an active member of the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society and Lord Mayor's Chaplain. On the 12th October 1919, he even occupied the pulpit of Sheffield Cathedral on the occasion of a memorial service for teachers, the first time a Christian minister outside the Established Church had preached in the Cathedral.

Although Valentine Ward Pearson was born in Manchester, he received his education in Rotherham at a private school conducted by the Reverend Reggs. At the age of fourteen he returned to Manchester to take up "employment in business". In the evenings he studied at Owens College, Manchester. After gaining several annual exhibitions he matriculated with honours, resigned his appointment in business and entered Didsbury College. Taking a degree at London University with honours, the Methodist Conference accepted him as a candidate for the ministry at the age of twenty:

"He had, it is true, great unusual natural endowments; but more he had the scholar's mind... when I stayed with him at Whitsuntide 1921... he could still read his Latin, Greek... and his Hebrew (Pearson was aged about 65 at this time)... Language, Literature, Music, Song were all a delight to him... He was no mere dabbler..."₁

His first ministration was a temporary appointment at Bridlington, and then the Methodist Conference gave him a series of regular appointments, first at Tunbridge Wells and subsequently at Southport and Bromley. He came to Sheffield on his appointment first to the Chaplaincy and then to the Headmastership of Wesley College:

"His early life was not blessed with great opportunities. He had not the benefit of a prolonged school life. At the age of fifteen he was, he told me, 'travelling', a young 'commercial', and apparently destined for a commercial career. Once he said to me, 'As a lad of fifteen I was passing the Wesley College, my samples in my bag, a Whites' Grammar School Text in my pocket, and I looked at the great building and thought - Ah! if only I had been able to go to a school like that. Little did I think that I should one day be Headmaster of that very school!'"₂

The character of Pearson must have bestrode Sheffield Training College like a Collossus. He was not only an exceptionally fine singer but an organist of some considerable skill; a cricketer of some distinction, being creditable both as a batsman and as a bowler, and, rather unusually - a champion skater. His latter years at the College were dogged by poor health which manifested itself as bronchitis and which unfortunately forced him into retirement. Indeed, Hoole recounted in a letter that during most of the final eighteen months or so of principalship, Pearson was away from his post either through sickness or convalescence in Bournemouth. The strains of the 1914-18 war had taken their toll of Pearson:

"During the war he continued to carry on his duties as Principal of the College under exceedingly difficult conditions... All this made organisation and oversight very difficult and exacting,... he acted as Chaplain to the Base Hospital,... In his own Men's Hostel at Southbourne, nurses were housed. Every morning before his college duties commenced, he would

be at the Base Hospital to cheer and comfort the sick, the wounded, the maimed. In the evenings he would go again and often entertain the men with song, and recitation, and story. He would return late, no doubt very tired, to Southbourne, but often, not to rest. An air raid alarm, and they were too frequent, would mean that he would gather together the inmates, the nurses, and keep up their spirits by singing songs and hymns. He told me of nights, or considerable parts of nights, spent in the cellars of Southbourne, singing hymns in chorus, so that fears or fancies might not arise, or might be allayed. Then the next day claimed a similar round of duties; and this continued day after day, week after week, throughout those terrible years of the war.

Often weary, as he must have been, at times really unwell, as I know him to have been, whenever there was work he could do, a service he could render, he was found ready. Indeed there is little doubt that it was the unremitting labours, anxieties and strains of those war years which undermined his robust health, and led to his premature retirement".¹

There sprang up between Pearson and his successor a friendship of remarkable closeness and sincerity, which was to last until Pearson died in 1930. In a final tribute to him, Hoole wrote:

"To know him was to love him; a great-souled, noble-minded Christian gentleman: his company a delight: his conversation sparkling with wit and humour, anecdote and epigram; or, serious, charged with deep feeling and conviction. He could differ, and differ forcibly in opinion; and though dogmatic, as people of sincere convictions must ever be, yet was he catholic, never seeking to force his opinions on one, recognising that in matters of opinion there must be differences. "Well, I don't agree with you, I can't agree with you" in his great voice: and there it ended: no rancour, no looks askance, no weakening of the ties of friendship."²

In July 1922, Lydia Henry, the Vice-Principal, retired. She was:

"... a woman whose exceptional personality comes effortlessly, even to strangers, through the barrier of the years. She was, for example, proud enough of her Scottish ancestry and heritage to go far north in the holidays to learn the weaving patterns and the Gaelic songs of the Highlands..."³

Her children were grown up and had moved away from Sheffield, so that, on retirement she had no reason to remain in the area. Her retirement was no less successful than her working life: it was

vigorous and long-lasting. She died in 1942 at the age of ninety, after twenty-four years of retirement.¹

By 1925, the last of the lecturers who had served the College since its opening retired and the occasion was marked by a letter published in the College magazine, written by Valentine Ward Pearson:

"For the first fifteen years of its history the Sheffield City Training College had the remarkable feature that the five members of the staff who together laid its foundations, continued to build its walls. To these might be added a sixth, in the person of Dr (Sir Henry) Coward, but he was a weekly planet rising in splendour and setting in glory in the short space of a Monday afternoon... Others came and some went, but the original circle was not broken till 1920, when Dr Coward and Miss Violet Potter broke away, followed by the writer of this short notice in 1921, and Mrs Henry in 1922. Now... Mr Browne is proposing to seek elsewhere that peace which a Training College can never afford... Let me frankly confess that we were, with the exception of Mrs Henry, of very scanty experience in Training College work. Those who appointed us did so, we may believe, with a certain amount of anxious solicitude. The Board of Education may also have had their doubts. At all events they soon sent down a strong force of inspectors to spy out the land. A certain specialist in mathematics was amongst them. He went into Mr Browne's class, saw and was conquered. In a burst of candid appreciation, such as rarely attacks an inspector, he confided to me that the lesson he heard was the best he had heard on the subject in a Training College, specially remarking on the relentless way in which the lecturer forced his students to follow out the consequences of their explanations..."²

CHAPTER XV - REFERENCES

- Page 197 1. Curtis, op cit, p.329
" 2. Even though the duration of "the pledge" was reduced over the years and there was little resort to the enforcement of its terms, nevertheless it continued as a loose contract until the 1950s.
- Page 200 1. SEC Minutes, 1914-15, p.224
" 2. From a letter written by Lydia Henry
- Page 201 1. From a letter written by Valentine Ward Pearson
" 2. The college staff who were normally in residence were expected to vacate their accommodation during the summer break.
- Page 202 1. Henry, L D, Letter to Former Students, 13 October 1914
" 2. "The Crescent", February 1915, Vol. 10, No. 2, p.254
" 3. Board of Education Circular, cmd 878, 1914
- Page 205 1. "Sheffield Daily Telegraph", 26th January 1916
" 2. "The Crescent", March 1916, Vol. 10, No. 7, p.477
- Page 208 1. A tribute to those who died in the 3rd Northern Hospital is to be seen in the form of plaque on the east wall of the Parker Transept in Sheffield Cathedral.
- Page 209 1. Narrated by Clem Lenthall about 1956
" 2. Fisher was returned as unopposed candidate in a by-election for the Hallam Division of Sheffield. He entered the Commons as a Minister.
" 3. Grier, op cit, p.191
" 4. Grier, op cit, p.190
- Page 210 1. Grier, op cit, p.190
" 2. National Biography, 1941-1950, London, OUP, p.754
- Page 211 1. Winter, D, "Death's Men", London, Penguin, 1979, p.30
- Page 212 1. Armytage, W. H., "Sheffield University Gazette", March 1952, p.4
- Page 213 1. Hoole, Samuel, from a letter, Oxford, 25th August 1954
- Page 214 1. Hoole, Samuel, "In Memoriam to V Ward Pearson", Sheffield, 14th September, 1930
" 2. Hoole, Samuel, op cit
- Page 215 1. Hoole, Samuel, op cit
" 2. Hoole, Samuel, op cit
" 3. Public Orator's Speech, University of Sheffield Gazette No 58, 1979, p.24

CHAPTER XV - REFERENCES (continued)

- Page 216 1. Mrs L D Henry's daughter, Dr Lydia Manley Henry, graduated from Sheffield University in Medicine (M.B., Ch.B.) in 1916 and was its first woman medical graduate. Within weeks of qualifying she joined the Women's Hospital Unit attached to the French Army and was awarded the Croix de Guerre for her service in the field. She was subsequently awarded the degree of Doctor of Medicine by London University as a result of her research into gas-gangrene infections, and in 1924 became Dean of King's College, London. She later married and settled in Canada. On 4th May 1978 she was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Science on the occasion of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the founding of Sheffield University Medical School - having the distinction of being the first woman medical graduate of the University.
- Page 216 2. "The Crescent", December 1925, p.784

CHAPTER XVI

THE TWENTIES

Samuel Hoole was appointed to the post of Principal in April 1921. Born in Weaverham, Cheshire, he was educated at Weaverham Grammar School and then became a student at St John's College, Battersea. His first teaching appointment was at Birkenhead Higher Grade School but after two years he returned to Battersea as Assistant Master of Method. He moved on to the Church of England Training College at Exeter for two years and then proceeded to Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated. In 1902, after a period of teaching at Owen's School, Islington, he became Master of Method at Carmarthen Training College, moving north to the Principalship of Sunderland Training College in 1910. With such a wealth of experience, he was well-fitted to meet the demands which were to be made upon him.

Within a year of his appointment at Sheffield, the Vice-Principal, Lydia Henry retired. Her successor was Charlotte A Simmins, a Medieval and Modern German Tripos scholar from Cambridge. Miss Simmins had no teaching experience: her prime forte was that of scholarship, although she had particularly distinguished herself during the war, having spent the duration at the Foreign Office where she was engaged in the translation of secret German documents. On taking up her duties at Sheffield in September 1922, she became responsible for the women's hostels and for that part of the teaching of Educational Studies which was the responsibility of the Vice-Principal. Long afterwards, Samuel Hoole was to write:

"She (C A Simmins) was appointed against my advice, but that was hardly surprising, for she was a lady of the highest culture, of striking personality and charming manner. As one of the Committee said: "She stood out among the other candidates like a man among boys". It was as well she did! But I wanted a qualified lecturer in Education and one who had had experience with Training College girl students. Miss Simmins had no such qualification or experience... when I asked after her appointment what I should do with her, I was

told to give her the English work! I pointed out that I had two competent English lecturers already. "Get rid of one" was the response. I then made it clear that Miss Simmins did not know any English since her tripos was for German... but she did well in the college on the whole. She undertook the Education work... and she did her best. As an administrator of the Hostel she was very good, by her training she knew how to control a big domestic staff... she left after three years as she told me she always meant to do. She was in fact a lady of independent means..."₁

The College now began to move into a period of uncertainty, instability and change. Whatever challenges had confronted Ward Pearson in the period 1905 to 1921, these paled into insignificance compared with the events of the decade which followed. Scarcely had Samuel Hoole taken up his appointment when severe cuts began to be made in public expenditure. The immediate post-war economic depression led to cries from the Conservatives for cuts in governmental expenditure and these particularly affected the education service.

The first attack on educational expenditure was made in a Select Committee of the House of Commons in December 1920, when criticism was raised on what was considered to be inadequate control. Under orders from the Treasury, Fisher issued Circular 1190 in January 1921, directing Local Education Authorities not to incur new expenditure. The Local Education Authorities reacted by threatening the Board that unless it was prepared to increase grants they would begin to close down colleges.

Meanwhile, the mainstream of Conservative opinion deplored the lack of progress in the matter of cuts in public expenditure. Pressure built up until in February 1922 a committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Eric Geddes proposed:

"... ruthless economies,... in government departments, whose size represented (to) some a form of Socialist bureaucracy..."₂

Many of the provisions of the 1918 Act were swept away - some never having been implemented - and all that really remained was free education up to the statutory leaving age of fourteen years.

The immediate effect on the College was a call from the Board to reduce the intake of students by five per cent from the beginning of the 1923-24 session. A further cut was sought but the Director of Education, Percival Sharp, resisted this and the Education Committee stood its ground, whereupon the Board quietly dropped the matter.

In such a climate, Hoole found the number of applicants for the Physical Training course beginning to fall sharply and rapidly - a situation exacerbated by repeated requests from existing students to be allowed to be released from the course on having found other employment. The first cuts in public expenditure had led to a number of qualified students leaving college and failing to obtain appointments. The proposals of the Geddes report (although they were never fully implemented) did much to harm teacher recruitment. The effects on recruitment to the Physical Training course offered at Sheffield were even more disastrous. Physical Training appointments in elementary schools were limited and, having no other teaching qualification, students faced the prospect of employment merely as "uncertificated" teachers.

Efforts were made to persuade the Board of Education to recognise certificated Physical Training specialists as qualified teachers, but before any recognition was granted the course had to close for by July 1923 only three applications had been received. Although blame for the closure of the course may have been attributable to the existing political and economic climate, some of the problems may well have been created by the College itself. It was obvious that insufficient attention had been paid to the professional status of a one-year student who had trained as a teacher of "physical jerks", and of the scorn likely to be poured on such a teacher by a status-and-qualification-conscious profession. The nature of candidate selection too must be questioned: the

physical training student body comprised several ex-lieutenant colonels, an ex-commander, Royal Navy, and ex-captains and lieutenants were commonplace. It was hardly likely that such recruits to training, who had probably "come up" in the world as a result of the war, would settle for a "second-class" status in the world of teaching. In retrospect, Samuel Hoole observed:

"The fact was that these young men, finding themselves thrown on the world after the 1914-18 war, turned in desperation to anything that offered a career and they were in fact directed to the Physical Training business by the Board of Education. The idea was that they should not be mere Physical Training Teachers but organisers of physical training under local education authorities..."¹

Economies were effected. Ranmoor College Hostel, which had been opened primarily for the Physical Training course, had to be closed, an issue which raised considerable comment in the local press on the subject of the Education Committee's apparently wasteful policy. After the building had remained vacant for almost ten months, the Governors of the Royal Hospital approached the Managers with a view to renting it out to provide accommodation for nursing staff and it was agreed that the building be leased for a five-year term at a rent of £350 per year.²

An even more serious situation now began to arise: during 1921 the number of applications from male students for the normal two-year course began to fall away rapidly. By June 1922 only ten applications had been received for the 40 vacancies for male students. In desperation, the Principal inserted advertisements in the educational press inviting applications. During the summer vacation Hoole journeyed to Anglesey to stay with Ward Pearson, who had moved there in his retirement. Applications now came pouring in and were forwarded to Anglesey, where, to the delight of Hoole and his predecessor, the vacation was spent sifting through the applications. Within three weeks all vacancies were filled. The Director of Education, Percival Sharp, who before the holiday had been informed of the vacancies, was delighted at the sudden rush of applications, quite unaware (officially) of the Principal's advertisements.

Satisfied with the response to his advertisements, Hoole pondered over the seemingly inexplicable reduction in the number of male applications for the normal course. Unexpectedly, an answer came. In the autumn of 1922, while attending a meeting of the Council of Principals of Training Colleges, a fellow principal who had seen the advertisements that summer, remarked: "I see you are taking Normal Students again at Sheffield". On observing that Sheffield had never ceased to take two-year students, the reply came: "Oh, I thought you had gone over entirely to Physical Training". In retrospect, Hoole realised that this misconception was probably due to the extensive advertising given to the Physical Training course at the expense of the Normal two-year course. From 1922 onwards there was no shortage of male students except when the fees were suddenly raised from £40 to £80, when again male applications temporarily declined, though there was never a lack of female students whose parents were seemingly prepared to pay the higher fees.

The final cuts by the Geddes 'axe' did not materialise, for when the Labour party came to power in 1924 the effects of the economy cuts were somewhat ameliorated.

The aftermath of the post-war re-organisation and the sudden collapse of the Physical Training course led the Principal towards a belief that a re-organisation of the work would bring greater efficiency. It was evident that some subjects were covered by a number of tutors and that delegation of responsibility was difficult. Samuel Hoole described the situation thus:

"There was, when I took over, no member of staff responsible for anything. They were all doing more than one subject, e.g. there were two people doing Geography, two people doing Mathematics... and so on, and these tutors were not taking the subjects with definite sets of students, but all lecturing to all the students who took those subjects! ... Thus, for instance, if I found a weakness say in Mathematics, I had no means of knowing whether it was due to Mr Brown or Mr Turner's work... this applied also to science. Chemistry and Physics had practically been dropped. The man who took science was a Biologist and the College was paying him £400 (a good salary in those days) to teach about 7 students. At the same time the College had in Miss Bowker a competent Biologist capable

of all that was required in that subject... The Governing Body spoke of certain changes for economy reasons but actually there was only one member of staff asked to resign - the Biologist with 7 students... The Mistress of Method resigned at this time (but this did not) have anything to do with the economies. Her resignation was required entirely at my insistence: she was, to put it mildly, "personae non grata".¹

"... The poor lady also managed to get at variance with most other members of staff and seriously angered H M Inspectors, who complained to me about her conduct in the schools whilst they were doing their work...".²

"... the lady concerned made an appeal to the Governing Body. This appeal was heard by Sir William Clegg, the Director (Percival Sharp) and myself. Miss ... made an appeal 'ad miseri cordiam'. She was the sole supporter of a widowed mother, etc, etc. The sympathy she appealed for was not lacking. I agreed to "give her another chance"... This is no doubt an instance of the well-known tact and consideration which local authorities exercise towards their employees!... after a further period I had to ask for her resignation on the grounds that she estranged practically the entire staff - she even wrote a letter to me about one of them, Mr Brown... perhaps the most respected member of staff. This letter alone would have involved dismissal in any ordinary institution. She made charges against me (that I had) prevented her appointment to a post at Edge Hill T.C. An enquiry was held and her career in Sheffield came to an end... then she brought in the N.U.T. and a big meeting was held at which she and I were present... in the end the N.U.T. lawyer said she had no case and so the poor misguided lady went. She went to Oxford, to St Hilda's with my assistance - but she financed herself which made a curious comment on her previous plea of support for a widowed mother".³

On the general organisation of the College, Hoole discovered a distinct imbalance:

"I found the emphasis heavily on the Academic side and decided to try to restore or establish a more even balance by strengthening the Professional side... when I met the second-year students after their second week of school practice and told them I had never seen such poor work as theirs in my twenty-five years experience, one of them said "Do you know, Sir, in all our first year we have never had one word of criticism or advice about our teaching?" I was astonished - but promised that they should in future. I saw the Master of Method and told him this. He replied "I expect its quite true. You see, I do sit and hear their lessons sometimes, but I can

never think of anything to say about them!" I decided he must go. My predecessor, Mr Pearson, had in fact asked for his resignation, but the poor man seemed to think he could persuade me to keep him on, but I could not and he went at the end of my first term. I think he was happier away and got a job as a Mathematics teacher in Welwyn Garden City".¹

Re-arranged, the work and responsibility for professional studies were divided as follows:

MEN

The Principal: General Principles of Education and Method, the History of Education, and Psychology.

The Master of Method: Special Method and Practical Work.

WOMEN

The Vice-Principal: General Principles of Education and Method, the History of Education, and Psychology.

The Mistress of Method: Special Method and Practical Work for Senior and Junior School Teachers.

The Mistress of Infant Method: Special Method for Infants and Educational Handwork.

The organisation reveals that the College, although it admitted both male and female students was in practice a two-sex college. Hoole's re-organisation reveals other interesting features. Although the professional training of the men and women was separate and the aim of the college was to train elementary school teachers, the arrangement implies the training of men was orientated mainly towards teaching in senior schools, while the women were divided into Senior, Junior and Infant groups - a feature which was to dominate the whole of the teacher education and training system for many years.

The period of national economic stress provided opportunities for the vigorous pursuit of efficiency. This philosophy was nowhere better promulgated than in the Sheffield Local Authority. By 1923, Percival Sharp had already stamped his mark on the educational scene not only in Sheffield but nationally. He personally supervised an extensive exercise which he instituted in Sheffield schools to test educational performance as a precursor to selection testing for secondary education.² The results had considerable repercussions

throughout the City's Schools and Colleges. Poor performance was, in Sharp's view, synonymous with poor teaching and as a result, literacy and numeracy skills of both pupils and teachers came under scrutiny. The preceding Chapters on the affairs of the Pupil Teacher Centre have already indicated the rigour with which the policy was pursued. The Sheffield Training College did not escape. A memorandum was sent by Sharp to the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee deploring the fact that some candidates did not take mathematics in the School Certificate Examination, nor did they study the subject at college, consequently "some teachers are leaving training colleges without an adequate knowledge of how to teach elementary arithmetic". The memo continued:

"One of the Committee's Inspection Staff brought to my notice the case of a trained certificated teacher of two years' experience who wrote on a blackboard for the instruction of children the following extraordinary statement on decimalisation:

1/10th - .1
1/20th - .2
1/30th - .3
1/40th - .4

and so on, and this teacher did not appreciate the inaccuracies even when they were pointed out by the Head Teacher".₁

The Training of Teachers Sub-Committee was not in a position to dismiss such communications from Sharp lightly. The matter was discussed and a recommendation passed that applicants for entry to studentship of the college should normally have followed a course in mathematics as part of the school certificate but where this had not been so, then students would be required to attend a compulsory course in mathematics during their college course.

The national provision for teacher-training had grown considerably since the passing of the 1902 Education Act, but as a distinct area of educational development it had not been subjected to a definitive scrutiny since 1846. By 1923, conditions were such that an in-depth enquiry into teacher-training was long overdue. Many local education authorities were most anxious that some form of enquiry should be instituted.

The Education Act of 1902 had enabled local education authorities to provide training facilities and by 1923 there were twenty-two colleges provided by sixteen authorities. Up to 1918, the cost of running the colleges had been paid for from central funds on a capitation basis, but the Education Act of that year changed the system and as a result the sixteen authorities found themselves responsible for 50 per cent of their cost.

Although the authorities had not taken kindly to this change in the method of funding, they had been prepared to accept it. By 1923, the economic situation was such that authorities now regarded their financial burden as being unfair. Representatives of the aggrieved authorities met the President of the Board of Education on the 11th January 1923, and the meeting led to an agreement by the President of the Board to institute a Departmental Inquiry. However, unbeknown to the local education authorities, the Secretary to the Board had nine days previously already proposed to the President that such an Inquiry be instituted to consider the "Training of Teachers for Public Elementary Schools". As Niblett, Humphreys and Fairhurst observe:

"No doubt the plight of the local authorities was the best reason politically for launching an inquiry".¹

Indeed, when the President informed the Commons of his intention, he reported:

"I was requested by the deputation representing the authorities from LEA Colleges which I received on January 11th to set up a departmental committee to review the whole position and have agreed to do so...".²

The findings of the Departmental Committee were published in June 1925.

While the reason for setting in motion the Inquiry seems to have been aimed at cutting expenditure and reducing some of the pressures on the Board of Education, there appears to have been several other covert and singularly divisive reasons. The Committee was charged "to review the arrangements for the Training of Teachers for Public

Elementary Schools".¹ There were three prime issues under review: the method of financing the colleges, the duration of the training course for elementary school teachers, and, the transfer of teacher examination arrangements from the Board of Education to the Universities. The issues which came to be considered were not new: they had been the subject of debate for many years, but were now brought forward for attention not because there was any more pressing need for reform than there had been earlier, but because the economic climate was such that cost-cutting solutions had to be found.

On the question of support grant, the Departmental Committee was less than unanimous. While the majority view agreed that the local education authorities should not be penalised financially and recommended that financial pooling arrangements should be instituted in order that costs might be shared more equitably, the minority group pressed a case for direct government funding of the teacher-training operation.

Although many useful and progressive ideas were considered by the committee, of the sixty-nine recommendations put forward, many served merely to confirm the existing teacher-training pattern. Intending teachers were to be educated in a secondary school, a proposal which finally and officially ended the last vestiges of the pupil teacher system and student-teacherships too were to be discouraged. But, of all the recommendations, three were to be of some consequence: confirmation that the Training College course should extend over at least two years; that the essential function of the Training College was to train students to become effective teachers; and that the examinations for the Teacher's Certificate should be conducted in conjunction with the Universities.

The unsatisfactory nature of the Report "was clearly manifest... of the eighteen members of the Committee, four refused to sign it, and four more refused to accept certain recommendations and wrote stiff notes of dissent or reservation".² While within the Board of Education the senior officials too were clearly divided on questions of policy.³

When Selby-Bigge, the Permanent Secretary at the Board of Education, had set up the Departmental Committee there appeared to be every intention to reduce the duration of the course from two years to a single year of professional training, it being assumed that the general academic development of an elementary school teacher would have been completed in the two final years of secondary education and a year of professional training was all that was necessary to train elementary school teachers. The idea was highly attractive on grounds of economic expediency. However, the Report expressed a contrary view and recommended that the course should continue as being of not less than two years' duration.

On the problems of course content, there were mixed ideas of the relative importance, value and relationship between academic studies and professional training. Debates and arguments on the subject were continued both within and without the Departmental Committee. While the issues were not new, the Departmental Committee's work served to open up old arguments. Within the Training College Association and Council of College Principals there were several views, many of which were concerned with maintaining the two-year course, but once it was established that the two-year course would continue, the question of balance and content of professional studies in relation to academic studies was subjected to fierce debate. Some believed that academic development should be given preference while others maintained that emphasis should be placed on the study of education and the development of the teacher training function. Some believed that there should be distinct periods at the beginning of the course given over solely to academic development - possibly the whole of the first year - to be followed in the second year with training for teaching. It was regarded as a weak argument, open to the wiles of those who sought to limit the duration of the course merely to one year's professional training. Others took the view that academic and professional development should be distributed evenly over the two years of the course.

When finally the draft revised teacher-training regulations were issued early in June 1926, they contained alternatives to the two-

year course which were quite unacceptable, particularly to the training colleges and their supporting authorities, and subsequent pressure on the Board of Education was such that the proposed alternatives were dropped. It was a victory which ensured that:

"... the training colleges were assured of a place within the expanding field of higher education".¹

On the decision to transfer the control of the Teacher's Certificate examinations to the Universities, it was claimed that such a move would bring the Colleges and Universities into a closer working relationship by investing jointly agreed bodies with the power to conduct the examinations - an area which had remained up to this time the responsibility of the Board of Education, which it largely conducted through the Inspectorate.

The affairs of the Departmental Committee were much to the heart of Samuel Hoole. He had considerable influence in the Council of Principals. As Niblett, Humphreys and Fairhurst describe:

"At the meeting of the Council of Principals (held) on 19th March 1926, the Chairman indicated that there was considerable diversity of opinion on the subject of connection with the universities and much time was taken up in the discussion of alternative schemes... The Principal of the Sheffield Training College considered that the retention of the Board's system of examinations was desirable. He said he had circulated the College and from the replies he had received he gathered that there was much opposition to a connection with a university..."²

Circular 1372 dated 11th December 1925 finally advised the Board of Education's intention to cease conducting the Teacher's Certificate examinations. Although the move stemmed directly from findings of the Departmental Committee, there had been indications of alternative examination links having been forged between a number of colleges and universities since 1921. The Board's intention was received with mixed feelings. Some viewed the move merely as an administrative expedient raised by the Board of Education simply to reduce departmental costs. Others, both in the Board and in the colleges, saw it as a move which could proceed towards greater cooperation between the colleges and the universities. A coterie of Principals had been probing this particular policy before the coming of the

Departmental Committee, but with the matter under serious consideration, moves were made to gain support in the Council of College Principals. It was a move which Samuel Hoole viewed with dismay:

"... It was an instance of the power exercised by a small minority, acting without the knowledge of the majority. My part in it was belated and ineffective. There was a body called "The Training College Association". It consisted of Principals and Staffs of Training Colleges. There was also a body called "The Council of Principals" within the body of the T.C.A.

Most if not all the meetings of these bodies occurred in London. It emerged that for a time some of the members of these bodies had been agitating to rid themselves of the Board's Examinations and at a meeting of the T.C.A., a resolution had been passed, suggesting that the T. Colleges should be brought into closer relation with the Universities. I knew nothing of this whilst it was going on, not indeed till my V.P. Miss Sinclair came to my room one morning and shewed me a paragraph in some Edl. journal, saying that the T.C.A. had taken this resolution and had communicated it to Lord Eustace Percy, Secretary to the Board of Education.

I was shocked, for I thought we had disposed of that idea some years earlier, when at a full General Meeting of the T.C.A. we had had the proposition before us, and decided by a great majority that the business of the Universities was the pursuit of knowledge, and the production of scholars, not the training of teachers or of any other professional or skilled workers.

Well, I at once circularised all the Training Colleges in England and I received overwhelming evidence that the great majority of Principals were against the movement to take the Examining and Inspection out of the hands of the Board of Education.

They saw that the Training Colleges could never be really integrated with the Universities, and the Universities could never do the work done by the Board of Education.

I attended meetings in London, and shewed statistically that there was no wish on the part of Training Colleges to break with the Board of Education or to become the mulch cows of the local Universities. I was too late; things had gone too far..."₁

The seeming indecent haste of the Board to divest itself of the Teacher's Certificate examination was slowed down. The Inspectorate had mixed views on the nature of the examinations and on the links

proposed, and suggested a gradual transfer. Meanwhile, a number of Principals had begun to take the initiative and approached institutions, while the Committee of Vice-Chancellors began to make moves nationally. Clearly, the Board of Education was rapidly losing the initiative, a situation which was to some extent ameliorated by the setting up of a Committee on Universities and Training Colleges under the Chairmanship of Robert J G Mayor, lately retired Assistant Secretary of the Board of Education, in charge of teacher training. Under Mayor's Chairmanship, the arrangements proceeded and as a result, eleven Joint Boards were created in order to provide examining facilities for eighty-three colleges. In October 1926, the President of the Board of Education was requested to postpone the date of discontinuing the Board's examination until after 1929. It was a move which offered a reluctant concession:

"... they (the Board) would undertake responsibility for the 1929 examination only if they were assured that local negotiations and discussions would be carried on as expeditiously as possible with a view to securing that the finals examination and the new system shall be held in 1930".₁

To add to the problems of the College, the 1920s were bedevilled by changes in the Vice Principalship. Following the long service of Lydia Henry, Charlotte Simmins stayed for three years from 1922 to 1925 and was succeeded by Olive Sinclair, a graduate of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, who had previously served at Bingley Training College and at Salisbury Training College as Vice-Principal:

"When she came for interview a small sub-committee selected the candidates in order to advise the full committee. When Miss Sinclair came in for interview her pleasant confident manner at once impressed us all. Percival Sharp (the Director) expressed the opinion of us all when he said "She'll sweep the board!".₂

Within four years, Olive Sinclair resigned to take up a senior appointment at Bristol, to be succeeded in 1930 by Elizabeth Scott, but she too moved within two years, on being appointed Principal of Kenton Park Training College, Newcastle.

Meanwhile, the birth-rate in the immediate post-war years remained high:

	<u>Sheffield</u>	<u>National</u>
1919	10,353	692,000
1920	13,130	958,000
1921	11,907	849,000
1922	10,804	780,000
1923	10,195	758,000
1924	9,712	730,000

Although the economy cuts of the early 1920s had halted the growth of educational development there was still a need to provide an adequate teaching force, particularly as pressure to raise the school leaving age was always maintained. In September 1929, the Training of Teachers' Sub-Committee was pressed by the Board to admit the maximum number of admissions the college could possibly take - especially male entrants. The Board also asked Sheffield Education Committee to consider setting up a third year course. The call was not unanswered. Thirty additional men were admitted; twenty were housed at Brook Bank Hotel in Glossop Road, four lived in lodgings in Ashgate Road, and the remaining six were day students, but the Committee would not entertain any overtures aimed at establishing a third-year course. The collapse of the Physical Training course in 1921 had left bitter memories as well as incurring considerable expense and the Committee was resolved to act cautiously.

The need to train sufficient teachers continued and in April 1931 the Board of Education proposed that the established number of students admitted to the College should be 230. While the governing body responded, the Sheffield Education Committee sought a guarantee that the increase in the number of students would be on a permanent basis. Eventually discussions reached a satisfactory conclusion and permission was granted to increase the hostel accommodation for male students, as it was uneconomical to have thirty or more students in outside lodgings.

To meet the requirements, "Oaklands", a house in Collegiate Crescent which adjoined the north side of the college building was purchased for £3,100. It had been built for Sir William Leng, editor and owner of the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph" who had lived there until his death in 1902. It was to provide sleeping accommodation for thirty male students, who were to take their meals at the main men's hostel at Southbourne. After adaptation, the hostel was officially opened on the 21st January 1931. The principal guest was the Lord Mayor, Alderman Harold Jackson (later Sir Harold), who spoke on the function of training colleges: "a training college is not doing its job properly unless it provides communal life, and in Sheffield we are getting close to providing that". Along with other speeches, a vote of thanks was proposed by Dr A W Pickard-Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, who observed that the university watched with interest the system of training of teachers in Sheffield and added, "we, of course, are sharing in that work and all of us must feel strongly that in times like these when, if ever, democracy is on its trial, the great hope of democracy is a thorough education of the people who are to be masters of this country".¹

In a different direction, the management of the affairs of the College appeared to be changing. In January 1923, the organisation and title of the governing body were changed. Since 1905 the College Managers had been a sub-group of the Higher Education Sub-Committee, which comprised thirty-four members:

- 17 members from the Education Committee,
- 4 members from Sheffield University's academic staff,
- 3 members from the West Riding County Council,
- 1 member from Nottinghamshire County Council,
- 1 member from Rotherham Education Committee,
- 1 member from Derbyshire Education Committee,
- 6 members from Sheffield University Council, and
- 1 co-opted member.

With one or two minor alterations, the composition of the Sub-Committee remained the same until the 1920s. Although the Sub-Committee contained city councillors, it had a large number of co-opted members who were well-versed in educational matters. The

College Managers too reflected the wide representation of its parent committee. But as time went on, the representatives from outside authorities withdrew and gradually the committee became more and more parochial. In 1924, the Sub-Committees of the Sheffield Education Committee were restructured. The College Managers were re-constituted as the "Training of Teachers Sub-Committee", comprising twelve members of the Sheffield Education Committee, and reported to the full Committee.

At first, the newly constituted Sub-Committee worked well, but changes were pending. In 1926, the Labour party gained control of the City Council and changes in style and policy were reflected in the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee:

"... the Committee became more and more a 'rubber stamp'. Decisions were often made beforehand... the Chairman, after a little desultory talk would put the agreed proposition from the chair, and there being no opposition (except sometimes from one or other of the non-socialist members of whom a minority was still allowed to be there) it was agreed. On a few occasions it did happen that a socialist member opposed the proposition from the chair... that member never appeared on the Committee again...

... constitution included a very definite document setting forth the Principal's duties and privileges, e.g. the Principal would be required to attend the meetings of the Governing Body and would be entitled to speak but not vote... In the earlier days, when a matter was under discussion, it was quite usual for some member or other to say "I should like to hear the Principal's views in this matter". Also, I could, and did, often intervene when I thought it desirable. I could say "Mr Chairman, may I, &c" and thus speak on the Chairman's consent. This latter freedom of speech continued for a time... (but later when) ... I wished to intervene... the Chairman turned to me and said "When we want your opinion we'll ask for it"! Thereafter for three years or so, I attended Committees every month, but my opinion was never asked. I was there like most of the committee to hear what was to be done..."₁

The relationship between the Principal and the governing body continued to deteriorate:

"After 1923... things were rather more formal, but my position was adequately recognised... but in later years... my relations with the committee deteriorated...

... In the course of time I was aware of other activities which were likely to cause trouble and did. There were contacts between members of committee and members of domestic staffs, and any student who might have a fancied grievance, could be interviewed at home by a Councillor.

One such case related to Sports subscriptions, each student paid 10/- on entrance, for Sports, and for special matches, at a distance, there had always been a "whip round" to cover the fares of the team for obviously the 10/- would not do that for two years and the members of teams could hardly be penalised by having to pay all the expenses of the matches. Such an arrangement was common in Training Colleges. I had worked in 4 before I went to Sheffield. (One of the women students objected to having to pay her Sports subscription, contending that the money raised was subsequently misappropriated.) The girl who made the statement had only been in the college a few weeks... and I have no doubt she was more or less 'induced' to complain. The upshot was a Special Meeting, at the College! ... I had in all the Women Prefects, individually, and they all denied the complaining student's statement; and showed their collecting books in which the amounts were entered, which supported their denials. I saw the parents of the complaining student, and the father agreed with me that if the student had any complaint it should have come to me - but the mother did not! I told them they had made themselves liable to further action for professional defamation. That sobered them...".

The domestic staff, particularly in Collegiate Hall, caused problems. Hoole and his Vice-Principal felt "spied upon" and matters began to come to a head with the "Pig Swill" incident:

"A statement (was made) about the "Pig Swill" (it was claimed that payments for Pig Swill had been used) to buy cut flowers for the Principal's table. It was such utter nonsense that even the Director suddenly pushed back his chair and said "Count me out on this Mr Chairman". Actually there was no payment by the Committee for upkeep of gardens, i.e. they paid a gardener, but did not pay for manure or plants: by a long standing arrangement Mr Pearson and Mrs Henry had been told to use the Swill money.

... Any trouble there may have been in the Women's Hostel, was due entirely to the Matron... She had been a nurse, and I fear, thought that as in Hospitals, the Matron should be at the Head of things, and resented the Headship being in the hands of the Vice-Principal. She got the ear of... (one of the Committee) and the result was that Miss Sinclair would not stay. The Committee then made the Matron... directly responsible to me!

... I tried to make it work. I drew up exact statements of the duties of the Matron and of the duties of the Vice-Principal, within the Hostel, and got each of them to sign the relevant

document... Finally, after several years of recurring disputes... the Matron was still troublesome, and I reported to the Committee that the arrangement was not satisfactory - as they would not "meet my views". I resigned.

... my decision to retire was taken at a Committee meeting. I differed from them so strongly that I said "One thing seems to be quite clear, I can no longer remain in your service". Then Councillor Rowlinson lost his temper and spoke of "taking the initiative out of your hands". I pointed out that that was impossible, I had taken it. "We can demand your immediate resignation". That brought Sharp out, "No Mr Chairman you can't do that".

Nevertheless, shortly afterwards I received from the Director a letter "demanding my resignation by return of post". This was I think in January. I had given notice of my intention to resign before Xmas.

This demand for "immediate resignation" I attributed to Rowlinson. I sent my resignation "by return" but I dated it forward to April. If I had dated it as apparently it was thought I should, it would have been quite illegal, and could have been accepted only as expiring on the date it was received. It would seem that they thought I might be ignorant of the law in these matters. My terms of appointment required 6 months notice, to expire at the end of the College Year".¹

The troubled years of Samuel Hoole were over. The outward appearance of the man matched the time. He was without a doubt a tough, uncompromising character; not for him the grace of the amateur or the quaint old-world of Edwardian days. He was a trainer of teachers, sharp, incisive and tough. He had much to try his patience: external pressures, internal strife, staff problems and political interference from a local party anxious to secure, maintain and extend its control. There seems little doubt that at the time of his appointment at Sheffield, the institution left much to be desired and in his zeal to improve the efficiency of the College he no doubt made many enemies. However, it appears that the friendly comfortable administration of the first Principal had deteriorated considerably over the years. Yet the local political situation did not help matters.

It was largely due to the influence of Percival Sharp that Hoole was appointed Principal. Sharp was particularly interested in the development of effective teachers; he held strong and uncompromising

views on the competence of teachers and knew Hoole shared similar views. As Director of Education for Newcastle, Sharp had often had direct contact with Hoole when he held the Principalship of Sunderland Training College.

"My relations with the Director... (were) quite excellent. He was a great help and support to me, especially during the earlier years. Naturally, we differed sometimes, but these differences did not affect our personal relations..."₁

Reflecting on the cause of the problems which faced him, Hoole expressed considerable faith in Sharp:

"Let me say that in all these matters I make no reflection on Percival Sharp, I knew him well... as he once said to me... 'they have the power'... (in an) extract from a letter to me dated 7th January 1932 (he wrote) ... As there seemed to be no desire to meet your views as to the Women's Hostel, I think that perhaps you were right to resign..."₂

Honesty and forthrightness may be commendable virtues but they neither win friends nor lessen enemies. His cold outward austerity belied an inward personal warmth. He took much interest in the well-being of his staff and his students and when questioned on the strictness of discipline which he maintained replied:

"... I was rather strict on this matter of relations between men and women. Well - perhaps I was. When I used to find groups of women students from Collegiate Hall, come up to Southbourne and walked back and to before the gate after evening private study, I did intervene. It gave, or might give, a very unwanted reputation to the Hostel. But, I knew "Naturam furca expellas; sed usque rediret".

Young men and women who really cared for each other managed quite well. I even saw a student, a nice lad too, who asked me to announce that he and Miss X were engaged, and had my approval for "Walking out together"..."₃

On his retirement, notices of appreciation appeared in the local press. Samuel Hoole did not object publicly to the superficial statements which appeared in the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph" of the 21st January 1932, but privately he resented the young reporter and the bland statements which were written and it is probably the "Sheffield Daily Independent" which best summed up the man:

"As is to be expected of a man who has held so many important positions, he has very decided views on education, and his greatest aim has always been to improve the quality of teaching in schools".¹

After retirement Hoole settled in Oxford, where he undertook further academic study and writing. In his nineties, he was still pursuing research into applied learning psychology. Samuel Hoole died in 1959 at the age of 92.

CHAPTER XVI - REFERENCES

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" 2. Wood, A, "Great Britain 1900-1965", Longman, London, 1973, p.178
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" 2. This arrangement continued until 1936. After this time the Education Committee, having no further use for the building, transferred it to the City of Sheffield Estates Committee for £2,500. The irony of the whole affair is that in 1947 it was taken over for use as a hostel by Sheffield University - 26 years after they had unsuccessfully tried to purchase it. The building ultimately proving to be unsuitable for further development was demolished in the early 1960s.
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CHAPTER XVII

THE THIRTIES

The recommendations of the Departmental Committee's enquiry of 1923 had been received with mixed feelings. The local education authorities felt that its effects would be costly, while the teachers' bodies wanted greater emphasis on professional training. A minority were disappointed that it did not produce a basis for the reform of teacher training as a whole. In retrospect, while little real change was effected, the report confirmed the status quo. Since the early twenties, teacher training had been under threat of change, not necessarily for professional or academic reasons but for economic ones. With a single major exception, the system was to continue pretty much unchanged.

That part of the education and training of teachers which was to change related to the system of examining and certification. The Departmental Committee's findings were published in 1925. This led to the setting-up of the Mayor Committee which presented "A Report of the Committee on Universities and Training Colleges" in 1928. A system of eleven geographically constituted "Joint Boards" was to be established, which, after 1929, would take over responsibility for the conduct of the examinations leading to the qualified teacher's certificate.

The proposals met with considerable opposition. The local education authorities felt that there was a need to maintain a standardised qualification which could be moderated through a central body and they viewed the prospect of the Universities' "heavy academic hand" with some uneasiness. H M Inspectorate too were less than happy at the prospect of losing control and worked to ensure that the practical aspects of training remained under their control. Even the universities had misgivings. While a minority welcomed the Training College connection and saw it as a means of development

which might bring greater opportunities, many viewed the proposals with a good deal of scepticism. Furthermore, many of the universities did not relish possible Board of Education interference or intervention in their affairs by or through the proposed Central Advisory Committee.

Under pressure from the Board, arrangements were established to bring the eleven boards into being; meanwhile, Circular 1372 set the guidelines for the Central Advisory Committee:

"To maintain a general survey over the examinations".¹

"The Times Educational Supplement", reporting a speech by Lord Eustace Percy, observed:

"... the course (of action) ... is part of a definite policy based on clear convictions and general principles; and it may be admitted that he has by making a clean cut with the past taken the only means to bring about the closer touch between the Universities and Training Colleges which the report on the training of teachers demanded. Had he waited till all parties were ready and prepared to meet each other in full confidence, he might have waited forever".²

However:

"... the examination of students was certainly not in the minds of college staffs 'the sole object of the change'... Circular 1372, had made it clear that cooperation over a much wider area... was envisaged".³

As a result of the proposals and after considerable negotiation, Sheffield Training College became part of the Yorkshire Joint Board. The Universities of Leeds and Sheffield were to be responsible for the nine training colleges in the county. It was with considerable reluctance and resentment on the part of both principals and college staffs that the Joint Board arrangement was established. Samuel Hoole, in his opposition to the scheme, pointed out the increased costs which local education authorities would be required to bear; the link with the universities appeared to threaten the authority of the principal and staff for minds reached back to the disappointments and problems of the

earlier university connection; and finally, the prospect of increased work on staff and the disparity in examining fees between college staffs and university examiners rankled. In later years, Samuel Hoole wrote:

"The arrangement was that each college should examine its own students; each tutor or lecturer would draw up an examination paper and the papers... 'raised' by a Professor at the University concerned. The fee of the Professor who read it was £5.5s.0d. For marking papers and supervising examinations the college staff were to receive nothing. For looking over the papers when marked, the Professor was to receive a fee of £25. This all struck me as indefensible. After much opposition I did succeed in persuading the Leeds body to agree to a fee of 1/-d per paper to the College marker. They told me it was part of the business of college lecturers to mark papers... some Principals privately urged me to stop, as they thought the additional work thrown on staff members would be a good argument for demanding increase in staff salaries... I strongly disapproved of this association with the Universities, it was a mere pretext for bringing some extra fees to University professors and so gained the support of University Professors of Education - who were ex-officio members of the T.C.A... It was never in any way an integration of the Training Colleges with the Universities - the Universities saw to that... (There was a certain) lowering of examination standards. (For example) Miss Owen failed several of her history students. The University Professor 'passed' them on his revision of papers. I saw him about it. His reply was that he agreed with Miss Owen's markings but, in the case of Nottingham, where he was also the external examiner for history, he had had to pass students who were no better than Miss Owen's failures. This dodge was called 'standardisation'." ₁

Scarcely had the new pattern of teacher's examinations been established when Samuel Hoole retired and Ralph K Kimbell was appointed to the principalship in April 1932. Born in Northamptonshire, he had served as a pupil teacher in a Northampton school before proceeding to Culham College for his training. He returned to Northampton to teach for three years, and then returned to Culham College as Assistant Master and Demonstrator of Teaching Method, and registered as an undergraduate at Oxford. At the outbreak of the 1914-18 war, he volunteered for the Royal Navy, returning after the war to Culham as a lecturer in Music and Education. In 1927, he was appointed Vice-Principal of the College of the Venerable Bede at Durham, moving to Sheffield in 1932.

Meanwhile, the filling of the post of Vice-Principal had been unresolved for some time. When Elizabeth Scott resigned in 1931 to take up the Principalship of Kenton Lodge, E M Bowker, who had lectured in Biology since 1924, became acting Vice-Principal - her appointment as permanent Vice-Principal being confirmed in 1934.

The opening of Oaklands Hostel seemed to indicate that the thirties decade might bring a little more stability, particularly as in July 1929 the Labour Government announced its intention to raise the school leaving age to fifteen from 1st April 1931. However, hopes were soon dashed. The economic and social effects of the "depression" were soon felt and the proposals for raising the school leaving age were abandoned. In April 1932, the Board called on the Sheffield Education Committee for a reduction in the number of students from 230 to 224. The governing body had little option but to acquiesce; nevertheless, they communicated their dissatisfaction to the Board, pointing out that Oaklands had been opened on the understanding that the increased number of 30 students was to be on a permanent basis. Unknowingly, this was only the beginning of a struggle which was to last a number of years. Early in 1934 the Board sought further cuts and intimated that in 1935 the College would only be allowed to admit 202 students, to be followed in 1936 by a further reduction to 186, which meant, in all, a total reduction of 18%. It was now clear that if these cuts were implemented, Oaklands Hostel would have to close. Although the Board's level of reductions was applicable to training colleges throughout the country, the governing body at Sheffield was determined to resist further cuts and reminded the Board of its earlier guarantees. Alternatives too were sought. The Board had been advocating the development of specialist courses since the time of the Departmental Committee and a scheme for establishing a one-year course in music teaching was adopted, in the hope that if the Board of Education recognised the course, then the extra numbers would probably offset the effects of the cuts.

Musical activities at Sheffield Training College had long been held in high esteem. From its early days, the College had established a high reputation through its connection with Sir Henry Coward and his successor, George Linfoot. Ralph Kimbell too brought considerable experience and renewed interest through his own musical activities. Eventually, permission to offer the music course was granted by the Board on condition that there was an enrolment of thirty students. A prospectus was produced, setting out the aims of the course, and permission was granted to purchase additional equipment in the form of six pianos and two radiograms. Unfortunately, by the late summer of 1935 too few had applied for admission and the College had to postpone the course until the following year, but even then there was insufficient support and the scheme had to be abandoned. Although low enrolment was the prime reason for failure, Kimbell contended that there was considerable opposition at the time from the National Union of Teachers, which did not relish the prospect of infiltration into the profession of specialist teachers who had received only one year's training.

Whilst the efforts to establish the new course were unsuccessful, the College was fortunate in another direction. In April 1935 the Board of Education informed the Education Committee of its decision to allow Oaklands Hostel to continue to function and that the 18% cut in admissions would be waived.

Although the failure to establish the one-year music course was a disappointment and one which affected the College on the longer term, facilities were not to be wasted. In September 1937 the Board of Education proposed the establishment of short one-term courses in music for practicing teachers. It was a scheme which appealed to Kimbell, who worked out a timetable for offering three courses a year, twelve students being admitted to each course.

The course began in January 1938 when the first group of twelve students was admitted. It grew in popularity and the applications increased. So delighted were the governing body at the response that they urged the Principal to admit all suitable applicants and increase the number of places to twenty.

The decade of the thirties brought many fresh ideas into education and these began to be reflected in the work and activities of the College. Representatives from the British Broadcasting Corporation came to lecture to the students on the possibilities of broadcasts and loaned the College a wireless set for three months. In a letter to the governing body, Kimbell wrote:

"All the students and the majority of the staff were present, and a fruitful discussion took place as to the practicability and efficacy of wireless lessons in schools. We were assured that we were the first Yorkshire college to avail ourselves of the opportunity provided by the BBC. A wireless set - lent for three months by the BBC - has been installed in the college for the purpose of hearing talks which have a definite bearing on the work of the college. The talks are followed up by group discussions, in the hope that students may realise how effectively they may not only help children who are at present in schools but past scholars whom they may gather together".¹

The thirties also brought a great increase in student activities. The choral society, under the conductorship of the Principal, performed between 1932 and 1939 a number of ambitious works in the Sheffield City Hall, in the Victoria Hall, and in a number of churches in Sheffield and Derbyshire. There were performances of Handel's "Judas Maccabaeus", Palestrina's "Stabat Mater", Bach's "St Matthew Passion", Schubert's "Mass in E Flat" and Mendelssohn's "Elijah and St Paul". A Madrigal Society of about thirty of the best voices each year performed madrigals and part songs. In 1936, besides possessing a student orchestra, the College also had its own dance band. A comment in the College magazine on its activities read as follows:

"Since the last issue of the college magazine we have seen the definite inauguration of a college dance-band. All who have heard the combination have been pleased with its sweet strains and mellow tones provided for the light fantastic rounds.

Four dances have been held, organised by the Historical Society, Sports Committee, Social Committee, and by the Garden Party Committee...".²

Another important event in the College year was the annual garden party. From the earliest days of the College the women students and staff in Collegiate Hall had organised an annual "Sale of Work and Tea". This was largely brought about through the efforts of the Vice-Principal, Mrs Henry, who, having a very keen interest in the work of Dr Barnardo's Homes, proposed that all proceeds should be given to that charity. It was a source of much pride to the female students and staff that through the years the garden party had always been held, even during the difficult war years of 1914-18. But in 1933 a much more ambitious event was planned utilising the grounds of Southbourne, with male and female students and staff taking part. The event took place on the 15th June 1933 and on the following day the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph" reported:

"The beautiful gardens of Southbourne, Clarkehouse Road, presented a gay scene yesterday, when the many lovely gowns worn by the ladies gained an added beauty from the warm afternoon sunshine and the background of trees. There were many stalls and amusements, the former being arranged in an original fashion, one stall being allotted for each day of the week... Folk dancing by students of the college who have passed the English Folk Dancing Society Examination was another popular item of the long programme, which also included many attractive musical items and a pierrots' concert. A dance was held in the evening".¹

Since the 1920s provision of teaching accommodation had been a cause for concern. The assembly hall was too small; the gymnasium was out of date, noisy and lacked satisfactory changing facilities. Furthermore, the provision of a well-equipped art room was necessary. But the deficiencies were not highlighted by the recurring pleas from the Principal and the staff to the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee, but as a result of a general inspection of the College by H M Inspectorate in 1935. Although the report was generally favourable, the Inspectorate found much to comment on with regard to the inadequacy of the buildings. Many of the defects might have been remedied earlier had it not been for the very stringent economies in public expenditure. However, by 1935 the country's economy had somewhat improved and the amount of money available for educational building work was increased. In November 1935 the Education Committee asked the City Architect to prepare the necessary plans for additional accommodation.

An account of how the new buildings and reconstruction came about was the subject of an article which Kimbell wrote for the "Old Crescenter" magazine:

"A few years ago the Chairman of the College Governors was impressed by the inadequacy of the old Hall for any united college function. As inevitably happens, the consideration of a remedy brought to light (deficiencies in) accommodation in other parts of the college...

Our Chairman insisted in his demands and now we see a new Assembly Hall and a new Gymnasium growing daily... Beyond the Gymnasium on the remote side from the college, the sloping ground behind the Oaklands Hostel will be levelled and an asphalt 'playground' laid down in order to provide similar facilities for outdoor exercise to those found in school yards...

When the new Gymnasium is in use it is hoped that the Board of Education will sanction the establishment of an Advanced Course in Physical Training for Women.

Men students will pass from the college into the Assembly Hall along a covered bridge through the opening which was formerly filled by the window at the top of the first flight of stairs on the right hand side of the main corridor which passes along the entire length of the Assembly Hall on the side near the college to the Gymnasium and dressing room beyond...

The old Hall is now divided. Wooden walls now flank a corridor and separate the south end, which is now the new, properly equipped Geography Room, from the North end, which is a class room used for various purposes.

Reconstruction is already in progress on the first floor.

... finally, the present Gymnasium, a beautiful room, will become a central College Library, tastefully appointed, and fully supplied with handsome bookcases, tables, and chairs..."¹

Although the Inspectorate's report in 1935 criticised the buildings, it was full of praise for the provision which the College made for teaching practice. From the earliest days of the Training College, Sheffield schools had been used for teachers' student practice and through the years work on this aspect of the course steadily developed. Whilst the College had never established a separate 'model' school, it was well provided for by several near-by schools whose facilities were available to students and the children from which were able to visit the College for demonstration lessons.

The Inspectorate reported that:

"Great importance is attached to the practical side of the training and perhaps more attention is devoted to it than in the majority of colleges. Not only have students with few exceptions had, before entering college, at least a year's experience either as Student Teachers or Uncertificated Teachers, but during their Course, in addition to the usual school practice, a number of devices are employed to improve their skills, in the shape of what are known as Continuous Practices, Group Criticism Lessons, Technical Exercises, and Demonstration Lessons".¹

By 1935 proposals for changes in the Joint Boards' examination system were beginning to come from both within and without the training colleges. Fresh ideas and research were barely influencing the teaching methods in the schools and it appeared that change could probably best be effected by restructuring the Training College curriculum. While debate ranged round the Teacher's Certificate examinations, the problems lay much deeper and were concerned with the very nature of educational studies. An article which appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" on 10th November 1936, and ascribed to R A Tawney, observed:

"... is not the system under which most teachers are trained something of an anomaly? ... In endeavouring to continue both the general education and professional training in the two years' course which is still taken by the majority of teachers in training is not the training college attempting the impossible? ... It is ten years... since a somewhat inconclusive report was produced by a Departmental Committee...".²

Nevertheless, some change had taken place. One source observed that:

"... in many ways, the isolation of the training colleges is disappearing as a result of closer collaboration between the colleges and universities not only in the conduct of the examination for the Certificate but in the arrangement of student courses...".³

The Board of Education, as if throwing off thirty years of "post-Morant sloth", began to take the initiative and the "Handbook of Suggestions" was radically changed. It was not a change which met with approval. Many teachers and educationalists began to resent what appeared to be an unwarranted influence on the school curriculum. Some even saw the Board's overt influence as a possible first step towards direction from central government.

The various representative educational bodies began to argue on the merits and demerits of the proposals, while from the outset, the Coordinating Committee of the Joint Boards took exception to the forcefulness of the Board of Education's approach. Finally, the Council of Principals passed a unanimous resolution that:

"This Council is firmly opposed to any scheme of training or system of examination that would involve a breach in the existing connection between the training colleges and universities. It recognises that under the present decentralised Joint Boards system of examination, considerable improvements are possible, but it is opposed to the recognition of a uniform and centralised examination".¹

In the short space of eight years, opinion in the colleges had moved from reluctance to accept the Joint Boards' examining arrangements to a vigorous defence of them and the maintenance of the link with the universities. But fundamental questions on the longer-term nature of teacher training remained unanswered.

By the end of the 1930s the social environment in training colleges was beginning to change. Dent summed up the general position:

"It is dangerous to generalise about life and work in the training colleges between 1919 and 1939. The variety was very great. One trend, however, stands out. Demands from the academic staff for more freedom in the management of their professional affairs were paralleled by moves among students to get rid of authoritarian discipline and secure a responsible share in the organisation and conduct of student activities".²

Changes were reflected in the Sheffield Training College. It had always maintained a considerable reputation for sporting prowess but under Kimbell, social and cultural activities abounded and became more extensive and ambitious. However, the lack of facilities within the College hampered progress and necessitated the use of outside accommodation.

The Old Crescenters' Association of former students flourished too and close links were maintained between the Association, the students and the staff. Although the College always maintained a

close working link with the Sheffield schools in that they hosted the students for school practice, the College made available its facilities in the furtherance of the activities of the local educational organisations such as the Sheffield branch of the National Union of Teachers, the Froebel Society and the Teachers Benevolent Fund organisation, an important feature which served to promote good relationships between the College and the City's Education Service.

In 1937, with final approval granted, the building of extensions began. A teaching block comprising a gymnasium, a large assembly hall with stage facilities, and additional lecture rooms provided accommodation which had been sorely needed since the 1920s and which had, time and time again, been deferred because of the economic situation. With the extensions finally completed early in 1939, the College Operatic Society staged a Gilbert and Sullivan opera in the newly opened College Hall. The future augered well.

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CHAPTER XVIII

BLITZKRIEG

The situation was to change dramatically. During 1938, two burning issues were under debate nationally, the first concerning the curriculum arising out of the Board of Education's "Suggestions", and the second the reconsideration of the teacher's examination system. But the debate came to be suspended during the "Munich Crisis" and when subsequently discussion was resumed it was in an atmosphere of impending war - no longer "will it happen" but "when will it happen". As the strains of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Pirates of Penzance" died away in February 1939, the international situation steadily began to worsen, until finally, on the 3rd September 1939, war was declared.

Plans for dealing with a national emergency had already been made and from the Autumn of 1938 onwards these were steadily being implemented. A Ministry of Civil Defence was established and two million people were trained in Air Raid Precaution duties.

Compulsory military service for men who had reached the age of nineteen years was introduced in March 1939 and two options were open to would-be conscripts: the serving of a six-months' full-time military training period, or the completion of four years' part-time service in a Reserve or Territorial Army unit. Many of the 1938 intake of male students opted for the latter as it provided a means of completing the college course without too much disturbance. However, when war came, those students who had qualified in July 1939 and who had opted for territorial service had scarcely time to take up their teaching posts when their military units were mobilised in early September.

Meanwhile, the threat to the civilian population appeared great and long-term plans for the evacuation of school children from vulnerable

areas had been made in the light of the Spanish Civil War. Consultations took place between the Ministry of Works and the Board of Education and plans drawn up to effect early evacuation. The scheme for evacuation also applied to training colleges, and principals and chairmen of training college committees were called to Whitehall to consider what arrangements might be made.

Evacuation plans for training colleges were made on the assumption that within days the men's colleges would almost immediately be denuded of students, while in mixed colleges there would be only women students available to continue courses.

The plans laid in respect of the evacuation of Sheffield school children required their transportation to Loughborough in Leicestershire. It was further decided that Sheffield and Leeds Training Colleges should share proportionately the hostels and lecture rooms of Loughborough Training College on the assumption that all the men of military age would be called up almost immediately and that it would be women students of Sheffield and Leeds who would occupy the places vacated at Loughborough College.

Immediately following the declaration of War, the evacuation of those school children who had elected to be evacuated was quickly completed. Whilst some difficulties arose in the reception areas with regard to billets and school accommodation, there can be little doubt that the initial phase of evacuation was a complete success. Had the weight of the air-attacks and bombing been felt in the opening stages of the war as was predicted, then the scheme may well have received more praise than it did.

But the war had little impact on the civilian population during the early months and many evacuees, often housed in inadequate quarters and suffering from homesickness, gradually drifted back home, while the plan to evacuate the Training College to Loughborough was even less successful.

At the start of the war, the accommodation at Loughborough was not available as the male students there had to await their call-up in age groups, consequently Loughborough College still housed its male students. A similar situation existed in Sheffield. Those male students comprising the 1938-40 and 1939-41 years (except for those who had already enlisted in territorial army units) had to await call-up. Hurried consultations now took place and finally a decision was reached that the college would re-open in early November and that students could continue their courses until such time as they reached military age. Eventually, after eleven weeks' delay, during which time air-raid shelters were built, the college re-assembled. The number of men dwindled as the eldest of them departed in ones and twos into H M Forces. At this stage, the Board of Education issued emergency instructions to training colleges. These gave them authority to assess students' work internally and grant a certificate to students of military age on the completion of five terms' work. This was followed by a further instruction in November 1939, when the Board authorised the lowering of the entrance age of male students from eighteen to seventeen. Ralph Kimbell summed up the reactions of the men during those early days of the war:

"Our men students faced the war philosophically - their individual difficulties tightened our personal relationships. Many were the Common Room concerts at Southbourne at which sad farewells and good wishes were expressed".¹

Throughout the war the students acquitted themselves admirably, particularly when the Sheffield 'blitz' came on the night of 12th-13th December 1940. The few male students that there were took turns of duty as 'fire-watchers' either over the college hostels and buildings or in the vicinity, and on the night of the 'blitz' they were at their usual posts:

"Soon after the alarm sounded at about 7 p.m., those men in Southbourne who had not taken shelter were advised to go below because the sounds of a raid could be heard. Many did go but some still stayed up "to see the fun". On one corridor four men remained and looked out through a window trying to see fires toward which they thought they could hear fire engines racing. I looked and could see nothing so I advised the students to shelter. The raid noises grew fiercer but the

men would not move until they were asked to sign a statement that they were staying out of the shelter of their own free will. At this they went below.

The next thing that I remember was the sight of a number of blinding fires in the grounds of Southbourne near the Principal's drawing room. Several of us rushed out and smothered the flames, and then went upstairs to see if any incendiaries had struck the house. Fortunately none had but we saw a light blazing in the swimming baths opposite, and small fires in the grounds of the King Edward VII school. Thinking it necessary that such guiding lights for the enemy should be extinguished, I dashed out of the hostel and, together with one AFS man, helped another and one of our students to climb the wall in front of the baths. Then, with more AFS men, I went up College Street in order to reach the baths and school by the side entrance. The men entered a house in order to deal with an incendiary bomb, so I went along a passage, climbed over the wall of the school 'fives' court, and helped the men already in the grounds to deal with a few small fires on the asphalt paths and one on the grass. When I got back to my room at Southbourne I noticed what seemed to be a fire in a house in Park Lane. I went towards it and on the way saw two fires in the front gardens of two adjoining houses in a side lane. With a big stone, earth and damp weeds, I extinguished one, pausing to crouch for a minute in the angle of two walls as a bomb whistled down. The other fire was put out by AFS men, with whom I went down the lane - putting out another fire on the wall on our way.

We reached the house that had seemed to be on fire. It was. With one stirrup pump at first and then with an additional one, we tried to put out the fire. It had a good hold of part of the roof, ceiling and wooden gable ends, and kept it. A bread bin was used as a water tank for the pumps and tea pots for filling it. Then a porcelain bath was used too but the jets of water were not powerful enough. Some of our men were lending a hand when I left for Southbourne to get two ladders which I thought might enable the burning gable ends to be reached and chopped off. The ladders were too short for this but one was taken inside and put under the burning part of the roof. Another three or four of our men had come to the fire with the ladders and I noticed several others pumping, filling tanks and buckets and salvaging papers. One had telephoned for a fire engine. Despite our efforts the fire was gaining. Then some fully trained and equipped firemen came and began to beat it.

As we got into Park Lane another student and I saw another and bigger fire further down Broomhall Road. We went towards it, thinking that it was a burning tree, but we found that the ballroom of a well-built stone house was blazing away. We could see nobody near the house or inside it although we discovered a bed that had been slept in. A locked car stood on the drive near the house. Some men in khaki and more of

our students came along, found two lengths of garden hose, fixed them to a tap and sprinkled the wall about the blazing room. More people came and tried to extinguish the fire from inside the house but unsuccessfully. So we started to salvage the furniture and one of our men telephoned for the fire brigade. An AFS tender came. The hose was connected with the mains but the pressure was insufficient and the water just trickled out of the end of the hose.

The bombs began to fall fast, powerfully and evidently near by. Since we could not do anything about the water pressure I suggested that we went back to Southbourne. Most of them did. One searched, unsuccessfully, for part of an electric torch which he had lost but at last he and I and another student and a young soldier left for the hostel. On the way we met other firemen bringing along a hose connected with a mains valve higher up the road, so we helped them to straighten it out as they carried it towards the burning house. This done, we ran towards Southbourne and experienced my most terrifying moment as two brilliant parachute flares lit up "Ethel".¹

I was afraid the enemy intended to shoot the balloons down as a preliminary to power diving and fiercer bombing.

When I reached the hostel several students wished to go out fire fighting with the soldier. I thought they could do little without full fire brigade appliances, and that those who had already been out should rest, but after discussion 9 or 10, some of whom had been out before, went out with him. Some time afterwards, one student was brought back suffering from injuries on both hands and the head and shock. The ceiling of a house had fallen on him. At midnight as I listened to the news broadcast, I was amused to hear the announcer say that reports from the North Midlands indicated that there were raids in that area. I went to my room to change and there had a second terrifying moment as, tired and alone in the darkness, I heard a bomb falling, apparently, directly for me. I was wrong by some 30 yards. After I had rested some time, 3 other men and I decided to go after the fire fighting party. We opened the door and saw in the sky a huge cloud with edges tinted pink by reflections of fires. Planes roared overhead and shrapnel fell just in front of us. We waited. When things were quieter we went out and turned down Park Lane.

We had not gone far before we again saw shell bursts and expanding wisps of smoke in the sky, and heard shrapnel and bombs falling apparently in the Sharrow Lane district. All along the ridge was a long red glow. We went along Collegiate Crescent towards Brunswick Street and saw the top storey of Viner's factory burning despite its steel and concrete structure, and heard the growing fury of the bombs and guns and shrapnel. We decided that the fire fighting

party, which had been out for a long time, must already have gone elsewhere and that it was useless for us to go nearer so large a target as the burning factory. So we turned round and went back to Southbourne, frequently stopping whilst shrapnel fell on the pavements, roads and roofs.

The men we were looking for had not returned. We lay down and rested, and when the "raiders passed" sounded, went to bed. Before I fell asleep I was told that the missing men, who had put out several fires, had returned".¹

The air raid on Sheffield began early in the evening and although the tutorial staff and most of the women students were in the air raid shelters under the grounds of Collegiate Hall west wing, some who had their parents' permission preferred to remain in Collegiate Hall sheltering under the staircase of the Vice-Principal's house. As the night wore on the bombing and strafing by machine guns increased. Bombs landed on the block of shops in Ecclesall Road opposite the College and the blast severely damaged Collegiate Hall. Fortunately, all the women students had by that time considered the bombing so bad that they had taken refuge in the air raid shelter.

One incendiary bomb fell into a tea merchant's shop in Ecclesall Road and the building blazed quickly. A number of male students went to help the fire fighters but it was too late to save the premises for, without warning, the gutted building collapsed into the street. Many escaped, but one student, George Daniels (the Head Student for the year 1940-41) was pinned by the wreckage and killed.

As dawn broke on the 13th December 1940, the total damage could be surveyed. All the windows of Collegiate Hall were missing, doors had been blown off and much of the plaster work was down. By eight o'clock a major problem had arisen: how were the students to be fed? Most of the women had been in the air raid shelters for over nine hours, while the men had been out fire fighting. After salvaging a certain amount of food - mainly tinned - the students and staff prepared a hasty meal, and as the women's hostel

was no longer habitable, arrangements were made for the students to return to their homes. Amidst the chaos of Collegiate Hall it was impossible to sort out personal belongings, and the students returned home with only the clothes they were wearing at the time.

With the students safely at home, the staff formed a working party to clear the debris from the hostel. This completed, they managed to board up temporarily many of the windows and doors. After the preliminary clearing was complete the main enemy was the weather, for many of the slates were either missing or had been damaged so much as to allow rain and snow to penetrate the rooms. Fortunately, during January, emergency repairs were carried out and the College re-opened on the 3rd February 1941.

As the war dragged on, students and staff alike suffered the inconvenience of the blackout and of rationing, and the College had to be run on the lines of strictest economy. Nevertheless, student social activities continued despite inconveniences. Dances were held each week and the annual garden party was maintained throughout the war.

Publication of the College magazine "The Crescent" was suspended from 1942 until 1946 because of the paper shortage, and this was disappointing, for it had been through the medium of the magazine that many old college friends kept in contact with one another. However, an ephemeral but effective substitute developed. Mrs Kimbell, the Principal's wife, had been ailing for a number of years and was confined to bed for the greater part of the war. Undeterred by immobility, she occupied her time writing letters to the students in the Forces. One appreciation of her said:

"Letters: she wrote over 2,000 to servicemen and ex-students... It was amazing how anyone so deprived of physical activity could have been so cheerful and encouraging".₁

As Mrs Kimbell's correspondence grew, so did her collection of photographs of past students on war service; until all available spaces on the walls of the Principal's music room at Southbourne

were filled. It was from the answers to Mrs Kimbell's letters that the Principal was able to compile typescript sheets of news for circulation among the past students.

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CHAPTER XIX

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

Unable to await the outcome of what was to be a long and drawn out debate on the reorganisation of teacher-training, with some urgency the Board of Education began to turn its attention to the problems of teacher supply. There was already an existing shortage of teachers caused by the war but now, following the passing of the new Education Act, post-war demands posed innumerable problems. In an attempt to maximise the number of training places, colleges were approached with a view to enrolling their support to increase their student numbers for the academic year beginning in September 1944. After some consideration, the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee recommended that the number of students be increased from 186 to 206, while the Board of Education agreed to allow the admission of a further 44 students in day attendance to bring the intake up to 250. At this stage, Kimbell sought to revive the scheme for a one-year course in music. At first it seemed that this might be practicable and the Sheffield Education Committee gave its support. But when an approach was finally made to the Board for permission to establish a course, the request met with a negative response: the situation had changed, and the Board informed the Principal that two special colleges were being established to meet these needs.¹

With the main provisions of the 1944 Act becoming effective on the 1st April 1945, the life of the Board of Education came to an end, being superseded by the Ministry of Education, which immediately began to put into operation further schemes for increasing the supply of teachers. It was now estimated that 300,000 teachers would be required as opposed to the 200,000 employed in 1938.

The war in Europe ended on the 8th May 1945 and within three weeks the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee received an even more urgent request from the Ministry calling for the greatest possible increase in the number of students.

A small committee comprising the Chairman and some members of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee, the Principal and the Vice-Principal, and several members of staff, were charged to investigate how many extra students might be accommodated in the college and hostels. The members of the committee quickly discovered that the pursuit of this idea would be fruitless and turned their attention to the many large houses in the vicinity of the college which might be converted into hostels, particularly as some were likely to become vacant at an early date. A house in Broomhall Road had been used during the war as a Young Men's Christian Association hostel for overseas troops in Sheffield. Two houses in Broomgrove Road were occupied by the Auxiliary Territorial Service, and these properties appeared to be particularly useful acquisitions as they adjoined the men's hostel at Southbourne. Yet another possibility arose when "Lynwood", a Victorian mansion in Clarkehouse Road, became vacant, having been used throughout the war as a Civil Defence Headquarters.

But the provision of additional accommodation was slower than had been expected. By December 1945 the only tangible achievement was the successful application for the installation of a prefabricated hut in the grounds to provide additional classrooms for Music, Arts and Crafts, and tutorial work. The acquisition of "Lynwood" was not pressed, for although it would have made excellent hostel accommodation, it could only be obtained on a five years' lease. Meanwhile, although the owners of No 21 Broomhall Road and Nos 9 and 11 Broomgrove Road were anxious to sell their properties, they were dissatisfied with the low bids made by the District Valuer. Frustrated, the Education Committee pressed for completion of purchase but the Ministry of Education refused to make available loan capital in excess of the District Valuer's figures. Whereupon, Sheffield Corporation successfully applied for Compulsory Purchase

Orders and as a result No 21 Broomhall Road (Woodville) was purchased for £1,500 and Nos 9 and 11 Broomgrove Road for £3,500, with additional costs.

The newly acquired hostels were ready for occupation in September 1947. It was a year of expansion: demobilisation from the forces was in progress and the maximum number of students was admitted. The following analysis taken from the Minutes of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee shows how the students were accommodated:

	MEN		WOMEN
Southbourne	61	Collegiate Hall	124
Oaklands	25	Woodville	15
Day Students	52	Day Students	27
Nos 9 & 11 Broomgrove	<u>44</u>		<u> </u>
	<u>182</u>		<u>166</u>

Total: 348 students

Further plans were made in 1949 to admit another eighteen female students as "Fairfield", another house in Broomhall Road was acquired, refurbished and opened as an hostel.

In 1939, the provision of teacher training facilities in England and Wales extended to eighty-three colleges. Fifty-four were voluntary institutions, while twenty-nine were under the control of Local Education Authorities. Sixty-four had fewer than 150 students, whilst of these twenty-eight had fewer than 100 students. Only seven of the colleges were mixed.¹ Sheffield Training College was, with its 230 students, one of the larger institutions and was one of the seven co-educational institutions. Ten years later, in 1949, its size had increased to an intake of 348 students.

But the state of the teacher training institutions gave rise to cause for concern. When members of the McNair Committee were "taking stock" of the situation, Miss E C Oakden, H M Inspector, observed in a memo:

"... regimentation... a poor type of discipline for people of this age... crowded timetables... spoonfeeding..."²

Miss Ross, a member of the McNair Committee, wrote:

"... there is an absence of freedom and gaiety... the atmosphere is that of a Boarding School..."¹

And R H Tawney wrote to Miss Ellen Wilkinson (then soon to become Minister for Education):

"... elementary teachers (students) damned by an excess of virtue... (and) ... made stupid by over pressure..."²

In spite of claims of enlightenment and progressive thinking, the student conditions at Sheffield were little better than colleges elsewhere. Kimbell was to write:

"I inherited a system in which two elected committees (one for men and the other for women) held sway over certain student activities... (although) they combined in the organisation of the few college dances which were held, their function was disciplinary - the members of the committees were called 'Prefects'..."³

Under Kimbell, the two student committees were merged into one to form a Students' Representative Council, but little else changed. Although in the 1940s the difficulties of maintaining a college under war-time conditions tended to lead to a relaxation of many rules and a slightly more tolerant approach, such changes which did take place came about not by design but by necessity. A gesture was made towards a more liberal approach in 1945. Kimbell recalled:

"The students... with my consent and collaboration - I almost said connivance - began to play with the idea of a Students Union. They entertained representatives of Sheffield University branch of the NUS and also representatives from (NUS) headquarters. (But) the... students held different views regarding membership of the NUS, men in the main against, the women for. Meetings galore were held, constitutions were drawn up and revised but ratification was never achieved. Time was required for study as the final exam was looming."⁴

But immediately after the war an age gap began to appear in the student body: while the women students were still entering college at, or about the age of eighteen, the men, in contrast, having completed military service, were in general at least twenty-three years of age. The disparity of ages, and the maturity of the male

students led to considerable pressure to effect changes in student affairs:

"Then came the invasion in 1947 of 112 ex-service men with an average age of about twenty-six. They chose their leaders wisely. There were among them men used to administrative procedures. A Students' Council was formed with the special function of drawing up a constitution for a Students' Union. They produced an almost flawless document which received my full approval. I made a successful appeal to the College Committee (Training of Teachers Sub-Committee) for a substantial grant to the Union and was glad to see the establishment of a long-considered instrument of government..."¹

The Education Committee supported the development. On the 1st December 1947, after discussion in the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee, it was recommended:

"That the Committee approve the formation of a Students' Union at the College to which each student be required to pay an annual subscription of 10/- towards the cost of the social activities of the Union and Sports fixtures, a like amount being contributed by the Committee in lieu of the present games grant which is paid to the College".²

Whether Kimbell's claims quite reflect the situation as it really was must be a matter for conjecture. There is considerable hearsay evidence that dealings with ex-service students were not as smooth as the Principal would have one believe. Evening lectures were continued until the late 1940s, indeed until:

"... the SRC suggested... that all students who had not to attend lectures in the evening should be free to absent themselves from the hostels... I agreed... on condition that silence was observed from 5.30 p.m. to 9 p.m."³

But certain of the long-established customs continued to flourish. Kimbell related:

"The Boar's Head Ceremony was a stately procession of a number of students carrying a replica of a Boar's head which was placed at the top of the table and preceded the meal at Christmas. A lantern procession followed after the meal and this part of the festivity was more informal. The procession passed along the darkened corridors on the ground floor (and onwards through the building). Carols were sung as the students proceeded in procession. Old fashioned and primitive you may say. So are carols and even meals! But they have their

place in this jazz-ridden age with its binding conventions - three or four beats for several hours followed by more than 3 or 4 in another bar!

The Christmas Dinner at Southbourne had its origins in the past... staff and students turned out (in evening dress) as they would for any important dinner. Guests were invited (such as) the Directors of Education and the President and Secretary of the Past Students' Association. Toasts were formally proposed and seconded. Replies followed in due course. Songs were interspersed. The Senior Student would be master of the ceremonies. He employed a Toast Master.

All this was in line with the NUT's expressed wish that all young teachers should be fully aware of the procedures at formal gatherings and the importance of dress and professional etiquette..."₁

The post of Vice-Principal became vacant in the summer of 1948 as Eliza M Bowker moved away to become the first Principal of Thornbridge Hull Training College. Her successor at Sheffield was to be Miss Jane Moulton, who took up her duties in September 1948. Jane Moulton had graduated from Manchester University followed by a teaching career at Doncaster Municipal High School. Later she joined the staff of the Education Department of Queen's University, Belfast.

In March 1949, Ralph Kimbell signified his intention of retiring at the close of the 1948-49 academic year. Kimbell's influence during his seventeen years as Principal was significant; he piloted the affairs of the College through the difficult 'thirties'; maintained its organisation during the war period and supervised the considerable expansion which took place in the immediate post-war years.

During the summer of 1948 the Old Crescenters' Association had agreed to present a commemorative plaque bearing the names of those who died during the Second World War and to purchase a set of reference books to be kept in a specially designed "Memorial Cupboard" which was to be placed in the College Library. Thirty-four Old Crescenters had died during the war and on the 9th July 1949 the memorial was unveiled. Parents and relatives of the fallen gathered, along with past and present members of the College and College staff. It was Ralph Kimbell's final official duty before his retirement. In his address, he related how many of the serving Crescenters had kept in

touch with one another and with the College during the war. An account of the event appeared in "The Old Crescenter":

"... After the Secretary of the Old Crescenters' Association had read out the names of the dead, the Principal unveiled the oak plaque on the wall of the Library and the President of the Association unlocked the doors of the Memorial Cupboard. Then the Vice-President and the Treasurer placed vases of pink sweet peas on a table under the plaque... Throughout the afternoon the Library was filled with quiet groups who came to view the commemorative plaque and to examine the contents of the Memorial Cupboard... The Secretary's infinite care and patience has enabled the members of each family to choose by what kind of books each man should be commemorated. In each volume... individual names are inscribed with the same patient craftsmanship that carved them elsewhere in oak... To have this Memorial at the heart of the College enshrines the sacrifice and devotion of past students as a daily inspiration to those who are privileged to be their successors here".¹

On his retirement, Ralph Kimbell took Holy Orders and after marrying Miss Audrey Wragg, a member of the College staff, he became a curate at Ledbury Parish Church, Herefordshire.

The unveiling of the 1939-45 War Memorial marked the end of another phase in the history of the College, coming as it did at the end of the service of Ralph Kimbell. Although the College had successfully survived the very difficult war years, a distinct social change had taken place. It had progressed from a situation where there had been virtually two separate single-sex colleges within one into a College with a more meaningful conception of co-education. It was an achievement of which Kimbell was proud, particularly as, in his view, "it had avoided the difficulties and national controversy which had been raised in a neighbouring mixed college".²

To succeed Kimbell, the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee chose Herbert Dennis Wing, who was appointed to take up duties in September 1949. Herbert Wing was a Londoner by birth and had been educated at University College, the Royal College of Music, and London University Institute of Education. His first teaching appointment brought him to Yorkshire, where for five years he was senior science master at the Barnsley Holgate Grammar School. In 1931 he returned to London to take up the post of mathematics master

at Marylebone Grammar School and from there he succeeded to the post of senior chemistry master at the Grocers' Company's School. In 1940, he joined the Education Branch of the Royal Air Force and held a variety of posts, amongst which was that of Education Officer at the Women's Auxiliary Air Force Officers' Training Unit. This was followed by a posting in 1943 to Balloon Command as Deputy Command Education Officer. Later he undertook educational duties with the Pathfinder Force and the Bomber Command Instructors' School. During this time he had begun to make a significant contribution to educational psychology. He wrote a number of important articles for the British Journal of Psychology and published the results of his researches into the psychology and testing of musical perception; an aspect of educational research for which he subsequently developed an international reputation. Following his release from the Royal Air Force in 1946 he became Deputy-Principal of Newlands Park Emergency Training College in Buckinghamshire and then in 1947 he became the founding Principal of the Burderop Park Emergency Training College, near Swindon. He remained at Burderop Park until his appointment to Sheffield in 1949.

Post-war expansion and a newly appointed Principal and Vice-Principal were agents which were likely to effect considerable change. From the outset of his Principalship, Wing was to become the centre of controversy. Both he and his Deputy Principal, Jane Moulton, came from less than traditional training college backgrounds. Moulton had gained considerable experience in a university department of education and had taught postgraduate students who had been allowed considerably more freedom than normal two-year college course students.

Wing's experience was to some extent unique. His war-time duties had brought him into contact with mature men and women at professional level both in a general and a specific educational sense and special early release from the Royal Air Force took him into an innovatory situation at Newlands Park Emergency Training College, one of the earliest to be established (March 1946), which was shortly to be followed by the appointment as founder-Principal of Burderop Park Emergency Training College. On taking up his appointment at Sheffield

he found the students - particularly the women - immature, but he reckoned that the fault lay not with the students but in the style of management. They lacked self-reliance, largely because they had been all too strictly controlled. Indeed, according to Wing, the College had an "air of sixth form extension" and it did not surprise him that the older, ex-service students resented the college environment. Although Kimbell had seemingly undertaken reforms, these to Wing were insufficient and control needed to be relaxed even more.

Wing viewed the situation:

"... the atmosphere seemed to lack that sense of freedom and responsibility for regulating one's own life. The roll call in the evening, the compulsory assembly in the morning, the restriction on weekends, the supervision of Student Representative Council Meetings, all seemed too regulated and threw too little responsibility on to those who would soon be having in their care, for a large part of their lives, a whole class of children. There also seemed a need for a still greater development of unity in the college, for however much had been done to help to break down the barriers between the sexes, certain restrictions still remained. Women were not allowed in the men's hostel, and although the deputy-principal had already started a mixed common room on one evening a week, there was nowhere, except in the library, where students could meet in the day time. The only solution to the problem was to give the students more responsibility. What was aimed at was the same kind of responsibility that university students possessed. This meant sweeping changes in organisation and both the students and the staff had to be introduced to the new idea".₁

Wing was appalled that there were no facilities for the students to meet as a student body. He set aside one of the largest and most central of the teaching rooms for the exclusive use of students and arranged coffee and tea bar facilities at break times. The reaction to this seemingly minor innovation provides interesting reflection. The male staff divided itself between "the old guard" who had served throughout the war under Kimbell, and those who had been recruited in the immediate post-war period. The majority of the women staff were "dyed-in-the-wool" training college lecturers with pre-war ideas, unchanged by events which had taken place around them, and as many were resident tutors, they lived narrow, disciplined lives under the ever-watchful eye of the Vice-Principal, Principal and male resident

tutors and their wives. Frustrated and cloistered, their charges were expected to submit to their authoritarian rules. The more cynical of the male staff merely regarded Wing's innovations as those of the new Principal trying to change things for the sake of change, believing that the first enthusiasm would soon die away.

As early as May 1946, changes in the organisational structure of the College began taking place when the designation of status and salaries of lecturing staff were altered as a result of national negotiation. At a meeting of the Joint Staff Section and College House Committee it was recommended that the post of Vice-Principal be restyled Deputy Principal and that an infra-structure of Senior Lectureships be established. Consequently, there followed in the wake of this recommendation a series of promotions which in practice made the Senior Lecturers responsible for specific areas of work.

From the very beginning of his Principalship, Wing initiated change and by the close of his first year in office much had been achieved and further change set in motion. He reported to the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee:

"... The (Student) Selection Committee is now composed of the Director of Education or his representative, a representative of the Institute of Education, the Deputy-Principal and the Principal. The Committee interviews all candidates whether men or women. The Institute of Education have sent a representative on a few occasions, and the Director has been represented at practically all meetings...

I should like to express my thanks for the very great help given on these Selection Panels by the Director and his staff. Their contribution has been of great value in picking out good students from a very large number of applicants...

The number of students in College next year will be 322 (1950-51)".₁

Wing's experiences in the Services and in Emergency Training Colleges were reflected in the selection standards he introduced at Sheffield. The standards of entry to the Emergency Training Scheme were much more flexible than had hitherto been the case for regular training college entry, which either required a School Leaving Certificate with specified credits or later, five ordinary level passes in the

General Certificate of Education, with a mandatory pass in English Language. The standards had originally been set by the Joint Boards and were endorsed by the Ministry of Education. While Wing, in general, maintained the agreed standards, he nevertheless each year admitted a proportion of mature students who had no such minimum formal academic qualifications - a policy which, while it caused considerable concern to the local teachers' organisations, was entirely vindicated when such entrants became model students and developed into more than satisfactory teachers.

The newly established Institute of Education was able to stimulate changes in the training college curriculum. Specialist study subjects were introduced to enable a student to choose a course which could be studied in some considerable depth during the two-year period and it was agreed that this study should be classified as "Advanced". Additionally, a further specific subject would be studied to a less demanding standard:

"... students are allowed a free choice in their advanced subject. This subject is studied to the limits of which each student is capable in the time and is for the student's personal development. The ordinary subject is of a lower standard and is concerned more with the teaching of the subject.

In order to widen the scope of training and to include the subjects which every school teacher has to take, the following basic courses are taken by every student but not examined by the Institute:

Art and Craft.	English Usage.
Mathematics.	Dancing for women students.
Religious Knowledge.	Music and Movement.
Physical Education.	Woodwork for the Infant Course.

In the case of Religious Knowledge, students may withdraw on religious or other grounds if they so wish".¹

Unfortunately, the terminology of "Advanced" and "Ordinary"² became identified with that intended for the proposed General Certificate of Education examination which was introduced in 1952. It was to have repercussions in later years when ex-students attempted to obtain exemption credits or exemption from matriculation in order to pursue advanced studies or degree courses:

"... I felt I had been cheated. The two-year certificate meant nothing academically; it was merely a passport to a teaching post. It offered no exemptions when pursuing other professional examinations, it was not regarded as being equivalent to Advanced level GCE or anything similar. When I applied for registration for an external degree of London University, the university authorities totally disregarded my teaching certificate and required me to pass 'A' level GCE in two subjects..."₁

Wing explained in detail the other changes he had introduced:

"... a tutorial system has been introduced whereby each student is attached to a personal tutor, to whom he can go for help and guidance on work or private matters. Each tutor has about 15 students who meet regularly each week and at other times by arrangement..."₂

The professional studies in Education were redesigned. There were weekly lectures in Educational Psychology (which Wing undertook personally), on the Philosophy of Education, the History of Education (mainly taught by Deputy Principal Jane Moulton), and a variety of lectures on Method. The whole of the professional studies were drawn together by each student being placed in a tutorial group of about fifteen students under the direction of one of the Education lecture staff, who conducted small group tutorials and seminars:

"The system worked quite well in cases where the member of staff was competent and interested but I found many of the staff were incompetent and disinterested. On reflection, they appeared to be refugees in flight from the classroom..."₃

On the subject of School Practice, it was reported that:

"... The Head Teachers have been most co-operative in helping in both School Practice periods and in classes which visit the College. It has always been a feature of this College that students should be in close contact with the schools during the course and this is regarded as a valuable aspect which I shall do my best to safeguard. Valuable reports on the students have been sent in by the schools. These must obviously have received a considerable amount of care and attention and they have, in many cases, been incorporated in testimonials which are being given to the students this year on their departure..."

In addition to the testimonial mentioned above, full personal records are being kept of each student so that if enquiries are made at any future date, the details of the student's College career can be given. This should be of great value to them in the future in securing both new posts and promotion..."₄

Extra-curricula activities were to become an important aspect of the college course. Such activities were not new, indeed, in a college which had been established for almost fifty years, it was not surprising that such activities had long been developed. Many thought that Wing was making capital out of matters which had been institutionalised long before his time. Whether such insinuations were valid or not, what is particularly important is Wing's measure of their value to the trainee teacher:

"... The voluntary societies which are not held in working hours are regarded as a very important part of the course...

It is our aim to encourage the students to become reliable and well-developed people, who will be fully fitted to take charge of a large class when they leave College. In order to do this they must have experience in organising their own affairs. Therefore, they are encouraged to organise their own societies, visits, socials, concerts and games, with the tutors holding a watching brief. It is often more trouble to arrange matters in this way than to organise them, but it is far better training for the students...

The Students' Union has increased in powers of organisation and in the scope of its activities. Owing to the increased cost of fares, the increased facilities provided, and the desire to avoid subscriptions to each separate society, the students have found it necessary to increase their subscription from 10s. to 15s. for women and 11 for men...

H D Wing, Principal".₁

The resentment which Wing encountered to his changes was strong. For years, Kimbell had ruled the College with a quiet but unassailable firmness, having gained respect partly by a degree of detachment and by virtue of years. This respect was translated by former students into adulation for "Prinny" and innovations were compared with former custom and practice.

There were times when Wing must have been constantly "looking over his shoulder". His obvious insecurity appears revealed in comments such as "I should not like it to be inferred that I am taking sides..." (in the context of course specialisation), for his predecessor was adamant that:

"... the dramatic reduction in the number of subjects to be taken for examination is cataclysmic since a large proportion of students work in Junior Schools where specialisation is not the order of the day".¹

Contrasting cameos illustrate the two Principals:

Kimbell -

"... I had written to Kimbell seeking information and his views on what I considered to be important aspects of his principalship... I did not think the questions I asked were particularly contentious but Kimbell wrote a very 'irate letter' to Wing, complaining about the questions... Wing thought the questions were quite innocuous and could not understand why Kimbell was so upset..."

Years afterwards, I saw an account of Kimbell's second marriage which had been noted in the "Old Crescenter" magazine. It reported it had been a 'quiet' wedding and that only six people had attended the service at Ecclesall Parish Church. It left me puzzled: with all their seemingly popular local connections; all the charismatic praise sung to 'Prinny', was such adulation genuine?"²

Wing -

"... while visiting the college to seek out a friend I lost my way in the grounds of Southbourne en route to Broomgrove Hostel. There in the corner of the grounds was a figure I took to be a caretaker or groundsman, dressed in an old dirty boiler suit, maintaining an ex-RAF station wagon. I passed the time of day and asked to be directed. Before redirecting, he enquired about me and talked of my becoming a student at Sheffield. I was very surprised when I attended for interview to find the 'caretaker' was really the Principal..."³

Although well qualified and experienced, Wing's diminutive stature, casual dress and unassuming style put his critics in confusion. He lacked presence and that air of authority borne by his predecessor, yet he possessed the more desirable attributes of approachability and understanding.

Evidence appears to indicate that the organisation up to the time of Wing had been underpinned by strictness to rules and attention to etiquette. Now that many of the constraints had been removed some of the staff found difficulty in achieving that personal discipline which might have been expected to emanate from within, while others despised the new style of leadership, considering it to be weak and compromising.

The Old Crescenters' Association too were critical: maintaining seemingly a cordial relationship with the new Principal, they often privately denigrated and ridiculed the innovations which he introduced. Although there was a close and longstanding connection between the College, the Sheffield teaching associations, and the Sheffield schools, the relationship, though publicly agreeable, was often singularly difficult to handle during this period. Frequently, both the Old Crescenters' Association and the Sheffield schools "establishment" were critical and resentful, particularly if they were not consulted or if changes were introduced which did not meet with their approval.

The state of affairs was not exceptional: it was probably inevitable, particularly when changes begin to take effect in traditional institutions such as training colleges. The way ahead for Wing was far from easy:

"The new and progressive outlook in the college was based on the conception of freedom leading to greater responsibility and to the controlling of one's own affairs, and at this stage the President of the Students' Union took on the not very easy task of being responsible for the manners and customs of Southbourne. Enquiries were made at university hostels in various parts of the country and meetings took place between hostel tutors and students to discuss regulations, the result being that hostel arrangements were brought into line with those existing in the universities. From this time onwards men or women students could be invited to take supper at any of the hostels and the common rooms were thrown open to men or women students.

... the idea of seeing men students at tea in Collegiate Hall or women students at Southbourne - playing cricket on Pond Lawn. Many prophesied dreadful results... many could not get used to the idea that students in their free time should be at liberty to come and go as they wished. The good old days, when students were controlled all and every day, were remembered with nostalgia..."¹

But even Wing was to find his free and liberal ideas difficult to implement beyond a given point. He did not find the ready support from the Authority's officers which he might have expected. Stanley Moffett, the then Director of Education for Sheffield since 1944,² disliked him and considered him inept.³ Furthermore, although the style of political operation of the Sheffield Education Committee

had matured and mellowed as successive Labour majorities became firmly rooted, open government was still a long way off. While many of the decisions were becoming subject to much more democratic discussion, the point of interface between senior members of the Education Department and the politically orientated committees still remained sensitive and non-participative. While Chairmen and Aldermen such as Dr John Bingham, Albert Ballard, Sir Harold Jackson and S H Marshall, did sterling work in liaising with the college principals and head teachers, the principals had no place in their own right on the committees. The Sub-Committees would meet while the Principals and senior Heads of Departments were required to await the call of the Committee from seats in the corridor. When the matters relating to individual institutions came up for consideration, each Principal would be ushered in, questioned, congratulated or chastised, and then ushered out again:

"... for John H Harwood, Principal of the College of Art and Crafts, the monthly meeting of "the committee" was traumatic; and he related that all his fellow principals were similarly affected".¹

But the Sheffield Training College, like its sister institutions, was not autonomous. While the freedom of action which had existed up to the time of Samuel Hoole had been lost some twenty years, his successor, Kimbell, had mastered the art of diplomacy. He followed the principle of saying very little to "the committee" and going his own way within the limits of running a Local Education Authority-controlled College. In comparing Kimbell's reign with that of Samuel Hoole, a conclusion might be reached that what Kimbell never had he never missed in relation to the power wielded by previous principals, but, in defence, it was a period when most people did what they were told, or else!

Some found Wing devious in his dealings - particularly the members of the Student Representative Committee. While he earnestly endeavoured to develop the concept of student self-government, the path was not an easy one and the period 1952-54 proved particularly difficult. A group of mature students with some experience in politicking gained control over the affairs of the Student

Representative Committee and pressed Wing for greater freedom. He had followed a liberalising path as far as he could but in the last resort the Student Representative Committee relied on support from the College for its social activities and the financial subvention to the College came from the Education Committee via the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee. Wing could not grant any further concessions nor give independence to the Student Representative Committee. By the winter term of 1954, while the second-year students were intent on creating as much irritation as possible, the first-year students went into 'revolt' against them and stormy meetings of the student body proceeded until finally the moderates within the second-year group, growing sick of the arguments, withdrew support, whereupon the dissension settled down. Nevertheless, acrimonious exchanges continued and private issues between Wing and several students continued during the remainder of the session.

The President of the Student Representative Council, Stanley Hughes, needed much courage and patience in the face of a very difficult situation. His final address to the students was a most diplomatic piece of prose:

"The indefinable but certain change in the atmosphere of College life has been reflected in the more concrete issues of society activities. Most societies are happily confident that their efforts have been successful; others, looking back over the past year, have felt a sense of failure. But success is, at best, an approximate term, a rough measure of the relationship between aims and achievements. Those societies which felt some dissatisfaction have been making comparisons with an earlier internal standard rather than with the present standard of the Union as a whole. Many, it is true, have drawn away from these societies, but only because they have been genuinely drawn to others. The Union is working efficiently if it can supply the demands of its customers; it can hardly accuse itself of failure if it is left with some stock on hand".¹

There was a somewhat relieved and thankful Presidential message for the following year, when William Newbert was to write:

"The goodwill existing between the students of the second year and those of the first year should not pass without comment and it is hoped that this unity will extend through future years. I should like to take this chance of complimenting the first year men and women on their good spirit.

In recent months there have been numerous instances of a closer liaison between the Students' Union of the University and that of the College; notably the invitation from the University Union to take a part in the running of their newspaper "Darts". Many college students are also taking advantage of the University Union's relaxation of rules governing admittance to their dances. I am sure that we can only profit from this relationship, and that in union affairs we can learn much from our older neighbour. I sincerely hope that this state will continue".¹

Apart from the battle to establish the status of the student body, two issues were constantly raised: the financial state of the Amenities Fund, and the College Magazine. The 'A' Fund had a strange and imprecise history. It seems to have been started by Ward Pearson as a general purpose fund financed by student subscriptions and student fund raising. In later years, it was financed partly by subventions from the governing body, partly from student subscriptions and from part-proceeds of Annual Garden Parties. It was used to provide money for coaches for the Sports Teams, hospitality for visiting teams from other colleges, and for the general expenses of running dances and social events - such being provided free of charge to students. As the Student Representative Committee appeared to gain greater independence it expected to control the fund, believing that the monies belonged to the Student Representative Committee, while, with equal determination, Wing carefully avoided releasing details of both the sources of income and items of expenditure.

The College Magazine too was a further source of contention. On his arrival at Sheffield, Wing viewed the magazine with disdain. In his view the level of writing was poor and the publication bore the image of a third-rate school magazine. The publication of the magazine had been suspended during the later war years, but

in 1947 publication recommenced. Meanwhile, the past students' magazine, "The Old Crescenter", which had always had a checkered existence, also re-appeared in 1947. After several issues of the post-war "Old Crescenter", costs became prohibitive and a cost-cutting solution had to be sought. Meanwhile, Wing, supported by Jane Moulton and Donald Mattam, then relatively recently appointed as Head of English courses, endeavoured to produce a College Magazine of some standing. In order to make a viable publication, it was proposed to the Old Crescenters' Association that its ends might best be served if a joint venture could be agreed. The negotiations proved to be successful and in the summer of 1952 the newly styled "Crescent" magazine appeared.

A joint editorial committee was established and two editors were appointed, one a second-year student, the other a member of the Old Crescenters' Association, while Wing undertook the task of business manager. The arrangement worked well and although the magazine only appeared on an annual basis, the quality of its contents and its attractive layout brought considerable acclaim, not only from those associated with the college but from other colleges and institutions which received copies. Unlike his predecessors, Wing took a very keen and active interest in the magazine and its production and always endeavoured to make a significant contribution in the form of a "Principal's Letter".

Meanwhile, both the Students' Representative Committee and the Old Crescenters' Association continued to show dissatisfaction at the way Wing managed business affairs relating to the magazine - oblivious of the fact that he personally made good the constantly recurring deficit.

CHAPTER XIX - REFERENCES

- Page 262 1. The West Riding LEA had approval to establish and develop Bretton Hall as a Training College specialising in Music, Drama, and related arts. In a different area of specialisation the college was more fortunate. The Ministry of Education, though unwilling to allow the development of a supplementary course in Music, was keen to see the establishment of courses in other specialisms and after making proposals to the Ministry the Director of Education intimated to the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee on the 3rd April 1950 that the college had been approved as a centre for a one-year supplementary course in Geography.
- Page 264 1. Niblett, et al, p.87
" 2. Niblett, et al, op cit, p.88
- Page 265 1. Niblett, et al, op cit, p.88
" 2. McNair Committee Paper No 6
" 3. Kimbell, R R, letter to RM, September 1954
" 4. Kimbell, R R, letter to RM, September 1954
- Page 266 1. Kimbell, R R, letter to RM, September 1954
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1947-48, p.259
" 3. Kimbell, R R, letter to RM, September 1954
- Page 267 1. Kimbell, R R, letter to RM, September 1954
- Page 268 1. "The Old Crescenter", 1950, p.5
" 2. This was hearsay from Kimbell arising from a conversation with him during 1955. It was a subject on which he would not, or could not, elaborate.
- Page 270 1. Wing, H D, "Notes on the College", December 1954
- Page 271 1. SEC Minutes, 1950-51, p.112
- Page 272 1. SEC Minutes, 1950-51, p.113
" 2. Further problems were encountered in 1957 when the revised Pelham Scale for Training Colleges was introduced. Posts of Principal Lecturers were authorised where College work could be reckoned as being of "Advanced" level. Wing raised the dilemma with the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee:
- "... The definition of the term 'advanced' is not easy as it has different meanings, e.g. at grammar school, training college and university levels. Under the Institute regulations all students must obtain passes in two subjects at ordinary level in the final examination in order to gain their certificates. It is, however, normal for most colleges to present a percentage of candidates for one subject at the advanced level of their Institute; in this College practically all students take one advanced subject.

REFERENCES (continued)

In the case of a good student, the advanced level work will reach pass degree standard in that subject: in the case of weak students it will be considerably lower. In some cases, such as Physical Education, or Dresscraft, such a comparison is obviously impossible. If one turns to the grammar school definition of advanced work, this is normally assessed in terms of sixth form pupils who are preparing for the advanced level in the General Certificate of Education. For approximately half of our students work here begins on the basis of a pass at the advanced level of the General Certificate of Education, taken before entering College. As far as training college work is concerned, the term 'advanced' might also be considered from yet another angle, namely work done with students of higher status, i.e. with fully qualified teachers rather than teachers in training. This would describe our own Third Year Course in Geography and the possible Third Year Course in Mathematics..."

SEC Minutes, 1956-57, p.228

- Page 273 1. A personal experience
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1950-51, p.113
" 3. Personal recollections
" 4. SEC Minutes, 1950-51, p.113
- Page 274 1. SEC Minutes, 1950-51, pp.113-114
- Page 275 1. Kimbell, R R, Letter to RM, September 1954
" 2. RM - Recollections of a personal encounter, 1954
" 3. Ridley, W, Student, 1953-55
- Page 276 1. Wing, H D, Notes, op cit, December 1954
" 2. Moffett had succeeded to the post following the departure of William Picken Alexander - later Lord Alexander - to the Secretaryship of the Association of Education Committees, a post vacated by Sir Percival Sharp on his second and final retirement.
" 3. In the quadripartite discussions leading to the establishment of Sheffield University's Institute of Education, Moffett is reputed to have stated that in no way would he be prepared to serve on any committee on which he might find himself subjected to the Chairmanship of Dr Wing.
- Page 277 1. Personal account, RM, on events of the 1950s and 1960s.
- Page 278 1. "Crescent", Vol 19, No 2, Summer 1954, p.3

CHAPTER XX

THE BRINCLIFFE EMERGENCY TRAINING COLLEGE

During the time when the new Education Act was being drafted and the McNair Committee was considering proposals for teacher-training, the Board of Education Teachers' Branch was turning its attention to the more immediate problem of teacher supply. Although the war was creating staffing problems in the schools, it appeared likely that immediately the war ended such problems would be exceptional, particularly as it seemed certain that the compulsory school leaving age would be raised from fourteen to fifteen years at an early date. The Board of Education calculated that 70,000 teachers would be needed fairly quickly. Although the prospect of recruitment did not appear to present too many problems - experience had shown that the recruitment of aspiring teachers following the 1914-18 war had not been over-difficult - it was the task of training such potential candidates which posed the greater problem. Consequently, the Board began to draw up plans to meet the situation which was likely to arise. The future problem was quite clear:

"... it was estimated that to make good deficiencies and for raising the school leaving age to fifteen and for other new developments, about 70,000 new teachers would have to be recruited within a few years after the war, over and above recruitment at the pre-war level, from the training colleges and universities... These sources had before the war provided fewer than 7,000 trained teachers each year so that even if their capacity were doubled it would take about ten years to bridge the gap... Exceptional measures were required to solve the problem..."₁

In order to effect progress, the President of the Board of Education, R A Butler, appointed in December 1943 Gilbert Fleming, an Assistant Secretary of the Board, to chair a committee of representatives from the education service to study the problems of rapidly promoting a supply of trained teachers. R S Wood, the then Deputy Secretary of the Board of Education, and S H Wood, Head of the Teacher Training Branch, had already put forward tentative ideas for a concentrated

one-year course of training. Although the principle was not new - a similar, though less comprehensive scheme having been adopted after the end of the First World War - the National Union of Teachers raised considerable objection on the grounds of possible "dilution" of the profession. But, instead of directly opposing the Board's proposals, they agreed to press for the inclusion of proposals aimed at safeguarding professional standards. Cognisant of the fears of the National Union of Teachers and of the need to secure the cooperation of the teaching profession in order to implement such a scheme, the committee decided to incorporate into the scheme many of the suggestions which the National Union of Teachers had made.

The Committee worked rapidly and by May 1944 the Board was able to issue its proposals: "The Emergency Recruitment and Training of Teachers", which appeared as an appendix to Circular 1652 and in which the Board of Education's aims were made quite clear:

"... The Emergency Scheme is based on the fact that many thousands of additional teachers will be needed as quickly as possible after the war to make good the loss of new intake during the war years. Wider issues of the future supply and training of teachers will need separate consideration in relation to the report of the McNair Committee and to the educational reforms resulting from the Bill now before Parliament".₁

While the Board's rationale observed:

"... After considering the type of course to be provided we have reached the conclusion that the proposed provision of one-year courses for mature students from H. M. Forces and other forms of national service is not only necessary but practicable, if the right candidates are selected, and if arrangements are made... the students who have followed these courses to continue their personal studies under suitable direction and supervision. Such continued study would lead these teachers naturally to obtain the greatest possible benefit later on from the refresher and other courses which will, we hope, be available after the war in greater number and variety for teachers generally".₂

Aware of both the fears and the dangers of dilution, and of opposition from the teaching bodies, the Board commented:

"... We do not regard the students to be trained under the Emergency Scheme as mere stop-gaps who are to be rushed into the schools to tide over an immediate crisis. If the scheme is justified at all, they must like other students in training be regarded as potential teachers in the fullest sense, who are, through the training course, to be started along a path on which, partly through subsequent training of various kinds, they may, when they receive their full recognition, take their place as equals beside teachers who have entered the profession through other and more usual channels".¹

While the philosophy and teaching in the normal colleges remained sterile and unimaginative - a situation which was well borne out by the evidence raised by the McNair Committee - the guidance given in Circular 1652 was remarkable for its depth of vision:

"... The Students must be given full opportunities of studying and practising educational methods and techniques, but it is equally important that they should be provided with every possible facility for reading and thinking about education in the wider sense, having regard to its individual, social and ethical implications, and to its setting in the general pattern of life: all this being illuminated by the consideration of the historical development of educational ideas. It is also clearly desirable that anyone training to be a teacher should make some study of the nature and circumstances of the human material with which he will have to deal, so that he may be able to base the personal approach to the art of teaching on some reasoned and systematic knowledge of the pupils whom he is going to teach...

... it is essential that, by the conclusion of the course, every student should be set on the way towards acquiring that background of general education and culture which is rightly concerned with the interests and personal development of the student himself as well as with his professional training. The distinction is relative; each part of the course reacts upon the other, and each has its own contribution to make in some degree both to personal development and to professional competence.

The general part of the course should consist of the study of subjects..." (the choice of which would be determined between the student and staff after discussion) "... On the one hand, no selection should be too one-sided or too narrowly specialised; on the other hand, no student should be allowed to embark on a course that seems likely to be too heavy for him".²

The Report of the Advisory Committee on the Emergency Recruitment and Training of Teachers was, although a brief document, most comprehensive in its proposals. The Emergency Colleges were to be planned each to accommodate some 200 students and it was suggested that ideally they should be situated in, or within easy travelling distance of, large centres of population - preferably university towns - so that students would have ready access to libraries, museums and related facilities. The Report also suggested that urban centres would provide better school practice facilities and that visiting staff would be more readily available. On the recruitment of college teaching staff the view was expressed that it was:

"... important that students during this necessarily somewhat intensive course should have the advantage of coming into contact with people of distinction in the subjects they profess... It is essential, therefore, that they should be inspired and instructed by teachers who have achieved a considerable degree of mastery of their subjects... and who give evidence of a true interest in general education questions...

... We consider that a formal external examination of the usual type would not be desirable... the work of the students should be assessed on the basis of internal tests for which the staff of the college would be responsible... The process of testing and recording should be continuous... (However) the students must feel there has been a real testing of this year's work... (Although) the Board of Education must be in a position to take responsibility for a national standard..."¹

Two other features were unique to the Emergency Scheme: firstly, a requirement that the probationary teaching period should extend over two years, and, secondly, that following the completion of the course each probationer should pursue a course of part-time study under tutorial supervision. Soon after the publication of Circular 1652, the Board of Education set in motion arrangements for a pilot course and with the cooperation of Goldsmith's College arrangements were quickly put in hand. The course commenced in September 1944 and it proved to be a success.

Without close attention to the situation, it may seem strange in retrospect that such a scheme should have commenced before the ending of hostilities. But by 1944 two features were emerging: the war-time demands for essential labour were past their peak and there were both increasing numbers of ex-service personnel who were being discharged or invalided out of military service and civilians able to be released from other work of national importance. An increasing number of eligible candidates were therefore available who were likely to meet the prime qualifications for entry to Emergency Training on grounds of "War Service".

The publicity directed towards recruiting suitable candidates for places in the Emergency Training College soon attracted many enquiries from the Services. To meet the flood of enquiries an outline note was issued for the use of unit information officers. It advised that:

"Candidates will be admitted to the courses on the basis of careful individual selection. They will have to show that they are capable of profiting by the course of training and are likely to make effective teachers, but selection will not be restricted to those who have attained some specific examination qualification. Careful consideration will be given to the question of personal suitability and to Service records, while evidence of study since leaving school, etc, will be taken into account. No rigid restrictions as to age have so far been laid down, but the courses are naturally intended for students who can be expected to render a substantial period of service in the schools after completing their training. On the other hand, young candidates who have spent a relatively short time in H. M. Forces or in some other form of national service, may be required to take a longer course than one year. Men or women who had already embarked on a course of training which has been interrupted will normally be advised to resume their interrupted course".₁

It was evident from the diverse and wide geographical areas from which enquiries for entry to the scheme were received that the task of interviewing candidates by calling them to a central point in the United Kingdom would be almost an impossibility. Therefore to effect interviews, selection teams were set up and these visited various centres both at home and overseas to select prospective candidates.

Although some preliminary discussions on the setting up of Emergency Training Colleges had been in progress before the publication of Circular 1652, within a week of the publication of the scheme an advertisement appeared in the educational press inviting teachers to apply to the Board for consideration for appointment as lecturers:

"... As a result of this announcement some 3,200 names were received by the Board in the course of the succeeding 15 months (June, 1944 - September, 1945). Further during the summer of 1944 lists of possibly suitable candidates for Principalships and for assistant staff were being compiled by the Divisional Inspectors of the Board in various parts of the country: and valuable suggestions for staffs were received from local education authorities.

At the outset, and as long as provisional staffs were being appointed before college buildings had been acquired, it was clear that Principals and their staffs would have to be selected on a national basis from a national pool of applicants. By September, 1944, the first 16 Principals had been provisionally selected and in subsequent months 'shadow' staffs on a provisional basis were gradually built up by Principals in consultation with the Divisional Inspectors..."₁

Although Sheffield received an early invitation to participate in the scheme, months passed with little positive action, apart from the approval of a number of teaching staff secondments. Then, in March 1946, after almost six months without progress, the Director of Education began informal discussions with the Ministry of Education on the extent of the commitment which was being proposed. During the following month, the Ministry responded with a tentative suggestion for the establishment of two Emergency Training Colleges locally and charged the Sheffield Local Education Authority with searching out suitable premises - a task which proved difficult. At first the Civil Defence Camp at Norton looked a possibility but neither the Civil Defence authorities nor the RAF could guarantee when the premises were likely to be made available. However, the Authority had two other sets of premises "earmarked": Thornbridge Hall at Ashford-in-the-Water, near Bakewell, and "Brincliffe", the pre-war home of the Blue Coat Charity School. After further weeks of delay, a definite step forward was taken when the following letter was received:

"Ministry of Education,

9th August, 1946.

Emergency Training of Teachers
Blue Coat School, Psalter Lane, Sheffield

Sir,

I am directed by the Minister of Education to refer to recent discussions between the Authority's Director of Education and officers of the Ministry and to state that she has reached the conclusion that the premises of the Blue Coat School, Psalter Lane, Sheffield, would provide suitable accommodation for an Emergency Training College, for men and women day students. It is estimated that the building will provide accommodation for from 175 to 200 Day Students, and it is proposed that it should provide courses in preparation for work in senior, junior and infant schools. The Ministry of Works have been asked as a matter of urgency to obtain possession of the premises, and to arrange for the necessary adaptations to be carried out. They have also been asked to explore the possibility of obtaining two houses, which, it is understood, are the property of the Corporation, in order that some provision may be made for a few students and staff to be in residence.

I am, therefore, to ask whether the Authority would be willing to administer an Emergency Training College in these premises; the Authority's expenditure in connection with this service being grant aided under Article 11 of Grant Regulations No. 1.

The general arrangements between the Ministry and Local Education Authorities are set out in the Memorandum of Arrangements and other relevant documents, of which three copies are enclosed, together with two copies of the Schedule of the furniture and equipment which would be supplied by the Ministry of Works.

If the Authority agree in principle to undertake the administration of the proposed College, it is suggested that details of the necessary arrangements should be discussed between officers of the Authority and officers of the Ministry".₁

Eventually, in June 1946, the Sub-Committee decided the more suitable premises were those of "Brincliffe" situated in Psalter Lane, Sheffield. Before the war the building had housed the boys of the "Blue Coat" School but on the outbreak of the war the boy boarders of the School were either evacuated or fostered out on a piecemeal basis. On the cessation of hostilities it was decided not to re-establish the Blue Coat School as an educational institution, and with the withdrawal of the Army, it seemed appropriate that "Brincliffe"

should be considered as a possible site for the new Emergency Training College. The conclusion of this was made clear in the following extract from the minutes of the Education Committee:

"Emergency Training Colleges.

The Director reported that the Ministry of Works have commenced the alterations necessary for the adaptation of the Blue Coat School for use as the Brincliffe Emergency College and that it is hoped to open this College early in the new year.

Also, that the Ministry of Education have asked the Ministry of Works to negotiate with the Corporation for a lease of Thornbridge Hall and that the Architect of the Ministry will take steps as early as possible to complete his plans for the use of this property as an Emergency Training College".¹

The unusual procedure laid down for staff recruitment and selection at the beginning of the scheme was not without its problems. One experienced local teacher seeking an appointment was pressed hard to accept an appointment at Padgate Emergency Training College in spite of pleas made for consideration of appointment to a local college due to lack of domestic mobility. Eventually, with some reluctance on the part of the Ministry Selection Team, he was "earmarked" for an appointment locally but discovered that once he had accepted months were to elapse before being called to take up duties. A further surprise was in store: his appointment had been confirmed as Senior Lecturer in History; when the time came to commence duties he was asked to take on the duty of Senior Lecturer in Education.

Meanwhile, the original appointee to the post of Principal of Brincliffe Emergency Training College was the Headmaster of a local Secondary School but growing impatient with the lack of progress he moved to a different appointment elsewhere. The Training of Teachers Sub-Committee was then faced with the task not only of recruiting lecturing staff but with finding a successor for the post of Principal-designate, the original appointee having been recruited by a special team from the Ministry of Education.

"(But) ... early in 1946, the system of appointment was changed; all posts were advertised in the normal way, and applicants applied direct to the local education authority administering the college. In the selection of staff the authority had the advice and assistance of H. M. Inspector for the college, and of the Divisional Inspector where necessary. The appointment of a Principal required the concurrence of the Ministry..."¹

On 4th November 1946 a special meeting of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee appointed Jack Daniel, MA, MSc,² Principal and at the next meeting of the Committee held on 2nd December, Margaret Kerr, BA,³ was appointed Deputy Principal, and the appointment of twelve lecturing staff was confirmed.

As the Brincliffe premises came available, much activity ensued. The internal arrangements needed renewing and refurbishing, while furniture and equipment had to be requisitioned. The task of supplying such needs was again a strange departure from normal. Faced with shortages of domestic and institutional supplies, the Ministry of Education passed the problem to the Ministry of Works, which then proceeded to make available its expertise. Desks, tables, chairs, beds and specialised laboratory furniture were made available, including a fine grand piano, and once the equipment began to arrive the state of readiness quickly accelerated.

Before 1939 the grounds of the Blue Coat School had been carefully tended and the facade of the building was graced by well-kept lawns and cricket pitches. The Army had a different need and asphalted the whole of the frontage to provide a parade ground and vehicle park. Internally, one room had originally contained a "swimming tank" but the War Department had covered this. Subsequently it was to become the College Gymnasium. The open sides of the school playshed had also been bricked-in to provide rooms and these were subsequently adapted to form wood and metalwork shops.

Virtually on the eve of the opening of the College, the administrative and academic arrangements of the College were put to the test and the Principal was able to report to the Sub-Committee on 3rd February 1947 that:

"The first Staff Conference was held on Monday, January 6th, and was attended by all the Lecturers who had been appointed by that date, including the two Lecturers who had not yet been released; these two were able to stay for two days.

At this Conference the general principles on which work would be based were outlined; methods, and the allotment of time to the various Courses were discussed.

The following fortnight was spent by the Staff in working out their own Schemes, discussions, visits to local schools, and general preparation for the opening of the College.

The students were summoned to assemble on January 21st - our target date. Less than two months had elapsed since taking up my duties; this is probably a record in the short history of Emergency Training Colleges.

As Brinkcliffe Tower is not yet ready for occupation, I have arranged temporary accommodation for the resident students with some of the Women Day Students as from Monday, January 27th. I am extremely grateful to these students for their offers of hospitality.

Believing that personal contact between members of the Staff and students is one of the most important of our tasks, we have placed each student in one of sixteen small groups to each of which is attached a member of the Staff as a Personal Tutor. Much of our early work will be done through these Tutor-groups.

Tuesday, January 21st, saw the attendance of 179 Day Students and one Resident Student (who had decided to travel daily rather than miss any work). Each student was welcomed by his/her Personal Tutor and later the whole assembly was addressed by the Principal...

A badge for the College had been devised. One member of the Staff undertook some historical research, whilst another prepared the approved design. The coat of arms is composite. The main feature and crest are those of Strelley, once Lord of the Manor of Ecclesall; the lion in the canton is the device of De Lovetot, once Lords of Hallamshire. Whilst the main coat is of Ecclesall, the superimposed coat is of Sheffield. The motto, 'Prest D'accomplir', is that of the Earls of Shrewsbury, Lords of the Manor of Sheffield in the sixteenth century. It means 'Ready to do a job of work' - most appropriate for the task in hand.

Each student has been provided with a handbook which gives details of the College organisation, outlines of the various Courses, sessional time-table, etc.

Our first impressions of the students are extremely promising. It is true that their backgrounds are very varied, but they are all keen, willing and most anxious to tackle the Courses.

Two more Lecturers reported for duty, one on Monday, January 20th, and the other on the following day. I have still to appoint three Lecturers, one for Education with particular reference to Junior work and two for Physical Education.

J. DANIEL, Principal".₁

The course guidelines contained within the Board of Education pamphlet were designed to be translated into a time-table. The Brincliffe College year spanned thirteen months. Although there was a summer break of one month, 48 weeks were actually spent in College. Therefore, taking into account the extra years' probation and the obligatory part-time study, these elements more than made up the difference between the Emergency course and the normal two-year course and belied the accusation that the Emergency Training Scheme was pis-aller. The Principal outlined to the Sub-Committee the way the course was planned:

"To meet the needs of the students the College provides:-

- (1) Compulsory Courses in
 - (a) The Theory and Practice of Education;
 - (b) English Usage;
 - (c) Basic Mathematics;
 - (d) Personal Physical Education.
- (2) Optional Courses in the usual subjects, each student taking two of these.
- (3) Voluntary Courses.
- (4) Opportunities for Teaching Practice.

The distribution of students by Courses is as follows: Infant, 34; Junior, 65; Secondary Modern, 103.

English Literature, 70; History, 35; Geography, 73; Religious Instruction, 6; Mathematics, 24; Science, 42; Music, 26; Art and Crafts, 109; Physical Education, 19".₂

In total, 54 colleges were opened under the Emergency Training College Scheme. Almost three years had elapsed since the Emergency Scheme had been set in motion and Brincliffe was the thirty-third college to be established.³ Finally, the Brincliffe Emergency College opened its

doors to students on the 21st January 1947 and within weeks, both the students and the staff had settled down and had forged links which were to ensure considerable success for the institution.

After six months, some idea of the progress of the College can be found in the following report by the Principal, J Daniel:

"... We opened on our target date which was no mean achievement; we might not have been the first to do so, but we must have been one of a very select band. I felt - and events have subsequently proved that this was right - that the students and Staff would sooner put up with a number of inconveniences and would sooner work under difficulties than delay the beginning of the session...

Now, after some six months of hard work we have our feet firmly on the upward path with our teething troubles over. The first session is half over; the Hostel is opened; and we almost have our full complement of Staff...

It would indeed have been strange had not the Staff and I, when we assembled for our first formal meeting early in January, in a building in which many workmen had still much to do to make it habitable and with the snow lying outside, wondered what types of men and women we should meet on January 21st, what particular contribution each one would have to make to our profession, and what would be the special needs of each individual student. Not that we were apprehensive of the quality of the entrants by a strange gate; not that we questioned the wisdom of the scheme - otherwise, we would not have been partners in this great new venture - but that so much of our approach, so much of the content of our curricula, and so much of our organisation depended on the answers we could give to such wonderings".¹

Later in the year, on 26th March 1947, the College was officially opened by the Right Honourable D R Hardman, Esq, MP, MA, LLB, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education, Councillor E S Graham, JP, the Lord Mayor of Sheffield, presiding.

The Principal reported that:

"The Assembly Hall was filled to capacity. The Chairman of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee outlined the events which had led to the establishment of the College and emphasised the speed with which it was opened, paying tribute to the co-operation between the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Works and the Local Education Authority.

The Parliamentary Secretary declared the College open in a brilliant and thought-provoking speech and after the conclusion of the ceremony, exhibitions of students' work were held in the several craft rooms of the College.

The number of students now in attendance is 203 (70 women and 133 men). Steady progress is being maintained in every department. The students are intensely keen, eager to learn, and determined to take every advantage of this opportunity to enter a profession which they have chosen".¹

Despite the heavy demands which the College placed on its students, extra-curricular activities quickly came into being. A Students' Council was formed. The Principal reported that:

"... a Students' Union has been inaugurated and a Constitution has been adopted. The governing body is known as the Students' Council and consists of the Principal, Deputy Principal, one member of the Staff (who is also the Treasurer) and one student elected by each of the Personal Tutor Groups. The aim of the Union is to promote all forms of student activities - cultural, social and recreational. A number of individual clubs and societies have already been recognised by the Council..."²

Brincliffe soon began to adopt features reminiscent of a traditional training college and these were not wholly unwelcome to the students. The students' President, Harold Dawson, wrote:

"... On behalf of the Union I would express gratitude to the officials of the various Clubs and Societies which have done so much to make our College life a balanced whole. In spite of the fact that we are not, with the exception of a few, in residence, and even though a considerable proportion of leisure time has, perforce, been given to our own domestic affairs, yet there has grown up in this first "generation" of Brincliffe Students, a sense of corporate unity which for many of us has been an extremely useful stepping-stone from the camaraderie of the Forces to the more routine life of the civilian.

To the majority, this year's work was a new venture and, as such, one was inevitably from time to time a little desorienté..."³

No less than sixteen separate societies were established and a College Magazine entitled "Prest" was published. One student claimed:

"... the societies and extra curricular groups were very important parts of the course. I believe we gained as much from these as from the course itself... these activities were very hard work and time-consuming, particularly as we had a heavy loading of academic work... but we enjoyed them immensely".⁴

At the end of the first six months, the President of the Students' Council wrote:

"... some 200 men and women, on the opening of this College, adopted its motto "Prest d'Accomplir" which, translated freely, is "ready to do a job of work". This motto applied to us in two ways: we were ready to do a job of work in equipping ourselves with the knowledge to carry out those functions of a school and, having acquired that knowledge, ready to do the job of work demanded by those functions...

W. Simmons, President".₁

At first it was envisaged that the College would accommodate 175 to 200 men and women day-students, who would either live at home or in lodgings, but when "Brinkcliffe Towers", a large house in the vicinity came available it was converted into a hostel to accommodate about 17 women students. The College Magazine reported:

"Sunday, 13th April, 1947, was a memorable day for Group "R" the Resident Group, for on this day "Brinkcliffe Tower" officially opened its portals to welcome us.

The guide book probably describes "The Tower" as a large stone-built residence standing in twelve acres of parkland, bequeathed by Alderman Robert Styring, J.P., to the Corporation of the City of Sheffield in 1925. Now, redecorated and refurnished, it will be our home until the end of the Session...

As in the best of circles, there have been minor disturbances; at least one resident claims to have seen the much-publicised ghost; but the optimistic turret-dwellers have as yet nothing to report, having so far failed to attribute their apple-pie bed to any human agency. Then there was the upheaval caused by the drainage system, which proved to be somewhat mythical, but all credit is due to the authorities who dealt promptly with the matter.

The routine, we found, is all a matter for experiment, and we are still experimenting; but we hope that once minor repairs and improvements have been dealt with, it will be possible to have a formal "house-warming"...".₂

Meanwhile, the subsequent work at Brincliffe College proceeded apace. Daniel, the Principal, writing after the close of the first year, remarked:

"What has been achieved in the small space of time which has elapsed since January 21st, 1947? Some 200 students drawn from all walks of life, with Service and industrial experience, of ages ranging from 22 to 42, and with the most varied educational backgrounds, have been welded into a number of personal groups which in their turn have become part of the larger community of "Brincliffe". Moreover, this has been brought about without sacrificing or impairing or violating the individuality of a single member; in fact, we have attained what the late Sir Percy Nunn called "unity in diversity".¹

The concentrated nature of the Emergency Course left little time for the development of special interest subjects even though these had been time-tabled. By early 1948, the Principal saw a need to make some provision for these and extended the course by two terms for students who were interested in further study and development of their subject. He reported that:

"H.M.I.'s of Specialist Subjects have visited the College in connection with my recommendations for Special Courses, of one or two terms duration, for students wishing to take the study of Music, Needlecraft, Handicraft and Physical Education to a more advanced level than can be attained during the general course of training here and courses were approved in the various subjects as follows:-

Music, 6; Needlecraft, 4; Handicraft, 8; Physical Education (Men), 5. In addition, H.M.I. for Handicraft recommended that one student should be recognised as a teacher of Handicraft on completing, satisfactorily, his course here".²

To meet a growing demand to provide further additional specialist instruction, arrangements were made for students to attend for tuition elsewhere. In November 1948, the Principal reported to the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee that:

"Five students of last session successfully completed a three months' further course in Wood and Metal Work in Leeds. Two former students successfully completed a three months' further course in Physical Education; one of them was passed out at the head of the course. Another former student is attending a year's course at the Carnegie Physical Education College. Five former students are taking a six months' course in Music in Birmingham, and four former students Art and Craft courses at the Leicester School of Art".³

In addition to the intensiveness of the forty-eight-week teaching year, the Emergency Training Scheme not only required a two-year probationary period before teachers could be finally regarded as being certificated, the scheme also required each teacher to subsequently follow a planned course of personal development. In November 1948, the lecturing staff of the Sheffield City Training College were approached to develop an in-service lecture programme and during sessions 1948-49 and 1949-50 courses in Geography, Science, Art and Crafts, Literature and History were offered. These comprised sixteen evening meetings of two hours' duration. Some of the students openly found the post-course development irksome, particularly when they were in full-time teaching posts. Others threw themselves into such courses with enthusiasm and developed deep personal interests. Several became members of local historical and philosophical societies, some took an active part in stage managing and producing for amateur dramatic and operatic societies. One developed considerable skill in fine craft bookbinding. Later some read for degrees and gained advanced qualifications in Education.

In June 1949, two further innovations were introduced. One, the admission of a group of Uncertificated Teachers to a specially arranged course; the other, the acceding to a request from the Ministry of Education to obtain as many lodgings for male students as was possible. On the latter, the Principal observed:

"I was asked by the Ministry of Education to obtain as many lodgings for men students as possible for this session. In previous years, we had had a few women in lodgings, but this session we have upwards of eighty men students in this category. Naturally enough, this has brought with it its own problems, but, on the other hand, the social life of the College has gained tremendously and we have obtained some of the advantages of a residential college without certain of its disadvantages. Our life has been enriched since a positive response has been invoked which has not been confined to those who have found themselves living away from their own homes. The common pooling of ideas, the exchange of experience, the mutual helping of one another over difficulties and service to the community are but four examples of this spirit in action".₁

On the admission of Uncertificated Teachers, the Principal observed:

"... we have among us a body of women representative of the 'Uncertificated Teachers' for whom we are providing a special course in order that they may achieve 'qualified' status. Although they are following a special course, they have never been regarded as 'a race apart' in the College; they have mixed freely with the rest of the students and they have contributed, in no small measure, to the general intellectual, social and athletic life of the Students' Union so that each one of us has gained tremendously from their sojourn with us".¹

The special course, though limited, was an obvious success for it was subsequently reported that:

"The course for Uncertificated Teachers ended officially on Friday, 31st March. Of the 22 students who accepted the course, 20 have been granted Qualified status and have obtained posts".²

The incidence of provision for the training of Uncertificated Teachers was part of the drive which the Ministry of Education had begun to initiate in order to eradicate the "unqualified" assistant teacher. It had long been a contentious issue with the National Union of Teachers that there existed a "hard core" of full-time teachers who had not been trained. It had been a cornerstone policy issue for many years and some progress had been made towards remedying the situation before 1939 but such schemes had lapsed due to the war. The provision made for their training at Brincliffe was but a small part of a scheme to regularise the situation. Nevertheless, the contribution made by Brincliffe and by a number of schemes elsewhere meant that by the mid-1950s the problem was almost resolved. Thereafter, all full-time non-graduate teachers would have to be trained and certificated.

But the days of Brincliffe College were numbered almost from the very beginning. Even within a month of the official opening in March 1947 the Director of Education was reporting to the Further Education Sub-Committee that he had received a letter from the Ministry of Education that:

"... for the time being at any rate, no further applications from men candidates under the Emergency Scheme for the training of teachers are to be entertained after the 30th June, 1947, or, in the case of those serving overseas, 31st August, 1947".₁

While some Emergency Colleges elsewhere were developing and were ultimately to blossom into established normal two-year institutions, Brincliffe's continuance remained uncertain. On the 2nd February 1948, the Director reported the receipt of a communication from the Ministry of Education announcing provisional dates for the closure of Emergency Training Colleges and the provisional date stated by the Ministry for the closure of Brincliffe College was May, 1949 - continuation after that date being dependent upon the number of candidates for admission living within daily travelling distance of the College. A temporary reprieve came in July 1948, when it was reported to the Sub-Committee that:

"A letter has been received from the Ministry of Education giving notice that it is now anticipated that this College will remain open for a third year and the closure date extended to August, 1950, and asking the Authority to continue to be responsible for the administration of the College for the extended period if the prolongation is made.

The Sub-Committee authorised the Director to inform the Ministry that the Education Committee will continue to be responsible for the administration of the College if the closure date is extended as proposed".₂

Finally, on the 30th June 1950, the third and last session ended and the College closed its doors. Jack Daniel, in his foreword to the sixth and final edition of "Prest", recounted:

"During three and a half years just over six hundred students have spent their period of training for the teaching profession here and all but a very small proportion have emerged successfully. It has been no easy task to co-ordinate the studies of men and women with such varied educational backgrounds, possessing so many different individual needs, and whose previous teaching experience has varied from nothing to several years. In this work I have had the whole-hearted co-operation of the Deputy-Principal and of the Staff, and it is noteworthy that the personnel of the latter has changed remarkably little. It was obvious from the start that much of our work would be concerned with individual students and small groups; therefore, the Personal Group system was developed and it has proved of great value.

... we do not pretend that a student's training is complete when the session comes to an end. Our endeavour has been to lead him into the paths of real progress and to give him the keys of various doors of knowledge. We have tried to concern ourselves with the education of the whole person; to give each student the enriching experience of living a corporate life where he can learn much more than the techniques of teaching. The desire to co-operate, the growth of self-discipline, the acceptance of standards, the realisation that man has not merely a physical and an intellectual life, but a spiritual one as well- these are some of the lessons we must all learn in order that we might be of the fullest service to the community".¹

At the meeting of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee held on 3rd July 1950, the Chairman reported that:

"... the third and final session of the College ended on the 30th June. During the three Sessions for which the Emergency College has been open some 600 students have undertaken the one-year course of training, of whom 590 have qualified to enter the Teaching Profession".²

While the Director reported the receipt of the following letter:

"Ministry of Education,
London, S.W.1.
23rd June, 1950.

Sir,

On the occasion of the closure of the Brincliffe Emergency Training College, the Minister of Education wishes me to convey to your Authority, and through them to the individuals concerned, his warm appreciation of the Authority's efforts on behalf of the College since its inception, and of the work of the Principal and staff.

He feels that it is thanks to devoted work of this kind that the scheme has won such high regard from the general public, and has been so successful, not only in meeting the pressing need for teachers which was its primary object, but also in making a long-term contribution to the educational life of the country. He hopes that all those who have taken part in it will look back with satisfaction and pleasure on their association with it, and will feel that their initial decision to take part in it was fully justified.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) Gilbert N. Flemming".³

The undoubted success of the Brincliffe Emergency Training College stemmed from the hard work and dedication of its staff and the sheer enthusiasm of the students. But the institution was not without its internal problems. Shortly after the appointment of the Principal it was discovered that his academic qualifications were not what he had claimed them to be and an inquiry resulted in his censure. The situation was further exacerbated when the Principal struck up a close friendship with one of the clerical staff - clearly it was not the most stable or agreeable climate in which to work.

The wisdom of appointing a woman to the post of Vice-Principal appeared to be beyond doubt. Indeed, it was traditional training college practice. A senior female member of staff was needed to oversee the women students and Margaret Kerr, a classicist, was confirmed in the appointment. However, notwithstanding the existence of a Principal and Vice-Principal whose duties encompassed the organisation of the College, much of the day to day organisation devolved to the Senior Lecturer in Education - indeed, it appears that he became the mainstay of the institution and maintained its stability.¹

Jack Daniels was appointed Principal after lecturing in one of the earliest Emergency Training Colleges in the London area. Conflicting views are held by past staff and students on his success as a Principal. One ex-student observed:

"... to be fair to the man, I think he probably enhanced his qualifications to do a job which he believed he could do well... I think he was a different breed of principal and did not fit the archetypal image..."²

So it would appear in spite of his shortcomings, Daniels nevertheless led a highly successful institution and it was greatly to the credit of the staff and the students.

The manner in which Emergency Colleges were staffed sheds some light not only on the wisdom and influence of the Ministry and the Inspectorate: instead of attempting to recruit staff from the ranks

of the normal training college, the Ministry recruiting panels (and later the Local Education Authority appointing committees) recruited directly from the ranks of practising teachers in schools. One ex-Brincliffe College Lecturer opined:

"We practising and experienced senior teachers held the pre-war training college lecturers in considerable contempt. In fact we regarded Training Colleges as havens for the incompetent".¹

After hearing the views of past students and lecturers of Brincliffe, there seems to be a good deal of evidence to suggest that the nature of the student-body was such that there would have been a good deal of hostility and resentment if the staff had attempted to constrict the students and organise them on the strict lines of a normal college. Even as it was, the staff had to be constantly on their mettle with such lively and enthusiastic students. Fortunately, the staff were well able to draw upon their wide experience in teaching to support their work. It seems as if sheer enthusiasm was a catalyst between the staff's wealth of teaching experience and the students' own wide experience of life which produced the dynamism which was characteristic of the institution.

It was remarkable that the institution, albeit with such a short life, should have been able to influence and make such a contribution to education in Sheffield and district. By 1964, fifteen years after the closure of the College, many of its alumni were employed in Sheffield Schools, a number of whom held posts of responsibility. Ultimately, some gained head-teacherships and a number of others obtained senior educational appointments.

However, entry into the world of education was far from easy for prejudice abounded. The entrants from the Emergency Training College found the professional climate in the schools harsh. One ex-student recounted:

"... we Emergency Trained teachers were regarded as the 'cannon-fodder' of the teaching profession and it was a long time before our colleagues accepted us - some never did. Nevertheless, as a group we more than acquitted ourselves - many of us won

promotion and advancement... thank goodness we had a sense of vocation... we felt we were lucky to have been able to change our careers at a mature age. Our training at Brincliffe not only enriched our own lives, but due to our previous wider experience, we were able to enrich the lives of our pupils..."¹

The staff, enthused and enriched by the experience of teaching in an Emergency Training College, moved elsewhere to more responsible and challenging appointments. Two took up appointments at the Sheffield City Training College, another became an Adviser in the Sheffield Education Department, while another returned at first to the City Grammar School and was then subsequently appointed to the Headship of Wisewood Secondary School.

The former senior Lecturer in Education mused in retrospect:

"... we were a happy lot... the work was intellectually stimulating and the social contacts enjoyable... they were amongst the happiest years I spent in the profession of teaching..."²

Wing, of the Sheffield City Training College, summed up the essence of the Emergency Training College scheme:

"Whatever may have been thought of the Emergency Scheme, there is no doubt that conditions were different from those of the Normal Training College. Many of the problems of teacher-training had to be thought out afresh. The average age of the students was about 32, and they had shared similar war experiences with members of the teaching staff. In some cases, the Principal or members of his staff would often meet those who had been fellow officers, or ex-servicemen to whom they had lectured in the forces, the result being that the whole approach to discipline was like that of the Officers' mess rather than of the school. Whilst respect was always given to the office of Principal, it was easier to join the students in a cup of tea or a sandwich in the students' common room. There was a great sense of responsibility and the freedom given to students in Emergency Training Colleges began to affect Normal Training Colleges throughout the country"³

In spite of the fact that it was a hard and difficult period when the Emergency students took up their appointments, Dent contended that:

"... emergency-trained teachers were expected to hold their own, as equals in every respect, with colleagues who had obtained their qualification in the normal way, that is, by two years of training. In my opinion, they have done so... They have done so partly because of their personal qualities, and partly because the Emergency Training Scheme (of which I saw a great deal) was one of the most imaginatively conceived enterprises ever undertaken in English education, and - despite the criticisms to which it was subjected - one of the most efficiently conducted".₁

Although there were those who were ready to criticise both the scheme and its products, in the context of the post-war situation it was not only a success, but it had a lasting influence:

"Had it not been for the success of the Emergency Training Scheme the school leaving age could not have been raised in 1947-8 - or if it had been the result might well have been a shambles. Raising the age in 1947 was a political act of faith - or, if you prefer less idealistic language - a political gamble. It came off, largely, though not, of course, exclusively, because of the sterling qualities of so many of the men and women the Emergency Scheme was sending into the schools. When I speak of the 'success' of the scheme I must be understood to mean, not the number of teachers it brought into the schools, indispensable though this quantitative reinforcement was, but the fine quality of many of the men and women it recruited. Their enthusiasm, their vigour, their stability, and their mature experience have continued to give confidence as well as learning to one generation after another of school children. And, an important but not often noticed consequence of the success of the Emergency Scheme, it undoubtedly encouraged the central and local authorities to seek to secure more 'mature' entrants into teaching".₂

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CHAPTER XXI

THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION - THE EARLY YEARS

The war merely "temporarily halted"¹ the development work at the Board of Education. By June 1941 a significant consultative document had been prepared and was in draft form. Overtly the Government began to set in motion consultations on the future of the educational system of England and Wales and issued a draft in the form of a "Green Book" bearing the title "Education after the War". Its publication aroused considerable public attention and became the subject of discussion between the Board of Education and the national educational institutions. Almost two years of debate ensued. Finally, in July 1943, the Government, contrary to normal parliamentary practice, issued its proposals in the form of a White Paper entitled "Educational Reconstruction". This too was well received and in August 1944 the proposals were embodied in the Education Act of that year.

The "Green Book" which preceded the 1944 Education Act had observed that there was:

"... a need to review the methods of recruiting to and training for the teaching profession, especially in the light of any decision that may be taken as to the general framework of post-war education".²

Being conscious of the need to train a sufficiently large teaching force to enable implementation of the 1944 Education Act, R A Butler, the President of the Board of Education, appointed a committee of ten persons under the Chairmanship of Arnold McNair, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool, to consider:

"The present sources of supply and methods of recruitment and training of teachers and youth leaders and to report what principles should guide the Board on these matters in the future".³

The McNair Committee completed its work early in 1944 and on the 27th April the signed report was sent to the President of the Board of Education. Although the report had a good reception and proposed many innovations, on the question of the nature of control over

teachers' qualifications and certification standards there was a distinct divergence of opinion. Because of the lack of agreement, two schemes were proposed. Scheme A recommended that each university should establish a University School of Education to which the training colleges should be affiliated. The alternative proposal, Scheme B, recommended that the existing arrangements should be developed and extended.

The response to the report from the general educational world produced a clear preference for Scheme A, and for a minority of universities too, Scheme A had some attraction. Both Birmingham and Manchester Universities met the criteria but either had, or were developing, Schools of Education. In the case of the University of London, Scheme A not only had the support of the Senate but it also had the support of the neighbouring training colleges and their local education authorities and controlling bodies.

But the general response from the universities offered no mandate for the implementation of either scheme. Indeed, their response produced a third alternative, the "Hetherington Scheme", later known as Scheme C, which the Committee of Vice-Chancellors circulated under the title of the "Scheme for Institutes of Education". While a number of universities showed some interest in Scheme A, influenced by Hetherington's counter proposals, they initially opted to support Scheme C.

McNair himself supported Scheme B for he did not consider the universities should be so deeply involved:

"Universities must be constantly vigilant lest they become too much training establishments and too little educational institutions... to make all teacher trainees members of universities is just not practical politics".¹

It was views such as McNair's which served to confirm that in many instances the university connection had merely been confined to the conduction of examinations and that the earlier hopes of a close relationship between universities and training colleges which had been implied by the Mayor Committee had not been fully realised.

A number of the members of the McNair Committee felt that the case for Scheme B was misunderstood and even McNair himself failed to sense the resentment and apprehension which the report created in both the training colleges and the universities. Lord Eustace Percy, Chancellor of Durham, criticised Scheme B on the grounds that:

"... external administrative... bodies... are either ineffective nuisances or strait-jackets... It is better to run the risk of producing a Columbia Teachers College than deliberately create a cross between a Napoleonic "university" and a Ecole Normale Superieure".¹

Cognisant of the impossibility of establishing a unified approach, the Ministry accepted a compromise which it hoped would develop into an acceptable arrangement. On the 29th November 1944, the President of the Board of Education wrote asking each university to formulate proposals indicating:

- " (a) what measure of responsibility for training teachers it was prepared to assume
- (b) what measure of cooperation with training colleges, the teaching profession and LEAs it was willing to develop
- (c) the machinery it would propose for the purpose of assuming this responsibility and developing this cooperation.

The secretary noted in his letter three principles which ought to be observed, namely that a single - though not strictly uniform - system should operate throughout England, that wholly independent schemes of training for graduates and non-graduates were undesirable, and that there should be an education centre in each area."²

In the light of Sheffield University's lack of interest in the Joint Board, it was hardly likely that Scheme B of the McNair report would find favour; Scheme A even less so:

"... the Joint Board scheme had not produced the results hoped for when it was planned; had not brought training colleges and university institutions into any constitutional relationship; had not breached the iron curtain between training colleges and university training departments; had not - most damning criticism of all - even 'promoted among the training colleges themselves any more intimate relationship than they had twenty years ago'."³

Clearly there was deadlock, although all parties shared a mutual suspicion of any arrangements which would put potential control in the hands of central government. A number of universities were confident that Scheme A offered distinct advantages. Others not only displayed indifference to a deeper involvement in teacher training but they indicated a distinct nervousness at a possible loss of independence and interference from the local education authorities, the voluntary bodies, teacher organisations and H M Inspectorate.

Sheffield, along with a majority of provincial universities, initially opted for Scheme C. Writing from what appears to be bitter experience, Dr Irvine Masson, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield, said:

"One cannot in practice expect a provincial LEA to be given much responsibility for something without its taking in its hands an effective independent control of the thing".¹

Meanwhile, Scheme B met with considerable opposition from teachers, educational bodies, and politicians; it appeared to reinforce the Joint Board arrangements and was seen by some as a possible step towards centralisation and direct state control. Months passed without resolution, by which time R A Butler had left the Presidency of the Board of Education following the 1945 General Election, to be succeeded by the newly created Minister for Education, Ellen Wilkinson.

Reluctantly the new Minister had to abandon any immediate hopes of implementing Scheme A and sought to develop a compromise. Finally, on the 11th June 1946, Circular 112 relating to the "Organisation and Training of Teachers" was issued. Although it set out the bases of possible links between the universities and the training colleges, it left open to negotiation the final form of university connection. It precipitated action by pressing for the establishment of area training organisations to be operational not later than the beginning of the 1947-48 academic year.

Since the late 1920s the arrangements for examination of candidates from Sheffield City Training College for Teaching Certification had been undertaken by the Yorkshire Joint Board. In addition to the training colleges, the other constituent parties making up the Board were the representatives of the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield together with the University College, Hull. Of the Universities, Leeds sustained the greater interest and influence, while Sheffield, being the lesser of the two, maintained a somewhat desultory interest in the Joint responsibility.

Initially, the view which Sheffield University gave to the Minister was that it was in favour of Scheme C. It was a view shared by Durham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool and Reading.¹ Negotiations continued until finally the Ministry of Education settled on the compromise outlined in Circular 112.

Gradually the Scheme C lobby began to fail for a variety of reasons. Although Leeds and Sheffield Universities, partners in the Yorkshire Joint Board, favoured Scheme C, Niblett² contends that this was primarily because of a desire to support the Committee of Vice-Chancellors. But the Yorkshire Local Education Authorities had other ideas. At the Conference on the Organisation of the Training of Teachers held in Sheffield on the 24th April 1947, the Local Education Authorities expressed their views strongly in favour of Scheme A and it became obvious that the two Universities would have to shift their ground if they were to become part of the proposed new arrangement. They did, "under pressure".³

Arthur Chapman, Registrar of Sheffield University, observed:

"In November 1944 the Minister of Education invited the University to express its views on future arrangements for the training of teachers, and to indicate what measure of responsibility it was prepared to assume and the way in which it would discharge it. At once the debate began in the Senate and its committees, and the relative merits and faults of the two schemes were closely argued. As the McNair Committee had been divided, so was the Senate, and, in dealing with this question, it was necessary to consider also the views of those who controlled the training colleges that might be concerned. At that time there was only one - the City of Sheffield Training College - but it was

expected that within a few years several local authorities would set up Training Colleges which also would join any new body that might be formed. The local education authorities unanimously desired the University to adopt Scheme A of the McNair Report. Discussions continued wearily, but as time went on, ways became apparent whereby, while the University might accept ultimate responsibility for the functions of the Institute of Education as required by Scheme A, that responsibility could be limited and the position of the University Department of Education and the internal autonomy of the training colleges could be safeguarded: these being the objects of Scheme C.

So at last, in March 1948, an ordinance was made establishing the University of Sheffield Institute of Education which began its work in the autumn of that year".¹

Slowly as the objectives of the Ministry were being met - albeit by compromise - the embarrassment arising out of delayed implementation of the McNair proposals lessened. Meanwhile, according to Dent an important principle lay behind their establishment:

"The fundamental reason why the universities were invited to undertake responsibility for teacher training was, in the words of the McNair Report, to enable the proposed 'Area Training Organisations' to

derive their authority from a source which, because of its recognised standards and its standing in the educational world, commands the respect of all the partners concerned and which, because of its established independence, is powerful enough to resist the encroachments of centralisation".²

Although progress was being made, anxiety nevertheless existed at Ministerial level. The pre-war Joint Board arrangements possessed clearly prescribed controlled arrangements to enable qualified-teacher accreditation to be effected. With the rise of institutes which lacked uniformity and manifested differentiation in their style of management, the Ministry of Education became anxious that the standards of accreditation hitherto upheld by the Joint Bodies should be maintained in some semblance of uniformity. Overlaying the aims and objectives of the institutes were the terms on which the Ministry was prepared to recognise institutes as acceptable and responsible Area Training Organisations:

"(i) To supervise the courses of training in member colleges and to further their work in every possible way.

(ii) To recommend to the Ministry for the status of Qualified Teacher students who have successfully followed courses in training in member institutions including University Departments of Education.

(iii) To plan the development of training facilities in the area.

(iv) To provide an education centre for students in training, for teachers in the area, and for others interested.

(v) To provide facilities for further study and refresher courses for those who are already qualified teachers".¹

The final outcome was a series of geographically spread Area Training Organisations each headed by a university.

"The University of Sheffield, after much discussion, decided in 1948 to shoulder this responsibility, and to meet it by setting up a University Institute of Education."²

So wrote George Turnbull, Professor of Education, who, with the somewhat reluctant support of the Senate and Council, shouldered the responsibility for the setting up of an Institute, fulfilling both the offices of Director of the Institute and the duties of Head of the University's Department of Education.

"It is no secret", wrote Dent,³ "that at this time opinion in the university... was divided about the wisdom of undertaking this responsibility, which seemed to many to lie outside the province of a university...".

"The precise relationship between the A.T.O. and the Institute of Education was impossible to define; in some capacities they were identical, in others the Institute was regarded as the executive and administrative body acting on behalf of, on the one hand the A.T.O., on the other the University of which it is a duly constituted body...

The all-important point - and its importance cannot be over-estimated - is that the education and training of teachers, both as students preparing for their careers and throughout their professional lives, and the advancement of educational theory and practice, are now the active concern of a partnership between all the institutions engaged in formal education, working under the leadership of the Universities. Of the reality of that partnership the Institute of Education forms the most precise and obvious expression.

The government of the University of Sheffield Institute brings this out clearly. The University has delegated this to bodies called respectively the Board of the Institute and the Professional Committee. The Chairman of the Board is, ex-officio, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, and on the Board sit representatives of the University's academic staff, nominated by Senate, the Local Education Authorities in the Institute area, the University Department of Education and each of the Training Colleges, two assessors appointed by the Ministry of Education, and a number of co-opted members nearly all of whom are teachers. The Board is required to present an Annual Report to Senate and Council.

All the activities of the Institute come within the province of the Board. The Professional Committee, as its name suggests, is primarily concerned with the more professional aspects of teacher training, that is, courses and syllabuses of study and schemes of examination. It works under the direction of the Board, to which it reports. The Chairman of the Professional Committee is, ex-officio, the Director of the Institute, and the Vice-Chancellor of the University is ex-officio a member. The other members are the head of the University Department of Education, the Principals of the Training Colleges, the Chief Education officers of the Local Education Authorities in the Institute area, two assessors appointed by the Ministry of Education, representatives of the academic staff of the University and of the assistant staffs of the Member Institutions, and a number of co-opted members.

Further illustration of the co-operative way in which an Institute works is found in its Boards of Studies, of which there is one for each subject offered by the training establishments in the area. On these Boards sit together members of these establishments' staff who are teaching the subject concerned and members of the University's academic staff. When any special committees of the Institute are formed the principle of partnership is similarly observed: for example, on the Library Committee are the University Librarian, the City of Sheffield Librarian, a Chief Education Officer, two Training College Principals, the Head of a Secondary School, together with the Vice-Chancellor of the University and the Director and the Librarian of the Institute."¹

During its infancy the work of the University of Sheffield Institute was conducted from within the University's Department of Education until when, in 1949, it was transferred into a semi-detached villa in Western Bank.

"The appointment of a full-time librarian in the autumn of 1950 made it possible to begin laying the foundations of the Institute's library... Individual members of the Institute are

entitled to borrow from the library and the number of those doing so is gradually increasing with the growth in membership and as the resources of the library become known...

One of the early tasks of the Institute was to arrange for the election to individual membership of the Institute of "practising teachers and others engaged in educational work" whose applications were accepted by the Board and to set up a register of those elected".¹

In the beginning, the Institute's federated institutions comprised: the Sheffield City Training College, Thornbridge Hall (the Sheffield Local Education Authority's College at Ashford-in-Water, Derbyshire) and the Barnsley Local Education Authority's College, Wentworth Castle, Stainborough.

Turnbull considered that the Institute had three main functions:

"The first is to co-ordinate the training of teachers in the area... by establishing cooperation among the training institutions... (by) the planning of courses and syllabuses of study, the interchange of staff and students, the coordination of arrangements for teaching practice and the assessment of students... as qualified teachers...

... the second is to... plan investigation and research in education and to promote further study of education... it is hoped to provide the further study of education (by the award of an Advanced Certificate in Education...)

... (thirdly)... to be a centre of professional activity for teachers, officers of Local Education Authorities and others engaged in educational work..."²

While the foundation of the Institute appeared to augur well, there was considerable dissension. The Chief Education Officer representing Sheffield Local Education Authority was somewhat critical. Indeed, as Director of Education he had no intention of accepting a quadripartite management arrangement for the Institute. From the Authority's point of view, he wished to ensure that its influence was paramount and its best interests served.

Further opposition came from Kimbell, Principal of the Sheffield Training College, who was bitterly opposed to the creation of an Institute and who proceeded to raise the matter in both local and national committees. McNair's Scheme B would have suited his ideas best. His arguments ran thus:

"I expressed my views on the Institute of Education in Committee and in the Council Chamber... the Ministry of Education's proclaimed desire to give individual colleges greater autonomy was achieved paradoxically by the substitution of the more intimate infiltration of an advisory rather than a directive influence, for the remote collaboration of fellow Principals and Education Officers, with University representation, in the Joint Board of Administration. I preferred the greater autonomy allowed by the Joint Board Administration".¹

By 1949 it had become increasingly clear that the Professor of Education could not continue to act in the dual roles of Head of the University's Education Department and as the Director of the Institute. Conflicting views, interests and loyalties created problems. In consequence, N R Tempest was appointed Director and H T Edwards Secretary.

"Tempest devoted himself with great energy and ability to the formidable tasks of taking over the functions formerly exercised by the Board for the Final Examination of Students in Yorkshire Training Colleges (which involved negotiations with the University of Leeds, and the University College, as it then was, of Hull), and of building up the administrative structure, staff, and equipment of the Institute. The difficulty of these tasks was greatly increased by the fact that Institutes of Education embodied an entirely new conception of relationships between Universities, Teacher Training Colleges, the Ministry of Education, and Local Education Authorities... in company with his fellow Directors in other Universities he was pioneering in virtually unexplored territory. It is a measure of his success that the administrative structure of the Sheffield Institute remains today essentially as he left it."²

Although the creation of the Sheffield Institute of Education was a responsibility which the University accepted with little enthusiasm, its foundation aroused local interest and was received with some acclaim by teachers and teacher-organisations. It was a development which Wing, Principal of Sheffield City Training College, greeted with enthusiasm. Although, when he arrived at Sheffield, he had had little direct experience of the pre-war Joint Board arrangements, he had sufficient awareness of the system to lead him to the view that they were a sterile imposition on colleges and on the teaching processes within them.

He saw in the Institute a means of bringing about changes in college syllabuses and a means of gaining some academic initiative which both the Joint Board and Local Education Authority control did not readily allow. In May 1951 he was to write:

"The revised regulations of the Institute of Education... seem to be working out very well in practice. The overall effect of the reduction in the number of examinable subjects has been to increase the emphasis on the study of children, as distinct from acquiring facts. This general attitude has been reflected in the individual courses, where more attention has been paid to teaching than has previously been the case - for example, one afternoon a week has been given, as an integral part of the advanced course, to taking a group of children. It is true that it is not possible for more than one subject to be dealt with in this way, but the methods found successful on those occasions should, with a little adaptation, be applicable to others. This general tendency is, I think, a move in the right direction.

I should not like it to be inferred... that I am taking sides in that oldest of all arguments in the world of the training of teachers, namely, on the relative merits of dealing with "matter" and "method", for the two are obviously both important, if not inseparable. A teacher who does not possess a fairly wide background of knowledge - preferably with some real enthusiasm in at least one direction... can have little opportunity for making contact with the children because he is lacking in the raw materials of his profession. On the other hand, there is sometimes a danger that, out of enthusiasm for a favourite subject, we may forget that the function of the College is to turn out good teachers, and that it is on the success or otherwise of the teaching of those who have been trained here that the College must be judged...

... we are in line with general developments throughout the country... developments spring from the interchange of ideas... The Institute helps, for there is a good deal of exchange of opinion between the various Colleges of each Institute, and between the Institutes themselves at the Conferences, which meet three or four times a year".¹

By 1954 the size of the Institute had grown. Two three-year specialist colleges were established: Lady Mable College of Physical Education at Wentworth Woodhouse under the control of the West Riding County Council Education Authority and Totley Hall Training College of Housecraft, controlled by Sheffield Local Education Authority. Finally too, the Art Teacher Training Department of the Sheffield College of Art was also brought into membership of the Institute.

In the majority of Institutes of Education, the Directorship had been recognised and honoured by the establishment of a particular Chair of Education. But at Sheffield, even as late as 1954, the attitude of the Senate, the Council and the University's own Department of Education, precluded the creation of a second Chair. It was a sensitive issue and it was one of the factors which led to the resignation of Tempest on being offered the Chair of Education at the University of Liverpool.

Following the resignation of Tempest, L B Birch, who had been appointed Lecturer in Educational Psychology and Deputy to the Director in January 1952, was appointed Acting Director. This was an interim measure which afforded the University the opportunity of appraising the situation.

"The interregnum had one happy consequence, for the University took the opportunity to reconsider the position and status of the Institute Director, and decided to create a second Chair of Education... The Director thus became a full member of Senate and as such entitled to play a responsible part in general university government. This is, in my opinion, both important and valuable, because of necessity the work of an Institute of Education lies mainly on the periphery, and not at the centre, of university affairs..."₁

Meanwhile, the various Institutes of Education began to develop a variety of activities and interventions. Dent described Sheffield's particular role:

"... there is a very large field (of research) which can be cultivated in a wide variety of different ways; but in order that it may be cultivated at all, the initiative must be taken by the Institute. This is the most difficult, but also the most fascinating, part of an Institute's task... (while)... Sheffield is, I believe, still unique in having developed as a main activity the building up of select groups of teachers, and other persons, for the purpose of systematic discussion and investigation of current educational problems of mutual interest.

Over the past four years ten such groups have been built up. Five of them are exclusively representative of various branches of the educational system: Junior, Secondary Modern, Secondary Technical, and Grammar and Independent schools, and the Youth Service. Four are concerned with particular subjects: Religious Knowledge, Mathematics, Child Development, and Psychology; these draw freely from all sections of the teaching profession for their membership. Finally, there is the

Educationalists' and Industrialists' Group, which brings together secondary school heads and business executives...

... the idea I had in mind... was based upon my belief that teachers, and other persons professionally engaged in educational work, were the best placed to initiate investigations into current educational problems, for the simple reason that they were the only people who had to meet them at first hand day by day. They were, so to speak, the workers at the coal face...

Because of the restriction upon membership the groups so far formed have directly affected only a tiny majority - perhaps 250 - of the 14,000 or more teachers in the Institute area. But, as a group member reminded me recently, the indirect influence has been very much wider. Each of our members occupies a key post, and is doing outstandingly good work in his or her own sphere; and so inevitably exerts influence on many other people. To give but one instance, a considerable number of school staffs have been involved in investigations initiated by groups".¹

Early in the 1950s, the Institute introduced an advanced qualification in Education. It was to be a part-time course, candidates for which, before entry to the course had to have completed at least three years' service as qualified teachers and have been recommended by their referees on both academic and professional grounds. Professor Dent, the Director of the Institute, observed:

"... the standard of attainment required by Sheffield is reputed (I think justly) to be among the highest for such courses - which are run by all the Institutes - success demands hard, sustained and intelligent work. About 20 teachers each year enter the course, many of them from as far afield as the neighbourhoods of Barnsley, Doncaster and Chesterfield. The drop-out is relatively heavy: teachers move to posts outside the Institute area, are promoted to posts of responsibility which, for the time being, prohibit the necessary reading, find their domestic commitments too heavy, or fall ill. Occasionally, unfortunately, the Institute has to advise a student to discontinue the course. On average, rather fewer than half the entrants complete the course; but those who do produce very good - in some cases extremely good - work of high quality. Some of the dissertations that have been submitted are of M.A. standard..."²

While the Institute continued its work through the 1950s there was some disenchantment and failure to meet expectations:

"... as a young teacher, I found the Institute of little value. The discussion groups and short courses seemed to be dominated by Head and senior teachers who were ambitious and working for every crumb of recognition and for every chance of preferment..."

I even found the Library inhibiting... The University connection was an illusion... There was never a feeling of being part of the University. When the Institute was rehoused in spacious premises in Clarkehouse Road it seemed even more remote and separate from the University. The Institutes in Leeds, Leicester and Manchester appeared to have so much more to offer. Sheffield did not seem able to understand that we needed to be able to improve our personal qualifications. Talking-shops on curriculum and short courses were no use to us. The Advanced Certificate in Education course was too competitive to gain a place and difficult to sustain and even after all the hard work it entailed, it did not carry the titular status of Diploma which was the case with the other Institutes...".₁

The selection of a successor to N R Tempest proved difficult and for eighteen months, from the summer of 1954 until January 1956, the Institute continued under the acting Directorship of L B Birch. Finally, H C Dent, Editor of "The Times Educational Supplement" was invited to fill the Second Chair in Education, which carried with it the Directorship of the Institute. It was a controversial appointment which caused many problems not only in the relationship between the University and the Institute but also within the Institute itself. There were constant differences of opinion on the role, aims and objectives of the Institute. Finally, Dent, after a period of years was offered the Chair of Education at the University of London Institute of Education, being succeeded at Sheffield by Boris Ford, who took up duties in October 1961.

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CHAPTER XXII

THORNBRIDGE HALL TRAINING COLLEGE

Discussions between the Sheffield Local Education Authority and the Ministry of Education on the question of the location of a second Emergency Training College settled upon Thornbridge Hall situated at Ashford-in-the-Water, near Bakewell, Derbyshire.

Early in 1945, Sheffield City Council had purchased Thornbridge Hall from the executors of the estate of Charles Boot deceased. Although the immediate utilisation of the property had not been settled, preliminary discussions had been taking place on its future use. It appeared on the short-term to provide suitable accommodation for an Emergency Training College and there was some discussion on the feasibility of establishing a residential adult education college on the longer term when the Emergency Training Scheme came to an end.

The Hall was described by Professor Nikolas Prevsner in 1953 as a "spectacular Neo-Tudor mansion"¹, while the interior presented:

"... an exciting architectural challenge with its fantastic Grand Staircase, stained glass panels which are the work of Burne-Jones, and chimney pieces, oak panelling, wood carvings, ornamental columns and other features brought from other country houses..."²

Although the Thornbridge Estate dated back to the twelfth century, the Hall itself was of recent origin. The original Hall appears to have been erected between 1790 and 1854 and was, during that time, owned by the Morewood family. It was extended into a T-shaped design and extensive outbuildings were added until it lost much of its eighteenth century character. By the turn of the century the Hall had passed into the ownership of G J Marples, a barrister, and during 1905 he initiated further change. The Hall was extended without and structurally altered within under the direction of the Sheffield firm of architects, Weightman, Hadfield and Partners.³

In 1930, the Thornbridge Hall¹ estate was purchased by Charles Boot of Sheffield, who again added many details to the Hall. On his death in 1945, the estate was put up for sale and subsequently purchased by the Sheffield City Council.

On the 3rd June 1946, the Director of Education reported to the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee that:

"... the Ministry consider that in the event of it being possible to adapt and extend the existing accommodation at Thornbridge Hall without incurring undue expenditure of labour and materials, including the addition of some hutted accommodation, residential accommodation for from 70 to 80 women students could be provided there. The Ministry therefore enquire whether the Authority would be willing to make this Hall and the related buildings available for use as an Emergency Training College for a short term of years, and to administer the College in due course".²

The Sub-Committee asked the Estates Surveyor to make application to the Sheffield City Council for the Hall to be appropriated to the Education Committee for educational purposes, but progress was slow. There were innumerable legal delays affecting the transfer of the premises and considerable unease and misgivings regarding the rationality of setting up a second emergency college, destined to have a limited existence, in relatively isolated surroundings.

With an upsurge in the national birthrate during the years 1944 to 1947, it became evident that the majority of mature ex-service students trained by the Emergency Scheme would be destined to teach either upper Primary classes or children at the Secondary school stage and this supply would be inappropriate to the needs of the schools by the early 1950s. By the beginning of 1947 it was evident that while the Emergency Scheme would make good sense of the immediate shortages in the teaching force, a longer-term solution to the problem of the shortage of teachers lay in increasing the number of normal two-year colleges. Furthermore, it appeared evident that once the first phase of demobilisation from the Services was complete, teacher training recruitment would once again be primarily dependent on school leavers from Grammar schools.

In the circumstances, it appeared appropriate to consider how to increase facilities to meet staffing needs in the lower primary schools in the fairly immediate future. Although young men were still required under the "Duration of National Emergency Acts" and later under the "Conscription and National Service Acts" to register and subsequently undertake military service, the war-time control and direction of women had ceased. Cognisant of the problem, the Ministry of Education wrote to the Sheffield Local Education Authority:

"... advising the establishment of a normal Two-Year College for women students at Thornbridge Hall rather than a One-Year Emergency Training College as originally proposed. The Ministry suggest that the property be appropriated forthwith for educational purposes, the cost of acquisition, up to the District Valuer's valuation, and of all necessary alterations thereto falling on "the pool", which would also bear the cost of maintenance of the College. It would only be necessary in the immediate future to carry out the work required for the accommodation of half the total number of students to be admitted who would form the first-year of the two-year course to be provided at the College, the larger work involved in the erection and servicing of the huts being spread over until the Autumn of next year, when the full number of students would be in attendance".¹

There was an added incentive for Sheffield Education Committee to establish yet another college - particularly a two-year institution having permanence. In 1945 the Ministry of Education issued Regulations outlining conditions for the award of higher development grant in respect of Local Education Authorities which were prepared to extend their provision.

In 1946, the Ministry² announced even greater incentive by offering 100 per cent financial assistance with the expansion of existing colleges or the establishment of new ones - an offer to which Sheffield readily responded.

The original scheme for Thornbridge College was the development of a college with an intake of some 70 students, but even by Emergency Training Scheme standards this was barely economic and a larger intake of students seemed more realistic. After considerable

discussion between the Ministry and the Sheffield Education Committee it was decided that a larger permanent college should be planned and, in compliance with the wishes of the Ministry, it was agreed that it would provide accommodation for 120 women students who would train as Infant and Junior school teachers. Unfortunately, the provision of extra places could not be met immediately on a residential basis due to lack of accommodation. Unlike Brincliffe, the Thornbridge site did not have an accompanying urban population where students could be put into lodgings. By late 1947, it became clear that:

"... Thornbridge Hall, the school block adjoining the Hall, Wyedale House, a Cottage and portion of the estate adjoining, of a total area of 9 acres, 1 rood, 9 perches..."₁

was inadequate and that if a viable college unit was to be established, further accommodation would be required.

Adjacent to Thornbridge Hall stood Thornbridge Manor, a building which appeared eminently suited to the provision of residential accommodation for students and teaching staff - a factor which appears to have been overlooked when the site was first considered. However, the owners of Thornbridge Manor were not particularly willing to lease or sell either the Manor or its accompanying estate. The Director of Education reported that:

"The Ministry of Education have intimated that the proposal of the Authority to acquire Thornbridge Manor and grounds for the provision of residential accommodation for staff of the Thornbridge Hall Training College is, prima facie, desirable if the owner is unwilling to grant a lease of the property".₂

Having little success in negotiating the transfer of the property, Sheffield Education Authority requested that a resolution be put before the City Council in respect of Compulsory Purchase:

"That, pursuant to the provisions of Section 90 of the Education Act, 1944, and of the Acquisition of Land (Authorisation Procedure) Act, 1946, the Council do make a Compulsory Purchase Order in respect of the property known as Thornbridge Manor, Great Longstone, in the County of Derby, and the land belonging thereto containing in all an area of approximately 3 acres, 28 poles..."₃

Faced with the threat of a Compulsory Purchase Order, the owners gave way. A letter from the Ministry of Education to the Town Clerk noted that the City of Sheffield had withdrawn the Compulsory Purchase Order and that approval was now given for its purchase at the price of £5,472.¹

With the plans for the establishment of the College set in train, the next necessary step was the appointment of staff. Some two years previously, the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee had agreed to release the Deputy Principal of the City Training College, Miss Eliza M Bowker, B.Sc., for service to the Emergency Scheme and now that Thornbridge was to be established it appeared eminently appropriate that one who had many years' experience should become Principal. At its meeting on the 5th April 1948, the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee endorsed the appointment of Eliza M Bowker as Principal and within the succeeding weeks, further staff were appointed. Meanwhile, the Director reported the receipt of a letter from the Ministry of Education intimating that:

"... subject to compliance with the usual requirements of the Training of Teachers Grant Regulations, the Minister is prepared to recognise Thornbridge Hall as a Training College for Teachers normally providing a Two-Year Course for Women as from September, 1948".²

While the newly established College opened its doors to a single year of students, the second phase of the development continued. By September 1949, the refurbishing of Thornbridge Manor, parts of the Hall and the creation of various additional facilities were complete.

The Principal reported to the Sub-Committee that:

"... students would be accommodated either in Wyedale House, Kipling House or Thornbridge Manor under the respective Wardenhips of Misses Leach, Clark and Powys".³

The number of students in residence would be 119, comprising a second year of 41 Infant and 20 Junior method students and a

first year of 37 Infant and 21 Junior method students:

"... the proportion asked for by the Ministry of Education".¹

On the 13th September 1949 the College was officially opened. It was an auspicious occasion inasmuch as the Education Committee had been able to persuade the Minister of Education himself, the Right Honourable George Tomlinson, to undertake the ceremony. The programme of the official opening carried a short but revealing description of the 'ideals' and 'philosophy' of the choice of venue for the College:

"... In recent years a number of the great houses of England have, in being pressed into the urgent service of education, received a new purpose and dignity; and, as the English tradition in education jealously preserves the idea of development within a community bound together by common life and aspirations, so the new role of these great houses is not out of keeping with their finest past history.

Into this service Thornbridge Hall has now been brought. It cannot lay claim to a long line of owners eminent in the life of the nation; nor is it, like some of its sister colleges, distinguished as the work of one of the great names in Architecture. Yet it is set in a part of the Derbyshire countryside rich in historical associations and in romantic legend, of great natural beauty and the home of a sturdy yeoman life...

... (the College was) ... planned to receive women students for a two-year course of training which would fit them for service in Nursery, Infants' and Junior Schools, in which types of schools shortages of teachers threatened to be acute.

The adaptations were planned in two phases, the first to be completed to make it possible to receive the first group of students in September, 1948, and the second phase to be completed in time for the full functioning of the College in September, 1949. It was planned that the Hall itself and Wyedale House should, with the addition of Thornbridge Manor which was bought by the Education Committee in 1949, provide resident accommodation for the Principal, staff and some 110-120 students, together with common rooms, library, administrative offices, art room, lecture room and hall. The additional teaching accommodation necessary - science laboratory, needlework and craft rooms and lecture rooms have been provided by the erection of separate buildings close to Wyedale House.

Some structural alteration to the Hall has been necessary; this includes the demolition of a small artificial winter garden by the main entrance and the construction in its place of two sets of study-bedrooms with toilet accommodation. Extensive overhaul and supplementing of the heating, water supply and drainage systems has also been necessary. In the main, however, the fabric of the Hall, with its fine stone elevations and its internal panelling has been preserved with little disturbance. A new dining hall with servery has been erected between the main hall and the stable block - the latter being adapted to provide the art room, assembly hall with stage, lecture room and domestic staff quarters...".¹

Although the College quickly settled into a routine role of training young women as Infant and Junior School teachers, it was small and geographically isolated. An early prospectus of the College advised students that:

"A bicycle is very useful and may be housed in the College at the owner's risk".²

Nor was the College the happiest of institutions. It was directed by a Principal who had long been regarded as a martinet. For more than twenty years she had been associated with Sheffield City Training College as Resident Tutor, next as Vice-Principal, and then finally as Deputy Principal and was now a Principal in her own right. Away from the immediate eye of the Sheffield Local Education Authority, supported by a staff of lecturers, the majority of whom were women, the situation did not lend itself to promotion of the most relaxed environment and as the work of the staff and students was undertaken in relative isolation, it bore the hallmarks of some of the worst aspects of the old teacher-training college tradition. While Wing and Moulton at Sheffield were trying to "open up" the system by allowing as much freedom as they dare to the student body, relaxing house rules, and keeping the Chairman and members of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee constantly aware of the College's activities; in contrast, a blanket descended on the activities of Thornbridge College.

Whether this closed and isolated academic community handicapped or curtailed the social development of the student is a matter for debate. The plain fact was that the College was isolated. Geographical isolation did not lend itself to ready and spontaneous social intercourse and the task of acting loco parentis for a group of some 120 late-teenage and relatively nubile students could not have been easy. But the situation was not wholly a minus one. As one student was to remark:

"... we were expected to work and we had little alternative but to work hard in a situation where we were together twenty-four hours of the day - almost seven days a week. Occasionally we were granted permission to spend a weekend at home. We had to live, eat and sleep the educational environment which had been created. Whether we liked it or not, or whether we gained as much as we could have from it is a matter of opinion, but one thing is certain - it was all very intense and thorough".₁

Not for Eliza M Bowker the fulsome reports to the Sub-Committee of College activities, nor the long edifying (even if rambling) annual "Letters to Students" offered by Wing. Brevity prevailed:

"4th February, 1952.

Report of Principal

It is proposed to accept 56 students for admission to the College in September next, 34 Infants teachers and 22 Junior teachers. This is a slightly higher proportion of Junior teachers, as they are the better candidates.

The admission of this number of students will mean that the total number of students in the College from the commencement of next College year will be 110, as this year.

E. K. Bowker, Principal".₂

In October 1952, it was reported that:

"The numbers of students now in residence for the session 1952-53 are as follows:-

		Totals
Second Year students:	35 Infants teachers	
	19 Junior teachers	54
First Year students:	29 Infants teachers	
	26 Junior teachers	<u>55</u>
	Total	<u>109</u> "

The following year, the Sub-Committee was informed that:

"Miss E. K. Bowker, Principal of the College, has intimated that she will reach the age for retirement in February next, but is willing at the request of the Committee to continue in service as Principal to the end of the College Year.

The Sub-Committee authorised the issue of an advertisement for the appointment of a successor as from the commencement of the College Year 1954-55".¹

To succeed to the post of Principal, the Sub-Committee chose Phyllis H Whittaker, MA,² who took up her duties in September 1954.

Little was to change. Apart from minor innovations, the College remained "Backward-in-the-Water".³ Efforts to cooperate with other Colleges were made. Sheffield College attempted to use the facilities at Thornbridge for environmental and field studies, but after several moderately successful attempts it was found that the students' interests could be better met elsewhere. Several students of Music attended Sheffield College for personal tuition but the early enthusiasm soon lapsed.

October 1954:

"The Geography Lecturers of Wentworth Castle Training College and this College are anxious to make an exchange of students over a weekend for purposes of study. I am informed by Miss Clark, the Geography Lecturer of this College, that this scheme has the full approval of the Authorities of Wentworth Castle Training College.

P. H. Whittaker, Principal".⁴

December 1954:

"Three of the lecturing staff... are willing to take a party of students on an Art Study tour of Holland and Belgium next Easter. There are 10 present students, 3 first-year and 7 second-year, who would like to go, and the party would be made up by the addition of approximately 20 past students who left last year.

No expense would fall on the Committee, and the terms of the insurance agreement would completely indemnify the Committee against all contingencies.

November 1955:

"May I have permission to make arrangements whereby students may invite guests to meals in College at the week-end at an appropriate charge, the number of guests to be not in excess of the number of students who are out?

P. H. Whittaker, Principal.

The Sub-Committee recommended that students be permitted to invite guests to meals in College at weekends at a charge of two shillings per head."₁

December 1955:

"Report of Principal.

I should like to make the request that this College might be permitted to vary the dates of the Whitsuntide break, as I understand that about 130 old students wish to come for a reunion, and at this particular strenuous time in the academic year I think it is important that the staff and those members of the Student Council who remain to entertain the old students should have the opportunity of enjoying at least a short break.

I therefore propose that the students should leave College on the morning of Saturday, 19th May, instead of on the morning of Friday, the 18th May, and should return on Wednesday, 23rd May, instead of on Tuesday, 22nd May; it thus may be possible for members of staff to go away on Sunday night or Monday, which would hardly be worth while if they had to be back on Tuesday.

P. H. Whittaker, Principal".₂

February 1956:

"Report of Principal.

It is hoped to be able to arrange a tour of about 10 days to Cahors and Avignon during the Easter vacation, leaving England on March 30th. The party would consist of 20 to 25 students and ex-students (to date, 6 present students) with 3 accompanying staff.

The tour is in the hands of the School Travel Service, Enfield, and is fully insured, as in two previous tours.

P. H. Whittaker, Principal".₃

It was also reported that on the advice of the tuning contractors the organ at the College was in need of repair.

Meanwhile, the paucity of the Principal's reports continued.

February 1957:

"Report of Principal.

I have just one point to bring before the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee, on Monday, 4th February: I should like to have permission to run a week's camp at the College towards the end of the summer term, similar to that which was held last year.

P. H. Whittaker, Principal".₁

June 1958:

"Report of Principal.

I should like to have the permission of the Committee to run a camp for twenty eleven-year-old girls from 25th June to 2nd July, the camp to be organised in the same way as in the two previous years.

The two schools from which I should like to draw children are Pipworth Road Junior School and Arbourthorne Central Junior School.

P. H. Whittaker, Principal".₂

Even the tenth anniversary of the founding of the College evoked little formal response.

June 1959:

"Report of Principal.

It is proposed to celebrate the tenth birthday of the College by holding a dinner party for past and present students and staff on the evening of 10th July, a service of thanksgiving and dedication on the morning of 11th July, and the annual garden party on the afternoon of 11th July...

P. H. Whittaker, Principal".₃

The absence of formal records of activity and work of the College raises a number of questions relating to the characters of the two Principals, the condition, size and location of the College, and the nature and style of the Governing Body.

Of the Principals it seemed that: if they ran the College "efficiently" at minimum expense to the Authority, if the problems emanating from the responsibilities of "acting" loco parentis were kept to a minimum, and if H M Inspectorate were satisfied, was the Authority to complain? If the institution was mean in its outlook, run on the strictest authoritarian lines and bereft of progressive educational ideas, was it really a matter of outside concern? The objective of providing certificated teachers who were able to take up teaching appointments was achieved.

The 1950s was, and remained, a decade of quantity rather than quality. Mediocrity prevailed inasmuch as Thornbridge and similar colleges were usually colleges of third choice in the Clearing House Scheme. Applicants were all too frequently marginally qualified both academically and culturally and the subsequent courses which they followed tended to be equally sterile and unimaginative. Notwithstanding the lack of lustre, many students qualified, entered teaching, and have since made their mark in education in spite of, rather than with reliance on, the training they received.

The short-sighted expedient of raising a college at Thornbridge poses some interesting questions. Clearly the situation of the Hall did not meet the prime requirement for an Emergency Training College: that such should be near an urban centre both for facilities and amenities. Why then should it have been imagined that a Women's Training College sited in such surroundings should have been any more suitable? Did the Authority not take cognisance of potential drawbacks? Did the designated Principal of Thornbridge see in the site an idyllic situation, one set in rural surroundings where young women students were captive and away from the temptations of male students and the City?

Finally, what did the Sub-Committee really think of the mouse-like characters who meekly appeared before them each month, presenting trivial reports on activities which scarcely filled half-a-dozen lines of the minute book? Did the Sub-Committee really believe the work it was endorsing was truly satisfactory? Was the Sub-Committee really content to have educated and so-called responsible educationalists seeking permission to hold a summer camp, a student exchange, a college reunion? It would appear that they were too ready to endorse such trivial requests. Did they never seek for a full report of the kind which Wing submitted - or were they so choked with Wing's contribution that the reports from Thornbridge came as a relief and gave no cause for debate?

One is left suspecting that the Misses Bowker and Whittaker shrewdly played their political masters with skilful acumen. Whatever issues were deliberated upon in the Education Offices these made little difference to the situation twenty-five miles away. Mice they may have been in committee but they were Mistresses of the Hall when they returned.

CHAPTER XXII - REFERENCES

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" 2. Ibid
" 3. Welsh, Stephen, "Biographical and Architectural Notes...
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- Page 324 1. Thornbridge Hall - "The site of the present hall and
parkland appears to have formed part of the lands in
Longstone which Henry I granted to his Chancellor Levenet.
Later a certain Matilda Levenet gave these lands to one
Matthew, son of Thomas, a lawyer or cleric of Bakewell.
Matthew, who in Henry III's time is recorded as holding
'the manor of Little Longstone with a bovate of land in
Great Longstone', took the name of 'de Longsdon' after
his property and was probably the progenitor of the
Longsdon family in whose possession these lands remained
from the twelfth century until comparatively recent times.

Between 1790 and 1854 Thornbridge was owned by a family called Morewood. Andrew and his two sons, John and George Morewood, are buried by the Church at Ashford-in-the-Water and are described both on their tombs and in the parish register as 'of Thornbridge'. The hall - which is shown in a contemporary drawing dated 1804 as a pleasant late eighteenth century building - was probably a building of some consequence as it is recorded that John Morewood bought it about 1790 for £10,000, possibly from the Longsdon (or Longstone) family, for Andrew Morewood had had a partner of that name. John Morewood left the property to his brother George (died 1854).

Between 1860 and 1871 Thornbridge was owned by John Sleigh, an antiquarian... The next owner appears to have been Frederick Craven who is known to have had plans for extending the then T-shaped building, but the very considerable extensions, by which the Hall lost its eighteenth century character and was given much of its present general appearance, were carried out by the next owner, a barrister, G. J. Marples. These extensions and alterations included the extensive outbuildings and the rebuilding of the fine main staircase which is a feature of the present hall and which was carried out entirely by local craftsmen. In addition, between 1896 and 1917 many acres of small holdings were bought and added to the parkland.

Mr. Marples was responsible for the lay-out of the gardens which was originally carried out for him by Messrs. Backhouse, Ltd, of York. These still retain most of their original features amongst which is one of the finest collections of Berberis in the country.

In 1930 the whole estate was bought by Mr. Charles Boot of Sheffield who added many of the details to the already impressive Hall. The East Terrace, which looks as though

CHAPTER XXII - REFERENCES (Continued)

it were designed as part of Thornbridge, came from Clumber; the tracery and linenfold panelling in the main hall from the private chapel of the first Earl Howe; the carving in the entrance lobby from Chatsworth - it had originally been carried out in 1709 by a certain Samuel Watson of Sheffield for £8.17s.6d."

(Taken from the programme of proceedings printed to mark the official opening of the college by the Minister of Education on the 13th September 1949.)

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(As a result of the national printers' strike)

CHAPTER XXIII

TOTLEY HALL COLLEGE OF HOUSECRAFT

One of the innovations in the elementary school curriculum which took place in the early 1900s was the introduction of practical instruction. For children in the later years of elementary education, provision was made for boys to study handicraft and for girls to study the domestic arts. For boys, handicraft invariably meant a course in woodwork or light metal crafts, while girls followed extended work in Needlecraft, Dressmaking, Cookery and Laundry work. At first, provision in Sheffield was made on a district basis in the form of Handicraft and Domestic Science centres attached to schools. Gradually, each of the larger senior elementary - later council - schools made on-site provision.

Much of the pioneer work in such subjects had been undertaken on the Continent - particularly in Sweden where the Sloyd School of Handicraft had gained an international reputation in educational circles. Unfortunately, in teaching and academic circles those involved in teaching handicrafts and housecraft were not held in the highest esteem. They were often regarded as mere craft instructors and their work associated with the lower working class and the less able. The normal route into the teaching of Handicraft or Domestic Subjects was by attendance at a technical school, either on a full or part-time course, and then entering the examinations of the City and Guilds of London Institute. Not only was the pathway towards qualification difficult and arduous, but when once qualified and in a teaching post, the incumbents found they were considered to be an inferior breed in relationship with their peers who had followed the normal route into teacher training.

The provision of training for teachers of Cookery and Domestic Subjects had been available since the early 1890s. With the transfer of Firth College from the Bow Buildings complex to new

university premises in Western Bank, a School of Cookery and Domestic Subjects developed. The girls passed through a full-time course in cookery, needlework and the domestic arts and the more able remained to qualify via City and Guilds examination as recognised teachers of Domestic Subjects. The women who thus qualified suffered the same fate as the men, being regarded as of reduced status in relation to their colleagues. It was a state of affairs which was long to continue, despite the fact that educational developments in the 1920s and 1930s proved to the educational world the intrinsic value of such studies. There were isolated examples of developing facilities signified by the activities and influence of a number of institutions - but the economic climate and social environment between the wars mitigated against any realistic development. Nevertheless, seeds had been sown by committed educational pioneers.

With the passing of the 1944 Act came the raising of school leaving age and a commitment to raise the standard of universal secondary education: the need for specialist provisions and specialist teachers to meet the provision changed the situation. The Ministry of Education considered that a specialist teacher of Domestic Science or Handicraft needed to be trained not only as a specialist but also as a competent generalist teacher too. Calling on experience gained from the longer established specialist training colleges, the Ministry recommended the setting up of appropriate three-year specialist courses. In the haggles over location which ensued among the Local Education Authorities, Sheffield was invited to establish a College of Housecraft. It was an additional facility in the region for earlier the Yorkshire College of Housecraft had been established in Leeds, and the Leeds Local Education Authority already controlled the Carnegie Foundation Physical Education College at Beckett Park. Meanwhile, the West Riding Local Education Authority put forward a proposal for the establishment of Bretton Hall College as a Specialist centre concentrating on Music and Drama and were in the process of establishing a three-year Physical Education College for Women to be housed in the ancestral home of the Earls of Fitzwilliam at Wentworth Woodhouse, near Rotherham.

Discussions on the suggestion of establishing a College of Housecraft had been in progress throughout much of 1948. Then at the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee meeting of 1st November 1948, the Director of Education raised the issue in Committee. He reported that the facilities at present available for the Training of Teachers of Domestic Science were insufficient to meet the staffing needs of Local Education Authorities and as no facilities were available in Sheffield the establishment of a college appeared appropriate. The Sub-Committee minute raising the issue left no room for debate and it would appear that the project was a fait accompli before it ever appeared on the agenda of the meeting. The introduction of the issue ranged not around whether there should or should not be a college, but where it should be located. The further minutes of the meeting record:

"The Sub-Committee gave consideration to the question of the desirability of acquiring Richmond Park and grounds for the provision of a College for the training of teachers of Domestic Science and decided to recommend -

That, subject to the necessary consents, negotiations be entered into for the acquisition of this property by the Education Committee for the purpose of providing a three-years' course of training for teachers of Domestic Science.

It is proposed, if the recommendation is approved, that 20 resident students shall be admitted in September, 1949, and 20 in each of the two following years, making a total provision for 60 resident students".₁

In the following three months, for whatever reason, the venue was changed. The Director reported on 7th February 1949² that 'H M Inspectorate had visited Topley Hall "regarding its suitability for the accommodation of a Training College for Teachers of Domestic Science and was agreed that in the event of a favourable report the City Architect be asked to prepare sketch plans for its conversion". By March 1949 a favourable reply had been received from the Ministry "welcoming the proposal to acquire Topley Hall". Thereupon, the Sub-Committee visited the premises and site on 21st March. Almost as suddenly, the title of the proposed college was changed from "Domestic Science" to "College of Housecraft".

By April 1949, the Sub-Committee were ready to recommend to the Education Committee that Topley Hall be acquired at a price to be determined by the District Valuer and that the sketch plan which provided residential accommodation for 122 students (including 110 study bedrooms) also be approved.

The site as it stood did not wholly meet the City Architect's Department's requirements; for the Sub-Committee were called upon to press the Estates Surveyor to transfer from the Estates Department an adjacent 6.8 acres to the benefit of the Education Committee, to acquire by purchase an additional 9.7 acres - and further directed the Estates Surveyor to raise a Compulsory Purchase Order if the purchase could not be arranged by negotiation.

At the meeting of the Sub-Committee on 5th May, the Director reported that the transactions had been successful. Topley Hall had been transferred to the Education Committee for £4,500 and the Estates Committee had agreed to transfer their land. But the Committee's plans were threatened. The Sub-Committee were asked to consider a letter from the Ministry of Education requesting the observations of the Authority to a letter received by the Ministry from the Secretary of the Sheffield and Peak District Branch of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, urging that the proposal to adapt and extend Topley Hall to provide a Training College of Housecraft should not proceed and that the drawings of any proposed alterations or additions to the Hall be made public and be accepted by some expert body. Whereupon, the Director¹ reported that the matter had been considered by the Town Planning Committee of the City Council who have resolved that no objection from a planning point of view be raised either to the proposed alterations or to the extension, and it was agreed that the Ministry be informed accordingly.

The Committee then recommended that the proposed institution be known as the "Topley Hall Training College of Housecraft" and urged that the college be put in readiness to receive 20 first-year students in September 1949.

Meanwhile the recruitment of a Principal was quickly put in hand. At the May 1949 meeting, the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee agreed the Principal's salary scale and the approval of the Ministry of Education was reported to the Committee. Unfortunately, difficulties arose seemingly concerned with the level of remuneration. Seven months elapsed before the matter was resolved! Although other lecturing staff were in the meantime appointed, the appointment of a Principal was not made until the Special Meeting of the Sub-Committee of 15th December 1949, when it was reported that:

"... Miss Jessie C. Cameron, Organiser of Needlework and Domestic Science to the Berkshire Education Authority, be appointed Principal of the Totley Hall Training College of Housecraft from the 1st March 1950".¹

With a single small intake of first-year students and with limited facilities, the College opened its doors. At the end of the first year the Principal, Miss J C Cameron, reported:

"The College was open to the public on 26th and 27th June (1951). Samples of work done in all Departments during the first year of training were shown and practical classes in Cookery, Laundrywork and Housecraft were in progress during the afternoons. Choral speech and a P.T. lesson were also demonstrated.

Several hundreds of people visited the College during these days and much interest was expressed in the work being done".²

Meanwhile, plans were made, approved, and building commenced on teaching and residential accommodation designed to provide for a total of 144 students following a three-year course. In some respects, the establishment of a new College of Housecraft was unique and, in a situation where the two major domestic fuel systems (i.e. Gas and Electricity) were in competition, it was appropriate that future consumers might well be influenced if the teachers of housecraft could be influenced. The first bid was made by the "electricity lobby" when at the meeting of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee held on 7th July 1952, the Director of Education was able to report that:

"... the British Electrical Development Association are now prepared to present to the College the following domestic appliances, which are at present in use at the College on hire:-

4 British National Cookers	1 Jackson Giant Cooker with stand
1 Carron H.3 Cooker	2 Revo Cookers
1 Carron H.3 de luxe Cooker	1 15 cub. ft. Prestcold Refrigerator
2 Creda Comet Cookers	1 Electrolux LM 150 Refrigerator
1 Creda FV 13 Cooker	1 S472 Prestcold Refrigerator
1 G.E.C. DC 114 Cooker	1 Burco Wash Boiler

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1

When the College opened for its second session in September 1952, student numbers had risen to 70:

"There are 23 new students in College this year. 84 applications were received during the past year. Of these 21 gave Totley Hall as their first choice. 24 students were accepted and two more after the consent of the Institute of Education had been obtained. 3 students withdrew their applications, leaving a total of 23 first year students entering College this year. 5 of these students are Sheffield girls and they are residing at home. Billets have been found for all other new students within easy reach of College...

J. C. Cameron, Principal".₂

Unfortunately, there were delays in the building programme and as a result the additional facilities and accommodation which were planned to be brought into use in September 1952 were not available. It was a difficult situation in view of the admissions of three student years. Nevertheless, the work of the College had to continue now that students had been admitted. The arrangements for examining three-year specialist Housecraft teachers was by a two-stage examination structure, Part I being examined at the end of the second year. On 5th January 1953, the Principal reported:

"In November, 24 third year students took Part I of the examination. 3 students have to be re-examined in one subject each and 3 students failed to reach the required standard. One of these has decided to take the examination again as a private student. The report of the external examiner states that 'very considerable credit is due to the staff in having produced such a good standard despite the difficult circumstances which accompany the building of a new College'.

I feel, however, that the training of the students during this term has been handicapped owing to the fact that we have been short of one member of staff, who was unable to take up her appointment until January. This has naturally thrown a heavy burden on lecturers.

Efforts are now being made to have the building ready for students to come into residence on January 7th.

J. C. Cameron, Principal." ₁

The arrangements for taking over the newly built hostel accommodation were accomplished and it was subsequently reported that:

"All students except three day students came into residence on January 7th, and have settled in very well. The students very much appreciated their individual study bedrooms, and the opportunity thus afforded for undisturbed work".₂

In April 1953, Olive Metcalfe, MA, Senior Lecturer in Education, was appointed to the post of Deputy Principal with effect from 1st September 1953. Meanwhile, arrangements were made for Mrs Clement Attlee, wife of the then Prime Minister, to perform the official opening ceremony of the College on the 14th July 1953.

The College now settled into the routine business of training specialist teachers. It was in effect offering a series of monoteknical courses within a monoteknical system. Not surprisingly, many students by-passed teaching and took up appointments in the wider fields of institutional, industrial and commercial catering and management. The aim of the College was to train teachers of Housecraft who would be able to practice their art in primary and secondary schools and in institutions of further education and emphasis lay predominantly in the Housecraft specialisation, the study of Education being a complementary but unequal part of the course.

Consequently, in the decade of the 1950s when normal colleges were finding difficulties in obtaining candidates of suitable calibre for admission, Topley Hall College, although relatively newly

established was quickly gaining recognition and attracting many suitable applicants. By October 1954, the Principal was able to report that:

"The number of first choice applications received during the past few years has gradually increased and the Committee may be interested to see the following figures:-

	Total No of Applications	First Choice
1950	66	12
1951	90	27
1952	85	23
1953	120	46
1954	140	53,, 1
"1955	133	49
1956	240	66,, 2

The organisation and training of the College was not without problems. In February 1955 the Principal brought more pressing issues to the Sub-Committee for its support:

"... The post of Storekeeper has been advertised several times without success. I feel that we should get a better response if the advertisement were for a Junior Assistant Bursar instead of a Storekeeper. An applicant with a qualification in Institutional Management would wish to have experience in other branches of work than storekeeping, and it would be to our advantage also to have her help in other directions than storeroom work. I should be glad therefore if the Committee would agree to this alteration...

I should be glad if permission could be given to appoint an additional Lecturer for Education for September, 1955, when I anticipate there will be 136 students in training. At present the Education Department is staffed with one Senior Lecturer, the Deputy Principal. Taking into consideration the amount of lecturing and tutorial work required, there is obviously more than enough work for one person...

Certain members of the domestic staff are required to work in the mornings and in the evenings, and to have time off in the afternoon... I have looked carefully into the matter and find that it is necessary to arrange for three resident maids, two non-resident maids, and two cooks to work on this basis for 36 weeks in the year. I should be glad if they could be given the extra payment.

There will be 65 students on block teaching practice during two or three weeks in March. All the Sheffield schools available are being used, and it has been found necessary in addition to use certain schools outside Sheffield. Some of these are a considerable distance from the College. I would be glad if permission can be given for students to reside in billets in the area where they teach, in cases where more than one hour's journey each way is required..."¹

On the 8th October 1957, J C Cameron gave notice of retirement from the post of Principal with effect from the spring term 1958. Meanwhile, the Director of Education reported to the Sub-Committee that the Ministry of Education had proposed that a full inspection be conducted by H M Inspectorate during November 1957.

At the meeting of the Sub-Committee on the 2nd December 1957, the Principal reported that:

"... Her Majesty's Inspectors have, during the past few weeks, carried out a full inspection of the College. From October 21st to 24th inclusive, special attention was given by five H.M.I.s to the Cookery department, medical arrangements, Physical Education and teaching practice. From November 4th to 8th inclusive, nine H.M.I.s gave special attention to the following departments - Education, English, Science, Nutrition and Health Education, Art and Needlecraft, Housecraft and Catering, etc. Chief Inspector Mr. R. E. Williams and Divisional Inspector Mr. S. H. Plumbly also joined the Inspectors here on November 7th.

I shall be glad if the appointment of an additional member of staff can be approved as suggested during the Inspection..."²

The Principal's request for additional staff was not approved even though the Inspectorate had identified a need. Other moves were afoot and the time did not appear right to endorse the request for additional staff. Within a month a Special meeting was called of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee to endorse the staff section's recommendation that:

"... Miss Olive Metcalfe, M.A., (the incumbent Deputy Principal) be appointed Principal of the Topley Hall Training College of Housecraft from the commencement of the Summer Term, 1958..."³

On the 3rd March 1958, the retiring Principal in her report to the Sub-Committee gave a hint of clouds on the horizon. The College had filled 35 of the 38 vacancies from a first choice application list of 44 but at a meeting of the Association of Principals of Recognised Training Colleges of Domestic Science, a report was given on the poor state of the clearing house pool of applications for entry to Housecraft Colleges for the Session 1958-59.

In March there was a total of 141 vacancies in the College, while the total number of applications under consideration numbered a mere 90. Cameron observed:

"It appears, therefore, that the Domestic Science Colleges are finding that there are fewer applications this year than in previous years".₁

On the 31st July 1959, at the close of her first year as Principal of Toley College of Housecraft, Olive Metcalf presented her report to the Sub-Committee. It read:

"We have now accepted our full number of students for next year.

O. Metcalfe,
Principal."

CHAPTER XXIII - REFERENCES

- Page 340 1. SEC Minutes, 1948-49, p.228
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1949-50, p.343
Page 341 1. SEC Minutes, 1949-50, p.78
Page 342 1. SEC Minutes, 1949-50, p.273
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1951-52, p.211
Page 343 1. SEC Minutes, 1952-53, p.167
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1952-53, p.198
Page 344 1. SEC Minutes, 1952-53, p.209
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1952-53, p.355
Page 345 1. SEC Minutes, 1954-55, p.197
" 2. Figures for 1955 and 1956 have been added from a later entry in the Minutes
Page 346 1. SEC Minutes, 1954-55, pp.345-346
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1957-58, p.335
" 3. SEC Minutes, 1958-59, p.384
Page 347 1. SEC Minutes, 1958-59, p.441

CHAPTER XXIV

DOLDRUMS

The 1950s represented a period of considerable uncertainty for Training Colleges. The rapid build-up of teacher-training facilities in the immediate post-war period initially improved the supply of trained teachers, but there were unexpected problems. Throughout the decade, the effects of a "stop-start" national economic policy were felt in the colleges. Investment in additional facilities and staff recruitment was strictly curtailed, growth was limited and expenditure on seemingly fringe activities such as Student Union support and extra-curricular activities was reduced.

In the fields of commerce and industry, the general level of employment remained high and there were many job opportunities for young women other than the "drudge" work of teaching, which served to have a depressing effect on recruitment of suitable candidates. The long cherished aim of the National Union of Teachers for the introduction of equal salaries with men made teaching a more attractive career for women in the late 1950s. Nevertheless, the number of applicants for women's colleges remained marginal.

While the number of applications made to Thornbridge College constantly remained a difficult issue, the problem at the Trolley Hall College was less acute, though longer term problems loomed. Applications from women wishing to specialise in Housecraft were readily forthcoming, therefore the college was never really short of suitable applicants, and unlike the normal two-year training colleges, the specialised three-year course in Housecraft offered a range of job opportunities outside the normal profession of teaching.

In contrast, the Sheffield City Training College had long attracted a satisfactory number of both men and women candidates and was markedly a popular choice. Nevertheless, in the 1950s, even Wing and Moulton struggled at times to find sufficient suitably qualified

candidates for admission. Meanwhile, as the "bulge" birthrate of the 1944-47 period moved through the infant, junior and secondary schools, the desperate struggle to maintain satisfactory pupil/teacher ratios continued to beset the local education authorities. Nationally, from 1944 to 1949, the annual average births exceeded 750,000 with a high peak of 881,000 in 1947. Locally too, the birthrate remained high for between the years 1944 to 1949 an annual average of some 10,000 births per year was recorded. Training colleges were administered by local education authorities out of "poolable" resources and central funds. Theoretically, they were to provide training facilities to meet national needs. Nevertheless, altruism was not a virtue high amongst the attributes of local education authorities faced with the then difficult problem of staffing the schools adequately, and control of a training college was often a means of attracting teachers to take up employment in the controlling local education authority.

In the summer of 1951, Wing was to report that:

"The number of applications has fallen off this year. This applies particularly to the women where there have been hardly enough candidates of good quality to fill the places. In the case of men, although there have been somewhat fewer candidates than usual, there have been many suitably qualified men whom we have had to refuse. The falling off in women candidates may be due to the increase in the number of women's Training Colleges in this area. The additional period of military service is mainly responsible for the reduction in the number of men".¹

A year later the applications from women candidates were improved while the number of male applications deteriorated. "This state of affairs", wrote Wing,² "is not confined to this College alone but is a reflection of the general position throughout the country, which is causing anxiety". It was an exceedingly difficult period and the problems of recruitment made longer term planning difficult. In despair, Wing sought reasons for the irregularity in the flow of applications coming forward. Yet again, the matter was brought to the attention of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee:

"The falling-off in numbers of men applicants is in part a national fall... This trend is due mainly to financial difficulties on the course. These difficulties are much greater for men students than women, as many of them cannot attend College until they have left school for three years. Further, as they have to support themselves for the intervening period between demobilisation and admission to College, they take up posts in industry or commerce where, if they are successful, they tend to stay rather than face the financial hardship of a two-year course. The position is worsened this year as the reduction of military service from two years to eighteen months, formerly allowed to students, is not now granted..."¹

The state of affairs now caused some alarm and the Sub-Committee agreed:

"... to recommend that the attention of the Ministry of Education and of the Association of Education Committees be called to the matter with the view of immediate consideration being given to whatever steps are possible being taken to arrest this serious decline in the number of men candidates for admission to Training Colleges"²

A nation-wide advertising campaign was launched in the press and the BBC made weekly broadcasts aimed at encouraging likely candidates to apply for admission to training colleges and the Ministry of Education's initiative brought some results. To the alarm of the professional teaching bodies, the Ministry of Education, the Local Education Authorities and the Colleges, had agreed that there could be some relaxation of the minimum entrance requirement to colleges providing applicants could show by age, experience or other qualifications that they were otherwise suitable candidates for admission. One would-be student observed:

"... I was very interested in becoming a teacher and as a result of hearing a BBC broadcast, I applied for admission to St John's College, York, knowing that the College was particularly short of candidates. The application was never even acknowledged. When I wrote to the Principal asking whether he had received my application, he sent a most condescending reply. Disappointed, I wrote to Wing seeking advice, whereupon I was invited to apply formally and was subsequently offered a place. It was typical of Wing that he was sufficiently open-minded to admit students who were not all stamped in the same approved mould"³

But military service still proved to be one of the main stumbling blocks to the recruitment of male trainees. The Sub-Committee requested the Director of Education to write to the Ministry of Education to secure early release from the Forces of those candidates who had been promised places. While the National Service period remained at eighteen months, some flexibility was allowed. Unfortunately, in 1951, when it reverted to a two-year period, students were allowed an option - either they applied for deferrment of military service until they had completed their college course, or were invited to apply for early call-up in order to obtain a discharge from military duties in time for a September start in college.

There were also a number of other factors affecting the recruitment to teaching during the 1950s. As the "bulge population" passed into the Secondary Modern Schools, the shortage of "Secondary" trained teachers became acute. To many of the young women, the idea of teaching senior pupils was a daunting one and Wing recognised this:

"We are particularly anxious, at the present time, to encourage the maximum number to take the Secondary Modern course, owing to the needs of those Schools. There is some reluctance to do so on the part of women students... It may also in part be attributed to the fact that, at the age of eighteen, a woman student does not always feel sufficiently confident to deal with the older children in the Secondary Modern Schools, who are at most only some three or four years younger - and probably more sophisticated - than she is herself...

I feel that the eventual serious shortage of men teachers forecast in my reports over the last five years is likely to prove only too true... In the case of men there is a rather larger proportion coming from other occupations than is the case with women. We are very careful to see that any applicants accepted do not enter teaching merely because they have failed somewhere else: the very suggestion would in the majority of cases be an unjustified slur. It may apply to a very small percentage who may or may not be accepted somewhere, but many students have given up posts with better prospects and higher rates of pay than the teaching profession can offer... Too often I have gathered the impression that admission to a Training College is regarded by the Grammar School as a failure to gain entrance to a University and therefore as contributing nothing to the honour of the school..."₁

The problem of the quality and quantity of candidates to teaching not only gave rise to concern but it provided some evidence of a social gap between the men and women. Wing had already cast critical comments at many Grammar School attitudes that pupils entering teacher-training counted for little in comparison with those they had prepared for the Universities. On the subject of written and spoken English he observed:

"A fundamental part of the course is the training of students in both oral and written English. Particular attention has been given by the English staff to the standard of English in Education essays and elsewhere and I am happy to say that, as a result, there has been a marked improvement in the standard reached this year. I am not quite so happy about speech and voice production. We have had to refuse many otherwise suitable candidates because their speech has been poor and we have increasingly felt the need of a specialist in voice production for those who have been admitted... It is noticeable how much better is the speech of the women students than that of the men. Although this may be partly the result of service training, our experience in interviewing men candidates straight from school would indicate that the matter of speech is not regarded as so important in the boys' schools as in girls..."₁

The progress made at the Sheffield City College during the 1950s was in many respects quite remarkable. Wing pursued a policy of bringing key national educational and local educational figures into the College to talk and meet the students:

"The number of visiting Lecturers has increased this year. Talks have been given to the students by a number of specialists connected with education. These have included members of the Education Committee's Administrative and Inspectorial staff, the Children's Officer, the Juvenile Employment Officer, the Superintendent of the Boys' Remand Home, the Director and members of staff of the Child Guidance Clinic and the School Medical Officer. Amongst other talks may be mentioned those given by Dr. Fleming of the University of London, Mr. I. Pitman, M.P., Dr. L. du Garde Peach, Professor J. Edwards of Nottingham University, Dr. Francis and Dr. Thoday of Sheffield University. We have been fortunate enough to have had music recitals by Mr. Bernard Shore, H.M.I., Miss Gertrude Collins, Mr. Frederick Grinke and Mr. Bullivant of Sheffield University"₂

Although battles continued as to the limits of responsibility allowed to the students, such did not dampen the endeavours of the Students' Representative Council:

"The President, Vice-President and members of the Students' Representative Council have made an outstanding contribution to the well-being of the College. Student Union Societies have, as usual, been very active. This year, the annual play staged by the Dramatic Society was "The Lady's Not For Burning". The Operatic Society gave a performance of "Ruddigore" by Gilbert and Sullivan. The Choral Society's Concert included "Acis and Galatea" by Handel and "Song of Destiny" by Brahms. Some students have formed a choral group which has amongst other activities frequently sung at College prayers. A vigorous Photographic Club has developed and an Astronomical Society has been formed.

I am happy to say that, during the last year, the Magazine was run at a profit. A large number of copies were circulated to the schools from which our candidates are drawn, in order to give them a picture of College life. The importance of keeping in close touch with this source of recruitment is obvious. There is no prospect of repeating this measure with the current issue of the magazine, as it has already been practically sold out".¹

By the mid-1950s there were signs of impending change and this was manifested in several ways. In July 1955, the Principal was reporting to the Sub-Committee that:

"Our main handicap... (is) ... the very cramped nature of the buildings... the College staff is 29 which is based on the usual staffing ratios of 1 : 12 for a Training College. It is normally expected that the tutors will be available during the working day either lecturing or discussing their subjects with individual students. As this type of work cannot be done in the gymnasium, the laboratory or the pottery room, there are only 13 classrooms available in the College for teaching. Thus some 16 additional rooms are required if each lecturer is to have a room where he can be found by a student for the kind of tuition envisaged in the McNair Report... while the staff and students have, without complaint, done the best in these rather depressing conditions... there is no doubt that the cramped buildings affect the quality of the students' work and cause undue strain on the staff...".²

Maintaining a balanced ratio of men to women students was a difficult problem. While it was necessary to attempt to maintain a careful balance between the sexes, the outside constraints often affected the composition of a year's intake. While applications from male candidates tended to remain small there was little room for choice and for a number of years there was a predominance of applications from women, a situation which was regarded as being:

"... a disadvantage in the organisation of societies and in the general social life of the college".¹

The situation was to change. By the summer of 1954 applications had improved both in quality and quantity, which moved Wing to observe that:

"... it... has been possible to be increasingly selective with regard to women candidates...".²

During the autumn of 1954 the Sheffield City College was subjected to a full inspection by H M Inspectorate. It was a period of considerable stress not only for the Principal and Deputy Principal but also for the lecturing staff:

"May, 1954.

... I have recently been informed that the College is to receive a full inspection next term. I cannot claim that this came as a surprise since the last full inspection was in 1935... To consider and discuss improvement in the separate subjects in relation to the whole picture, as is done at a General Inspection, is of great value to tutors and those responsible for administration... Probably the greatest value of a General Inspection is that the prospect stimulates the Principal and tutors alike to look at the workings of the whole College from first principles. In the next few months we shall ourselves examine the College syllabuses and schemes of work with a very critical eye - an academic stock-taking as it were. Without this stimulus this is a matter which tends to be postponed, for training college work is one of the most time-absorbing jobs. There is probably no kind of educational institution where the members of staff are expected to be so much concerned with both residential and college life - academic work, the activities of college societies, social life, as well as the troubles and difficulties of students, are all expected to be borne...".³

The College was admitting a total of some 350 students spread over the two-year course and supporting a one year Supplementary course in Geography with an intake of some 20 students. Sheffield City Training College was one of the larger institutions and long-established, therefore it was expected that its organisation and efficiency would be of a high order. In general, the subsequent report was good but the Inspectorate could not avoid commenting on many of the issues which Wing had continually raised with the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee - particularly on matters relating to teaching accommodation. In many respects, the inspection represented an appraisal of Wing's ideas and philosophies. Indeed, Wing himself considered his whole work and effort to be on trial - a burden which bore upon him heavily and which was subsequently to undermine his health.

The results of the inspection more than vindicated Wing's endeavours. It commended the work of both the Principal and his Deputy most highly but there were obviously some aspects of the College which left much to be desired. The administration was too lightly staffed and correspondingly lacked efficiency. The teaching arrangements of certain subjects were criticised, others lauded, and the tenor of the Report largely revolved round the quality of individual tutors and lecturers. A student's view of the inspection puts an interesting perspective on the event:

"The whole staff were like "cats on hot bricks". Schemes of work suddenly appeared. For the more competent and respected among the staff, little appeared to be different. On the other hand, the scroungers scurried round, carefully prepared lectures were delivered, and seminars started on time. There was a semblance of order such as we were not quite accustomed to. One of the lecturers in Music made a clever ploy: I was directed to give a practical recorder lesson to my peers in the presence of Dr Newman, the Specialist H M I for Music. It was a way of filling the better part of a full morning's session but not a particularly commendable way of securing the respect of a student for a tutor... I saw it as a means of passing the buck!"₁

The 1950s were a watershed of social change within the College. The daily corporate act of worship - maintained by Kimbell and endorsed by the 1944 Act - gradually disappeared. Wing allowed "freedom of conscience" to operate and the majority of students opted out. Some

semblance of it was preserved in the form of a College Assembly which was held at 9 a.m. on Wednesday mornings. There was a hymn, a brief reading and a prayer - but the prime purpose was to allow the Principal, Deputy Principal and President of the Students' Union to address the whole student body and for the reading of notices. Occasionally it would be a time for "reading the riot act". Wing seldom showed annoyance or irritation. On one occasion he did, with some justification.

He had received complaints and a deputation from the residents of the neighbourhood concerning student behaviour. Collegiate Crescent and Broomhall still housed a number of families of some substance. Many were dog owners and would exercise their dogs in the Crescent and adjoining roads. Unfortunately, these pets soiled the pavements and many students suffered the consequence of dirtying their shoes in the excrement. A group so incensed with the lack of control by the dog owners proceeded each time they encountered such an incidence to ring it round with white chalk, and suitably labelled it in clear chalked lettering "DOG!". Wing was exceedingly angry but remarkably much of the offending excrement disappeared.

During this period the wearing by the staff of academic dress while lecturing lapsed and Wing gradually ceased to wear his doctoral robes when addressing the College Assembly.

A particular point of issue in the struggle for student self-organisation and government was the organisation of College dances. From the beginning of Wing's Principalship, dances were held in the College Hall some two or three times per term. They were free; the cost of engaging a dance band and refreshments being paid for by the Local Education Authority. Consequently they were susceptible to economy cuts. The arrangement was far from ideal, particularly from the point of view of the Students' Representative Council who wished to run their own dances, charge admission fees, admit outsiders and provide a licensed bar. Furthermore, the Student body contended that dances needed to be held weekly if there was to be continuity.

Such proposals were not acceptable. Although Wing had to bear the brunt of the students' criticism, neither the Chairman nor collectively the members of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee, could or would sanction such student license.

Such conditions did not lend themselves to satisfactory all-college social events. The male students, as male students are wont to do, spent most of their time drinking at the "Nursery Tavern" until closing time. Meanwhile, many of the women students were attracted to the University Student Union dances and parties, where they were always eagerly received because of the shortage of female partners.

The time-honoured custom of the coming-up dance lapsed. Up to the mid-1950s, the first dance of the academic year was attended by most members of staff and all new students were formally presented to the Principal and Deputy Principal; the "Dashing White Sergeant" was always on the programme following the interval and the "College Song" was still sung. But these traditions disappeared with some rapidity and other time-honoured customs began to change.

The Old Crescenters' Association had little appeal to the majority of College leavers and its continuance seemed to rely on a small, exclusive group. Attitudes to young students were often uncompromising. When the long-serving Honorary Secretary resigned there was much discussion on the suitability of the proposed successor. The in-coming Secretary was an active committee member of the local committee of the National Association of Schoolmasters, which was at the time pursuing a militant line of action, with the result that one of the long-standing committee members took him on one side and counselled that he would be expected to resign from the National Union of Schoolmasters Committee as such activity was not in keeping with the image of the Old Crescenters' Association.

As the fiftieth anniversary of the College approached, Wing decided the event should be marked by the preparation of a history of the College. The idea was at first put to the members of the College staff but it had a lukewarm reception and no one offered to take the idea seriously. There were a number of "Old Crescenter" members most anxious to have the opportunity of preparing a history of the College - indeed over the years a number of them had written extracts of the earliest days of the College and of student life. But Wing still viewed the Association with suspicion. Overtly, relationships appeared good and the relationships between the College and the Association were kept in fine balance, largely due to the skill of Jane Moulton, the Deputy Principal. Covertly, the relationship was less happy. When Wing finally suggested a student should write the history of the College, the older members of the Association considered his decision quite irrational. Letters passed between member groups. Letters were sent to ex-Principal Kimbell and with such a climate, the writing of a history of the College became both a study in cooperation and non-cooperation. Many ex-students and ex-staff wanted to cooperate, some genuinely so, others because they wished to ensure "their side of the story" was told. In the event, opposition fell away and many old students willingly cooperated. Remarkably, the period of the fiftieth jubilee celebrations marked a distinct rapprochement between the Wing-Moulton leadership and the Old Crescenters' Association. Wing reported to the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee:

"The College year opened with the Old Crescenters' Annual Reunion, at which they incorporated some celebrations of the Jubilee. Although it was not quite their Jubilee, the Old Crescenters nevertheless marked this occasion in the history of the College by a series of functions, at which the guests included two former Principals, two former Deputy Principals, the Chairman of the Governing Body, and representatives of the Local Education Authority. It was clear from the speeches that the Old Crescenters are most appreciative of the facilities made available by the Governors for their activities. At the same time, the College does owe them a debt for their very considerable interest in College matters and their support in such things as the College Magazine and the Library. In the case of the Library, they have presented no fewer than 290 volumes - all of a type rather more expensive than we could normally afford, and this gift is one which

is constantly being extended each year. No section of the Library is in more constant use or of more value. Present students gain considerably by their contact with Old Crescenters, not only in social and sporting activities but also in educational discussions in the form of Brains Trusts, and in seeing such productions as those of their newly formed Dramatic Society".¹

Before the relationship was finally cemented between the Old Crescenters and the Wing administration, there was one internal incident which caused a degree of dissension. The President of the Association for the years 1957-59 recalls:

"It was evident by the late 1950s that the Association was at the crossroads. There was little real support and few ex-students joined. Even the past-present student sports fixtures were difficult to organise and the College students found them a chore. The Reunion weekend was poorly supported and it was questioned whether it was worth the time and effort which went into its organisation when only a small coterie supported it. Even the past-present Dance was a doubtful success because the students just did not wish to mix with a group of people whom they did not know and with whom they appeared to have little in common. The Association had a Students' Hardship fund which it administered in the most parsimonious way. The indignity which applicants suffered was completely out of proportion to the few pounds granted and which was expected to be repaid in the course of time: and woe betide those who reneged on their obligation. The dispensation of Charity was not a gracious affair. It seemed that the problems had to be brought out into the open and the future of the Association debated".²

The President of the Old Crescenters' Association addressed the members via "The Crescent" and observed:

"... It would, therefore, seem fitting to cast our minds back fifty years in order to consider why the Association was formed and what it has achieved. The aim in establishing the O.C.A. was to foster and maintain the friendships made at College, through social activities and reunions. That these aims were fully realised is borne out by the many years of successful activities which were carried on.

Unfortunately, during the past few years, support of the Association has tended to decline. This has for some time caused much concern among the members of the O.C. Committee, and matters have not been improved by the comments of some of the older members who have not been slow in voicing their opinion that present-day students lack loyalty towards both the College and the Association.

True, the Association has not the support that it had, nor has it the number of members one might suppose it to have, considering the size of the College. But let us not deceive ourselves; this is by no means a new problem...

During the Second World War the O.C.A. appeared to gain strength, but we must remember that in times of war people do tend to draw together more readily, and if the wartime period seemed to create interest in the O.C.A., the post-war period has witnessed a steady decline...

I am aware that there are conflicting views as to the function and purpose of the O.C.A. It may go hard with some members, but we have to face facts; times and circumstances have changed. College life has no longer the same significance which it had fifty years or even twenty-five years ago. Men students no longer come at the age of eighteen straight from the background of school and home, but are at least twenty, having spent two years in H. M. Forces, which, even under the most monotonous conditions does call for some self-reliance; therefore, by the time men students enter College one of their primary aims is to become efficient teachers and to get out into the world as self-supporting individuals. Furthermore, the discipline imposed in the Forces tends to drive most people away from organised bodies. Much the same applies in respect of women students; self-reliance and independence come at a much earlier date, so by the end of the College course they too feel that they have had adequate experience of communal activity in the school and in College; there is naturally a temporary turning away from the corporate life. Yet these students have by no means any less interest in or any less love of the College. I hope therefore that many of our more critical members will remember these points when considering our younger teachers.

There were many misgivings when the 1957 Reunion was merged with the Past-Present Weekend. Yet more young O.C. members attended this Reunion than have attended any of the September functions for some years. From this, the officers of the O.C.A. can reach only one conclusion, that this is likely to become a better form of Reunion. I know that there are some who would like to retain the September meeting, but I would make this plea; whilst older members may find great satisfaction in visiting the College, to spend a weekend with the memories of the past, this is certainly not the most conducive atmosphere to the encouragement of younger members..."₁

The views of the President did not go unchallenged. Having been elected to the honour of being the youngest President his "gross disservice to the Association" was noted. At the subsequent meeting of the Committee and the following Annual General Meeting, the President was castigated. "It was wrong", said one Old Crescenter, "to wash the Association's dirty linen in public". Little did they know that the sentiments expressed in the letter had the full approbation of Herbert Wing, the Principal.

The President's observations and views were not without foundation, both before and after the event, the Old Crescenter news items carried many indications of the Association's problems:

"... The younger Old Crescenters of recent years regarded the Association in quite a different light. For them the Old Crescenters' Association has merely provided opportunities to return to College to meet again the students of their junior year..."

"... Apart from the financial aspect, the results of the experiment seem to have been regarded with much disfavour by several Old Crescenters. To the Officers of the Association, perhaps the biggest disappointment of all was the poor attendance at the Annual Meeting which was held on the Saturday morning..."

"... The Sunday morning Reunion Service was not well attended; those who did attend were rewarded by a fine address and an inspiring service..."

"... It is only because of the very real and generous co-operation which we have been given from Dr. Wing and Miss Moulton coupled with the optimism of the Old Crescenters' Committee and the undaunted faith of a few other Old Crescenters that the three most important functions of the Association have been carried out successfully this year..."

"... Your secretary would be most grateful to have a letter from you expressing your opinions about the forming of a programme for Reunion and the best time to hold it..."₁

But the affair had little effect. Organisations, no matter how weak, unrepresentative or unresponsive, survive and often continue, having outlived their usefulness. The Old Crescenters' Association appeared to be no exception.

CHAPTER XXIV - REFERENCES

- Page 350 1. SEC Minutes, 1951-52, p.109
Note: During early 1951, the National Service Acts had required males to undertake two years' military service, whereas a reduced period of eighteen months had been in operation for several years. The re-imposition of two years' service was primarily due to concern and commitment to the war in Korea.
- Page 350 2. SEC Minutes, 1951-52, p.123
- Page 351 1. SEC Minutes, 1952-53, p.351
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1952-53, p.351
- " 3. Personal recollections, RM
- Page 352 1. SEC Minutes, 1955-56, p.137
- Page 353 1. SEC Minutes, 1954-55, p.117
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1953-54, p.121
- Page 354 1. SEC Minutes, 1953-54, p.121
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1955-56, p.123
- Page 355 1. SEC Minutes, 1954-55, p.116
- " 2. Ibid
- " 3. Principal's Letter, May 1954, "The Crescent", Vol 19, No. 4, p.3
- Page 356 1. Personal Recollections, RM
- Page 360 1. SEC Minutes, 1956-57, p.136
- " 2. Personal Recollections, RM
- Page 361 1. O.C.A. Presidential Letter, "The Crescent" Summer, 1958, p.5
- Page 362 1. Extracts from O.C.A. News, "The Crescent", various dates

CHAPTER XXV

EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT 1955-1963

In giving evidence to the McNair Committee in 1944, S H Wood of the Board of Education Teachers' Branch remarked:

"It is no good pretending that the training colleges are regarded as centres of light and learning. On the contrary some of them are despised as educational institutions..."¹

Ten years onwards the general image of training colleges remained the same. While equal pay and improved pay temporarily enhanced the status of the school teacher, teacher-training colleges remained low in academic status; indeed, the whole teacher training provision, apart from the creation of Institutes of Education, still bore the hallmarks of an entrenched and closed system. In terms of post-war achievement, Sheffield Education Committee could congratulate itself on the contribution it was making to the supply and training of teachers, but while the largest institution, Sheffield City College, was co-educational and was under the direction of a liberal-minded Principal and Deputy Principal who were endeavouring to lift both the status of the College and the standing of its student population, Thornbridge Hall College and Totley Hall College represented some of the worst features highlighted by the McNair Report, even though both were established after the War. One critic observed:

"What is chiefly wrong with the majority of training colleges is their poverty and all that follows from it..."²

While neither Thornbridge nor Totley was starved of funding and resources from a buildings and facilities point of view, their "poverty" stemmed from the nature of their social make-up, the problems of staffing small, single-sex colleges, and isolated geographical locations. They were not unique - but typical results of the "idealised surroundings" notion which many local education authorities held in the immediate post-war period.

The institutions and their incumbents were victims of central government expediencies - the prime one being the supply of a teaching force at the lowest possible price. It was a policy which local education authorities willingly supported, for the grant system encouraged growth at minimum cost on the rates. Indeed, indulgence in teacher-training proved to be not only cost-reductive but revenue-earning when capital loan and grant income flowed from central government. Moreover, involvement in teacher-training not only became a self-financing exercise, it was often a covert means of attracting newly qualified teaching staff to an authority's schools, particularly in less attractive urban areas. But while ever candidates came forward to fill teacher-training places, while ever student teachers came forward to fill vacancies in the under-staffed schools, and while ever the paymaster remained satisfied, there was little possibility of change. Hopes of a fresh approach and radical post-war reform receded in the face of administrative expediency.

The results and recommendations which stemmed from the general inspection conducted by H M Inspectorate for Schools in the City Training College in 1955 were of considerable import. Defects and weaknesses in staffing, teaching accommodation, and administrative organisation were revealed. Furthermore, an added observation indicated that the College appeared to be out of balance in relation to its size, staffing and the make-up of its student body.

A short-term remedy was quickly put in hand: Oaklands Hostel, which was primarily used as residential accommodation for men students underwent structural alterations and was converted into teaching areas and administrative offices - this provided twelve lecture rooms in close proximity to the main college building:

"... Oaklands Hostel has now become the central administrative block, which actually houses not only the administration but also the Senior Common Room and the educational tutorial rooms".₁

"... The relief felt has been considerable, especially as the building provides a number of small tutorial rooms which are essential in a modern training college and which have been

sadly lacking in previous years. Grateful as we are for this improvement, it serves to throw into strong relief the necessity for the proposed buildings for work in science, art and music."₁

Change was subsequently to come in real earnest. In May 1958, the Director of Education reported to the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee that the Ministry of Education had asked the Education Committee to consider increasing the resources of the College in order to accommodate some 500 students. Whereupon the Sub-Committee, having received a detailed report from the Director of Education, agreed to:

"... negotiations being taken for the acquisition of additional property adjoining Southbourne Hostel..."₂

And, in July 1959, the Sub-Committee learned that:

"... the freehold property known as "Lynwood", Clarkehouse Road... having an area of 11,360 square yards... be appropriated to the Sheffield Education Committee for use as additional teaching and hostel accommodation for the Sheffield City Training College..."₃

A change in the style of teaching now began to take place and Wing described the changing pattern:

"... it is only in comparatively recent times that smaller discussion groups have become such an important feature of the time-table - they sprang, perhaps, from the popularity of the discussion groups as an educational method in the forces, or perhaps from the tutorial groups of the older Universities. Lectures for large numbers of students were formerly the basis of the time-table. Thus, where there was, at one time, a single lecture in Education or Mathematics the students may now be divided into six small groups... There will also be a corresponding increase in the number of groups to be catered for. Thus smaller rooms and more of them are required both for modern teaching methods and for the three-year course..."₄

Structural changes were also to be undertaken in an area between Oaklands and the main College buildings, and Wing explained the rationale:

"... The first and most urgent step will be to connect the old teaching block with Oaklands. The next will be to add the new Communal Block which will include a new students' common room, games room and committee room. These should add to the amenities of a full student life and place the centre of the social life in the centre of the buildings, so that a student will be able to find on the one 'campus' his library, his lectures, his social life, and his meals. The latter will be provided by a new dining room in the same group of buildings. This central dining room will replace the five dining rooms which have existed up to the present and which have been very expensive to run with the present-day costs of staff. The present dining rooms have also been unable to accommodate the day students in the way that the College would desire. For many years day students have been admitted to the College, and the plans include provision for them in the future. It is felt that buildings cannot be provided to offer residential accommodation for every student; in any case there are always some men who begin training later and who have homes to support and who could not manage to give them up to come into residence. These students may best enter into the full life of the College... if the Union rooms and the dining rooms are adjacent. It will also meet the often expressed wish of, at least some sections of the men and women students, to dine together...

Adjacent to the dining room will be built a new hostel for women to accommodate about 60 students... The new women's hostel will mean that the two hostels in Broomhall Road will be dispensed with.

The last stage in the reconstruction will be the rebuilding of the Broomgrove Road Hostels in a modern style with single study bedrooms. This might well be carried out as a series of terrace-houses, each to accommodate eight or so students with no common rooms. The tutor's flat in such a hostel would be comparatively isolated for the greater comfort of all so that the students would not be disturbed by the babies (or is it the other way round?). Southbourne Hostel will also lose some of its common rooms and be adapted for about the same number of students in rooms twice as big as those in use at present. Altogether this should make the cost per student for residence somewhat smaller and, at the same time, provide for greater social life and activity at the College".₁

At this stage it was planned to refurbish Collegiate Hall, the Women's Hostel, which provided very inadequate cubicle accommodation, but this proposal was dropped in favour of building a completely new hostel block and utilising Collegiate Hall for teaching accommodation.

Meanwhile, the work and influence of the Institutes of Education during this period proved, in general, to be disappointing. The University of Sheffield's Institute appeared to be no exception for it too had settled into something of a malaise. Although standards were set and the Institute served to provide a platform for the exchange of educational ideas, the power for effecting real change lay elsewhere. To some extent the worst fears of Percy¹ and of Masson² were being realised.

Although there was no lack of goodwill, the Institute suffered as a result of problems raised by clashing personalities, by pressures created by its ambiguous status within the University itself and by external control over policies which remained the prerogative of the local education authorities.

The Institute suffered too from changes in its Directorship. While Professor Dent's influence was viewed with considerable suspicion both by the University and the Department of Education generally, he nevertheless brought to bear a very distinct and practical approach to the work of both the Institute and its constituent colleges. His successor, Professor Boris Ford, bore a different and altogether more academic image.

While the principals and staffs of the constituent colleges made their contributions to the work of the Institute, Herbert Wing was the sole male principal. Unfortunately, his influence was less than effective and it was Nancie Moller, Principal of the Lady Mabel College at Wentworth Woodhouse, who dominated the early scene. As Professor Armytage³ observed:

"Sir Alex Clegg knew how to pick principals and Miss Moller was a winner - it was she who dominated the committee of Principals at the Institute... she was the bell(e)-wether of the flock... her high pitched, upper class voice resounding in both hall and committee...".

Unfortunately, Nancie Moller became involved in a dispute with her employing authority, the West Riding County Education Department, and resigned. Meanwhile, although Wing was an enthusiast in affairs of the Institute and was ably supported by Jane Moulton, his Deputy Principal, he seemed to lack the natural charisma required of a leader and was thus not able to fill the vacuum left by the departure of Nancie Moller. At this time, strong leadership and positive initiative from the colleges may well have influenced the Institute towards making better progress and along different lines, particularly in the late 1950s and early 1960s. But there were other complex problems of organisational relationships. While both Wing and Moulton saw close involvement with the Institute as a platform from which to launch educational ideas and influence the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee, such efforts were often of little consequence. The Sheffield Education Committee had little confidence in the workings of the Institute of Education and regarded its principals merely as paid servants of the Authority, allowed them little freedom of action, and frequently made arbitrary decisions within the committee. Unfortunately, Wing's standing both with the Director of Education, Stanley Moffett, and his successor Thomas Tunn, was never high. Therefore it was hardly surprising that although the Institute provided a suitable platform for the launching of educational ideas and innovations, the acceptance of them elsewhere presented difficulties.

Meanwhile, by the late 1950s, the situation relating to the staffing of schools was giving cause for concern. Emphasis had begun to shift quite rapidly from the Upper Primary stage into the Secondary stage - a situation which had arisen largely because the 1947 'bulge' birthrate was moving up the system. It was now becoming obvious that the weighting of college courses towards training teachers for service in the Upper Primary and Secondary schools would need to be reduced and NACTST suggested that the balance of 63% Primary teachers under training should be increased to 85%. A good deal of protestation was made by both the local education authorities and the colleges, whose staffing and course arrangements had been geared to

other proportions. It was not the first time pressure had been put upon local education authorities to change emphasis and both colleges and local education authorities were becoming somewhat incensed by the arbitrary manner in which these changes were proposed. The matter became a sensitive issue until the Minister finally agreed to a compromise of 80%, but at the same time directed that the targets would be agreed and maintained not on a college basis but would be settled within each Institute of Education, which would make agreements between constituent colleges.

The Minister's pronouncement on the change in the balance of training created problems for the three colleges under the control of the Sheffield Education Committee. Wing observed:

"... (the Minister's letter has) ... caused a good deal of alarm amongst the students... This college... hopes to meet the situation by making the training more flexible. Instead of talking about the old categories of Infant, Primary or Secondary teachers, we prefer to think in terms of somewhat wider ranges, e.g. 9 to 15".₁

Wing commented:

"There is nothing new in this, indeed, it has been the College policy since the Institute was first founded. We feel that this is not only a matter of administrative convenience but that there are many sound educational reasons for broader training...

The Ministry has accepted this response to the demand for more teachers trained in infant and junior method as a satisfactory solution and for this we have been duly thankful. It has, of course, the advantage that when the bulge moves up, as bulges have a habit of doing, the teachers will be able to move with the bulge if they wish. From the students' point of view, this policy carries personal advantage, for the teacher who has had a reasonably flexible training can more easily find a job in a particular locality than can one who is too narrow a specialist...".₂

While, in a report to the Sub-Committee, Wing observed that:

"... With the other members of the Professional Committee we have been preoccupied in working out the implications of the Ministry's circulars on the Balance of Training and in particular with the number contemplated. Compromise suggestions have been devised with which, it is hoped, the Ministry will agree.

This College is particularly anxious in view of the national situation that the number of men students training to teach shortage subjects shall not drop below a reasonable level. It would indeed be tragic if we ever had to turn away men anxious to concentrate on teaching these subjects in Secondary schools.

It has been the tradition of the College that men and women should be trained here in approximately equal numbers. Indeed, this is one of three Colleges in which this interpretation of a 'mixed' community has always applied - a rare distinction in our view. We hold that it is a rational and desirable plan that both staff and student balance should be so regarded. Believing strongly in the merits of 'mixed' colleges it is none the less a bitter triumph to find that, in endeavours to develop more of such colleges, the whole theory on which our own has been developed successfully is likely to be put in jeopardy...".₁

At Thornbridge Hall College the teaching programme was also suitably modified to meet the staffing needs of Upper Primary school methods, while Totley Hall reduced the content of its Housecraft courses to allow for the introduction of General and Science-based subjects.

These changes in emphasis were reflected in the courses offered by the Sheffield Education Committee Colleges. At the City College a more flexible arrangement of educational specialisation was introduced which enabled students to gain experience in both Primary and Secondary school teaching and methods and although the tactic fell short of the Ministry of Education directive, the expedient was sufficient to show that a change in emphasis had been made. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Education was becoming increasingly aware of distinct shortages of teachers in certain subjects, particularly in Mathematics and Sciences, and local education authorities were pressed to encourage the development of supplementary courses.

The City Training College was quick to respond and within months a proposal was agreed by the Ministry of Education for the College to offer a one-year Supplementary Course in Mathematics. It was an innovation which augered well, particularly as the Ministry of Education and the local education authorities had agreed that the attendance of employed teachers on such courses would, under grant regulations, attract secondment on salary - a move which not only

served to stimulate recruitment to the Mathematics Course but it also had the effect of revitalising the one-year Supplementary Course in Geography.

By the second half of the 1950s, three factors were emerging. Firstly, that National Service, a phenomenon which had for so long created academic and administrative problems in the Further and Higher Education sectors, would shortly be coming to an end; secondly, the population in the schools would from 1959 onwards begin to fall; and thirdly, the proposed expansion of advanced and university education would be likely to cream off many potential candidates who might otherwise have entered a training college.

In some quarters the time now seemed appropriate to lobby for an extension of the normal college course. There had been a general agreement since the publication of the McNair Report that the teacher-training course should be reformed and there were those who held a belief that the normal training college course was completed in too short a time to be really effective. As early as 1952, the National Advisory Committee on the Training and Supply of Teachers expressed an opinion to the then Minister of Education, Sir David Eccles, that they considered the introduction of a three-year course to be necessary, though it was forecast that the earliest possible date for implementation would be after 1960. By 1956, NACTST was reporting that three years' training was necessary if teachers were to be of the standard demanded by the 1944 Education Act and contended that a fully structured and integrated three-year course was desirable. NACTST further recorded that if the three-year course was to be introduced it should be done universally, and this meant it was impractical until the early 1960s.

But there were conflicting views on the question of implementation. While NACTST had pointed out that there would, for some time be a reduction in the number of newly qualified teachers - a situation which would create staffing difficulties in schools - the teaching profession and lay interests concerned with the quality of education

considered the proposal ill-timed. Teacher-pupil ratios had been high for many years and although there had been a tacit recognition of the problem with accompanying promises that efforts would be made to reduce ratios, the prospect of the situation worsening was not encouraging. The issue was crucial, for the basis of NACTST's suggestion was that colleges ought not to expand facilities but reduce the annual intake.

In the decision-making situation which was developing, demographic trends were to be an important consideration. Indeed, fluctuations in the birthrate have always been central to the whole issue of teacher-training provision in England and Wales. The decade 1946-55 manifested a steady decline in live births from the post-war peak of 881,000 in 1947 to 668,000 in 1955, a difference of 25%. The drop was even greater in the City of Sheffield, live births having dropped 35% from the 1947 level.

From the pointers of birthrate figures there appears to be an approximate five to seven year lapse of time when adjustments in the provision might be effected. Two years are required to collect, analyse and publicise the trend and five years before the resultant changes affect the schools. By the mid-1950s, the National Union of Teachers had already anticipated that the falling birthrate would, if it continued, lead relatively quickly to an under-employed teaching force. Furthermore, there were already indications of a considerable slacking in the recruitment to the teaching profession, particularly during the period 1953-1956 - a phenomenon which was in part due to the low birthrates of the mid-1930s. Meanwhile, teacher training provision had been increased during the immediate post-war period and the threat of unfilled places in colleges loomed high. NACTST were anxious to suggest that:

"There may be some difficulty in the early 1960s... in maintaining full employment in the teaching profession..."¹

There were several possible solutions to the problem: the expedient of lengthening the teacher-training course; the increasing of the school leaving age (from fifteen to sixteen); the implementation of

compulsory part-time education; and the lowering of the teacher/pupil ratio. Cognisant of the need for an early decision, the Government announced on the 6th June 1957 that as from the September of 1960 the length of the normal teacher training course would be extended to three years. It was a decision which had it been left unresolved may have had very different consequences for teacher education.

The introduction of the three-year course was an objective which NACTST considered could be achieved by reducing the intake into the colleges and by the utilisation of existing resources. But Dent contends that NACTST's proposal was "lamentably misconceived".¹ The birthrate again began to rise with some rapidity and the question is raised as to whether the Committee was misled or whether it deliberately chose to ignore the birthrate statistics.

As it was, once the Ministry had agreed to the establishment of the three-year course, bargaining developed between the Ministry and NACTST. The Ministry announced in June 1958 that an extra 2,500 college places should be created. A month later, in July 1958, NACTST changed its view and advised that 16,000 places would be needed. The Minister of Education, Geoffrey Lloyd, was not to be pressed into such an ambitious expansion. In September 1958, he ignored NACTST and announced a ceiling of 12,000 extra places, including the 2,500 already agreed. By 1959, 8,000 more places were approved which indicated that even NACTST's revised estimates were proving to be inadequate. By 1960, the number of training places had been doubled.

The debate on the nature of the three-year course began in earnest during 1955 and the Institutes of Education appropriately provided a suitable platform. In the beginning there were many varied and differing views on the form the changes were to take, but the Ministry of Education's pamphlet No 34, written by a group of HMIs, crystallised much of the thinking. It clearly indicated that a strengthening of the academic aspect of teacher-training was what they considered to be most

needed, although a number of the Inspectorate's comments still indicated some muddled thinking. One in particular reckoned that:

"... three-year training should give... teachers an academic standing and confidence which will enable them to take their places alongside graduates..."₁

Did the Inspectorate consider that the extra year would bring maturity, or was it merely that the extra year brought parity of study time equal to that of a first degree? The question is left unanswered, nevertheless the statement bears evidence of overtones of the graduate teacher versus non-graduate teacher status struggle which still had deep-rooted implications and which, in a later paragraph, the Inspectorate as if to justify their views further, observed:

"... the three-year college could provide a better training than a university for certain types of general and specialist teaching both in primary and secondary schools..."₂

With the implementation of the three-year course proposals imminent, the University of Sheffield Institute of Education proved of value, first as a means of debating the principle and then of implementing the arrangements. The pros and cons of the duration of the period spent in schools on teaching practice came under considerable scrutiny. While attempts were made to reduce the period, the college staffs and teaching body representatives were at one in setting down precisely that teaching practice meant actual time spent in the classroom engaged in teaching:

"... practical (work) has been expanded somewhat in recent years to include not only the twelve weeks practice in schools but an afternoon a week in the first year and for some subjects a further afternoon in the second year..."₃

Teaching practice had been the subject of considerable debate both in the Institute's committees and in the wider consultations relating to the three-year course. Sheffield Institute came out strongly in favour of sixty class contact days of actual teaching. It was an

ideal which was subsequently to present difficulties for Sheffield City College, its neighbours, and local schools, particularly as the number of students in the 1960s increased.

The three-year course was designed to enable students to study two main subjects at one of two levels, i.e. Ordinary or Advanced, while the study of English and general curriculum subjects was to be undertaken during the course to enable students to meet the demands which would be made of them as general teaching practitioners. At the end of the course, the University was to examine students in Education and in Advanced Subjects, while internal assessment would be carried out in the general curriculum subjects and in English.

Meanwhile, the implementation of the three-year course raised immediate problems at the Sheffield City College for it was now not only deep in the throes of organisational, educational and administrative change but also beset with accommodation and building problems. Consequently, the period 1957 to 1964 brought seemingly endless building programmes, all of which had to be achieved while students were still in college and under training. Wing explained:

"Since the actual "third" year will commence in September 1962, the necessary accommodation is to be completed by that time. Not only are new buildings to be added but the remaining accommodation is to be brought up-to-date. After some eight years of planning and replanning improvements to our venerable, but somewhat inconvenient buildings, this is indeed welcome news. Our earlier proposals have not been entirely wasted by the introduction of the three-year course but, in the main, have been easily adapted to suit the new requirements - perhaps not least because, although Miss Moulton and I were always advised to plan for a two-year course and to ignore the possible introduction of a three-year course which might never happen, such an argument we felt was better forgotten. Thus, even over four years ago we worked out detailed timetables and room uses for the three-year course and drew up our list of desirable building accommodation on that basis. We have found that this early thinking was by no means too soon, for the manoeuvring of a large College towards the changes required for a three-year course takes considerable time... We have been trimming our sails not only to a three-year course but also to the changing needs of the schools".₁

The enthusiasm of Herbert Wing for the three-year course remained unabated. From his earliest days at Sheffield his aim had been to identify potentially able students. While the average student studied Education plus a single Main subject at Advanced level and an "Ordinary" subject, the more able were encouraged to study two Main Advanced subjects. Some were encouraged to prepare for entry to external degree examinations, while others were encouraged to enter external examinations in subjects such as Music and Speech.

However, the differential status between the university-trained teacher and the college-trained teacher continued to be a source of irritation. In a letter to the Training of Teachers Subcommittee, Wing observed:

"If I may judge by recent correspondence in the educational press, an impression seems to exist that there is an eighteen-plus examination organised through the medium of G.C.E. Advanced level papers. Those who pass this examination go forward to Universities and so on to teach in the Grammar schools, while those who fail go to the Training Colleges and ultimately teach in the Primary schools (where they will prepare children for the eleven plus entry to the Grammar schools!). A glance at the work in both the University Training Departments and in the Training Colleges would show that the training of teachers is more comprehensive than bi-partite. It would also show that if a student wishes to teach in a Primary school, a Training College is likely to fit him better for his chosen age range than is a University Training Department. It is sometimes not sufficiently recognised that students in the Training Colleges are of good mental calibre, a fact supported... by the numbers who go on to take external degrees..."¹

While the general policy of the College was consciously directed towards the development of the "all round" teacher, influenced by current educational trends, by the debates at the Institute, and by the experience of attempting to meet Ministry of Education directives on quotas, it was hardly surprising that many of Wing's and Moulton's ideas had to be sacrificed for the sake of expediency. By the late 1950s, Wing readily admitted:

"... We now need to look at what is required by Head Teachers so that the intervening three years may be filled to the satisfaction of the profession. The requirements can best be gauged by studying the advertisements for vacancies... the demand is for general practitioners in the case of Primary teachers, and for specialists or semi-specialists in the case of Secondary teachers. (I am not concerned here with the advantages and disadvantages of this state of affairs; I am merely stating what is apparent from an analysis of the advertisements.) It is useful to look a little further into the requirements, so let us very briefly consider the Primary teacher first.

The Primary teacher is the person who, more than any other teacher, is in loco parentis... The Primary teacher needs preparation in the teaching of a wide variety of subjects, from the habits of pigs to the making of pottery, from the doings of Mozart to the antics of monkeys - Beethoven and beetles must all be taken in his stride. This is no mean task in these days of television and the constant effort by so many people to encourage mental slickness on the part of the junior child...

While I think that there may be something to be said for making the study of special subjects voluntary for those taking the Primary course, the majority opinion seems to be in favour of making one compulsory. Some feel that such a subject should be related to the student's future work so that an infant teacher would not be allowed to take, say, Chemistry - others would not be so restrictive. If these subjects were to be made voluntary there is no doubt that the personal tastes of many students would lead them in the direction of the study of at least one of them... and possibly of two. In that case, if a sufficiently good standard were reached, it should be recognised - either by endorsing the Teaching Certificate or in some other way.

For the prospective secondary teacher a study of children, schools, and the educational system is just as necessary as with the Primary teacher... it would appear that most headteachers want the man who can specialise in one subject and, in addition, has a second subject; it is also assumed that everyone can take his part as a teacher of English - even if only because every teacher must be a teacher of English. With the present shortage of Mathematics teachers, ability to do a little in this direction may be an advantage... While there is a case for making Mathematics a compulsory subject, there is probably a better case for making it voluntary. If it is an asset to be able to teach Mathematics, then, I think, plenty of volunteers will be found to take a curriculum course. If a student has a horror of Mathematics, he (and especially she) would not only be happier not learning it at College, but would probably do more harm than good teaching it in a secondary school".₁

The "three-year" lobbyists whose platform had advocated the "less rushed course" had won the day. The question now remained as to whether time alone was able to remedy the defects, which were described as "having rushed through the course scarcely understanding its meaning".

As the arrangements for the three-year course were implemented and as additional accommodation was made available, the pressure for increased intake began. It was thought that there might be some slacking in the rate of applications. Some thought that the three-year time parity with a first degree course would tend to dissuade students from undertaking the teacher-training course, but this was not the case at Sheffield.

On the 9th July 1961, Wing reported to the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee that:

"The places accepted for next year bring the total number of students to 500... In spite of many gloomy forecasts to the contrary the standard of the students on entry continues to improve. The minimum standard of entry as set down by the Ministry of Education is five passes at Ordinary level in the G.C.E., but this is the minimum level only and represents the low water mark; the national figure is 8% with five Ordinary levels, while approximately 35% have two Advanced levels or more. Our own figures are rather better than the national ones; thus for the 1960-61 entry approximately 2% have five Ordinary levels and an additional 6% have more than 5 Ordinary levels but no Advanced levels. These are all people who are taking practical subjects and have other gifts or qualifications in their own particular spheres. Even in these practical subjects there are some 50% of the students who have gained two Advanced levels or more. In the academic subjects the qualifications are, naturally enough, higher. In these subjects there are no students without at least one Advanced level and approximately 76% of the men and 66% of the women have gained two Advanced levels or more.

Academic levels are, however, not the only criterion. The intelligence levels as judged by the Group 33 Intelligence Test are, for the majority of our students, almost identical with those in the Universities..."₁

The decision by the Ministry of Education to bring to an end the recognition of graduates not trained in teaching was a move which was well acclaimed by the Training Colleges for it removed an anomaly which had long rankled with both Certificated teachers and teacher-trained graduate teachers, and it was considered another step towards the development of a trained, all-graduate profession. Sheffield had reason to be pleased with the Minister's decision for it was to be one of the Training Colleges which was to be allowed to admit graduates for one year's professional training.

This was a development which Wing in particular favoured and plans were laid accordingly:

"When, as is planned, we have graduates and certificate students working side by side at the same College for the same examination, we confidently expect that this overlap in aptitude of graduates and non-graduates will become more apparent. We welcome the probability... which is that eventually all graduates will be expected to train before teaching. My own view is that just as many people never really liked toffee apples until they were unable to get them, so by making conditions for entry into the profession more difficult entry will be more valued and more sought after. Not only do I think that more would come forward for teaching as a career but that those who came would really mean to teach; thus we would not get the damaging situation which at present applies where half of them teach for less than a year just for the sake of the money which is earned while they are choosing some other post. The effect on school organisation and on the children of changing graduates in mid-stream - even if it happens to be a C-stream - needs no emphasis...

Thus we shall welcome the graduates for all the good effects that we hope they will have on the students' life in the College; they will be a little older than our other students and they will certainly bring a different kind of experience. I also think they will provide a little healthy competition in that part of the certificate examination which graduates take in order to become recognised as trained..."¹

As the 1963 academic year came to a close, the first of the three-year trained students left the College and Wing commented:

"... Although the first of the three-year trained teachers are only just newly born, discussion of the three-year course is now rather stale news. I think this is because when the time arrived the third year fitted very neatly into the course and made rather more complete what had previously been a scramble. The easy way in which it has fitted in was, no doubt, partly due to the early steps which were taken to draw up the syllabuses which were delivered printed to the students when they first arrived and which were sent out to the schools at least a year before then. No doubt, the smooth running was also helped by the advice we had from so many people who are interested in Education such as teachers, local inspectors, University and Institute staff, H.M.I.'s, and the A.T.C.D.E. The more people interested in education and the training of teachers the better, although sometimes, over the past few years, one might be excused for feeling one can have slightly too much of a good thing".¹

"Too much of a good thing." One is left wondering quite what Wing had in mind by such a remark: was the University Connection becoming a little too restrictive?

Meanwhile, the extension of the course from two to three years was open to question, particularly when an acute shortage of teachers still prevailed and there were indications of yet a further need to expand the provision. The extra year no doubt offered a longer period of maturation, particularly as with the ending of National Service both men and women students once again began to enter teacher-training after their eighteenth birthdays, but, as Dent observed:

"Despite the widely repeated assertion that the introduction of the three-year course offered a unique opportunity to make fundamental changes in training college courses, the courses which emerged from the long debate were not in general very different from the two-year courses".²

By the late 1950s, it was evident within the Sheffield Education Committee's remit that the City College was *primus inter pares*. Considerable development had taken place and more was planned with building and major development projects extending into the early 1960s. The Thornbridge and Topley Colleges remained small and underdeveloped. Wing observed:

"... why (have) some colleges been chosen for expansion rather than others... The Minister states that he has been anxious to expand Colleges near Universities for he is aiming to give the Training College more of 'the standing and intellectual climate of the University'. In this respect we are fortunately within a few minutes' walk of the University and even nearer the new Institute buildings. Geographically we are well placed, and for the rest, it is up to our College to develop the links where it can. These contacts are probably in three main directions. First, as one lecturer at the University said to me this week, 'It is not the courses that matter but you can never have a University type of education until the student teachers rub shoulders with engineers, medicals, dental and glass technology students'. This is obviously a matter for the respective Student Unions to attend to... as far as I can judge from our Jazz club, college dances and the requests for hostel keys on the evenings of University dances, it is a matter which is not being entirely neglected!

Secondly, there is the possibility of help from the University, with its greater academic and material resources in matters scholastic".¹

The debate on the status of teacher training was to continue. While the development of a post-graduate course at Sheffield City College brought some kudos, the struggle for esteem and parity continued:

"Our courses for academic students are somewhat different from those of University students. They include many subjects not taken for a first General Degree, but where the subjects are comparable we expect nowadays that our best students will reach the same general level in appropriate subjects as would be reached by a University student in a General Degree. This is very different from what it was ten years ago and neither the public nor the schools seem yet to have entirely grasped this situation. We, however, anticipate with confidence that the future will see a greater recognition of this fact...

We already train students for all types of schools. We have found, particularly over the past five years, that more and more of our students eventually obtain posts in Grammar Schools. This is particularly true in Mathematics, Science and the Practical Subjects - I do not, in fact, encourage students to go into such schools unless they have a good prospect of taking some kind of degree in order to place them on a level with their graduate colleagues. I am pleased to note that this matter of later degree qualifications is engaging the attention of many Institutes of Education".²

To prove the point, application was made for the College to be recognised as an external centre for London University examinations and selected students were entered for Part I of the B.Sc. degree.

While Wing pursued his campaign aimed at uplifting the status of the college-trained teacher by attempting to influence the Sub-Committee, the Institute of Education and the education service at large were having to contend with the problems of the "less able students". In spite of the encouraging statistics which were supplied annually both to the Local Education Authority and the DES showing the increasingly higher standards of students' entry qualifications and of potential university entrants with three Advanced General Certificate level passes who had chosen to enter the Training College, it was clear that there were many students who could only be regarded as average and who really did not have the potential to embark on a degree course. Some it seemed were barely able to achieve the standard required to pass the Certificate in Education. As the educational main-stream began moving towards comprehensive education and selection and streaming methods were being questioned, Wing began pursuing the idea of a yet larger College to accommodate students of varying levels of aptitude. In a report to the Sub-Committee he observed:

"Organisation and Size of College

... large size is essential for efficient teaching in a Training College as it gives an opportunity for a certain amount of grading, with the best academic students going at their own academic pace and not being held up by those who are less speedy. The standard of qualifications on entry, and of aptitude for further study, is one of the most difficult problems we have to face in the Training College as it is wider than in any other educational institution known to me. Training Colleges in the past seem to have concentrated much on shepherding the weaker brethren past the examination barrier. The more able have been left to themselves and have, in my opinion, not quite reached the levels of which they are capable. This is a sad waste of some of the best talent in Training Colleges. However, in a large College, classes in two or more divisions become possible and the best students can start new work as soon as they enter College and go straight on for their three years".¹

Meanwhile, the demands of the three-year course meant that staff development had to take place and many of the lecturers undertook courses in order to widen their skills and knowledge. Some undertook programmes of experiential learning, others short courses, and some extended their qualifications by reading for higher degrees.

With many of the financial restraints of earlier years relaxed, the staff were also able to undertake activities which helped to enhance the standing of the College. Wing reported:

"... During the academic year the tutorial staff have made their contribution to various aspects of Education outside the College. A book by Mr. J. K. Dale, 'Introducing the Southern Continents', has been published and one by Mr. and Mrs. Clegg, 'Biology of the Mammal', is in the press. Mr. Mattam has published articles in the 'Schoolmaster' on Drama, and original verse for young children in 'Child Education'. Mr. Haynes has prepared articles on Model Making for circulation to Handicraft teachers and Mr. Frost has had an article on 'Field Study in Geography'. Miss Moulton has written on some aspects of the Early History of Teacher Training in the 'New Education' (Madras) as well as a lighter article on 'Training College Applications' in 'Times Educational Supplement'. Mr. C. F. Dale has collaborated with others in 'Religion in the Secondary Schools'. Mr. H. Butterworth has had an article on 'The Development of Technical Education in Middlesbrough' in the University of Durham Research Review. Articles or papers of my own have been prepared on 'The Three Year Course', 'The Standard of the Students', 'The Training of Handicraft Teachers', 'A revision of the Wing Test' and, with Miss Moulton, on 'The History of Psychology in English Teacher Training Colleges'. Mr. Tucker has a wood carving in the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition and Miss E. Turner has a panel in the Embroiderers' Guild Exhibition.

Assistance has been given with numerous Courses - Mr. Mattam acted as Director of a refresher course organised by the Oxford University Department of Education, and as a lecturer for the Oxford Institute of Education, as well as for various Local Authority Courses. Miss E. Turner lectured for a Needlework Course at Nottingham and is to help with a course at Loughborough. Mr. Slater acted as adjudicator of three British Drama Festivals, Miss Moulton has assisted with a Careers Convention at Worksop, and the Commonwealth Technical Training Week at Mansfield and Messrs. Mattam, Wright, Clegg and Clarke and Miss Turner at Teachers' Courses in Sheffield. I have spoken to various groups, amongst others a group of teachers in training in Derbyshire, teachers in the West Riding, Head Teachers at Brigg, Organisers and Inspectors in Durham and an international group at Michigan, U.S.A. ...".₁

The build-up of student numbers, the introduction of the three-year course and enlarged premises to meet such needs began radically to change the activities of the Students' Union. By 1961, the student body was actively linked to the National Union of Students and with students in other training colleges. The provision of accommodation for Students' Union activities was most welcome and the establishment of the three-year course brought a greater degree of continuity to the management and organisation of its affairs. In the persistent bid for autonomy and control the President for 1960-61 wrote:

"Now may I put forward some of my opinions on the place of a Students' Union in a Training College?"

The Students' Union, in the case of the City of Sheffield Training College, is represented by the Student Representative Council. The S.R.C. is a democratically elected body, which consists of an executive (President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and chairmen of committees) and a number of ordinary members.

From the ordinary members the S.R.C. elect the Chairmen of the Social and Common Room committees and the National Union of Students representative...

It is felt that the Students' Union can contribute a great deal toward ensuring that each student leaving College is an independent adult person, capable of shouldering responsibility, and fully cognizant of the fact that he is answerable not merely to himself but also to society for his actions.

It is thought that wherever legally possible, the S.R.C. as well as the College Authorities should consider behaviour which is likely to affect the good name of the College or Profession for the following reasons:-

- (1) Censure by his peers is far less likely to be resented by a student than is censure by the College Authorities.
- (2) The procedure outlined above is much more truly reflective of a Democratic legal system than is the alternative, and affords good opportunity of training for later life, which would be otherwise wasted.
- (3) Erring members of the Union could be reminded that they are preparing to enter an honourable profession and are expected to conduct themselves accordingly.

Finally it is important that every student should be able to offer constructive criticism on all aspects of college life. The S.R.C. is the proper channel through which such opinions would reach the Principal.

Throughout my term of office I have been trying to put these ideas into practice. I must admit that I have only partially succeeded, but the ball has started to roll and under the present Principal I feel sure it will continue to gather impetus".₁

The prime point of interface between students and past students had always been the editorial board of the "Crescent" but in many respects it had always been a tripartite committee. There were representatives of the student body and the Old Crescenters' Association, both bodies being represented by two Co-Editors: the Student Editor and the Old Crescenter Editor. The third party was the Principal, the Deputy Principal and Donald Mattam, the Head of the English Department. Although the Old Crescenters' Association had reservations on Wing's style of Principalship in his early years, by the early 1960s animosity had given way to a degree of acceptability which also touched on adulation. With relationships thus cemented, both Wing and Moulton were held in the highest esteem.

In matters affecting the publication of the "Crescent", the student body was less than happy, but Wing felt the magazine necessary as a prestigious publication and used it as a vehicle for his own ideas. It was a situation which the Old Crescenters' Association willingly supported for the "Crescent" projected a non-controversial, bland, yet slightly scholarly image and it seemed to meet the expectations of former students.

To the student body, the "Crescent" was not only an anathema but yet another bastion of direct Principal-power which albeit benign seemingly needed to fall. The fact that it cost the students money in the form of a charge on SRC funds gave rise for concern but more irritating was the fact that it was seemingly mysteriously subsidised. Unable to shift opinion and now having their own

resources, student journalism and expression blossomed elsewhere. What gradually developed as an informal publication known as "Broadsheet" had by 1961 emerged into a regular internal publication to serve the needs of the students and recognition of the purpose of "Crescent" in relation to "Broadsheet" in the editorial of "Crescent" shows the acceptance of a situation which had inevitably arisen:

"... The view has been expressed that "Crescent" tends to be dull and too formal, that something more like a Rag Magazine is called for. The editors, however, feel that "Broadsheet", a fast-developing internal periodical, adequately fills that need and that a magazine of the nature of "Crescent" should reflect the more serious aspects of College life...".¹

The Old Crescenters' Association too came to terms with the publication - not that there was opposition to it, so much as a fear that if "Crescent" was discontinued there would not be a convenient and economic means of keeping in touch with former students, many of whom looked forward to receiving it, albeit annually. The President of the Association explained:

"Old Crescenters who left during the past few years may remember an insignificant publication that went under the name of "Broadsheet". Present students would soon tell you that the Union Broadsheet is no longer looked down upon as insignificant; Broadsheet day is now eagerly awaited. Once every fortnight the College is invaded by amateur newspaper boys, and within ten minutes of their appearance the available copies are usually sold out. The New Broadsheet is a four to eight page product which comes out on alternate Wednesdays".²

Meanwhile, the relationship between the College and the Old Crescenters' Association continued to improve. Indeed, Wing and Moulton jointly became the doyens of the Association. The critical disapproval and snide behaviour of the past fell away to be replaced with loyalty and support. It was a recognition which had been well earned. For years both Wing and Moulton had put in a great amount of time and effort (and money) to ensure that the Old Crescenters' Association might hold successful annual reunions in the College. Sometimes it meant cajoling the domestic staff, sometimes leaning on the Authority and sometimes, latterly, remonstrating with the builders and site contractors to ensure accommodation and facilities were available.

Gilbert Bashforth, General Secretary of the Old Crescenters' Association, observed:

"A notable event occurred on Saturday, 10th September, 1960 when Old Crescenters who were attending the Annual Reunion sat down to their lunch in the new dining hall. It was the first meal to be cooked and eaten in the new wing of the College and it had fallen to the Old Crescenters to do the proving. The meal was taken amid the scurry (and debris) of builders making frenzied last minute efforts to have the hall properly ready for use. As daylight faded it was found that the electric light system in the new building was not completed and no lights were working. One or two Old Crescenters had to be hurriedly detailed to carry the refreshments, which had been prepared in the new dining hall, into the old building, where the Reunion Dance was to be held. It was abundantly clear that if the Old Crescenters had not been there to act as a spur to the builders, demonstrating by their presence that the place really was required for use, then it certainly would not have been ready for the opening of the College term on the following Tuesday. It was also disturbingly clear to those who were present what a great strain had fallen upon Dr. Wing, Miss Moulton, and some of the domestic staff over a period of many weeks...

Quite apart from the building programme it seems to me that there have been very great changes in the whole aspect of College life and organisation, and more especially, in the concept of student life. The student nowadays is given a much greater amount of freedom than before and, as Dr. Wing remarked in his letter in last year's magazine, should now be classified as "independent" student. The organisation of College work seems to have a tendency towards that which is generally found in Universities. These changes, and now the practical introduction of the Three Year Course, are an outward manifestation of the progressive attitude to teacher training which is developing especially at Sheffield.

Many times in recent years there has seemed to be the danger that the Old Crescenters' Association could not keep up with the rapid strides forward by the College. Our more experienced Old Crescenters are having to make a completely new assessment of the College student and also of the new Old Crescenter, for the changing outlook and attitudes in College will certainly be carried over into the Old Crescenters' Association in order that the Association may continue. Unfortunately we are finding it very difficult indeed to put on a New Look for we have no pattern to guide us. One hears very little of University ex-student Associations!".₁

In the year following, the President of the Old Crescenters' Association, Jennifer Pilkington, sought to ascribe the new collegiate surroundings and amenities for the failure of the Association to attract members:

"... The new study bedrooms contain concealed washbasins in modern furnishings, and meals are now taken by both men and women students in the large new dining room, adjoining Marshall Hall. The college staff enjoy some measure of privacy when dining in an alcove off the main dining room, screened by vivid orange curtains.

Perhaps all these changes may explain why students leaving the College seem uninterested in the Old Crescenter activities. The intimate family atmosphere prevalent in the former small hostels is gradually being transformed into a more impersonal relationship which is perhaps inevitable when numbers are increasing. For this reason it is more than ever important that students should be urged to become members of the Association when they leave the College, so that they will have an opportunity to renew and maintain friendships".¹

During 1961 the Ministry of Education was still attempting to explore every possible means of increasing the number of teacher-training places and one option lay in attracting additional students by introducing a day training system. It was obvious that there were men and women who, being of mature years, and yet possessing a vocation to teach, were prevented from entering a training college because of the residential requirement expected by most colleges. From an initial experiment conducted by the Leeds Local Education Authority, which established the James Graham College for mature students attending on a day basis, came proof that another source of potential teacher supply could be tapped and other colleges similar to the James Graham College were established with some rapidity.

The feasibility of establishing such a Day College was considered by Sheffield Education Committee but in the light of the Authority's experience the idea was dropped. From the time of its establishment Sheffield City Training College had always admitted a number of Day students, indeed, the College's origins were invested in the

University of Sheffield Day Training College. Over the years the day students had mixed in well with the boarding students and domestic arrangements provided for mid-day meals and evening high tea or dinner to be taken in the hostels along with the students in residence. Under the Principalship of Wing, the Day student intake had grown and had proven to be of value. Wing himself, having been a student at a London Day Training College in pre-war days, maintained that there was little loss by way of non-residence and providing the welfare and needs of the day-students were taken care of, there was little reason why they should not be fully participative with the greater college life and community.

At the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee held on the 4th December 1961, Wing reported that:

"The Ministry have suggested that next year the number of day students in Colleges should be increased. This College at present has 127 day students and this is likely to go up to 200 next year with the three year course and the post graduate students. Some of these students are somewhat older than our average students and others are married; the latter find a day course is possible whereas a residential one would be extremely difficult".¹

It seems evident that Wing's views on day training arrangements were of considerable influence on the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee. In July 1962, he put forward his views in the "Principal's Letter":

"The most economical way of providing extra teachers is to increase the number of day students attached to a large residential college such as our own. This is a solution that I would prefer to the founding of new Day Training Colleges, for the day students then accept the same standards as the residents and can join in with such student activities as already exist. Day Training Colleges are by no means new. Our own College began as a Day Training College and has always maintained a goodly proportion of day students; we have about 130 at the moment and this number is likely to increase in the years to come. Day attendance has obvious advantages for the married man with children and for others for whom residence away from home would be a great hardship. It is frequently assumed in Training College circles that residence in College

is always better than living at home. It all depends, one might justifiably think, on the relative merits of the home and the College in question, and the particular circumstances of the individual. The training of non-resident students is so comparatively inexpensive that the College can well afford to provide facilities for the day students to stay on after lectures for those student activities which do so much to educate. A day students' hostel will be provided next September at Woodville Lodge, allowing facilities for the day students to study, amuse themselves, or make social contacts just as easily as do the residents. They should be residents who "sleep at home" but who suffer no disadvantage in the enjoyment of the facilities the College has to offer. My own opinion is that the cult of "going away from home" is sometimes overdone. That the day students do no worse from the point of view of examinations, I was able to show some years back by comparing the results of day and residential students. There was no significant difference between the two - certainly some of our best students have been resident at home. Day students should be within easy reach of the College - but what is within easy reach today was a great way off a few generations ago, and day students are likely to be drawn from farther and farther away in the years ahead.

Certainly we would expect our post-graduate students working for the post-graduate Diploma in Education to be mainly day students - although some of those who have already enrolled have expressed a strong desire to be resident, having become rather tired of the standard of the usual University lodgings available. I particularly welcome the promised contingent of graduate students as I feel that the close contact of graduates and non-graduates each owing allegiance to the same alma mater will prevent even the possibility of that artificial cleavage which is often supposed to exist between them. I remember at a former College the advent of scarlet fever sent some of our students into a hospital ward in beds next to those of some public school students; both were somewhat surprised to find that whatever the difference in the type of their schools and training their ideals of education differed not at all. No doubt graduates and non-graduates in the same College would quickly discover the same!"₁

The enthusiasm and interest which Wing had in developing the Day Student entry continued unabashed. By July 1963 he was still endeavouring to provide for their needs:

"... (On the matter of day training) I admit that I may be somewhat biased in this connection since I went to the London Day Training College. I was then, and am still, firmly convinced that an adequate course of training can be obtained by day students. Some of my fellow Principals feel that having

day students instead of residents means a considerable lowering of the standards. I have compared the examination results of the day students with those of the residents and can trace no difference. We have had a President of the Students' Union who was a day student, and he was most efficient in looking after the interest of everyone - residents and day students alike. Of course, many Principals would claim that it is not on the learning side but on the side of social training that residence makes so much difference. I have always found that day students are at least equal to residents in social behaviour (after all, they have the refining influence of a good home to add to the persuasive power of fellow students!). I would however, add as a rider that it is essential that day students shall have a base within the College to enable them to establish opportunities for acting in all ways as residents do... Recently we have developed Woodville Lodge, which I referred to last year as a future day students' hostel, in such a way that I do not think non-residents need suffer any great handicap. They can stay there during the day or evening to study or prepare themselves for social events and can ask fellow students in for a cup of coffee or a chat. I am hoping that as the College expands this successful experiment will be repeated by the buying of one or two more similar houses...".¹

As the academic year 1962-63 opened there were 741 students, of whom 170 were day students. Of the total there were 275 1st years, 225 2nd years and 212 3rd years. There were 11 post-graduate Diploma students, 12 students enrolled on the Supplementary Course in Geography and 6 students following the Supplementary Course in Mathematics.

There appeared to be no ending to the pressure for further expansion to which the Local Education Authority was subjected. At the meeting of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee held on the 6th May 1963, Thomas Tunn, the Director of Education, reported that he had received a letter from the Ministry of Education² calling for local education authorities "to submit to the Ministry proposals for the expansion of student numbers in the colleges for which they are responsible".³

After discussion, the Sub-Committee recommended that proposals be submitted that the City Training College:

"Increase the number of students from the present 750 to approximately 1,000 by the fullest possible use of available residential accommodation, by admitting the maximum possible

of day students (both home-based and in lodgings) and by extending the teaching day.

(Building requirements in support of these proposals will include extending the Marshall Hall kitchen, the conversion of two rooms in temporary classroom blocks for use as music practice rooms, releasing other accommodation for use as tutors' rooms, the provision of a new games pavilion and additional tennis courts.)" ₁

CHAPTER XXV - REFERENCES

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CHAPTER XXVI

UNEQUAL PARTNERS

While Herbert Wing and Jane Moulton greeted the three-year course with enthusiasm, Olive Metcalfe had reservations. Prior to its introduction, the Association of Education Committees in Spring 1959 circulated to constituent authorities and Institutes of Education a Memorandum presenting its views on the proposed three-year course and on the development of the relationship of the colleges to the "University connection". In a letter to Professor Dent of the Sheffield Institute of Education, Olive Metcalfe raised some of her doubts:

"22nd June, 1959

Dear Professor Dent,

... I have considered the Memorandum of the A.E.C. and am sending you my views on it as you request.

The suggestions made in it are interesting: no doubt this is an opportune time for reviewing the present position in teacher training and trying to effect improvements.

The proposals for experimenting with new courses seem to me sound. Differences of duration and pattern within the training might help to meet discrepancies of ability and purpose among college students.

I am not however convinced that the wholesale adoption of the A.E.C. proposals would prove a remedy for all our ills (raising the status of teachers, uniting the profession and so on). "Bumper" colleges, situated near Universities or elsewhere, would not necessarily recruit either better students or better staff. The accumulation of mediocrity does not bring forth excellence but only variety in mediocrity.

The alternative scheme for the affiliation of adjacent colleges seems to me much more acceptable. Universities which have constituent colleges seem to get the best of both worlds. They enjoy the amenities provided by the larger community while keeping the intimacy and initiative which enable each college to maintain its own ethos. A measure of rivalry may well be healthy.

For such affiliation we have already the appropriate machinery in the University Institutes of Education. In my experience the Institutes have proved admirably constituted for that purpose. Their usefulness has never been more apparent than in the recent discussions on the three-year course. They have succeeded in enlisting the interest of the academic faculties on the one hand and of practising teachers on the other and have brought together all who are actively engaged in teacher training for their mutual enlightenment. The liaison they have established represents a real step towards the creation of a united profession. I hope their work will receive due recognition and encouragement.

I am not sure what role is left for education committees in the proposed reorganisation. If colleges were to be freed from local control (by some direct grant system) without falling within the sphere of influence of the Universities their self-sufficiency might prove a source of stagnation. If they were to remain under the control of L.E.A.s but sever the University connexion which has been forged by the Institutes of Education their courses might be subjected too much to the pressure of local needs. However they may be financed, an affiliation of colleges within a framework such as is provided by the Institutes of Education seems to offer the best guarantees of efficiency.

I have no strong feelings about the training of graduates in training colleges. I can imagine that some graduates might be deterred from entering the profession if they were compelled to train in an institution which carried less prestige and made fewer intellectual demands than the University they were about to leave. (I am not convinced that all the training college geese will become swans if they can be made to flock into University towns.) The whole question needs thought and discussion.

The proposal that University Departments confine themselves to research and advanced studies seems unrealistic. Research in education surely rises spontaneously out of the problems and curiosities of those actively engaged in educating. Researches that were remote from the workaday world of schools and colleges would tend to be sterile.

At this moment a great deal of serious research is needed - not least into the whole problem of teacher training. We are in danger of being carried away by rash schemes for mass reorganisation while their basic educational assumptions are still unproven.

I would urge the Institutes of Education to initiate sound and serious investigation into the proper aims and methods of professional training, having regard to the probable calibre of recruits to teaching and the functions we hope to train them to fulfil...

Yours sincerely,

Olive Metcalfe

Principal".

Although Metcalfe was clearly concerned over the developments which were in train, nearer home a different problem loomed. The smaller, the specialist, and in particular the women's colleges were being subjected to considerable criticism. Academic standards of entry were kept low in an attempt to fill places. There were instances of students being admitted who barely met the prescribed minimum standards laid down by the Ministry and by the Area Training Organisations. While certain of the more popular colleges could afford to be selective, others filled places with barely adequate candidates. The result of such policies was to be seen in the low standard of course work and a lack of real academic depth. The University connection was useful in terms of prestige and status, but the prospect of higher standards likely to be expected from first the three-year course and then the B.Ed. degree posed problems and created a distinct nervousness at what the future held.

Although the three-year course was likely to make little immediate difference at the Totley Hall College of Education as the majority of its students were already following a course of three years' duration, the standard of admission did, particularly if standards were to be maintained. Olive Metcalfe raised the issue in a report to the Further Education Sub-Committee:

"... It is improbable that any student coming to college without at least an 'O' level pass in Physics and/or Chemistry will ever be eligible for an Advanced course. Similarly students who come with one or two or three Advanced level G.C.E. passes in science subjects, having had no instruction at all in craft subjects, must start all three crafts from the beginning and reach the normal pass level in two years if they wish to go on to an Advanced course.

In the 1960 Final Examination one student reached so high a standard in Needlecraft that the External Examiner described her work as faultless. As her lack of science subjects in G.C.E. had prevented her entering the Advanced Course she could not be awarded a distinction mark.

At first sight this state of affairs may seem deplorable. Actually we consider that the three-year Advanced course is, for most students, a better preparation for classroom teaching... (They) are intended for outstanding students who will eventually hold posts of special responsibility for staff of Training Colleges or Technical Departments. This year one quarter of our third year students have been admitted to an advanced course.

With this selected group we are trying out a modified programme in which the emphasis is shifted from Housecraft to Homemaking. New mechanical equipment in the home, new feeding habits, new patterns of work and leisure, new media of communication and entertainment are having an impact on family life of which we feel our students should be aware.

To supplement the pre-arranged college course in Housecraft and Family Studies students are undertaking in their vacations work which gives opportunity for the informal exploration of homes in different social milieux, sometimes even in foreign countries. In addition they spend a number of evenings a term amongst adolescents in 'Teenage' clubs and coffee bars, and make contact in the city with people who work with children who have just left school...".¹

While all the Sheffield Local Education Authority colleges remained small, there was a certain degree of equality of status, but, as the City Training College began to expand rapidly and pressure was on to uplift the entry standards of the student intake, Olive Metcalfe could foresee problems.

The difficulties which were manifest at Totley were common to most of the specialised Colleges of Education. Indeed, it was the over-specialised staffing and purpose-built accommodation which had led the Robbins Committee to recommend that:

"... the future of specialist colleges should lie in a gradual enlargement of scope and subjects covered so that they expand their teaching of general subjects while retaining high standards of specialisms".²

The reporting to the Further Education Sub-Committee of problems relating to standards of entry by the City, Thornbridge and Totley Colleges was not without purpose. During the months prior to the publication of the Robbins Report it was becoming common knowledge that proposals for establishing some form of Degree in Education would emerge and much would depend on the entry standards. The prospect of degree courses raised distinct problems for Totley Hall College for it was considered that seemingly non-academic subjects such as Housecraft, Handicraft and Physical Education would probably cause difficulties in university circles in respect of

recognition of such studies at degree level. It was not an unfounded fear for there was a body of opinion in universities which did not see this type of work as being of suitable academic standing for inclusion within a degree course.

Meanwhile, the pressure on the Sheffield Local Education Authority to increase the number of training places made Totley Hall College a likely prospect for expansion. The minutes of the Sub-Committee for the 5th June 1961 reported that:

"... the Ministry of Education have suggested that under the first phase of the 8,000 place national expansion programme for the training of teachers due for completion by 1964, Totley Hall Training College should be enlarged to provide a further 250 general places for women students following primary courses of training...

The Sub-Committee (recommended) that approval be given to the enlargement of Totley Hall Training College on the lines suggested by the Ministry of Education".¹

It was clear that Olive Metcalfe had to face a difficult task in re-orientating the courses nearer to those of a general training college yet maintaining some degree of specialisation. Since her appointment, first as Senior Lecturer and later as Vice-Principal, she had been responsible for the organisation of professional and educational studies in a college which was dominated by Housecraft and Domestic Science specialisms. As Principal, she now had the task of ensuring that the College moved distinctly towards generalised teacher education. Writing in 1961, she outlined some of the developments which were taking place:

"... Once again entry to the Advanced course was determined largely by the students' ability and achievements in Science subjects. Students entering college with G.C.E. passes in Physics, Chemistry or Mathematics have a marked advantage...

We are also considering offering an Advanced Main level course in Home Management which would be sociological rather than scientific in content: students taking this course would still complete the normal Science course but would be able to do so over three years.

In the meantime we are hoping to develop a much more comprehensive Art course for all students than we have had before.

To supplement their Education course a number of students have again undertaken evening work among young people in the city...:

Students have taken a P.E. class at Burgoyne Road Youth Club.

Students have helped regularly to develop an interest in Cookery amongst girls at Croft House Settlement: they also went nearly every evening in the last ten days of term to redecorate the kitchen.

Students deputised for the leader of the Y.M.C.A. Youth Club, who was ill, for 3 months.

Students took charge of a Women's Junior Air Corps for six months at Firs Hill.

Students have visited the girls at the Broomgrove Girls' Hostel each week to help them with their personal mending and dress-making...

Students have taken a junior girls' craft class at St. Mary's Community Centre.

Students helped the dramatic society at Brunswick Trinity Methodist Youth Club with the making of costumes.

Normally our first and second year students spend at least two weeks during their vacation doing unpaid social work connected in some way with their training. Some help in residential nurseries or in children's homes, play centres or holiday camps for handicapped children. This year two students accompanied a party of school-children to Rimini and Rome. One student acted as caterer and hostess for a holiday club organising holidays for handicapped adults. One student taught Arithmetic, English and P.E. to Indian children in Nyasaland for a period of eight weeks..."₁

Meanwhile, the pressure to increase student numbers presented considerable difficulty. The accommodation was not only limited, it was highly specialised and did not lend itself to flexibility in terms of multi-purpose usage. At the beginning of the academic year 1962-63 the problem was reported to the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee:

"... For the new session we have taken 50 students instead of our customary 48. We hope to raise our numbers from 144 to 150 in due course. Unless we introduce a special course in Needlework we cannot at present hope to increase our numbers further as we have only limited working facilities in our Housecraft rooms.

Two of the main growing points in our course at the moment are in the Art Department, where we have introduced several new crafts, and in the Science department, where we are exploring new methods of teaching nutrition.

Most of the main growing points in our course at the moment are in the Art department, where we have introduced several new crafts, and in the Science department, where we are exploring new methods of teaching nutrition.

Most of the new developments in our Home Management and Cookery departments are concerned with adjustments arising from contemporary social conditions and technical change. Various new methods of advertising and marketing, no less than the widespread use of new equipment and new demands on the time of housewives, present a challenge to all concerned with home-making. A great deal of re-assessment, re-thinking and experiment is going on in our work".₁

In the light of the Robbins Report it was evident that Totley Hall Training College of Housecraft would need to be viewed differently. Clearly it was too small to be economic and still too specialised. In a teacher supply crisis which revealed a desperate shortage of Primary teachers - particularly women (who were early casualties in the wastage pattern due to marriage and child-birth) - the further continuation of what was still a high degree of specialisation could not be justified.

Although the original accommodation provision was limited to a total admission of 150 students over the three-year course, the College grounds were extensive and offered plenty of scope for development. Indeed, unlike the City College which had to search out, annex and compulsorily purchase properties adjacent to it, Totley had none of these problems. Consequently, in response to the Ministry of Education Circular 5/63 the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee on the 6th May 1963 recommended that:

"Totley Hall Training College of Housecraft increase the number of students from the present 150 to approximately 600 eventually by the provision of additional buildings, by making the fullest possible use of available residential accommodation and by substantial recruitment of home-based students and students in lodgings. The expansion proposed at this college includes the provision of a general primary course for women students and a supplementary course in housecraft".₂

The development of Totley now took a more realistic turn. Clearly the introduction of a Supplementary Course in Housecraft was designed to meet the needs of specialised teacher shortages and enabled flexibility in career pattern for some teachers - particularly former two-year trained teachers who wished to improve their qualifications and job opportunities.

The directive to resort to admitting students in lodgings provided an opportunity to increase numbers. Fortunately, college location in a suburb which abounded in larger residences meant that the provision of suitable lodging accommodation was not too difficult. Meanwhile, the policy of seeking out potential home-based students also followed that being adopted at the Sheffield City College for increasing the number of day students admitted.

At Totley there was a difference: it was recognised predominantly as a women's college specialising in Housecraft but the introduction of a Primary Education course proved a boon not only for the College but for the local day students, for in a bid to swell the ranks of students admitted, recruitment was directed towards mature women students. The venture proved successful as frequently it brought opportunities for married women who had for one reason or another not been able to enter teaching at an earlier age or who sought to change their careers.

By 1966 the Sheffield Education Committee had radically changed its plan for Secondary Education. Instead of developing area groupings of co-educational secondary schools with provision for two single sex secondary schools (one for boys and another for girls) in each area as a possible parental option, it was decided to adopt a total co-educational policy - a feature which was subsequently carried forward with the development of Comprehensive Education. Such a policy needed to be appropriately translated in terms of College of Education provision too. The City College of Education had always been co-educational and now steps were taken to admit male students to Totley Hall College of Education.

At the meeting of the Governing body held on the 30th January 1967 it was recommended that:

"... the approval of the Department of Education and Science be sought (a) to extend the existing courses for women students at the College to cover training for work with the 9 to 13 age-range of pupils in schools (the existing primary courses cover the infant/junior age range) and (b) to admit men to the College as day students on a similar basis to the existing provision for mature women students..."¹

Although the future for Totley Hall College now appeared promising there were problems in other directions. In the immediate post-war period, the isolation of both Totley Hall and Thornbridge Hall communities proved convenient, facilitating as it did a closed management style. With the introduction of more open styles of government of Boards of Governors and Academic Boards, both Colleges seemed disadvantaged: socially, academically and administratively.

Of the three Sheffield Education Committee-controlled Colleges of Education, Thornbridge Hall College was the least favoured. Its geographical isolation, smallness of size and single sex provision were factors which mitigated against serious plans for larger scale operations, particularly as the introduction of the three-year course had put an extra strain on the available resources. Nevertheless, pressure to increase student numbers prevailed and in May 1963, the Further Education Sub-Committee agreed to increase the number of students from the then present 126 to 171, by accommodating some students in lodgings and by admitting day-students where possible.²

From 1963 onwards, the government of Thornbridge Hall College, in common with the other Sheffield Education Committee Training Colleges, passed into the care of a Board of Governors, the Articles of Government and Constitution of which were revised in 1968 following the recommendations of the Weaver Committee. In spite of reforms in the organisation and management of the College, it was becoming

increasingly clear that the continuation of a college of such a size was not only uneconomic but educationally unsound. Furthermore, there had been incidents of student unrest and disciplinary problems to some extent stemming from the fact that the institution was isolated. Moreover it seemed to some that the senior staff were unresponsive to change and found it difficult to come to terms with contemporary student attitudes. Finally, the proposals of the Robbins Committee and the introduction of the Baccalaureate in Education were factors which gave rise to concern for the future of the College. Clearly it could not remain an independent College of Education.

Meanwhile, it was evident that some disunity was developing between the Sheffield Local Education Authority-controlled Colleges of Education. The Principal of Thornbridge Hall College, Phyllis Whittaker, and the Principal of Totley Hall College, Olive Metcalfe, both felt threatened by the growth of the City College of Education. It was a situation which was exacerbated by the domineering and overbearing attitude which Peake adopted. Whittaker and Metcalfe felt that even in the Institute of Education their position was undermined.

It seemed almost inevitable that a close relationship between the Institute of Education and the City College of Education should exist because of their geographical closeness. As a result, many thought the relationship was maintained at the expense of the other colleges.

Matters came to a head in 1969. The Further Education Committee resolved:

"... That a Co-ordinating Committee of the Sheffield Colleges of Education be formed to concern itself with and to recommend on the best use of resources and rationalisation of developments and courses in the Colleges, and to consider such other matters as may be referred to it by this Sub-Committee from time to time; the membership to consist of five representatives of the academic staff of City College and five of Thornbridge Hall/Totley Hall, two from the University/Institute of Education, the Chief Education Officer and Senior Assistant Education Officer for Further Education, and H. M. Inspector".₁

Not unnaturally, the activities of the Co-ordinating Committee gave rise to speculation and rumour. Suggestions, proposals and counter proposals prompted considerable discussion and, in some quarters, opposition even before they had been presented formally to Governing Bodies and the Further Education Sub-Committee. Whittaker and Metcalfe felt particularly uncomfortable with the tenor of some of the meetings and with the hostility which was being generated. Olive Metcalfe wrote to Michael Harrison, the Chief Education Officer:

"30th July, 1969

Dear Mr. Harrison,

I was much concerned at the meeting in Leopold Street on Tuesday, 22nd July, to discover a misunderstanding on the part of certain people there about standards in the local colleges of education. Alleged discrepancies in admission qualifications (which were taken to imply some discrepancy in standards of college performance) were several times referred to.

Selection techniques do of course vary as colleges recruit different kinds of candidates. Some admit large groups of mature students, whose matriculation certificates of perhaps fifteen years ago may indicate a very high intellectual attainment. Some have specialist courses for which an 'O' level pass in chemistry or physics is a better foundation than an 'E' grade 'A' level in scripture. There cannot be a single criterion of admission for candidates seeking different courses of training, but while criteria for admission may vary, standards of performance in the Certificate in Education within an Institute should not.

The University appoints External Examiners to ensure parity of standards between colleges in its Certificate examination, and co-ordinating examiners, in addition to these, for the purpose of selecting for B.Ed.

In addition to the normal pass lists, External Examiners issue annual reports to Principals on the work in individual subjects within their colleges. "Visitation" teams from the University have recently reported moreover on academic potential amongst college staffs.

If it would help to dispel any misconceptions about relative standards in the colleges, we should be glad to make these reports available to you and to any competent colleagues you may choose. We should have to ask permission from the Institute of Education. The other local colleges, which will no doubt want the situation clarified, could be invited to do the same.

Reference was also made to alleged antagonisms and personal dislike directed against the City College by local colleagues.

We should like to reassure Dr. Peake on this point. A certain amount of tension has arisen as a result of divergent (but sincerely held) view-points over the last eighteen months. This is to be expected in legitimate professional discussion where important issues are at stake. We hope that Dr. Peake will accept our assurance that there has been no personal animosity.

I should be grateful if you would forward a copy of this letter to Councillors Horton and Adams, who were present at the meeting, and to Dr. Peake and the Secretary of the Institute.

Yours faithfully,

Olive Metcalfe

Principal".

As the various proposals began to take shape both the Principal and staff of Thornbridge Hall realised they faced either closure or amalgamation. Meanwhile, Olive Metcalfe, aware of the dangers of attempting to fight for the continuation of three colleges, considered that a Topley-Thornbridge merger, if successfully negotiated, would not only give Thornbridge Hall College and its staff a period of respite but would foil the plans of those who wished to effect a merging of all three Sheffield Local Education Authority Colleges of Education. Seeking support from Whittaker and her staff, Metcalfe wrote:

"12th September, 1969

Dear Miss Whittaker,

I am writing to follow up our telephone conversation, but I do not want you to have to read college documents in the holidays, so please do not feel any need to study this or reply...

Actually, we heard on the grape-vine that a meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee had discussed future college developments and that a meeting of a wider group (including us) was likely to take place after the beginning of term.

The "opposition" was said to have based its rejection of the Topley/Thornbridge merger on a claim that Topley and Thornbridge were determined to hold on indefinitely to the Thornbridge

building, and were not prepared to accept a merger on the Topley site, even with money made available by the D.E.S.

The "opposition" wanted therefore (I understand) to press that any money available be used for the extension of the City College...

Our own view (though staff are not here to consult) would be that we go on pressing for a merger of our two colleges, and say plainly that we would accept the D.E.S. offer of money to develop further building on this site. (We know that in fact it takes four - five years anyway to get buildings up, and that would give your staff time to think, and an opportunity to be in at any planning that is envisaged.

I think the merger of the three colleges under Dr. Peake will still be pressed by some Councillors (e.g. Adams and Owen) but I think if we can take away their main argument concerning buildings, we still have the stronger case.

I have done a bit of enquiring and am assured that the University will oppose the '2,000 college'. If Thornbridge and Topley stand firm about the right to determine their own destiny and to plan their future together, I think we shall still win.

The price may be a recognition that ultimately the Thornbridge building may have to be given up. We ourselves have two years of building still in hand (a library and a gymnasium) before we are complete.

Any other building programme would take some years to come to fruition.

I think that we have to bear in mind that if Dr. Peake got his way, Thornbridge would run down as soon as possible (and Topley would be the weaker and the less secure without Thornbridge standing beside it).

I have told you all my thoughts. I feel fairly confident that we can survive if we stand together.

The matter will soon come to Governors, I imagine.

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Olive Metcalfe

Principal".

In June 1969 the Further Education Sub-Committee were asked to consider a memorandum from the Chief Education Officer on the observations made by the Governing Bodies of the three Colleges of Education on the Reports made by the co-ordinating committee in order to make positive recommendations for future action concerning the future structure of the "Authority's Colleges of Education". It was resolved that:

"... a two College structure should operate from September, 1971, with a fusion of Thornbridge Hall and Totley Hall Colleges;

... there should be a close working relationship between the Thornbridge Hall and Totley Hall Colleges in the meantime and the maximum of co-operation between the new Thornbridge Hall/Totley Hall College and City College;

... there should be appropriate additional building at the Totley Hall site to accommodate the Thornbridge Hall students and staff, with the annual intake to Thornbridge Hall temporarily reduced if necessary from September, 1970, until additional buildings are available;

... the Thornbridge Hall buildings be taken out of use for full-time initial teacher training purposes by September, 1972..."₁

Within weeks the Local Education Authority set up a Joint Planning Committee comprising six members of staff from each College, a member of H M Inspectorate, the Secretary of the Institute of Education and the Chief Education Officer, in order to facilitate the proposed merger scheduled to operate from September 1971. The Joint Planning Committee worked quickly and by May 1970 it was reported to the Further Education Sub-Committee by the Chief Education Officer, that the Planning Committee had proposed:

the establishment of a Staff Redisposition Committee;

procedures for appointments be established before September 1970;

that, protem, the new College be referred to as Totley-Thornbridge College of Education and that the post of Principal be advertised in the Autumn term 1970 with a view to filling the appointment either from April or from September 1971.₂

The new institution now needed an Instrument and Articles of Government under the terms of the Education (No. 2) Act, 1968 and to meet the terms laid down by the Sheffield City Council before final approval could be obtained from the Secretary of State for Education and Science. By the close of 1970, agreement had been reached and Ministerial approval obtained and the new College could function from 1st September 1971.

The establishment of the new College meant in effect that staff appointments were up for review and whilst there was little likelihood of redundancy, some readjustment of responsibilities and duties was necessary. The most crucial and consequential decision lay in the appointment of a Principal and the Local Education Authority advertised the post during the Autumn of 1970. Obviously, there were two existing Principals already in situ but it appeared that whatever claim these incumbents had to succession at the Topley-Thornbridge College, neither would have received much support from either the Governors, the Education Committee or the Education Department in a bid for the Principalship in the then existing climate of change and innovation.

The newly constituted Governing body of the Topley-Thornbridge College met for the first time on the 26th January 1971 and its first business was to endorse and recommend to the Further Education Sub-Committee the appointment of John Banfield, Ph.D., B.Sc., the Vice-Principal of Furzedown College of Education, as Principal from 1st May 1971.¹

Within weeks, Olive Metcalfe gave notice of her intention to retire on the 31st August 1971:

"The Sub-Committee noted the tributes paid to Miss Metcalfe by the Governors and agreed to place on record their thanks and sincere appreciation of the outstanding contribution she has made to work and life of the college and to teacher training generally in the city".²

Meanwhile, at the meeting of the Governors of Thornbridge College held on the 12th February 1971, Phyllis H Whittaker intimated that she wished to resign her appointment on retirement on 31st August 1971. While the members of the Further Education Sub-Committee paid tribute to the work of Phyllis Whittaker and recorded their thanks for her seventeen years service in the employ of the Authority, they also sought the extension of her service, for Banfield, the incoming Principal, was not able to take up his post on 1st May 1971.¹

Development plans for Topley-Thornbridge College had to be made with some urgency and lodged with the Department of Education and Science for approval. The response from the DES came quickly. At the April meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee the Chief Education Officer reported that the Department of Education had approved the proposed schedule of accommodation to bring the merged colleges up to the standards recommended. Approval for adapting and adding to the accommodation at Topley to replace existing accommodation at Thornbridge was approved as a two-stage development.²

Confirmation came in July 1971 when the Chief Education Officer reported that:

"... the Department of Education and Science has accepted the Authority's proposals for phasing the additional accommodation required for the merger of Topley and Thornbridge Hall Colleges of Education..."³

With John Banfield in office as Principal, the College Staffing Committee acting under powers delegated to it by the Governors decided to appoint Peter G Spinks, B.Sc., a principal lecturer in the College, to the post of Deputy Principal from the 1st January 1972.⁴

CHAPTER XXVI- REFERENCES

- Page 399 1. SEC Minutes, 1960-61, p.164
" 2. Robbins, op cit, paragraph 343
Page 400 1. SEC Minutes, 1961-62, p.126
Page 401 1. SEC Minutes, 1961-62, p.292
Page 402 1. SEC Minutes, 1962-63, p.192
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1963-64, p.38
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Page 405 1. SEC Minutes, 1968-69, p.10
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" 2. SEC Minutes, 1970-71, p.4
Page 410 1. SEC Minutes, 1970-71, p.242
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1970-71, p.254
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" 3. SEC Minutes, 1971-72, p.16
" 4. SEC Minutes, 1971-72, p.177

CHAPTER XXVII

SHEFFIELD COLLEGE OF EDUCATION 1963-1975

By the beginning of the 1960s, it was evident that whatever assumptions and recommendations NACTST was making in respect of teacher training and supply, the birthrate was again rising with some rapidity. In view of the introduction of the three-year course, the question may well be asked: did the advocates of it merely seize on a temporary down-turn in the birthrate in order to effect its introduction or was it genuinely believed that there would be a lasting down-turn in the school population? A more realistic approach to the demographic facts may have led to a different conclusion. Although there were good reasons to suppose that the low birthrates of the mid-thirties would, once the immediate post-war "baby boom" had subsided, result in a lowering of the school population, this could only be of a temporary nature. The effects of the high birthrate during the period 1944 to 1949 threatened unarguably to affect the birthrates of the late 1950s and early 1960s as the post-war "bulge" reached the age of nubility.

Notwithstanding the conflicting views held by the Education Minister, NACTST, and the Education Service; Sir Philip Morris, voicing the fears of a number of organisations, predicted in 1958 that by 1968 there would be a shortage of some 34,000 teachers unless some drastic measures were introduced. Swift action followed and by 1960 the number of teacher training places had been increased by 24,000 - making the provision double that of 1956.

If teacher supply was causing problems at one end of the educational spectrum, higher education was too at the other. As the first of the three-year trained students completed their courses, the Committee on Higher Education under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins was preparing its report.¹

The Robbins Report identified two main educational areas: autonomous higher education as exemplified by the universities and dependent public institutions, primarily the direct administrative responsibility of local education authorities. Of the latter, there were two distinct kinds of institution: polytechnical offering a wide range of courses, and monotechanical teacher training colleges. The prime aim of the Report was to outline a framework for the expansion of higher education. The expansion of the universities was recommended; institutions which were undertaking advanced degree level or sub-degree level work were reckoned to be worthy of upgrading to university status. The principal difference between the autonomous upper sector and the lower public sector of higher education lay not only in the autonomy of one and the lack of it in the other but in the exclusive privilege of awarding degrees.

Following the creation of polytechnics an alternative self-contained provision emerged which gave rise to a binary higher education system: one sector made up of "independent" autonomous degree-awarding institutions, the other made up of local education authority controlled institutions of higher education offering degree courses validated by the Council for National Academic Awards. With hindsight the creation of the CNAA may have been seen as a necessary means of breaking the monopoly of the universities. Unfortunately, it served not merely as a temporary means of bridging the gap between the two sectors but became a permanent alternative to the traditional arrangement.

It was hardly surprising that neither the DES nor the LEAs wished to lose direct control over teacher training arrangements. The supply of teachers was of prime concern and the staffing of schools at least into the late 1970s appeared likely to continue to cause considerable difficulty. The Government also considered that teacher supply and administrative control were too related to divorce, consequently they were not prepared to press for autonomous control outside the local education authorities but took steps to consider how the governance of the colleges might be improved.

On the question of the government of the colleges, the Association of Education Committees remained singularly nervous. The supply of teachers remained a sensitive issue and one over which the local education authorities still wished to maintain direct control through the training colleges. A letter was received from the AEC "requesting an early meeting for consultation... (for) they were not prepared as an association to contemplate handing over the colleges forthwith...".¹

Although the Robbins Report recognised that some colleges "might enlarge their professional purpose to the fields of the social services and others towards science or arts courses"² the Robbins Committee and ATCDE still reckoned that the majority of colleges would continue to be engaged in training students for the... (teaching) ... profession"³ and that their future lay in developing further the university connection.

In order to effect a closer partnership it was considered that colleges should become more autonomous; they should be styled "Colleges of Education" and a degree of Bachelor of Education should be instituted and awarded to selected students by the university of which a college and Institute of Education was part, and that the degree should be the responsibility of the senate. It was to be an award which was to be of equivalent standard to a Bachelor of Arts degree "but it would be a degree gained in a distinctive way characteristically based on the study of education".⁴

From the attention which the Robbins Committee gave to training colleges, some concrete observations emerged. Clearly the Committee were:

"... convinced that in the long term a college with less than 750 should be regarded as exceptional..."⁵

and that:

"... the future of specialist colleges should be in a gradual enlargement of scope and subjects covered so that they can expand their teaching of general subjects while retaining a high standard of specialisms..."⁶

The Committee also posed a question and offered some answers:

"What should be the general line of development in the future? Some colleges will wish to broaden their scope by providing courses with a measure of common studies, for entrants to various professions in the social services... such developments will be restricted during the next ten years or so because the whole capacity of the colleges will be needed to match the demand for teachers... (but) ... there will be opportunities in the 1970s."₁

In many respects the Report identified a number of key problems but it was unable to offer wholly satisfactory solutions:

"... in our view... the current discontent in TC is not just a matter of wanting degrees. It goes much deeper and involves the whole standing of the Colleges in the system of higher education in this country".₂

Meanwhile, from the time the three-year course was introduced, much closer attention began to be paid by the Sheffield Local Education Authority colleges to the type and quality of pass in the Teacher's Certificate Examination results. The Training of Teachers Sub-Committee called for information. Phyllis Whittaker, Principal of Thornbridge, reported that:

"63 students took the examination;
42 offered one or more subjects at the Advanced level;
4 gained a mark of 'Distinction' in two Advanced subjects;
18 gained a mark of 'Distinction' in one Advanced subject;
6 failed".₃

The report from Olive Metcalfe too carried similar information. The Minutes of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee for 13th June 1960 revealed that at Trolley Hall Training College, 47 students had been presented for the examination and 43 had passed, 2 with distinctions; while it was recorded that at the City Training College 115 men and 88 women had taken the examination and 3 had failed.

The interest in the statistics of performance was far from casual. The Local Education Authority and the colleges now began proving the point that the calibre of the student intake was equal to that of the universities and that the output of the colleges represented a significant academic achievement both in the depth as well as the breadth of study.

It had clearly been a well-orchestrated campaign and one which brought a considerable degree of influence to bear on the Robbins Committee. Wing and Moulton were elated by most of the recommendations, particularly those which related to the size of colleges and the provisions which were being made for the development of the Bachelor or Education degree. In the "Crescent" magazine of July 1964¹ Wing in addition to his customary "Principal's Letter" also included the submission which he had made to the Robbins Committee during 1961 and it was remarkable how many of the proposals coincided with Wing's submission. It was a well-researched document based on the records of 528 students.

Meanwhile, the ever yet expanding College began to plan to cope with a four-figure student body. Almost wearily, Wing reported that:

"The pressure on the College by the Department of Education and Science to take even more students is being repeated again this year. The Minister "believes the Colleges will be ready to take special action over the next two or three years" because "the total registrations with the Clearing House for 1965-6 are about 24% higher than at the same time last year, whereas the intake anticipated by Colleges is about 8% larger than their corresponding estimate of 12 months ago".²

The Students' Union too were already finding the rapid growth and development difficult to cope with:

"Not least, the Students' Union has been closely involved in the transformation and has been called upon to expand its organisation and increase the scope of its activities, as well as to cope with innumerable problems of administration hitherto not anticipated.

Two serious problems presented themselves - a virtual split in Union activities between Marshall and Collegiate Halls, and very acute overcrowding of the Common Room space and facilities. It is indeed a pity that without disruption of the timetable and domestic staff, it is impossible to gather together all the student body in one place for activities. The large Sports Clubs particularly are finding it difficult to cater for increased numbers, but it is hoped that in the foreseeable future provision at Norton will be substantially increased...

This extremely rapid and sudden expansion has not been without cost. The resources of the College have been strained to absorb the onslaught, and many minor discomforts and upheavals have been suffered. This has called for a high degree of co-operation. At last, however, the pressure appears to be easing."₁

Thus wrote the 1963 President of the Students' Union. It was not merely the physical resources which were strained - the staff were too and one person in particular, Herbert Wing. Those who were closely involved in the affairs of the College knew only too well of the physical and mental decline of the Principal. The Secretary of the OCA alluded to it as early as July 1961:

"... it was distressingly clear... what a great strain had fallen upon Dr. Wing..."₂

During the latter years of the 1950s, all too frequently frailness of health had led to prolonged periods of physical illness, but under pressure of the expansion of the College, the strain began to tell. Unfortunately, decisions had to be made which were crucial to the College and many of the senior staff bore the burdens of responsibility. However, it was upon the shoulders of Jane Moulton, the Deputy Principal, that many of the decisions ultimately rested - and she was not found wanting. In the self-effacing manner characteristic of her part of the unique working partnership which existed between the Principal and the Deputy Principal, she lifted the burden from Wing. With consummate personal skill and diplomacy the work of the College progressed. Sadly, the Principal, a rapidly deteriorating and solitary figure, had at times to be persuasively eased out of meetings and lectures - a sorry figure of a man who had for sixteen years developed the City College into one of the largest

and one of the most prestigious of its kind. At the close of the 1964-65 academic year, Herbert Wing retired. He had held the Principalship for sixteen years, steering the College from a mere 300 or so students until it contained almost 1,000 students. The facilities were greatly increased and improved and he had laid the foundations of a degree-course in Education.

On his retirement, congratulations and good wishes came in plenty. The articles in the "Crescent" magazine not only traced Wing's work but there were also innumerable personal tributes. An ex-student who had returned to the College as a Lecturer in Education summed up the man:

"... Always open to new ideas and to progress... (he) maintained a policy of trying to collect about him a hard core of staff with enthusiasm, initiative and foresight. These three qualities he endeavoured to nurture in all those who pass(ed) through the College. Occasionally, with students badgering him for this and that change, with members of staff unafraid to carry on an argument for what they felt to be right, he must have thought that it would have been much easier to be a dogmatic tyrant! ... And how grateful we have all been, to have the freedom to go upstairs, at any time, and be able to put our case, unafraid of what the consequences might be. How grateful we have all been for understanding, informality and warm sympathy.

It is not really very difficult to say that which above all needs to be said:

Thank you... from this student for the loan of money; from this student for help in personal difficulties; from this member of staff; from this cleaner, matron, gardener... from this College...

The Wing legends are legion... (they) ... show the essence of the man... his humanity and humour.

Shirley M Payne".₁

Sadly, it was a retirement short-lived. Dr Wing died in January 1969.

One of the first changes to be effected as a result of the Robbins Report was implementation of the recommendation to re-style training colleges as "Colleges of Education". At the meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee held on 12th April 1965 it was recommended that:

"... in accordance with the practice adopted generally throughout the country arising from the Robbins Report, approval be given to a change of title from "Training College" to "College of Education" in respect of the City, Thornbridge Hall and Totley Hall Colleges".¹

Of greater import was the selection of a new Principal following the retirement of Dr Herbert D Wing. It was not an easy task and the Governing Body of the College and the senior officers of the Local Education Authority needed to deliberate carefully. It was now one of the largest institutions of its kind. The College now had a student population at the one thousand mark and the size of the teaching staff had increased until it was close on the hundred mark, and it appeared that yet further expansion and development would be taking place. It was obvious that whoever was appointed needed not only academic credence but also the necessary management skills and qualities of leadership to direct such a complex institution.

It seemed obvious to many that Jane Moulton, the Deputy Principal, should succeed Wing, but being so close herself to the age of retirement, such an appointment was inappropriate. Meanwhile, applications for the post having been received, the Governing Body reported to the Further Education Sub-Committee that a short-list of candidates had been selected for interview:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Present Appointment</u>
Mr. C. Crane	46	Vice-Principal, Portsmouth College of Education
Dr. J. L. Dobson	54	Principal, Padgate College of Education
Mr. R. Hamilton	46	Senior Lecturer in Education, Edinburgh University
Dr. J. H. Peake	42	Headmaster, Bilborough Grammar School, Nottingham." ²

Subsequently, at the meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee held on 28th April 1965, it was recommended that:

"... Dr. J. H. Peake, M.A., M.Sc., at present Headmaster of Bilborough Grammar School, Nottingham, be appointed Principal Of the City College of Education from 1st September, 1965..."³

The choice of Harold Peake as Principal was surprising and his appointment raised certain questions - some of which remain unanswered. In the educational climate of the 1960s, the prestige and status of grammar schools in the educational world still remained high. Did the Governing Body and the Local Education Authority still regard Training Colleges as little more than an extension of the grammar school? Clearly there may still have been some association of this notion for it was only in the previous year that changes in the Local Education Authority's organisation and Education Committee structuring had placed the Sheffield Education Committee Training Colleges alongside the institutions of further education. Prior to 1964 they had been managed administratively for over sixty years, first through the Higher Education Sub-Committee and then the Secondary Education Sub-Committee. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that some still regarded the training colleges in the same light.

The short-list contained applicants well-versed in college of education administration. Were they wholly unsuited to preferment? Was there such a charismatic quality about Peake which placed him primus inter pares? Or were there other considerations? Did the Chief Officer not have an avowed aversion to the academic approach to teacher training?¹ Had not Wing often been regarded with disdain largely because of the attitude of previous incumbents in the post of Chief Education Officer. In a different direction: how far did the "old boy network" of Chief Education Officers extend? How desirable was it to appoint someone seemingly likely to be attuned to Local Education Authority policies? On a different line, did the selectors seek to appoint a Principal with a demonstrably overt Christian commitment at a time when moral laxity and a permissive society appeared to be on the increase? But why the headmaster of a grammar school should have been appointed to direct a major college of education remains a mystery.

As the academic year 1965-66 closed, Peake had completed his first year, and was to write in the "Crescent":

"... The more 'open' our society becomes the more necessary it would seem to be for the trainee-teacher to experience a period of residence in a cultured and disciplined environment. At a time when individuals need 'to belong' to someone, or to something, 'to be wanted' it is surely ironical that schools and colleges should be becoming so large and impersonal that the individual can be lost in the crowd. Is it possible for a college to be at once viable and effective? It is also tragic that the insidious commercial interests of the 'trend-setters' should be producing an acquisitive and permissive society, which must of necessity encourage personal tensions and the inevitable moral disasters. In my opinion the "new morality" is not less than an attempted rationalisation of individual selfishness and irresponsibility, a self-justification of personal indiscipline and frustration: it is easy to run down hill but surely only an effete society prefers the easy way? The Colleges of Education must face up to the problems caused by the prevailing moral laxity and indiscipline. But it must be said that these attitudes are a direct challenge to the personal standards which have long been expected of teachers who presume to educate the young in their formative years. Unfortunately, our secular society is more concerned with its kerb drill than with the intellectual and moral integrity which is essential for personal happiness...

One of the saddest aspects of our time is the so-called "war of the generations", the isolation of groups - teenagers; students; workers; management; them, us. A College is "a body of colleagues with common functions and privileges" and it cannot attain its true objectives unless each member co-operates in a partnership of common endeavour and mutual understanding. We cannot afford the luxury of sectional and partisan interests. There must be a united, positive contribution to College life if it is to be a rich and satisfying personal experience for us all..."₁

The ex-grammar school Headmaster had declared himself. To the staff and students it was obvious that changes in the style of management of the College were in train. Even during the sixteen years of Wing's Principalship the style of staff-student relationships had changed fundamentally from a situation where the Principal and his staff were able to know each student personally, to one where it had become difficult even to maintain day-to-day contact between teaching staff and Principal, let alone students.

Fortunately for Wing, he had been for so long an agent of change that although the College outgrew his Principalship, there was respect of his status and for his and his Deputy Principal's work as builders of what had become a dynamic and thriving institution.

It was not unnatural therefore that Peake should be put in a position of being compared and of being "tested". The new Principal was under scrutiny not only in relationship with the College Governors and the Local Education Authority, but with the College staff, students and former students, all of whom had expectations and made comparisons.

As the academic year 1967 opened, 1,100 students were admitted and timetable pressure was alleviated by the introduction of an extended day timetable - a choice lay between extending the day or of working a four-term year in order to accommodate the extra 20% admission. The readiness to accommodate further students carried a price: in accepting the invitation for further expansion the Sub-Committee made it clear to the Department of Education and Science that capital for additional facilities would be required. The Sub-Committee's request did not go unheard. By July 1967, £100,000 had been allocated to provide a third kitchen and dining hall, social facilities, amenities for day students and additional teaching accommodation.

The aftermath of the publication of the Robbins Report produced some despondency in College of Education circles. When the proposals relating to teacher-training were examined there was little that was new. Apart from the cosmetic expedient of renaming the training colleges and the proposal to introduce the Bachelor of Education degree, little else had changed - not even an easement of the expansion programme. The status of teacher education not only remained unresolved but with the introduction of the "Plan for Polytechnics"¹ the place of Colleges of Education in the Further Education system seemed even more uncertain. Peake in his report of July 1967 observed:

"The future of Colleges of Education is a matter of speculation. Will they become the Cinderella of a Tertiary system - University, Polytechnic, College of Education in descending order? There are signs that this is indeed to be so. Ought teachers to be trained in institutions set apart for this purpose? Ought they not to be trained alongside the trainee engineer, technologist, nurse, health visitor, librarian, doctor, solicitor? After Crowther, Robbins, Newsom, Plowden, what about a Report on Teacher Training? Experience suggests that such a report would ensure that nothing much was done for twenty years or more".¹

The Robbins Report recommended earmarked grants for the Colleges of Education dispensed through the universities and independent governing bodies. But the Government took a different view and the recommendations were not implemented. Consequently the Colleges of Education remained in status quo, indissolubly tied to local education authorities.

This state of affairs could not continue indefinitely. While the local education authorities were reluctant to relinquish control, it was becoming clear that if Colleges of Education were to move academically closer to the universities, the government of them would have to be more independent. Early in 1965 the Secretary of State for Education invited a number of organisations to put forward nominations for membership of a Study Group on the Government of Colleges of Education, to work under the Chairmanship of Toby Weaver of the Department of Education and Science.

The product of the Study Group was a Report published early in 1966. It recommended that:

"... all local education authorities maintaining colleges of education... and the Department of Education and Science... should review their methods of control and general relationship with the colleges in the light of (the) report... take such steps as may be necessary to reconstitute the governing bodies of their colleges... and... inform the Secretary of State accordingly... review the present arrangements for the organisation and management of their colleges... with particular

reference to the need to establish properly constituted academic boards... The Secretary of State should be invited to introduce legislation to provide for the making by local education authorities of instruments of government for the constitution of the governing bodies of maintained colleges of education, and to provide that these colleges should be conducted in accordance with articles of government made by an order of the local education authority and approved by him...".¹

The Government quickly took action and by 1968 the Education (No 2) Act had passed through Parliament. Not only did it direct and empower local education authorities to reconstitute the government of colleges of education, the scope of the Act also provided for changes in the government of colleges of further education - a feature which was subsequently to facilitate the initial development of Instruments of Government for the soon to be created Polytechnics.

The implementation of the Weaver Report was not difficult for the Sheffield Education Committee. Indeed, although the changes were welcomed, in effect the new proposals merely represented an extension of reforms which the Local Education Authority had undertaken in 1963.

Even prior to the publication of the Robbins Report it seemed obvious to Sheffield Education Committee that the existing arrangements for the management of Training Colleges was inappropriate. The system which had been introduced in the 1920s whereby the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee directly overlooked the affairs of the Sheffield City Training College with its 230 students and twenty staff was too time-consuming and too detailed now that there were three colleges of education. The task too had become daunting for the Further Education Sub-Committee which was directly concerned in the governance of the Colleges of Art, Technology, Granville, Shirecliffe and Richmond, and a number of minor further education institutions.

On the 4th March 1963, the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee under the Chairmanship of Alderman S H Marshall recommended that the City Council¹ be requested to make Orders for an Instrument of Government and Articles of Government for the three Teacher Training Colleges.

The Orders made provision for a Governing Body comprising:

"... The Governing Body, hereinafter called "the Governors", shall, when complete, consist of fifteen persons, that is to say:-

Representing the Sheffield Local Education Authority	8
Representing the University of Sheffield (one of whom shall represent the Institute of Education)	2
Representing Sheffield Schools	2
Persons interested in the work of the College	3

Due regard shall be had to ensuring that a reasonable proportion of the Governing Body shall be women".²

Although the development was unique and marked a great forward step, the composition of the Governing Bodies still maintained a majority of Local Education Authority appointed representatives who were able to out-vote the remaining membership. None the less, the development was still advantageous. Provision was made for suitably interested persons to be invited to membership as Governors with full status rather than the arrangements which had previously existed whereby suitable non-Local Education Authority persons were invited to join the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee merely as co-opted members and without real status. Although there was still no means of admitting members of staff or students as Governors, at least the Principal was allowed a place on the Board of Governors by right.

From the Sheffield Education Committee's point of view the development was desirable. The Local Education Authority took the opportunity of the change to alter the committee structure by disbanding the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee and bringing the

Training Colleges under the control of the Further Education Sub-Committee. At the same time the Colleges were transferred administratively from the Secondary Education Section to the Further Education Section under the direction of S B Hanson, the Senior Officer responsible for Further Education.

The reform of the management of the Sheffield Education Colleges' committees stemmed from a belief that the Robbins Report would bring about such changes for both the Local Education Authority and the Colleges were well attuned to the proceedings of the Robbins committee. Not only did the Education Committee have powerful connections and influence at national education organisation level, but Wing was an active member of the College Principals' panel and Jane Moulton a key member of the executive of the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education.

By the time the Secretary of State for Education came to set up the Study Group on the Government of Colleges of Education, the arrangements in the Sheffield Education Committee controlled colleges were developing satisfactorily. It was not surprising therefore that Alderman Albert Ballard, the then Chairman of Sheffield Education Committee should be asked to serve as a representative of the Association of Municipal Corporations. Another connection too made a contribution to the work of the Study Group. Professor W H G Armytage of the Sheffield University Department of Education had served for some years as a co-opted member on a number of the Sheffield Authority's Sub-Committees and Armytage was invited to attend a number of the Weaver Committee's meetings. There can be little doubt that the Sheffield Education Committee was instrumental in pioneering these developments. The work did not pass unnoticed for the Weaver Committee observed that:

"In at least one area a local Act has given the Corporation specific power to make instruments of government for colleges of education setting up bodies of governors and to delegate to the governing body any of their functions under the Education Acts".₁

On the question of Academic Boards, neither the Local Education Authority nor the Colleges had taken any action. At the City College there were frequent staff meetings, House Committees and special interest groups which channelled their thoughts and views to the Principal, but a formally structured committee did not exist. Following the publication of the Weaver Report, the matter came to be discussed at length both in the Committees of the Institute of Education and at the meetings of the Governing Body. On the 27th February 1967, the Further Education Sub-Committee recommended that:

"... approval be given to the establishment of an Academic Board for the College, directly responsible to the Governing Body..."₁

Between the publication of the Weaver Report (February 1966) and the actual enactment of the Education (No. 2) Bill, 1968, much administrative activity was set in train. The Department of Education and Science issued Circular 2/67 which asked local education authorities to submit to the Department proposals for the reconstitution of governing bodies together with draft articles of government. During the early months of 1967, redrafting began aimed at meeting the recommendations of the DES Circular. At the meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee on the 10th July 1967, the draft Instruments and Articles of Government were approved and subsequently submitted for consideration by the DES. The response from the Department was some months delayed, but then on the 8th January 1968, the Further Education Sub-Committee recommended the City Council to apply the Corporate Common Seal to the revised Instruments and Articles, which were to be identical for the three Colleges of Education.

The size of the Governing Body was to be increased. There was to be wider representation, including members of the academic staff - a considerable shift in ideas and previous practice. The new Governing Body was to comprise:

"Representing the Sheffield Local Education Authority	9
Representing other Local Education Authorities	1
Representing the University of Sheffield (one of whom shall represent the Institute of Education)	2
Representing the academic staff of the College	2
Representing grant-aided schools	2
Co-opted persons interested in the work of the College (to be co-opted by the Governors) up to	3
Principal of the College ex-officio	<u>1</u>
	<u>20,"</u>
	1

A further significant innovation was the status conferred on the Chief Administrative Officer. By the terms of the Articles of Government, this office-bearer was designated Clerk to the Governors, while the Chief Education Officer, although empowered to attend and speak at the meetings of Governors, was not to have a legal status within the incorporated Governing Body. A major change in the government of Colleges of Education had been accomplished - it was the nearest point the colleges were to reach in their bid for autonomy.

Meanwhile, at the meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee of the 5th June 1967, it was reported that Jane Moulton, the Deputy Principal of the City College of Education, would retire on the 31st December 1967. The end of Jane Moulton's service with the College not only marked the end of a most distinguished career in the cause of teacher education, it marked the end of an era. For nineteen years she had been Deputy Principal of what had become one of the largest Colleges of Education in the United Kingdom. That she chose to build a career at Sheffield rather than seek promotion to Principalship elsewhere is an indication of the dedication which she had for the College. Indeed, there developed between Wing and Moulton a coparceny which even rivalled that of Valentine Ward Pearson and Mrs Lydia Henry.

One of the deserts of a Principal of a major College of Education often comes in the guise of an official honour. It was no secret that Wing's genuine professional regard and esteem for his Deputy Principal was such that he wished to see her unstinting service to the College suitably marked. In the 1962 Honours List, Jane Moulton became an Officer of the most noble Order of the British Empire. After that point in time, it would have been easy for her to relax and wait for retirement. Instead, with unremitting enthusiasm and consummate skill, she continued to manage the College through a critical period when Wing was a sick man, when expansion was still the order of the day, when student and staff demands for a share in the control of the affairs of the College were at their height and when the administrative mechanism to enable such changes to be introduced were non-existent. As might have been expected, Jane Moulton's retirement was marked by a series of presentations: staff, students, ex-students and many national personalities of the College of Education world paid their respects to a remarkable educationalist.

Harold Peake, speaking at a Senior Common Room Dinner given in her honour on the 25th November 1967, remarked:

"... During nineteen years as Deputy Principal she has worked with (a careful choice of preposition - not under, not against, not subservient to - but *with*) three Principals. She has adapted herself to the whims, the strengths and weaknesses of three vastly different personalities and temperaments. Maybe we have been successfully and subtly persuaded into her way of thinking! Miss Moulton has seen the College increase in size and face the challenge and demands of a changing society. Not for her a stagnant conservatism or a moribund tradition. She has neither been a lazy thinker nor a slothful practitioner. Indeed, Miss Moulton's contribution to teacher training has to be considered in a national as well as a local setting. She has been a most respected member of the A.T.C.D.E. Executive. ... *her* O.B.E. was richly deserved and accepted with becoming modesty.

The relationship which exists between a Principal and his Deputy is especially intimate and personal... I too have come to appreciate the warmth of her friendship and the soundness of her advice - her loyalty, her reliability, her fundamental goodness, and her sense of humour...

... (her) ... nineteen years at the Sheffield City College of Education have been distinguished by her unselfish desire to be of service and by her innate goodness and kindness...".¹

The Old Crescenters' Association too were anxious to pay tributes. The President, Irene Zannettou, at a Sherry Party on the 9th December, remarked:

"... In everything which we have tried to do, we have been helped by your advice and encouragement.

We who have been out of College, even for a few years, can't visualize the enormous changes which have taken place, the expansion and the building and the new organization which has to follow. You have taught us to take these things into consideration when we have been arranging our functions. No important decision has ever been taken without consulting Miss Moulton (not even this evening!), because we know that we can always get the best advice, and the most sense, from you.

... you have never let us down: after all, who else would even *think* of going down into the cellars of Marshall Hall, let alone grubbing about in the dust and cobwebs to bring to light ancient Collegiate Hall wash bowls for the Old Crescenters' Garden Party Display?

Your memory is not confined to the contents of cellars (with or without your Little Black Book), you always seem to remember the names and faces of Old Crescenters whom you meet - and heaven knows what you remember about us!

We promise you that on this occasion, our memory will equal yours. But then it is easier for us, because there is only one Jane Moulton...".²

The retirement of Jane Moulton coincided with the retirement from public office of Alderman S H Marshall who had almost continuously since the 1920s been a member of the College's managing body. In 1944 he became Chairman of the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee, an office he held until the dissolution of the Sub-Committee in 1963. In his younger days he had been one of that group of uncompromising Labour Councillors who were the bane of Samuel Hoole's Principalship but, like many of his kind, when he had established the ruling Labour Group in the City's political structure, the stability which ensued lent itself to more moderate and sympathetic policies. He did not

always command the respect of educationalists by his virtues and he often achieved his ends as a result of his bullying. Nevertheless, his commitment to the development of teacher-education never flagged. He championed the causes of the Colleges both in the Sub-Committee, which he chaired, and in the main Education Committee.

Meanwhile, the sixtieth anniversary of the establishment of Sheffield City College came and went - marked primarily by changes in its senior staff. The Principal, Harold Peake, had only relatively recently been appointed, while with the retirement of Jane Moulton came a change in the Deputy Principalship with the appointment of Christopher Bradshaw. For the first time in its sixty-year history a man was selected, which necessitated a further appointment of a senior tutor responsible for the women students.

Change too was reflected in the mood of staff and student relationships. Although the College could accommodate in excess of 1,200 students the facilities and accommodation were fragmented - even though it was housed within a relatively compact campus. Expansion of necessity led to the growth of an administrative unit and heralded the detachment of the Principal and senior members of the staff from both the junior members and the student body. Some years earlier, "Oaklands", which had originally been for many years a hostel, had been redesigned to provide lecture rooms, a Senior Common Room, and administrative accommodation. This was seen by many as a means of effecting detachment from the day-to-day affairs of the College.

The situation was exacerbated further when a large Victorian house, 34 Collegiate Crescent, was acquired and refurbished as the main administrative centre and styled "College House". Such an arrangement seemed to provide a means of escape for the Principal from the pressures of a staff who were increasingly demanding a greater share in the government of the College and a student body who were pressing for parity with their counterparts in the University. Increased student activity was not surprising: being part of the National Union of Students' network they were drawn into the active student politics of the

sixties. Although in general College of Education students were a good deal more passive than those in the Universities, pressure for the relaxation of house rules and a demand for greater freedom bore heavily on Peake and senior members of staff. From the students' standpoint, progress was too slow and there was a need for a little more positive action. But there was still a limit to what could be achieved. The Colleges of Education were still closely tied to the Local Education Authority despite pressure to widen the power base. Peake observed in the "Crescent":

"... The future government of Colleges of Education has yet to be decided. After much careful deliberation, recommendations were submitted to the Governors, who approved the formation of an Academic Board. An important aspect of its Constitution is the provision of formal machinery for Staff-Student Consultations and the definition of procedures to be applied when student discipline is involved. It is my opinion that unless all the members of a College (or University) respect one another, there can be no satisfactory procedures however carefully they may be defined; unless there is a large measure of self-discipline and a genuine consideration for the welfare of others, these communities will destroy themselves..."¹

Meanwhile, socially the Students' Union took on considerably more ambitious programmes. The Executive Committee reported:

"... For many years this College played only a small part in the 'Rag' in Sheffield, which was run by the University. Now it has become the Sheffield Students' Rag, with the vast majority of Colleges in the area participating, this College certainly being no exception, as we were one of the main instigators of this change. We also continue to be the only College of Education represented at the National Rag Conference..."

... There has been an average of six College Dances each term with Dance Bands, Groups and some fine Jazz Bands. There have also been two evenings at the City Hall; the Peter Jay Dance being a considerable success, whereas the Merseybeats failed to attract the support we had anticipated. The outstanding dances of the year in College were the Turkey Trot and the Valentine's Dance, both being thoroughly enjoyed by all.

It has been noticeable that, when we have tried to provide Groups of higher quality, Marshall Hall has not been adequate to cope with their equipment or the 'bigger sound'..."²

But in the struggle for self-determination they were not really gaining - restriction was still the order of the day, a situation exemplified in a single short sentence:

"... Thanks are also extended to all those responsible for the corridors for their attention to duties, which this year have been performed impeccably, and to the members of staff who have given up time to be on duty at our functions..."¹

The aspirations of the student body did not go unnoticed. Both the Sheffield Education Committee and the Board of Governors were sufficiently forward looking to encourage development within the constraints of Local Education Authority control. The annual grants to the Students Union were generously uplifted and in 1969 the Further Education Sub-Committee endorsed the recommendation of the Governors that:

"... in view of the growth of the College and the extent of Student Union activities, approval in principle be given to a proposal that one officer of the College Student Union be granted sabbatical leave each year from the academic year 1969-70, subject to the consent of the student's home education authority to the proposed leave, and to the cost being met by the student body..."²

It was now becoming obvious that one of the last bastions of the "old order" would soon fall. The "Crescent" magazine had been under criticism from students for many years. Since the early sixties, the students had been developing their own newspaper "Broadsheet" leaving "Crescent" in a peculiar position. Although it was largely supported by the Old Crescenters' Association, many thought of it as the Principal's mouthpiece - an annual chronicle of little real interest to attending students. The Editorial of the 1966 issue observed:

"... With the increase in the number of Broadsheets, "Crescent" has taken on the task of summarising the past year's events and of presenting the more serious views of the past and present day students.

Many readers have complained about the lack of variety and humour in "Crescent", so in this edition we have included as much humour and variety as we possibly could and hope that it meets with your approval..."³

In the following year the Secretary of the Students' Publications Committee observed:

"... The Union Broadsheet has continued to sell well at the increased price of fourpence, though the new timetable has created difficulties of distribution which made it impossible to achieve a circulation of six hundred copies, a record set up last year...

... If Broadsheet is to prevent itself from becoming trivial and insignificant it must be made more vital, more controversial, more 'aware', more a reflection of the College as a community of at least reasonably intelligent people. In this way Broadsheet could do the Union a lot of good nationally...".₁

By the 1968 issue of "Crescent" it was clear the end was in sight. Neither the Principal nor the Deputy Principal were members of the Magazine Committee - Donald Mattam alone represented the staff. The Editorial of the last "Crescent", unwittingly the last, remarked:

"... The Union has embarked on a newspaper, "Scoe", a vital necessity for a fully united community. In the next few years we face an astronomical expansion both in numbers and in variety of courses, and it is essential that there be adequate expression of opinion and record of activities during those years. We thank all who have contributed to this magazine, and ask for full support during the coming terms...".₂

On the question of the cost of the production of the "Crescent" the "writing had been on the wall" since 1964. It was reported in 1965 that:

"Owing to the steep rise in recent years in printing costs the O.C.A. have agreed to forego their special discount on the Crescenter. The magazine in 1963 cost £179/7/6 to be printed, £14 was received from the Old Crescenters, £54 from advertisers, £55/10/0 from present students and £1/19/0 from staff and candidates... In an attempt to close the gap between expenses and income the cost for a full page advertisement is to be increased to £6 per page... this is reasonable in view of the increased circulation which is now about 1,300. It has also been necessary to practise printing economy by cutting down rigorously on blocks and on all repetitive information. Thus, naturally enough, all societies and clubs wish to thank their supporters in the past year and to express their good wishes for the coming year, but it is hoped that readers this year will take the general thanks and good wishes expressed by the Union Executive Committee as applying equally to all clubs and societies...".₃

The "Crescent" had been kept in publication by a handful of enthusiasts, past students, and by Wing and Moulton. Unknown to the majority, Wing had for years personally made good deficits out of his own pocket.

Meanwhile, the development of the facilities continued. Student numbers from 1968 were to rise gradually in the succeeding years from 1,200 until there were in excess of 1,500. In September 1969, the Further Education Sub-Committee gave its agreement to the provision of a sick bay¹ and in November 1969 it was reported that:

"... The Sub-Committee noted that the Governors of the City College of Education had expressed their support in principle to a memorandum by the Principal, and a recommendation of the College Academic Board that approval be sought for, the establishment of a Resources for Learning Centre on the College site essentially to meet the needs of students and additionally, as the occasion arose, of serving teachers..."²

After some discussion, the Sub-Committee approved in principle the proposal in so far as it related to the provision of appropriate facilities for students of the City College of Education. But the Sub-Committee were not happy about the limitations and viewed the project in a wider context. As a result it was agreed to refer the matter to the Policy and Finance Sub-Committee for consideration of the matter in relation to in-service training and for learning resources generally within the Sheffield Local Education Authority.

By 1969 the major building programme had virtually come to an end and the structural developments in the succeeding years seemed likely to be of a relatively minor nature. Nevertheless, the future had to be considered. Ideas were in train which appeared to strengthen the view that on the longer term there would be yet further educational development. If longer term educational plans were to be made it was fast becoming necessary to survey the whole layout of the College campus buildings and the geographical relationship of the several off-campus sites. In the twenty years 1949 to 1969 the extensions and expansion of the College had taken place in the vicinity of the main College campus but availability

of sites (and sometimes non-availability of buildings) had resulted in some of the teaching and residential accommodation being not as appropriately sited as could have been wished.

In the Autumn of 1969 the concept of the "Island Site" was raised for serious consideration. The main City College buildings, including Collegiate Hall and Oaklands Hostel, were, until 1947, located on the site of the Sheffield Royal Grammar School, an area bounded by Ecclesall Road and Collegiate Crescent. Southbourne Hostel on the corner of Park Lane and Clarkehouse Road lay some five hundred yards to the north. Immediate post-war needs for additional accommodation were met by the acquisition of houses in Broomgrove Road and "Fairfield", a house in Broomhall Road. In 1955 the Principal, Dr Wing,¹ raised the idea that all future expansion of the College should be planned to take place within the "island" bounded by Clarkehouse Road, Park Lane, Collegiate Crescent, Ecclesall Road and Broomgrove Road.

During the General H M Inspection of the College carried out during 1954 the "island site" idea was put by Wing to the senior H M Inspector, who firmly rejected it as being too ambitious. "Plan for five hundred students and no more said the HMI."²

As pressure for accommodation and sites grew in the fifties and sixties, properties both within the island site and elsewhere were acquired on an opportunity basis. By the late 1960s, a considerable number of properties within the "island" had been acquired and it was clear that a definite policy was now needed. Approaches were made under the Town and Country Planning Acts for a planning decision on a proposal to designate the "island" for educational purposes. By November 1969 it was reported to the Further Education Sub-Committee that:

"... if the whole of the island site... cannot be designated for educational purposes... steps be taken to enable the necessary College development to be proceeded with during the financial year 1970-71".³

By June 1970 the Chief Education Officer had reported on the progress made towards acquiring properties and on the recommendation of the Governors it was agreed:

"... not to proceed with the submission of a planning application for the whole of the island site... but that steps continue to be taken to acquire properties within the site as and when they became available, the planning and compulsory purchase issues to be dealt with as necessary for any individual properties required to facilitate development..."¹

Better utilisation of the site was now being considered. Although the original College building had been refurbished in the late 1950s, it was still physically much the same as it had been since a major restyling took place in 1908. It was extremely inconvenient as its basic shape and layout was intended for housing two different sexes under a single roof and although modifications had been made over the years, major restyling to overcome the problem was an impossibility. In June 1973 a proposal came from the Governing Body:

"... to demolish the main building of the College and replace it by purpose-built teaching accommodation and senior common room facilities be accepted in principle as a long-term measure, subject to consultation with the City Planning Officer and Architect and the Department of Education and Science, and to higher education developments"²

It was not the first time such a proposal had been considered. Indeed, at the establishment of the College in 1905, a minority considered that demolition would have been more effective than the massive structural alterations which were in many respects almost of a total rebuilding operation. In the mid-1950s, Wing recounted that there had been a number of planning conferences with the architects at which the idea of demolition had been mooted in order to make room for a planned, purpose-built teaching block. There can be little doubt that this course of action would have been more appropriate to meet the needs of the expanding College and that costs could have been saved elsewhere. But a good deal of sentiment surrounded the idea of maintaining the old buildings, and as the Broomhall Park Conservation movement spread, architectural change could not have been achieved without difficulty.

However, with the adoption of the "island" site planning policy, the College as a developing campus now appeared to be set fair. Outlying hostels were disposed of and rationalisation of work into premises on the site continued steadily. There remained a single yet crucially important single facility ill-provided for: a centralised College Library. There was no shortage of books or of related materials as expenditure on such had, over the years, been singularly generous, but there was a need for a modern purpose-built Library to hold and maintain the stock and provide facilities for readers. After considerable pressure on the Authority, the Further Education Sub-Committee received a recommendation from the College Buildings Committee that:

"... strong representations be made to the Department of Education and Science for the inclusion of the new Library in the 1974-75 estimates..."¹

Approval was given and building work commenced. The new Library was to be sited on ground between Collegiate Hall and the Main College building. In former times lawns stretched forth between the two buildings and had formed a pleasant verdant setting. Cricket matches, hockey games and athletics took place on special occasions - the bank sides providing a useful area for spectators. Unfortunately, post-war expansion created a need for "temporary classroom" accommodation. An ugly prefabricated classroom block was erected across the lawns - temporary to the extent that after over thirty years usage the buildings still remain.

The erection of the Library block ultimately titled the "Mary Badland Library", although architecturally compatible with the older buildings, necessitated the final take-up of the greensward which had been such an aesthetically pleasing feature of the early Teachers' Training College.

Almost either by prophesy (or curse) the Library, which could be reckoned to have been the final jewel, was not to be set in the Sheffield City College of Education crown. When the time came for the Library to be officially opened, the crown was lost.

CHAPTER XXVII - REFERENCES

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- Page 415 1. Browne, Joan D, "Teachers of Teachers", ATCDE, Hodder and Stroughton, London, 1979, p.118
- " 2. Browne, *ibid*, p.116
- " 3. Browne, *ibid*, p.116
- " 4. Niblett, et al, *op cit*, p.224
- " 5. Robbins Report, paragraph 319
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- Page 416 1. Robbins Report, paragraph 313
- " 2. Robbins Report, paragraph 359
- " 3. SEC Minutes, 1960-61, p.118
- Page 417 1. "Crescent", July 1964, Vol 21, No 10, p.4
- " 2. "Crescent", July 1965, Vol 21, No 1, p.2
- Page 418 1. Letter from the President of the Students' Union, "Crescent", 1963, p.3
- " 2. *Ibid*
- Page 419 1. "Crescent", 1964-65, Vol 21, p.13
- Page 420 1. SEC Minutes, 1965-66, p.5
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1965-66, p.14
- " 3. SEC Minutes, 1965-66, p.37
- Page 421 1. According to Professor W H G Armytage, T H Tunn was singularly indifferent in his attitude to teacher-training. He had read Classics at university and thence proceeded directly into a teaching post in a grammar school. On his retirement all information relating to his personal details was deliberately destroyed.
- Page 422 1. "Crescent", Vol 22, Summer 1966, No 12, p.2
- Page 423 1. "A Plan for Polytechnics", DES, HMSO, 1967
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- Page 426 1. This was in accordance with Regulation 7 of the Training of Teachers (LEAs) Regulations, 1959
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1962-63, p.329
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- Page 429 1. SEC Minutes, 1967-68, p.166

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" 2. "Crescent", "OCA Notes", July, 1968, p.15
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" 2. "Crescent", July, 1967, p.3
- Page 434 1. Ibid
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1969-70, p.153
" 3. Editorial, "Crescent", Summer, 1966, No 12, p.1
- Page 435 1. "Crescent", Summer, 1967, p.5
" 2. Editorial, "Crescent", Summer, 1968, p.1
" 3. "Crescent", 1965, p.24
- Page 436 1. SEC Minutes, 1968-69, p.98
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1969-70, p.212
- Page 437 1. The island site notion was related to the author by Wing during a conversation conducted while walking together to take lunch in Southbourne Hostel sometime during session 1954-55.
" 2. Recounted by Jane Moulton, former Deputy Principal
" 3. SEC Minutes, 1969-70, p.151
- Page 438 1. SEC Minutes, 1970-71, p.61
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1973-74, p.17
- Page 439 1. SEC Minutes, 1973-74, p.127

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION 1960-1975

During the period 1948-58 the Institute of Education had remained a Cinderella. It was starved of staff and funds. The Institute's programme could but remain modest while it was too meagrely financed. In the Annual Report of the workings of the Institute to the Senate for the year 1957-58, Dent opined:

"... because of the massive expansion of teacher training facilities... the time appears to be fast approaching when the Institute will be unable without addition to its staff to carry out adequately all the work it should properly undertake in this part of its task..."₁

In many respects its problems lay elsewhere. It was still regarded with considerable suspicion in the University itself. Additionally the attitude of some of the local education authorities did not help - Sheffield in particular did not give it support and leadership, largely because of the attitude of the Director of Education, Stanley Moffett.

The staffing position was eased by the appointment of additional administrative assistance and better provision made by the establishment of the Institute in premises at 387 Glossop Road.

Towards the end of 1959 it was becoming clear that the demands made on the Institute would be of such an order that steps would have to be taken to improve the staffing. The initiative taken to set up the Conference of Institute Directors, whilst welcomed by the staff, led Trevor Edwards, the Institute Secretary, to observe:

"... this means that, from now on and so far ahead as one can foresee, a considerable and probably increasing proportion of any Institute Director's time will be taken up by meetings in London and the inevitable preparatory and follow-up work which such meetings throw up... In the Director's opinion, with which we concur, this development makes urgent the appointment

of a Deputy Director of the Institute, to be responsible to the Director for the day-to-day business of the Institute and for the more purely local aspects of its work".¹

As a tailpiece, the Secretary gave Senate a clear reminder:

"... the appointment of a Deputy Director is provided for in the estimates presented by the University to the University Grants Committee for the current quinquennium".²

The succession of Professor Harold Dent to a Chair in the Institute of Education at London University was regarded by the Principals as a blow to the prospects for future progress. He had brought fresh ideas to bear and had been the innovator of a number of successful projects. He took an active interest in the Training Colleges and was particularly involved with development at the Sheffield City College, a situation in no small part due to the friendship which existed between him and Herbert Wing. It was very much the leadership of Harold Dent which enabled the Institute to undertake much of the work necessary for developing the three-year course. By 1960 the regulations and requirements for the conduct of the course had been drafted and were ready for implementation.

The post of Director was next filled by Professor Boris Ford, who had previously been Education Secretary to the Cambridge University Press, who endeavoured to bring a different style of management to the affairs of the Institute, and in many instances, relationships suffered both within the University and externally. Nevertheless, the three-year course arrangements were launched and by 1963 it was reported that:

"... A considerable amount of discussion took place during the year with Principals, Boards of Studies and External Examiners about the form and marking of the final examinations for this new course. As one of the main objects of the examination was to separate a very few 'distinguished' and a very few 'failed' students from the great majority who 'pass', it was agreed that it could be treated experimentally and as an educational opportunity. Consequently, many of the colleges' examination papers included questions of an experimental kind. Concurrently with this, the Institute and examiners agreed upon a considerably

simplified mark scheme which worked quite successfully. Although it is too early to evaluate the benefits of the extra year, Principals and staffs of training colleges and examiners felt that it had given the better students the opportunity to explore their studies more extensively and more deeply, though in contrast, it seemed to have the effect of showing up the poorer students..."¹

Boris Ford stayed but three years as Director. In 1963, he resigned to take up the appointment of Dean of the School of Education in the University of Sussex.

Yet again, and at a most crucial point in its development, was the Institute without a Director. The Deputy and the Secretary struggled to maintain the work until finally in 1965 Professor John P C Roach, MA, Ph.D, a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and Lecturer in Education in the University of Cambridge, was appointed Director.

Meanwhile, the Robbins Report had made its recommendations concerning the award of Bachelor of Education degrees and gave an indication that it was expected that the newly styled Colleges of Education would move towards a close connection with the Universities.

But the proposals to introduce first degrees in education met with mixed responses from the universities. Some were reluctant to validate the proposed degree, while others "shrank from including within it practical subjects"² (arts, domestic science, music, physical education, etc) but the greatest difficulty lay in the reluctance of many universities to consider the award of honours degrees in Education.

The University of Sheffield, as academic provider for the Sheffield Colleges, took the line that the degree of Bachelor of Education should be awarded as a General degree:

"... the Senate (has) decided to recommend the creation of a Degree of Bachelor of Education to fulfil the long-felt need for such a qualification for the better students at constituent colleges of the Institute. The possibility (has) long been under discussion by Principals who had it very much in mind

when framing their three-year courses. This degree, it is hoped, will be available to selected students who have completed a three-year course in a constituent college of the Institute and have attained a required standard in two Advanced Main Level subjects which are also subjects in the Faculty of Arts or Science. Such candidates will be admitted to the University for one session during which they will follow courses in their two chosen subjects and will present themselves for a final examination at the end of the year. Candidates will register for the degree at the end of their first year in college...".¹

The major contributor to the development of the B.Ed. proposal was Professor Eric Laughton, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, who "wisely ensured that the academic and professional needs of the intending students were always kept in mind".²

It was reported that there had been full and frank discussions with the Principals of the Colleges and that their support had been "a major factor in securing the adoption of the scheme". It was not a decision which met the approval of the Sheffield Education Committee. At the October meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee the Chief Education Officer referred to the proposals put forward by the Senate to the Institute of Education and the Sub-Committee reflected that:

"It was hoped that further consideration would be given by the University Authorities to the introduction at once of Honours Classifications for the proposed degree...".³

There was considerable dissatisfaction in the colleges that the B.Ed. was merely to be awarded as an ordinary degree, but what rankled even more was the transfer of the students into the University for their fourth and final year of the course. Pressure was brought to bear both on the Institute and the University for a change in the arrangement. The Chairman of the Boards of the Institute in the Annual Report for 1967 reported:

"... the first group of students were selected for the fourth year university course in 1967-68... although the new degree (is) still in its very early stages concern (is) widely felt both in the University and among principals of the colleges about the further development of the degree. As a result of this, Senate remitted the question to the Academic Development Committee, which in turn set up a sub-committee to look into the whole matter. At its meeting in June (1967) Senate accepted in principle the report of the Academic Development Committee that in October 1969 a pass degree of B.Ed. should be established, for which the fourth year teaching should be done in the colleges instead of in the university itself..."¹

By the close of the academic year 1967-68, the Institute of Education was able to recommend twenty-four students for the award of the degree of Bachelor of Education, sixteen being successful in the Faculty of Arts, eight in the Faculty of Pure Science. Not only were these the first baccalaureates in Education to be awarded by the University of Sheffield but they were among the earliest to be awarded in the country as a whole and a good deal of the credit for the creation and implementation of the original scheme rested with W H G Armytage, the Professor of Education in the University's Department of Education.

The decision to transfer the final year of the B.Ed. course to the colleges from the beginning of the academic year 1969 required a considerable amount of planning in order to effect the transfer, ensure that standards were maintained and develop a satisfactory means of monitoring and validating the course.

In order to effect such arrangements, Senate appointed a "Standing Committee for the Bachelor of Education Degree" under the Chairmanship of Professor Eric Laughton. By 1968 it was reporting back to Senate that:

"... The basic principles of the college-based degree have been defined as follows: the scheme of study is to consist of the certificate of education course plus an academic course of liberal studies in two subjects in the final session. One of these two subjects may be Education, though there is to be no practical teaching during the fourth year. The standard of the

final examination is to be comparable with that of the final examination in combined subjects in the Faculty of Arts and the General Degree in the Faculty of Pure Science. After much discussion whether the degree should continue to be a pass degree or whether honours should be awarded, it has finally been decided that initially the B.Ed. shall continue to be a pass degree with the grant of distinction in appropriate cases, but that the position shall be reviewed in 1969 after the results of the first two years' examinations are available..."₁

The work entailed in transferring the whole of the B.Ed. work to the Colleges put a considerable strain on the officers of the Institute, members of the University and the staff of Colleges. Reviewing the process which had taken place, the Board reported to Senate that:

"... The work involved has been very great, and a particular word of thanks must be given to those members of the university staff who have given ungrudgingly of their time and experience through visitations of college departments, through syllabus panels, or as co-ordinate examiners, charged with the very delicate task of adjudicating on those who are to be admitted to the final year of the course. A good deal of the press discussion about the B.Ed. degree has suggested that the universities have been grudging and unhelpful towards the aspirations of the colleges. This has certainly not been so in Sheffield. Naturally there have sometimes been differences of opinion, but those closely connected with the colleges would say that the relationship here has been one of great kindness and helpfulness, from which everyone on the college side has been able to learn a great deal..."₂

The extent of the progress made was in many respects remarkable. By 1969 arrangements were made to extend the B.Ed. to an Honours award and at the opening of the 1970 academic year no fewer than seventeen subjects had been approved and courses offered in not less than thirty-four college departments. However, the problems of scale were causing some concern. Most of the teaching was taking place in the two larger colleges, Sheffield City and Doncaster. Although some work was developing in the others and efforts were made to rationalise the arrangements, there was an imbalance between Arts and Science, large groups in the former and too few in the latter, and the cost of offering courses for such small numbers was a cause for concern. Consequently, inter-collegiate arrangements had to be

made. There was some sharing of courses between colleges, some transferring of students to other colleges, and special arrangements made with the University to meet specific needs.

Clearly the arrangements did not present too many problems in the larger colleges, but in the smaller and geographically distant ones there were not only difficulties with the balance of courses and course numbers, but facilities too left something to be desired. Library facilities were considered one of the most vexing problems:

"... Colleges have been actively developing their own libraries, but B.Ed. students will for a very long time to come need to use the University Library as well. Fourth year students have the same facilities there as other under-graduates; second and third year students are allowed to use it only under special arrangements. The university has also very generously made full library facilities available to members of college staffs who are teaching B.Ed. courses".¹

By the late 1960s, in spite of the progress made in general by the Institute of Education and the useful role which they had fulfilled as Area Training Organisations, they were facing increasing criticism. Notwithstanding their role as intermediators between the DES, the Local Education Authorities and the Colleges; their work in implementing the three-year course and the B.Ed. course arrangements; and finally, their role in administering DES checks on the size and make-up of the student teacher recruitment, many critics considered they had outlived their purpose. Although the Institutes were probably more sinned against than guilty of sinning themselves, they came to be associated with many of the ills and difficulties of teacher education in general and the Colleges of Education in particular.

In retrospect, it seems that generally much of the criticism levelled at the Institutes of Education was misdirected. The crux of the problem lay not in the activities they were engaged in so much as the ambiguity of their role and their place in the emerging higher educational structure.

Such criticisms as were directed at the Colleges were not without foundation. Many still appeared authoritarian in spite of reforms; the curriculum was criticised as being irrelevant, and the standard of the Teacher's Certificate considered too low.¹

There were contra arguments - mainly from the Colleges. Criticism was made that local education authorities were still too closely involved in the running of the Colleges; that the public had not understood the difficulties which the massive expansion of the 1960s had placed upon the system; and that there was too little awareness that the Robbins Report had left the Colleges of Education in an even more ambiguous position in relation to the two main educational sectors.

As pressure grew for some positive review of the entire teacher training and education system, it appeared that the Department of Education and Science showed a distinct lack of enthusiasm at the prospect and attempted to put forward arguments to dissuade both ministerial or parliamentary interventions. Finally, in 1968 a Select Committee of the House of Commons was set up to consider the workings of the public Education and Science activity. Under the Chairmanship of Mr F T Willey, MP, evidence began to be collected but instead of reviewing a wide spectrum, the Committee directed its attention to the education and training of teachers.

Before the Committee could present its report it was disbanded as a result of the General Election of June 1970.² The problem was then taken up by the then Secretary of State for Education, Margaret Thatcher, who appointed a Committee of Inquiry under the Chairmanship of Lord James of Rusholme. In February 1972, the James Report was published and it offered:

"... a novel and ingenious, but extremely controversial scheme of education..."³

Almost immediately it became a subject for serious debate for the Report proposed radical changes which were likely to affect the Universities, the Polytechnics and the Colleges of Education. In Sheffield, the Senate of the University not only called for views from the Board of the Institute of Education but also from its Faculty Boards in order to arrive at a common view.

It was obvious that the main debate would take place within the Institute of Education and discussions ensued. There were many conflicting views until the Board of the Institute finally came to an agreement and transmitted the following to Senate:

"All qualifications, both academic and professional, should be awarded and validated either by universities or by C.N.A.A. The function of the proposed national and regional boards should be to recognise these awards for professional purposes and carry out administrative duties as outlined...

Awards made at the end of two years of academic study by whatever title they were called (proposed Diploma in Higher Education) must meet the following requirements:

- (i) The courses should be designed to provide a valid terminal qualification in themselves;
- (ii) They should be capable of evaluation within the university structure and so organised as to permit transfer between different institutions at appropriate points;
- (iii) They should form Part I of a degree structure and should therefore give credit, where necessary, towards the attainment of further qualifications;
- (iv) They should be regarded as a step towards a fully graduate teaching profession, based on three or four year degree qualifications offered to all teachers.

The proposals of the James Report for the professional training of teachers are unsatisfactory. The plans for Cycle II, including the suggested B.A. (Ed.) degree, are incoherent and poorly co-ordinated. The arrangements for 'licensed teachers' in the second year of this cycle are not thought to be practicable. A two-year course of professional preparation, based on the training institutions and the schools, should be instituted. On completion of this course the first probationary year of teaching under provisional licence should form part of Cycle III, with appropriate arrangements for day release.

The proposals of the James Report for extended in-service training in Cycle III are to be welcomed".₁

Not unnaturally, the James Report set off a good deal of speculation and discussion. Many times did those leading the debate need to be reminded that the proposals contained in the James Report were only proposals and that it would be "premature to make any definite decisions" pending the publication of the Government's White Paper. Nevertheless, it did not stop hypothetical problems from being raised, argued over, agreed on or left unresolved. In the final instance, it seemed that the James Report had put forward ideas which were to set the scene for a direct clash between the elements of the Higher Education sector.

The Government's response to the James Report came in December 1972 in the form of a 'White Paper' - "Education: A Framework for Expansion". It indicated that the Government accepted the six objectives which the James Committee had put forward.¹

The most significant and immediate recommendation was that which related to the Diploma in Higher Education for it contained a proviso that the award must become self-standing, entry to such courses must be at the same level as that required to enter a degree course and that the level of the course should be "no less intellectually demanding than the first two years of a degree course".²

On other matters there were considerable differences between the proposals of the James Report and the Government's view as expressed in the White Paper. Taking a view expressed earlier in the Robbins Report this became a clear indication of how future developments were to proceed:

"Some colleges... should develop... into major institutions of higher education concentrating on the arts and human sciences, with particular reference to their application in teaching and other professions..."³

The proposals now put a wholly different emphasis on the development of the system. Although the James Committee had recognised that modifications and streamlining of the teacher education provision

was necessary, it was expected that, probably with minor exceptions, this would be achieved within the existing system even though the Area Training Organisations might need to be radically reformed - the universities would still be the principal agents in the scheme of things. As it was, the White Paper proposed much more radical changes. The creation of major institutions of higher education was to be effected by the amalgamation of existing colleges, whilst others not suitable because of size and geography would disappear. Some would be incorporated within universities (providing they were wholly incorporated and integrated within the university), while others would be absorbed into polytechnics.

The passage towards the future gradually emerged: from the James Report to the 1972 White Paper, to the DES Circular 7/73 "Development of Higher Education in the non-University Sector" it finally became clear that the future of the Colleges of Education lay in the public sector, and local education authorities were asked to submit interim plans by November 1973 and that such plans should reflect:

"... a major consideration of the future role of colleges of education both in and outside teacher training..."¹

Events were moving rapidly. The Board and Committees of the Sheffield Institute of Education were deeply concerned in deliberating over those features of the White Paper which suggested that a three-year ordinary B.Ed. degree be introduced which would also qualify the holder as being of qualified teacher status, while a proportion of students would continue for a further year to take a B.Ed. Honours degree. Discussion too ranged round the status and proposed validation arrangements for the Diploma in Higher Education but clearly the debates were tinged with unease and uncertainty. Nevertheless, the Senate of the University of Sheffield at its meeting in March 1973 approved the following recommendations:

"(1) that detailed consideration be given to the modification of the B.Ed. degree at present offered in Colleges of Education to include both three-year ordinary and four-year honours degrees, including professional qualifications in each case;

- (2) that consideration be given to the establishment in Colleges of Education of a Diploma in Higher Education, which would be taken after two years and would form an independent qualification or a first part of a degree;
- (3) that discussions be initiated on the establishment of three-year degrees in Combined Studies in arts and sciences to be taught in some colleges of education;
- (4) that the University consider how the resources for the increased work that might be involved would be funded;
- (5) that the load on academic departments represented by the supervision of Diploma in Higher Education and degree courses in Colleges of Education be taken into account in calculations of student-staff ratios".¹

Amidst the doubts for the future, more immediate matters were being considered. Development work was put in train to establish multi-disciplinary and combined subject courses, which augered well and showed a distinct movement towards the improvement of courses in line with contemporary educational needs. Seeds of earlier development were also coming to fruition in the form of in-service training and the emergence of successful candidates qualifying for the award of the B.Ed. degree by part-time study.

But the days of the Institute of Education were nearly over:

"The new Further Education Regulations, which came into operation on 1st August, 1975, reflect 'the policy that, outside the universities, teacher education and higher and further education should be assimilated into a common system'. Under the new regulations the constitution and functions of Area Training Organizations have lapsed, and the duty of recommending students to the Department of Education and Science for qualified teacher status has passed to the individual training institutions. The White Paper of December 1972... provided that new regional committees should be established to replace the university-based A.T.O.s, but the form of these new bodies has not yet been agreed..."²

Thus the Area Training Organisation system set up as a result of the McNair Report came to an end as the new Further Regulations came into force. But the Institute of Education continued for a

further year until new arrangements could be made. In the final report to the Senate, the valedictory observed:

"The time has not yet come to evaluate the work of the Area Training Organisations, but one statement can be made with confidence about the Sheffield A.T.O. It created very valuable personal and professional relationships between all those who took part in its work. They all learned a great deal from the co-operation between individuals and institutions which it engendered and, like its fellows throughout the country, it helped to establish a common pattern of teacher education which will be its main legacy to the newer institutions which will replace it. It is impossible to mention here all the individuals who contributed to the A.T.O.s work, but particular reference ought to be made to M. H. T. Edwards who was Secretary of the Institute from its inception to 1974, when he retired..."₁

CHAPTER XXVIII - REFERENCES

- Page 442 1. The University of Sheffield, Institute of Education Board, Annual Report to Council and Senate, 1957-58, p.4
- Page 443 1. Ibid, 1958-59, p.3
" 2. Ibid, 1958-59, p.2
- Page 444 1. Ibid, 1962-63, p.1
" 2. Dent, "Training of Teachers", op cit, p.144
- Page 445 1. Ibid, 1963-64, p.1
" 2. Ibid, 1963-64, p.2
" 3. SEC Minutes, 1965-66, p.197
- Page 446 1. Annual Report to Senate, op cit, 1966-67, p.1
- Page 447 1. Ibid, 1967-68, p.1
" 2. Ibid, 1968-69, p.2
- Page 448 1. Ibid, 1969-70, p.4
- Page 449 1. Dent, op cit, p.146
" 2. The evidence was subsequently published privately as "An Enquiry into Teacher Training" by Willey, F T, and Madison, R E, ULP, 1971
" 3. Dent, op cit, p.150
- Page 450 1. Annual Report to Senate, op cit, 1971-72, p.1
- Page 451 1. The six objectives were:
1. a large and systematic expansion of in-service training;
2. a planned reinforcement of the process of induction;
3. the progressive achievement of an all-graduate profession;
4. the improvement of the training of teachers in Further Education;
5. the whole-hearted acceptance of the colleges of education into the family of higher education institutions;
6. improved arrangements for the control and co-ordination of teacher training and supply, both nationally and regionally.
- Page 451 2. James Report, p.32
" 3. "Education: A Framework for Expansion", op cit, HMSO, 1972, p.44
- Page 452 1. DES Circular 7/73, paragraph 4
- Page 453 1. Annual Report to Senate, op cit, 1972-73, p.3
" 2. Ibid, 1973-74, p.2
- Page 454 1. Ibid, 1975-76, p.1

CHAPTER XXIX

SHEFFIELD COLLEGE OF ART

The Sheffield School of Design was established in 1843. It had survived many vicissitudes in its hundred-year existence. Despite periods of high endeavour and achievement, the institution had often been held in low esteem. On matters of resourcing, finance and accommodation, it had for long been regarded as an educational Cinderella. Yet, in spite of its poverty, it succeeded in maintaining a reputation in the teaching of fine art and in industrial design. Over the years, many of its scholars gained a considerable share of successes by way of scholarships to the Royal College of Art, Slade School of Fine Art, exhibitions and prizes. Many of its staff too enjoyed considerable reputations as teachers, artists and designers.

By 1945 the state of the College left a good deal to be desired. While its accommodation was no better or worse than the Technical School, the College of Arts and Crafts had suffered greatly when at the time of the Sheffield blitz in December 1940 both the original School of Art and one of its annexes had suffered severe bomb and fire damage. These premises were almost entirely destroyed. As an almost instant expedient, premises in Norfolk Street, being the storage rooms of Messrs Cole Brothers Limited and the upper storage premises of Messrs Furness Limited, Drysalter, were requisitioned. Meanwhile, the College administration was housed in a disused public house in Arundel Street.

By 1951, the accommodation situation at the College of Arts and Crafts proved to be so acute that additional accommodation was required most urgently. Although there had been moves to merge the College into the proposed Sheffield College of Commerce and Technology, the Local Education Authority thought better of the idea, particularly as in the late 1930s the Institution had been

designated as a Regional College of Art to serve the advanced art educational needs of Sheffield, the southerly parts of the West Riding of Yorkshire, North-East Derbyshire and North-West Nottinghamshire.

In 1945, John H Harwood, ARCA, became Principal following the retirement of John E Sunderland, ARCA. Harwood had previously taught in the College as second master until shortly before the War, when he had subsequently moved to become Principal of Gloucester College of Art.

In 1951, on the closure of Brincliffe Emergency Training College, the vacant premises were vulnerable to squatters and from the Local Education Authority's point of view, occupancy became a prime necessity. Consequently, when the idea was mooted that certain of the Departments of the College of Art might be housed at Brincliffe, the idea was seized upon with considerable enthusiasm. It was a move which not only relieved pressure on the College's existing premises and resources but one which was favourably received by both the Principal and the staff as a means of moving the College into more congenial surroundings. In 1951, the College was re-named to become known as the Sheffield College of Art.

As the building programme for the College of Technology progressed, a number of old premises in the Arundel Street area had to be demolished and two of these were still occupied as annexes of the College of Art. It was clear that unless alternative accommodation could be found it would not be possible to proceed with the subsequent building phases of the College of Technology. A decision was now taken to rebuild the College of Art, not in City centre premises but on the Brincliffe site in Psalter Lane, and hurried preparations were made for the building of a technical workshop and studio block.¹ It was to house the Departments of Silversmithing, Printing, Industrial Painting and Decorating, Pottery and Sculpture, and provide some painting studios for the Department of Fine Art. It was recognised that this block would be an initial development merely to ease the problem over the loss of premises in the City centre. Subsequent building phases would provide yet further accommodation for both the industrial crafts and fine art courses.

To Harwood and his staff, the relocation of the College at Brincliffe was regarded as ideal. Indeed, the College of Art, now divested of its Junior Art Department¹ was by 1959 enjoying for the first time the benefits of one centralised campus. It had never enjoyed such a situation since it had outgrown its first initial Victorian premises in the 1880s. In many respects, although the Institution had a sound reputation both locally and nationally, it was singularly introverted in its relationships with other educational institutions in the City and was particularly insular in its dealings with the Sheffield College of Technology.

The internal unified arrangements within the College of Art in the late 1950s presented an interesting cameo with its twin-departmental structure. Industrial Design and the Artistic Trades were under the direction of J A S Sands, while Fine Art, Pottery and Sculpture were the responsibility of A D H Cary.

Harwood was a respected figure in Art Education circles, he was an acceptable painter but something of an ascetic. However, within the College he 'bullied' his two heads of department and these two - being forbearing, each for different reasons - offered little either by way of direction or innovation. Other senior staff, less compliant, pressurised Harwood for their own ends and the situation smacked of less than satisfactory educational management. While such a state of affairs may not have been ideal, none the less, much was achieved. It was the very nature of the institution which had a profound influence on the way it was run for the ethos of an Art Institution is unique. Staff are firstly practising artists, designers or craftsmen; and only secondly are they teachers. Indeed, for many of them, entering into Art Education is often the only stable means of earning a living while being able to practise in an environment in which they are able to continue the development of personal creative skills. The phenomenon is peculiar to such institutions. While in Colleges of Education, Colleges of Further Education and Polytechnics the same situation may prevail in a

minority of departments which teach creative skills, and it may apply to some individuals, nowhere else in the further and higher education sector does the condition quite exist as it does in a major art institution.

Not unnaturally, the ethos even within the Sheffield College of Art tended to be singularly insular within the disciplines. Under the direction of J H Harwood the institution not only manifested these characteristics but possessed a peculiar self-deprecation in relation to similar institutions. While the standard of excellence of staff, students, products and achievements was considerable, damning praise and internal denigration often eclipsed success in spite of immense and constant external successes gained by the students and staff; while other similar institutions in such cities as Leeds, Newcastle and Manchester, were constantly upheld as models of the highest esteem.

In the immediate post-war years the College offered full-time courses leading both to the Ministry of Education's Intermediate Certificate in Design and the National Diploma in Art and Design in a variety of subjects; artistic trade craft courses leading to the award of the Final and Full Technological Certificates of the City and Guilds of London Institute; and a one-year post-qualification teaching course leading to the award of the Art Teachers Diploma qualification which was subsequently moderated through the Sheffield Institute of Education. Additionally, the College had an unrivalled reputation for the high standard of its non-vocational studies which attracted many accomplished practising artists and designers whose work brought credit to the institution.

Unfortunately, the improved facilities of the 1950s arose more out of administrative convenience than any other factor. John Harwood, the Principal of the College of Art, was a good deal less determined than his counterpart, George Lawton, the Principal of the College of Technology. Instead of fighting the Committee, Harwood was prepared

to avoid unpalatable issues. The transfer of premises to Brincliffe and later the provision of the first phase of extensions at Brincliffe were not as a result of any fighting for the development of art and design education but because of the need of the Local Education Authority to make adjustment to its overall further education plans.

In spite of its successes, the College was not able to stave off susceptibility to economic cuts and rationalisation. In the late 1950s, the Ministry of Education called for a reduction in the number of National Diploma in Design options and to the loss of the Art Teachers Diploma courses. The staff considered that too little fight had been made to hold the courses; that a more aggressive outlook leading to the generation of innovation and new courses was necessary. In retrospect, the critics were right. Indeed, it was largely because there was no vociferous and outgoing art education lobby, particularly in the Education Committee, that cuts were able to be made and courses lost. The curtailment of the Graphic Design option in the Diploma Course was to have repercussions and effects thirty years later.

Finally, remedies came not from within but from without. Although a full H M Inspection carried out in November 1959 raised strong criticism of the poor facilities and crowded teaching arrangements, it was singularly euphoric on the high standard of teaching and the quality of the work.

Although the more immediate result of the Inspection was the promise of additional accommodation, the institution was set fair to successful development in the 1960s. The role of the College was even further justified when, following the publication of the Report of the Coldstream Committee which led to the setting up of the National Council for the Diploma in Art and Design, the College was approved for the teaching of Fine Art, Three-dimensional Design and Silversmithing at degree level.

In 1963, in common with the other institutions of further education in Sheffield, a Governing body was instituted under the Chairmanship of Alderman Albert Ballard. The exercise in a wider style of management augered well. In addition to the political representatives of the Sheffield Education Committee, there were a number of influential representatives from local industry and from the world of industrial design who were to contribute much towards the College's development.

In September 1964, John H Harwood, the Principal retired after being nineteen years in office and the task of choosing a successor arose. There was no obvious successor within the institution. Despite the innovations of Boards of Studies and an Academic Board, these had not reached a stage of development where participative management had produced potential senior staff. The existing arrangement of a Principal having two Heads of Departments reporting to him was purely a token arrangement. Indeed, Harwood dealt contemptuously both with Sands and Cary and allowed them very little real responsibility. Meanwhile, within the framework of a notional two-departmental college, sub-departments and sections were developing under senior staff, who, because of their technical and creative expertise, had had to be allowed even greater responsibility than the two titular heads.

When J A S Sands retired in 1963 the opportunity presented itself for a reorganisation. Three definitive departments were created: Fine Art (Painting, Pottery and Sculpture), Industrial Painting and Decorating, and Printing. Additionally, the subject areas of Silversmithing, Pottery and Graphic Design were sectionalised and placed under the direction of a Senior Lecturer. But such change, contemporaneous with Harwood's impending retirement, had not really fully established sound working relationships when other changes were set in train.

The choice of successor to Harwood was not to be an easy task. By 1964, three things were clear - the College was to undergo

considerable expansion in the late 1960s, the academic status of the professional courses had been uplifted to degree status - thus widening the academic range of educational activity, and finally, some redefining of the definition of the status of Colleges of Art within the Further and Higher Education sector was imminent. Soon after Harwood's retirement and before the task of appointment had started in earnest, A D H Cary was appointed Acting Principal. Meanwhile, Eva Bridgman Pugh, the Registrar, who had been the mainstay of the College administration for over thirty years, also took retirement - a decision which greatly affected the smooth running of the College, coming when it did.

Finally, the Governors, under the Chairmanship of Alderman Albert Ballard, appointed A D H Cary as Principal. It was a decision reached after the Local Authority had twice had recourse to advertise the post. There was seemingly, for a number of reasons, a paucity of candidates. The Acting Principal had been Head of Fine Art Painting for sixteen years; his leadership was considered mediocre and his professional ideas in relation to the avant-garde styles which were emerging in the early 1960s were thought to be unimaginative and inappropriate. On his appointment, many of the teaching staff were disappointed - it seemed the "Old Guard" was being replaced with yet another member of the "Old Guard". What had been tolerable under Harwood now seemed likely to become an anathema under Cary.

The appointment of senior staff for institutions frequently poses problems. Sometimes, natural successors have already been developed but when this is not the case short lists of candidates are invariably drawn up by professional educational administrators, and while these lists are almost always subjected to scrutiny by a Chairman and members of a College managing body, the views and foibles of the administration still tend to influence the final selection of candidates.

Human weaknesses often prevail under such conditions in spite of the fact that the appointment of a Principal can have serious implications and influence both in the way that an institution relates to the local education authority and the 'political' ethos in which the public education service is conducted.

A 'strong' appointment may bring innovation, creative development and a strong sense of identity and commitment, particularly in an institution such as an art college, notwithstanding the fact that such 'charismatic' appointments often bring considerable problems for the administration and the education officers. Conversely, the appointment of weak and mediocre individuals frequently allows an educational administration to exercise power more easily, only to find on the longer term that educational progress and effectiveness is stultified.

The proposal to establish a Polytechnic in Sheffield was greeted in the College of Art with considerable trepidation. In those departments where the work lay in the field of advanced art and design education, the immediate reaction was favourable. In others it was clear that low status work would have to move elsewhere. The prospect of Industrial Painting and Decorating, Industrial Silversmithing and Diesinking, Printing, and low level General Art Courses being moved elsewhere was met with either sadness or glee. There had long existed a gamut of social acceptability in the institution, where at the top of the scale, Fine Art and related studies were regarded as the "creme de la creme" and, conversely, at the bottom, the departments servicing industrial needs were merely suffered as a necessary evil - making weight with student numbers and teaching hours. Much of the internal discord not only stemmed from an ingrained perception of the seeming gulf between creative aestheticism and the mechanical arts, it also stemmed from the fact that from the late 1950s the industrial departments began to attract larger student numbers, often outnumbering and overshadowing the professional art and design courses. It was considered by some to upset the balance of

work in the College. It was a fact that towards the end of the 1950s large sums had been spent in developing the industrially based departments. The situation led to much irritation. The Finer Arts which, although they had been equally well-supported, felt their place threatened by the industrial influence. It was a clash of interests which found its roots in philosophical debates on Art and Design Education going back to the early nineteenth century.

Clearly, by 1966, the College of Art did have an exciting spread of courses, a distinct reputation for creativity and standards, and it provided and projected an exceptionally liberal and aesthetic learning environment. Unfortunately, in practice, its finite role was marred by a sense of creative encapsulation.

The inward-looking attitude which was fostered had its consequences for it made the institution ripe for takeover and it was difficult to find arguments otherwise. Following the early euphoria created by the publication of the Report setting out the establishment of Polytechnics, the proposed merger negotiations had not long been in progress before it was clear that it was the College of Art which was to be merged into the College of Technology. It was far from being an equal partnership. At first a tentative proposal was put forward by Cary and his staff for a federated two-college structure of government, but the case was not pursued as the senior staff succumbed to the pressures which emanated from Pond Street.

In the event, it was clear that if the proposals for a federated arrangement had been pressed, little would have been achieved other than merely delaying the ultimate. Although at the time it could not have been foreseen, struggles elsewhere to retain some semblance of autonomy and identity for constituent institutes came to nought.¹

But the real reason for lack of opposition stemmed not so much from apathy as from lack of unity within the College of Art. Cary was not the type of person to fight public battles - such would

have been distasteful. Furthermore, he was not only relatively inexperienced in the political skills required of a Principal, he constantly lived in awe of the Education Officers and the members of the Board of Governors. Senior staff of the College were divided too; some knew that their careers and their departments' future would lay elsewhere once the Polytechnic was established, while many of the staff in the professional art and design departments saw opportunities for possible personal advancement. Sadly, a distinct minority not too discreetly relished the possibility that the Principal would be removed, believing the appointment to have been a mediocre choice. Indeed, it appeared that some of the enthusiasm and willingness to effect an early merger was based on opportunism not only for personal gain but possibly also to settle old scores.

The bid by the Sheffield Education Committee for early designation of its Polytechnic was successful when the DES announced that as from 1st January 1969 Sheffield was to be so designated.

Subsequently the Reverend Dr George Tolly was confirmed as Principal of the new institution, while the former Principal of the College of Art, A D H Cary, was appointed Assistant Principal. From then on the former Principal of the College of Art was accommodated in an office in a functional city-centre annexe, three miles away from the former College of Art, which was then re-styled the Faculty of Art and Design of the Sheffield Polytechnic.

Four years later in 1973, A D H Cary died at the age of 58.

Administrative unification may be one prime objective to be achieved in the organisation of an educational institution such as a Polytechnic, the achievement of academic unity another. By the time Sheffield Polytechnic was created, the second phase of a major building programme for the College of Art was complete and a third phase in an advanced state. It was clearly impossible to alter the physical site of the Faculty of Art and Design - particularly as much of the provision was

purpose-built studio and workshop accommodation. Fortunately, or otherwise, according to opinion, although the independent institution was destroyed, the creative ethos which is peculiar to institutions of art and design seemed to be maintained. Opposing views may seek to deprecate the insularity which the former institution fostered. Often such critics are equally unable to accept that creativity and expression are highly susceptible to regimentation, bureaucracy and academically glib assumptions of interdisciplinary learning. Clearly some who had accelerated polytechnicisation had cause for regret. The role of Principalship was transferred to Deanship and those who aspired to such pre-eminence found the mantle of responsibility and the role of educational administrator irksome.

CHAPTER XXIX - REFERENCES

- Page 457 1. The speed at which this first phase at Brincliffe was completed was singularly amazing. The builders and architects were on a tight 38-week completion contract and despite an unexpected site fault (the unstable scree of Brincliffe Quarry) the work was completed only a few weeks after the end of the contract date.
- Page 458 1. Meeting the needs of children 13 to 16 years of age.
- Page 464 1. At Brighton and London, counterproposals were quashed even after long debate and after strong public pressure had been brought to bear.

CHAPTER XXX

1930-1970 HIGHER TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN SHEFFIELD

Following the retirement of Percival Sharp in 1932 from the post of Director of Education, his successor, W S Newton was appointed Education Officer. The Annual Report of the Sheffield Education Committee reported:

"The positions of Director of Education and Secretary for Education have been abolished".¹

Percival Sharp's departure from Sheffield was not wholly regretted by a number of factions. He had a tough and uncompromising relationship not only with the teachers but with those who worked with him and many were not sorry to see him retire. Not surprisingly, similar feelings prevailed amongst a number of members of the Education Committee for contemporary sources have related numerous encounters which he had with them. Conversely, by the time Sharp left Sheffield it seems that he was less than happy with certain members of the Education Committee and by the way they endeavoured to implement their policies.

W S Newton's appointment was seen in many respects as merely a palliative. Although it provided an opportunity of putting a long time-served administrator into a post to crown his career² the arrangement suited the times for Newton was an obedient servant, ready to act according to the whims of his masters. He died in office in 1940, having completed 44 years' service with the Authority.

Although the political direction of the Sheffield Education Committee had been for the most part under the strong leadership of Alderman E G Rowlinson since 1926, it was evident by the late 1930s that the appointment of a strong, complementary and professionally competent chief education executive was necessary. In 1939, Dr William Picken Alexander (later Lord Alexander) was appointed Deputy Education

Officer, a post he held until 1945, when he succeeded Sir Percival Sharp¹ as Secretary of the Association of Education Committees. The outbreak of the 1939-45 War brought the curtain down on many old and unresolved problems. When it was raised again, the scene had changed.

The task of solving Sheffield's post-war problems fell to Stanley Moffett, the Director of Education until his retirement in 1958. It was Moffett, together with his deputy and ultimate successor, Thomas H Tunn (appointed in 1949) who bore the responsibility for educational development in Sheffield in the 1950s and 1960s. But apart from the principal professional education officers, the majority of the Education Department staff were primarily administrators. In the late 1940s this situation began to change when the third tiers of the administration began to be staffed with administrators who were also educationalists. Secondary Education became the responsibility of John Holland² who was appointed Assistant Education Officer in 1947, while in 1955, Leslie Brown was appointed with responsibility for Primary Education.

Responsibility for the Further Education provision from 1956 to 1964 was in the hands of William G Lumb, who had oversight of the expansion programme planned for the College of Technology and the first extensions of the College of Art. His prime achievement, however, lay in establishing the Colleges of Further Education, particularly in the form of the rapid transformation of the Day Continuation School into the Granville College of Further Education.

Although County Colleges as envisaged in the 1944 Education Act never materialised, the growth of the College of Further Education was an educational development which owed much to W G Lumb and to the experience of George Croft, who ultimately became the first Principal of Granville College. In many respects it was unfortunate that Lumb's³ move away from Sheffield came when it did for the plans which he developed for Further Education were beginning to come to fruition.

Roger Longden¹ in his thesis observed that the attempts of Sheffield Education Committee to meet its responsibility between the Wars in respect of secondary education was an inadequate exercise which aimed to achieve the objective at the lowest possible cost. The secondary education area was in fact no different from the further educational provision. Indeed, so far as buildings and facilities were concerned, further education in Sheffield appears to have been in an even worse state. Before 1939 the two principal institutions which made up the provision were the Sheffield Technical School and Sheffield College of Arts and Crafts. The latter was housed in mid-nineteenth century premises in Arundel Street, the work of which overspilled into several nearby annexes. The Sheffield Technical School comprised mainly part-time and evening classes conducted in make-shift accommodation within the Bow Buildings complex.

During the 1930s, plans were made to bring together the various parts of the technical school, whose work ranged from Metallurgy, Engineering, Building and Commerce, into a central building to be erected at a site on Pond Street which had originally been the site of slum workshops and slum dwellinghouses. Plans were also laid before the war to re-house on a site in Arundel Street the Sheffield College of Arts and Crafts in buildings sited close to the original Sheffield School of Arts. The 1939-45 War halted all possible development of this kind but it did not stop the relatively rapid growth of the Technical School. In 1945 the City Architect's Department² produced an eye-catching post-war plan of development for the City - a plan which bore many of the pre-war aspirations but which by 1945 had to appear of necessity due to the extensive clearance as a result of bomb damage which had taken place in the central area.

Contemporary with the planning proposals for the City was the Sheffield Education Committee's development plan which had had to be prepared as a response to the 1944 Education Act. The plan outlined proposals for establishing a College of Technology, a College of Commerce, and for developing the existing College of Domestic Science. But after many changes, the various small and

near mono-technical proposals gave way to a plan to set up the Sheffield College of Commerce and Technology and the establishment of a centralised institution began in 1943.

In the beginning the new central institution was merely a collection of technical and commercial teaching departments loosely held together administratively. Indeed, it was not until it was styled the Sheffield College of Technology and established under the Principalship of Dr George Lawton who was appointed in 1947 that it began to take on the appearance of a unified institution. Its departments, though predominantly part-time, were increasing both in size and scope at a considerable rate. The administrative centre was housed in the former premises of the Pupil Teacher Centre in Holly Lane and the teaching facilities were "carved" out of accommodation which existed in the then Junior Technical School, the School of Cookery and Domestic Science, and the City Grammar School. The Science Department which had gradually been transferred as low level work from the Applied Science Department of Sheffield University was housed in the former Lancastrian School at Bowling Green Street; the Department of Building had been established in a former Board School at Salmon Pastures, while the Department of Engineering was housed at Huntsman's Gardens - again another former Board School. Latterly, the Department of Commerce and Management was housed in a large Victorian house at Melbourne Avenue in the Western suburb.

In 1954, building work commenced on the first phase of the College of Technology on the Pond Street site to provide accommodation for the Department of Engineering but within a few weeks of site preparation commencing a serious site defect was encountered: it was discovered that underneath Pond Street were remains of pillar-and-stall mining operations and not only did considerable extra work have to be undertaken to strengthen the foundations but the cost of remedying the fault was likely to be high. It appeared that the site might prove to be less than satisfactory and the Education Authority began to seek alternatives which would not present quite the technical difficulties which were likely to be encountered.

One favoured site was a large piece of land which was bounded by Chester Street, Fitzwilliam Street, Eldon Street and West Street which had long remained clear of slum property. However, neither the Planning Department nor the City Council was prepared to allow a change of site. In consequence, the Education Committee was forced to return to the Pond Street site and re-consider overall design of the campus and the proposed building phases.

By 1955 it was clear that if the College of Technology was to erect a central complex of buildings in stages these would need to spread over from Pond Street to a higher level in Arundel Street and take in the areas of land which had been earmarked for the College of Art. Plans were redrawn and laid accordingly.

The success with which Dr George Lawton pressed growth and development of the College of Technology in the 1950s says something for the character of the man. He was tough, forthright and ruthless, and indeed many of the qualities of his Heads of Departments showed them to be men of similar ilk. Following his sudden death in 1959 the Authority appointed Jack Hiles, the Head of the Department of Science, as Principal.

Although Hiles did not really seem to be of the calibre from which principals of senior institutions are made, he took on a very arduous job at a critical time in the development of the College of Technology and did it creditably. Fortunately, he was very familiar with the in-depth building planning which had taken place and as Head of one of the key technology departments, he knew a good deal of the policies and arrangements which were to be implemented for higher level work.

In 1964, S B Hanson succeeded to the post of Assistant Education Officer responsible for Further Education, and the appointment heralded an era of considerable change. The establishment of Granville College of Further Education in purpose-built premises

and the subsequent establishment of Richmond, Shirecliffe and Stannington Colleges made it possible not only to expand Further Education provision but to transfer much of the low level academic work into the district colleges.

During the period of enquiry leading to the publishing of the Robbins' Report, Sheffield College of Commerce and Technology had, together with other major public sector institutions, been under close scrutiny. It was evident that the level of work in such institutions was increasing in academic status and professional importance and becoming obvious that the status of such institutions needed to be more appropriately recognised within the educational system.

Sheffield College of Commerce and Technology was offering a wide range of Higher National Diplomas and Certificates, endorsement studies leading to chartered professional status and external intermediate and degree studies. In management studies too, the college had a well-established reputation.

Two fundamental changes had already taken place. The setting up in 1964 of the Council for National Academic Awards had ended the monopoly held by the Universities as degree-awarding bodies, while the establishment of the National Advisory Council for Art and Design Awards had made possible the award of Diplomas which were recognised as of pass degree equivalent.

In May 1966 the DES published its proposals for the establishment of twenty-nine polytechnical institutions by the merging together and upgrading of local education authority colleges.¹ The Report was greeted with enthusiasm by the local authorities which had proposed institutions. This was particularly so in the case of Sheffield Education Committee - indeed, the proposal seemed to crown the City's post-war endeavours in the field of advanced Further Education.

Politically the Sheffield Education Committee had remained Labour-controlled since the 1920s and this produced a degree of stability. In the late 1950s, leadership of the Education Committee began to change. Alderman J H Bingham, who had been the successor to Rowlinson, had been Chairman for thirteen years. His work had been supported by Albert Ballard and S H Marshall. Ballard was a long-standing and active member of the Education Committee and from 1954 until 1965 he was Chairman. S H Marshall too had many years experience and had been the Chairman of a number of Sub-Committees, of which the Training of Teachers Sub-Committee held his main interest, he being Chairman from 1946 to 1963.

There seems to have been little doubt that it was the wisdom and long-experience of such a group of Aldermen and Councillors largely led by Bingham and Ballard which ensured that the Higher and Further Education provision in Sheffield made such rapid advances. As a group they were particularly aware of their role; they were the "Old Guard" whose political experience spanned the pre- and post-war scene. It was not unnatural that they, and Ballard in particular, desired to see successors who were not only stable, but who were committed to educational politics.

As Ballard retired from public service, the Chairmanship of Sheffield Education Committee passed to an up-and-coming young Councillor, Christopher Price. However, within a year, Price was nominated Labour candidate for Perry Bar, Birmingham and entered Parliament. The Chairmanship then passed to another younger member of Sheffield City Council, Councillor Roy Hattersley, but he too was shortly afterwards adopted Labour candidate for Birmingham, Spark Brook. Councillor Peter Horton succeeded to the Chairmanship in 1967. Meanwhile, within the next two years, both Ballard and Marshall retired from public duties.

In many respects, the mid-1960s brought considerable change which not only affected local education policies but also local government politics. Boundary changes brought a Conservative controlled City Council for the year 1968, with disastrous consequences for local party politics. Although the Labour party had been in control for almost forty years, there was a degree of cooperation and respect between the two parties. Unfortunately, misguided Conservative rule destroyed a long-standing and beneficial relationship. Meanwhile, problems relating to local government reorganisation and educational policy too was being subjected to revision.

The education service in Sheffield had been expanding to meet growing needs but when plans for Secondary Education were redrawn to introduce comprehensive secondary education, a major shift in resources became necessary. Teacher-training was still undergoing expansion and the further education provision was being stretched to its limits.

While changes in personnel were taking place at political level, personnel changes were also taking place at senior education officer level. The Chief Education Officer, T H Tunn, retired in 1967, being succeeded by his deputy, G M A Harrison. While Harrison had promising previous experience, his service in Sheffield only extended to a mere two years before he became Chief Education Officer.

The pattern of continuity of control and established relationships was therefore broken at a time of considerable change. In 1966 Jack Hiles retired from the Principalship of the Sheffield College of Technology, being succeeded by Dr George Tolley. Tolley came to Sheffield with strong academic qualifications and valuable experience in the higher academic aspects of further education. It was obvious that the Sheffield Education Committee was seeking for its premier educational institution a leader who would carry its development yet further, even though its ultimate designation as a Polytechnic had not been considered publicly.

When the DES Polytechnic proposals were published in May 1966 the Sheffield Education Committee were eager to implement them and within the ensuing months, discussions took place at Governor, administrative and staff levels to effect early agreement on the preparations which had to be made to merge the College of Art with the College of Technology, whilst planning proposals were quickly prepared and submitted to the Department of Education and Science for consideration. Meanwhile, cross representation of staff on the Boards of Studies and the Academic Boards was introduced to enable members of staff of both institutions to understand the workings of each college.

The members of staff of the College of Technology were in general well pleased with the proposals - except those areas of work which clearly did not fit into the academic level of a polytechnic institution. They faced transfer to one or the other of the further education colleges and there were instances of considerable wrangling and bitterness arising from the seemingly arbitrary way decisions were made.

The DES time-schedule for the creation of polytechnics was such that those institutions which submitted satisfactory proposals early enough could be designated from the 1st January 1969. Once this was known, Sheffield Education Committee and the College of Technology appeared determined that Sheffield should be amongst the first to be designated. Subsequently, the Education Committee learned that as from the 1st January 1969, the two Sheffield institutions had been designated as having polytechnic status.

In appointing Tolley, the Sheffield Education Committee acquired, in some respects, a tough, uncompromising, skilful "political" leader. Firstly, he became Principal of the College of Technology, Principal-designate, then Principal of Sheffield Polytechnic, and finally, Principal of the Sheffield City Polytechnic. While both the Sheffield Education Committee and the Sheffield Education Department fully achieved their ends, the ways and means by which they were achieved and the interchange of power and support which

had to be either given or conceded may never be known. Viewed historically, George Tolley may have been the right man who was in the right place at the appropriate time. Whether such a strong personality was quite what either politicians or the administrators wanted must be a matter for conjecture. What is certain is that he was the successful founder of the Sheffield Polytechnic.

The rapidity with which the Sheffield Polytechnic established its identity not only in regional but in national terms owes much to the strength of leadership of the Reverend Canon Dr George Tolley. With single-mindedness of purpose, the institution emerged to become one of the leading institutions of its type. Obviously, such rapid progress cannot be achieved wholly by an individual Principal but unfailing support from the Board of Governors and with backing from the Sheffield Education Committee ensured that the new institution flourished almost from its inception.

While considerable civic pride motivated the desire to support the new institution it also meant that the City of Sheffield was now the home of two major institutions of higher education: the University and the Polytechnic, one autonomous, the other the responsibility of the Local Education Authority.

CHAPTER XXX - REFERENCES

- Page 468 1. SEC Report of the Committee, 1932-33, p.3
" 2. W S Newton served as a junior clerk under John Moss, the first Secretary of the Sheffield Education Committee.
- Page 469 1. Politicians and civil servants had reason to be discomfited by Sharp after his departure from Sheffield. His autocratic leadership of the AEC did much to uplift the power and status not only of LEAs but also Chief Education Officers. The effect of such pressure was strongly felt in Sheffield.
" 2. John Holland also had oversight of the Training Colleges.
" 3. W G Lumb became deputy, then Chief Education Officer for Portsmouth, and later First Assistant Education Officer for Hampshire.
- Page 470 1. Longden, Roger, "History of Secondary Education in Sheffield 1903-1939", University of Sheffield, unpublished Doctoral Thesis.
" 2. "Sheffield Replanned", Published by the City Architect's Department, 1945
- Page 473 1. "A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges", DES, Cmnd 3006, HMSO

CHAPTER XXXI

MOVING TOWARDS A UNIFIED STRUCTURE

Transcending the changes which were in store for the Colleges of Education was the problem of the birthrate. For almost a decade the United Kingdom birthrate had been in excess of 800,000 annually. But from a high peak in 1964 of 875,000 it had dropped by almost 33% to 583,000. The birthrate figures for the City of Sheffield also followed a similar pattern. From a peak of 8,612 in 1962 they began to fall until by 1975 only 5,740¹ live births were recorded.

While national demographic trends influence the decisions of politicians and government departments, local trends bring reality in terms of meeting the needs for future educational provision. Although the intake of students into Sheffield Local Education Authority Colleges of Education was both national and regional in character, as the 1960s opened up opportunities to mature students (most of whom were local) it was natural that such students would be destined for local teaching appointments. Such arrangements were useful during times of teacher shortages - embarrassing in times of a diminishing pupil population.

From 1970 onwards the Sheffield Local Education Authority and its Colleges of Education were beginning to face problems. Advice on the make-up of the student body accepted for training came forth from the Institute of Education in its role as Area Training Organisation, and specific instructions came from the DES.

In June 1970, the Chief Education Officer reported to the Further Education Sub-Committee the receipt of a letter which suggested that the aim should be to achieve the following pattern in the intake of students so as to increase the proportion of students undertaking courses designed for the teaching of young children (nursery, nursery/infant, infant and infant/junior):

"Nursery, nursery/infant, infant, infant/junior	40%
Junior, junior/secondary	38%
Secondary	22%, 1

The Sub-Committee considered the position in relation to the Sheffield Local Education Authority Colleges and discovered that the percentages of training places in the Sheffield Colleges were at least in line with those suggested. Nevertheless, the close interest of the DES in the balance of admissions was to be significant in the future. By 1973, the DES were informing the Local Education Authority that the maximum permitted intake for non-graduate entry to the Sheffield College would be: City College 315, Totley/Thornbridge College 290. While it was not intended that the intake into training of those specialising in nursery, infant and home economics and the training of teachers for the mentally handicapped sectors should be reduced, the reduction in the general intake was in the order of 16%, comparison being based on the following:

"	Intake 72-73	Proposed DES Intake 74-75
City College	379	315
Totley Thornbridge College	340	290,, 2

It was a matter to which the Education Committee took exception. The Chief Education Officer was directed to make objection to the DES and subsequently pressure was put upon the Association of Education Committees and the advice of Lord Alexander, the Secretary, was sought. The matter was also raised with the Association of Municipal Corporations and the Chief Education Officer reported that the AMC fully endorsed Sheffield Education Committee's view and concurred that:

"... in the planning of future teacher supply a fundamental aim should be the abolition of classes of over 30 pupils".₃

Furthermore, the AMC agreed to private consultations with the DES and the Secretary of State through the Association's representation on the Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers.

Reductions in the intake of students now began to pose problems for the local authorities. Indeed, as time was to show, cuts far greater than 16% were imminent as the teacher shortage disappeared and teacher unemployment loomed.

In twelve years, the College of Education lecturing staffs alone in the Sheffield Local Education Authority Colleges had expanded from 68 in 1962 to 228 in 1974 and there were many others employed in administrative, technical support and domestic duties. Not surprisingly, the reduction in the number of students raised sensitive issues among the staffs and the members of ATCDE.

In a climate of a reducing need for teachers, the Government's White Paper: "A Framework for Expansion" came to be regarded in a different light, particularly when DES Circular 7/73: "The Development of Higher Education in the Non-University Sector" directed each local education authority to submit plans by November 1973 on the way it intended to reorganise its Higher Education provision. In response, the Further Education Sub-Committee at its meeting held on 2nd January 1973 resolved:

"That the Chief Education Officer be asked to explore the practicability, advantages and disadvantages of any integration of the Authority's teacher training and higher education establishments and to report back on the matter".¹

At a subsequent meeting of the Sub-Committee held on 3rd April 1973 the Chief Education Officer "reported on his preliminary exploration of the Higher Education issues"² arising from Circular 7/73 and on the setting up of a Steering Committee consisting of three representatives from each of the Authorities' higher education establishments and officers of the Education Department, whose task it was to:

"report on outline proposals for reorganisation and recommend procedures for detailed examination of, and consultation on the proposals".³

By early autumn, the Steering Committee was ready to make its views known and the "Report to be submitted as a discussion document to the Further Education Sub-Committee..." was presented on the 2nd October 1973.

The Steering Committee had met four times and in presenting its report, explained that their aim was to set out "possibilities" for consultation with the Further Education Sub-Committee, the Governing Bodies of the Colleges and other interested organisations. The Committee recognised that:

"... the continuance of three separate institutions... is not considered either practicable or likely to be acceptable as the future pattern of higher education development in Sheffield".₁

The principal criteria upon which the suggestions were based were:

- the continuance of higher education on all four sites:
Collegiate Crescent, Pond Street, Psalter Lane and Topley Hall Lane
- the continuation of initial teacher training in the future to take place in a diversified institution(s)
- the necessity to establish a new institution(s) endowed with a new structure and a new organisation as opposed to merging existing institutions into others
- the maintenance of the freedom currently enjoyed in respect of responsibilities and autonomy
- the safeguarding of the interests of existing staff.

It was against this criteria that the Steering Committee considered two possible solutions:

A single institutional model made up of the Polytechnic City College and Topley Thornbridge College: it may have 8-9000 students by 1981; one governing body and one academic board.

A two-institutional model made up of the following possible combinations:

- (a) City College with Totley Thornbridge and (b) Polytechnic or
- (a) City College and (b) Totley Thornbridge with Polytechnic or
- (a) City College with Polytechnic and (b) Totley Thornbridge.

It was intended that the institution which did not include the Polytechnic would become a diversified institution with teacher training and would be designed to meet the proposals in DES Circular 7/73.

The report asked the Further Education Sub-Committee to give an early statement of intent in terms of the models proposed so that an extended Steering Committee and working parties could be convened to "investigate in detail within the agreed pattern".¹

Although the discussion document was written in such a way as to allay the fears of interested and involved parties, it was still controversial. Unfortunately, added to the document, prior to its presentation to the Further Education Sub-Committee was a prefatory statement that the Chairman of the Education Committee (Councillor Peter Horton), the Deputy Chairman (Alderman Bill Owen), the Deputy Chairman of the Further Education Sub-Committee and the Chief Education Officer had given preliminary consideration to the report and had "concluded that the single institution model would in their view be the more appropriate". The Sub-Committee resolved to invite comments by 29th October from interested bodies; agreed to enlarge the size of the Steering Committee to include representatives of the student bodies of the Colleges; and that appropriate working parties be set up to prepare detailed reports on the various aspects of the pattern of implementation.

As the report passed to the Further Education Sub-Committee there was an outcry. That the report was contentious was of lesser import compared with the prefatory note which appeared to give a strong hint of *fait accompli*; furthermore, the request for comments which were called for from interested bodies allowed little time for debate.

Not surprisingly, almost every submission complained about the shortness of time which had been allowed for consultation - nevertheless, submissions duly arrived. The response from the Board of Governors and the Academic Board of the Polytechnic indicated substantial support for the single institution model. Although it was a submission tinged with some caution, it indicated quite clearly that the issue should be resolved along the lines suggested and with minimum delay. Of particular import was the resolution of the Academic Board in calling the Local Education Authority to:

"... establish a feasibility study of the complete integration of the three Colleges under a single Academic Board and a single Governing Body".₁

The Governing Body of the City College too called for a feasibility study but this was to be based on:

"... a single institution and a two institution model of higher education in Sheffield, the two institution model consisting of the Polytechnic on the one hand and some form of amalgamation of City and Totley-Thornbridge Colleges on the other".₂

The proceedings of the Academic Board of the City College in relation to the proposals were endorsed by the Governing Body for submission. It contended:

"(a) ... that the Academic Board prefers a two institution model of organisation of higher education in Sheffield in the local authority sector.

(b) that the second institution of the two envisaged above should include a substantial commitment to teacher education and training".₃

The submission went on to comment that:

"... (we) ... remain unconvinced, however, that the best interests of students and teacher education and training will be served by a single very large institution".₄

The basis of the City College's deposition was a paper prepared by Peake entitled "The Reorganisation of Higher Education in Sheffield".¹ Reflecting on the uniqueness of a College of Education as a special kind of institution and upon many views and sources, his submission - largely forming the basis of what the Governing Body submitted - observed:

"The vagaries of teacher supply and other manpower projections are too well known to be rehearsed here. 'A highly sophisticated and sensitive control of teacher supply, in terms of numbers and composition' (para. 6.24 Teacher Education and Training, HMSO 1972) is highly desirable. The more complex the institution and the greater its independence, the more difficult will it be to adjust its output figures of trained teachers. It will thus be imperative to ensure that the various teacher training interests are adequately safeguarded in the chosen plan for reorganisation. These interests could very easily be sacrificed were they a minor aspect of the total commitment of any single, very large institution. These interests must, therefore, be clearly defined in any higher education structure which may evolve.

It has long been felt that teachers should not be trained in isolation and the City College has consistently sought a diversified function over many years. It is also particularly vital that students in training for teaching or any branch of social work should themselves have experience of a caring community since they must generate and transmit this approach amongst those with whom they will later work.

For these reasons the City College with its excellent national reputation for academic and professional integrity wants to develop as a diversified institution of higher education with a substantial commitment to teacher education and training.

The management of ... large institutions is inevitably fraught with difficulty and especially so when their activities are on separate sites some miles apart. Such split-site arrangements can hardly be conducive to a common sense of purpose and the concept of an educational community is hardly tenable, save on each individual site itself.

Any suggestion that a second institution must of necessity be an inferior one simply because it is the smaller is untenable.

... The deep antagonism which exists between faculty (students and teachers) and administration on North American campuses should be a serious warning...

The complexity of the issues... deter busy lay members from querying recommendations... They can easily become mesmerised by the size, self-importance and pretensions of the institution itself.

Experience so far suggests that institutions specialising primarily in the Arts and Social Sciences can be considerably smaller than the average size contemplated for the polytechnics. It should be possible to cover a reasonable range of advanced courses in this area in institutions with 1,000 to 2,000 full-time and sandwich students".¹

The Board of Governors of the Totley-Thornbridge College took a different line. At a special meeting held on the 11th October 1973 it proposed:

"That Totley-Thornbridge College be developed as a small independent institution offering both teacher training and general higher education in certain specialised fields".²

The Academic Board of Totley-Thornbridge also submitted views:

"... If we merge with another institution we face the destruction of the strong staff commitment to Totley-Thornbridge and the consequent break-up of the teams we have built. Furthermore, staff changes would weaken our bonds with schools and thus waste valuable professional capital at a time when, because of the stress of change, we need it most...

... The management concept of "economy of scale" is, in many aspects, not applicable to student education. It is inappropriate to take the terminology of factory work, particularly that of mass production, and apply it cost-wise to college education. Educating students is not analogous to manufacturing identical cans of beans.

Financially, the case for amalgamating the two Sheffield colleges with the Polytechnic is not proven. We do not believe that large colleges are necessarily cheaper to operate than smaller colleges. Even if they were, it is still the quality of education that is important.

... The last decade has seen an escalation of conflict between students and the institutions to which they belong. Available evidence suggests that such conflict is directly related to an inability to establish in large institutions adequate channels of communication and a sense of community. It may well be that to persist in a desire to concentrate all higher education in mammoth units will lead, in the present state of our knowledge, to academic and social chaos...

... The Academic Board proposes the retention of a relatively small independent college of Higher Education at Totley, offering to students a real alternative to the large institution. We have, at the present time, links with the other local

institutions of Higher Education, and the gradual strengthening and developing of these links could well lead to the type of association which would give the benefits of amalgamation without its obvious disadvantages. Such a development would provide in Sheffield a viable and acceptable comprehensive system of Higher Education".¹

The response from the Governing Bodies and the Academic Boards of the three Colleges was hardly surprising. Meanwhile, the response from the Sheffield Executive Liaison Committee of the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions dated 25th October 1973 protested strongly:

"... at the lack of time given for the consideration of the Steering Committee Report on the Re-organisation of H.E. in Sheffield;

the absence of information for the proper consideration of the issues involved;

the publication of the personal opinions of the Chairman of the Education Committee, the Deputy Chairman of the Education Committee/Chairman of the Further Education Sub-Committee, the Deputy Chairman of the Further Education Sub-Committee and the Chief Education Officer as set out in "Note for presentation to the Further Education Sub-Committee on 2 October 1973 - Higher Education - Report of Steering Committee".

... (we) cannot be held to be a party to any decisions made at this time in consequence of the lack of opportunity for adequate consultation and discussion with all parties involved.

... (and) ... in any further process we require full involvement together with ATCDE".²

It was not surprising that the response from the local membership of ATCDE should be both fulsome and forceful - careers, principles and aspirations were under distinct threat:

"The Association does not support the binary principle in higher education and cannot accept it to be immutable. On the contrary, we believe that the doctrine of 'separate but equal' held in some quarters to justify the binary system is no more likely to prove acceptable or realistic to the profession and the public than did 'parity of esteem' with regard to the tripartite system of secondary education which evolved after 1944. It is our conviction that the attempt to enforce and maintain distinctions between systems of higher education in

terms of planning, finance administration and character is fundamentally unsound; it can only be uneconomic, socially divisive and educationally indefensible. It is our view that the proposals in the White Paper must be regarded as an evolutionary stage towards the creation of a unified system of higher education which would contain an appropriate variety of institutions provided from the public purse and planned in the national interest with due regard to regional needs.

... There is a strong case for a number of designated institutions of higher education (including existing polytechnics) of a more modest size than is presently proposed for polytechnics. One hundred institutions of higher education with student populations in the range of 1,000 - 3,000 would seem to offer a more manageable and realistic means of achieving the expansion of higher education provision in the non-university sector than the somewhat lop-sided development currently proposed.

... The ATCDE members in Sheffield welcome the opportunity to consider a two institution model but regret and reject the limitations imposed by the note sent out with the Report of the Meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee which states:

'... Should the Governing Bodies and Academic Boards wish there to be a two institution model, it is proposed that they be invited to consider the merits and demerits of this within the current Department of Education and Science totals for the college(s).'

The development of higher education in Sheffield is ill-served by a policy insisting on an inviolable target for one institution and no expansion at all for any other.

... that ATCDE members in Sheffield City and Totley-Thornbridge Colleges of Education are of the opinion that in the future, the interests of students in the public sector of Higher Education in Sheffield will best be served by offering them a genuine choice of institutions. They therefore favour a two institution model rather than a single institution of 7,000 - 9,000 students on four separate sites".¹

At first, Sheffield Area Students' Council decided that it was "completely opposed to the proposal for the single institution".² A decision which was not easily arrived at, it was subsequently overturned in favour of a single institution.

Meanwhile, as the Academic Board of the Polytechnic had pointed out, there were four institutions of higher education: the three Local Education Authority Colleges and the University of Sheffield. While the Polytechnic firmly represented that part of the binary system which was controlled, the University was representative of the

autonomous, and to all intents and purposes the three Colleges of Education were the go-betweens. They relied on the Local Education Authority for economic sustenance on one hand and on the University for academic legitimacy on the other. It was somewhat surprising therefore that the submission from the University of Sheffield, whether by design or default, appears to have avoided making a positive contribution to the discussion for the response from the Vice-Chancellor dated the 17th October 1973 was, to say the least, irrelevant. It merely confirmed a statement of intent relating to the validation of the award of the Diploma of Higher Education and the Bachelor of Education Degree which was passed by Senate on the 7th November 1973.

Meanwhile, the submission of views to the Further Education Sub-Committee by 29th October precluded a formal reply from the Institute of Education as a meeting of the Board of the Institute was not scheduled until 1st November. In view of the circumstances, Professor Roach, the Director of the Institute, wrote a letter on behalf of the Chairman, Professor Armytage, and himself:

"... First of all we both agree with the requirements of the discussion document about the academic and professional needs which have to be met. We would agree too that the continuance of three separate institutions of higher education in the City is not likely to be practicable, but we would suggest that the goals which are being aimed at may be more satisfactorily achieved through the establishment of two institutions rather than through the establishment of a single institution. For that reason we are not in agreement with the note from the chairman of the Education Committee and others circulated with the report.

A single institution of the kind envisaged would be both very large and very cumbrous, since it would be operating on four sites. The proposals that it should be controlled by a single board of governors and a single academic board would, in our view, if these bodies were themselves to be of manageable size, create an administrative system which might be unrepresentative and unresponsive to staff and student opinion as a whole...

If a second institution were to be created alongside the Polytechnic, it would seem to us most advantageous that it should be created by the fusion of the present colleges of education, though we accept that other combinations, as suggested in the report, are possible. To quote the report, 'a diversified

college including teacher training, with an emphasis on other courses provided in the arts and social sciences' seems to us to be an institution which would be large enough to be academically strong and small enough to preserve the qualities of intimate personal relationships which characterize the present colleges of education. Such an institution would meet the proper demands made in the report of the Steering Committee. It would preserve and enrich the strong traditions of the existing colleges of education, which ought to be preserved in a recognizable form because they have much to give to higher education in the future. Sheffield City College in particular should be mentioned here, because it was one of the pioneer Local Authority colleges and it has for many years held a strong national position in teacher training... It would seem to us that a second institution of the kind envisaged might enhance the appeal already exerted by the Colleges and neither conflict nor overlap with the current developments in the Polytechnic.

The report of the Steering Committee refers to such a second institution, if created, as numbering between 1,500 and 3,000 students by 1981. The note from the chairman of the Education Committee and others refers, in the case of a second institution, to 'diversification taking place within the spare capacity resulting from the reduction in numbers in teacher training'. We wish to point out that this is a more restricted concept than that expressed by the report of the Steering Committee, and we submit that the second institution should not be considered within such limited terms...

In our view a diversified college of 1,500 - 3,000 students, alongside the existing Polytechnic, would be both a strong academic unit and an institution in which both staff and students would work happily and fruitfully. It would preserve many of the valuable traditions of the past while making its own contribution to the new demands in higher education. We would urge the Education Committee to consider very carefully the case of setting up such an institution".¹

With formal replies received, the enlarged Steering Committee met on the 31st October and considered them. In a memorandum prepared for the Further Education Sub-Committee which was to meet on the 6th November it noted:

"... that there were conflicting views: a body of opinion was in favour of the one institution solution but there was also a strong body of opinion in favour of the two institution solution but with differences of view about the form the two institution model should take..."²

Meanwhile, an official response from the Institute was received from Alex Currie, Registrar and Secretary of the University of Sheffield, in his capacity as Clerk to the Board of the Institute of Education. He stated that the Board "after considerable discussion" took the view that:

"... The Board considers it imperative that in any scheme for the reorganisation of Higher Education, the interests of teacher training should be adequately safeguarded and represented. It is particularly concerned that the quality of teachers should be enhanced and that an adequate supply of teachers should be ensured...".

The deposition of the Board of the Institute of Education also drew attention to the major points of its discussion:

"Concern was expressed that the quality of student life might be jeopardised in one large institution of higher education based on four dispersed sites.

A general doubt was expressed that the D.E.S. forecasting of target figures of trained teachers might, once more, prove to be inaccurate. It was considered that a more sophisticated method of forecasting was required.

It was pointed out that if such forecasting proved inaccurate a large single institution might be unable, owing to its size, to regulate the supply of good quality teachers to meet current needs and to prevent mal-distribution.

There was considerable support for the idea of a consortium of separate institutions which would enable them to retain much of their own traditions and ethos. Such an association would, in addition, give members the opportunity of retaining their own governing bodies and academic boards".¹

As the various interested bodies and organisations waited with interest for reaction from the Steering Committee as a result of submissions made, it was being rumoured that the members of the Further Education Sub-Committee and the Officers of the Sheffield Education Department preferred a single institution arrangement.

This was certainly the view of Peter Horton and Michael Harrison who were strongly against the suggested two institution model and particularly that option which proposed the merging of City College

with Totley-Thornbridge College. They felt it would perpetuate the existing rivalries, there would be a constant struggle for finance, and it would create a three tier system: University, Polytechnic and College, with the surviving College being regarded as an institution of lesser status.

The view of H M Inspectorate too seemed to favour a single institution and it was decided to press the case with the DES. On the 9th November 1973, Horton and Harrison had a meeting with H A Harding, the Under-Secretary of State¹ to ascertain the DES view of the situation. But discussion showed that the DES were becoming nervous and urged against over-stating the case for the single institution as sustained objection may have resulted in prolonged negotiations or even an enquiry. Furthermore, the DES were not wholly convinced with what was being envisaged and revealed a reluctance to support a single institution with a student population which would possibly grow to 9,000 by 1981 - a projected size which had hitherto been considered likely. Talks were now to revolve round student numbers of smaller dimension if the single institution was to be acceptable to the DES.

The basis of the consideration of student numbers lay in the projected planning figures for the 1980s. Before the Government's White Paper proposals had appeared, the medium-term growth plan envisaged the Polytechnic with 6,600 students by 1981, City College with 1,300 students and Totley-Thornbridge with 900 students. But teacher supply needs were falling dramatically and already the DES had started cutting student intake levels. Furthermore, pressure to reduce yet further was imminent and the DES made it clear that even the Polytechnic growth figures were not sacrosanct.

In the cockpit of local educational politics, discussions now began to shift ground. The Local Education Authority had received both comments and information relating to the plans of the other Authorities. They too had plans to rationalise and diversify and it seemed that the region might become littered with a proliferation

of small liberal-arts colleges all attempting to compete for students. If this was likely to be the case, what was the point of attempting to diversify City College as a liberal arts institution when the Polytechnic might take up the work as a major institution? Elsewhere support was being sought to press the case for proposing the amalgamation of the Polytechnic and the City College so that Totley-Thornbridge would survive as a small, separate, diversified College.

The issue was now becoming sensitive. Amidst a flurry of talks and telephone conversations between senior members of the Education Committee, the Officers of the Local Education Authority and Principals of Colleges, the Authority was reminded of the long-standing links with the University and the folly of severing such links. The Local Education Authority was also reminded of the independent powers of the Governing Bodies who could appeal to the Minister. Although the DES had given tacit approval to the proposal for a single institution, it did not want to become embroiled in a Local Education Authority dispute and certainly did not view favourably the possibility of an appeal being lodged. Although Harding thought that the City College should accept the principle of merging with the Polytechnic, he urged that every attempt should be made to get agreement by common consent, but, if Sheffield Local Education Authority really wanted two institutions, the DES would not object. However, options were limited.

One aspect of amalgamation was that of differing academic standards. The City College had persistently maintained that its standards of admission and levels of teaching were higher than the other college in the Sheffield Institute. It was a view which to some extent was supported by Harding and it was on these grounds that he did not view favourably the prospect of Totley-Thornbridge being merged with the Polytechnic. A policy view also emerged during discussions when the DES revealed that it was in the end unlikely to agree to the City College continuing in its own right for a different reason: if it was allowed to survive, Leeds, Didsbury, Nottingham, and others would expect the same treatment. Meanwhile, Horton argued that the Sheffield

Education Committee was not prepared to merge the City College and Totley-Thornbridge College because it did not wish to create a second polytechnical institution in the city.

Horton now sought to gain support for the single institution model. In his view, there were good arguments for merging both Colleges of Education with the Polytechnic: such a move would both broaden and liberalise the Polytechnic's academic base and change its seemingly scientific and technologically biased character. None the less, should a two-institutional structure finally be accepted, the merging of the City College with the Polytechnic would leave Totley-Thornbridge to exist as a small separate institution taking in some 500 teachers under training and 400 students following social and life science based courses.

As Horton's arguments emerged, Peake railed against them. He yet again reminded that both the Totley-Thornbridge and the City Governing Bodies could appeal to the Minister. Horton was aware that Harding of the DES favoured the single institution principle providing that it was reached by consensual agreement. What Peake probably did not know at the time was that the DES feared that if there was an appeal to the then Secretary of State for Education and Science, Margaret Thatcher, there was every prospect that the Minister may have agreed to a City-Totley-Thornbridge amalgamation, a decision which Harding considered (at that time) could most probably have led ultimately to the movement of the City-Totley institution into the University.¹

The Governing Body of the City College met on the 7th November and transmitted a resolution to the Chief Education Officer. It read:

"The Academic Board re-affirms its opposition to a single institution solution and also re-affirms its preference for a two institution model with the second institution including a substantial commitment to teacher education and training.

The Academic Board wishes to state further that it strongly supports the Governors in their submission that the second institution should be a strong association of City and Totley-Thornbridge Colleges, the precise form to be negotiated".²

Meanwhile, Horton prepared a statement dated the 11th November 1973. First, it summarised the national position and then adverted to the reorganisation in Sheffield:

"... The White Paper plans for a 170% growth in full-time student numbers in Polytechnics over the next ten years and for the number of full-time teacher training students to be cut by over 40% (in Sheffield possibly by 50%)...

Local Education Authorities have been asked to submit their proposals for the reorganisation of higher education...

Alarmed at the prospect of up to 150 uneconomic, small, liberal arts colleges all competing for the same students, the Department of Education and Science are, it is understood, hoping that areas which are fortunate to have a polytechnic or technical college will put forward solutions which make more economic and educational sense.

Equally alarmed are many teachers that a situation might endure in which most teachers continue to be trained in monotechnic institutions staffed by lecturers nearly half of whom are non-graduates. A wealthy nation which accepts a situation in which 80% of its teachers are non-graduates need not be surprised that teaching as a profession does not enjoy the high regard which it merits".¹

Horton observed that the Steering Committee had recommended that there should be two institutions and now, as Chairman of the Education Committee, he was directing the newly extended Steering Committee to limit its deliberations to the consideration of a two institution scheme or a single institute scheme based on the following:

"The Steering Committee have recommended that the three Local Education Authority Higher Education institutions in Sheffield should be reorganised into not more than 2 institutions and have asked the Local Education Authority to give a statement of intent of acceptable alternatives.

Following discussions at the Department of Education and Science I would recommend that an enlarged Steering Committee should limit its further investigation to the following two models:

(a) A two institutional model made up as follows:

(i) City/Polytechnic - a new polytechnic-type institution offering a wide range of courses including sciences, technology, social sciences, arts, fine arts, design, business studies and teacher training. Initially, student numbers would be 4,000 rising to 7,000 by 1981. The new Senate might wish to build on the City College site (which at present accommodates 1,300 students) to enable a considerable part of the expansion (e.g. courses in arts and social sciences) to be provided there. The Senate might also wish to consider seeking permission to award its own degrees.

- (ii) Totley-Thornbridge - a small college of about 900 students concerned mainly with teacher training but offering also a limited range of courses in the arts. Linked courses with the new City/Polytechnic would be encouraged. The question of inclusion of some adult education courses should not be dismissed.
- (b) A one institution model - initially with student numbers of 5,000 rising to 8,000 by 1981. The new Senate would decide how the sites, courses and administration would be organised but the arrangement might not necessarily be very different from that under (a).

Whichever structure (is) preferred, co-operation with the university at all levels (will) be encouraged (and with other colleges in the region). Co-operation on a basis of equality would be likely to be easier once the new polytechnic and the university were of comparable size. The long term aim should be to achieve a unified structure of higher education in the region in which courses of many kinds and at different levels were available to suit the needs of adults of all ages from many walks of life".₁

On the 12th November the Labour Group met and the issue was presented by Peter Horton, who called for support for the single institution model in order to effect progress. As it was, a number of members of the Group did not grasp the urgency of the situation and felt the matter was too rushed. Councillor Ron Ironmonger wanted more time and suggested Horton prepare a more detailed paper. The debate proceeded in an uneasy, desultory fashion until Councillor David Blunkett moved acceptance of Horton's proposals. But then Alderman Bill Owens objected: interested parties had been invited to the meeting and the matter needed to be fully aired. Finally, it was suggested that Horton should come back in a month's time with more details - meanwhile, the negotiations would go ahead.

Peter Horton now seemed unsure of the exact nature of his mandate. A small post-Labour Group caucus meeting was held comprising Peter Horton, Frank Hooley (the Chief Administrative Officer for the City College, previously Member of Parliament and succeeding MP for the Heeley Division of Sheffield) and Dr Bill Carr (Chairman of the City Governing Body). It was concluded that while the Group had

not taken a vote on the proposals, there was sufficient support to continue the negotiations and that the Group at this stage preferred the "either/or" proposals.

The next move was a meeting convened with the purpose of discussing the proposals more directly with the Colleges. On the 16th November, Peter Horton chaired a meeting comprising the Extended Steering Committee and twenty representatives from each of the three Colleges. The scene was set by Horton who first made a statement of progress followed by an outline of the basis of the direction in which the Steering Committee was to proceed: consideration of mergers of the former City-Polytechnic or Polytechnic-Totley - advising that the idea of a City-Totley merger was not to be proceeded with as such an arrangement would not be considered. Meanwhile, the Steering Committee was charged to consider a single Polytechnical institution. To many, introduction of a single institution was considered to be a foregone conclusion but Alderman Bill Owen was to intervene to state that no final decision had been made either in the Labour Group or elsewhere. As far as he was concerned the matter still remained open.

Unfortunately, the relationship between Horton and Peake had worsened. It was a situation which had been deteriorating over a period of several months. When, therefore, in the course of discussions Horton suggested that there may well be additional buildings and resources on the City College site, it was considered to be a conciliatory gesture offered in the hope that opposition might be reduced and a satisfactory solution found.

Following the meeting with College representatives on the 16th November, Horton prepared a statement:

"Further comments following the meeting with representatives...

1. Acceptable Alternatives

The Steering Committee have recommended that there should not be more than two institutions. The alternative models

which might merit serious consideration by the enlarged Steering Committee (further extended) could be:

- a) Totley-Thornbridge/Polytechnic with City (1,300 students) remaining out.
- b) City/Polytechnic with Totley-Thornbridge (930 students (930 students) remaining out.
- c) One institution.

2. Non-Acceptable Alternative

In my opinion the alternative of forming a new Liberal Arts College by combining City and Totley-Thornbridge would not be acceptable to the Local Education Authority or the Department of Education and Science for reasons including the following:

- a) If we are aiming for a more unified system of Higher Education it would be a backward step to set up a third large institution of 2,230 students in a city which already has a University and a Polytechnic. It would also be contrary to the intentions of the White Paper.
- b) There will be too many Liberal Arts Colleges chasing too few students.
- c) It is preferable to have one institution including both Arts and Sciences rather than to have two institutions, one for Arts and one for Sciences. Those who are going to teach in a world dominated by science should not be cut off from it in their Higher Education.
- d) It will be wrong to continue to prevent the Polytechnic from becoming involved in teacher training.
- e) The transfer of students from one course to another would be more difficult where institutions are kept separate than in the case where a College combines with the Polytechnic.

3. Building Programmes

When current building programmes are completed there will be accommodation for the following full-time student numbers:

Polytechnic	4,500 (now 2,800)
City	1,300
Totley	<u>930</u>
Total	<u>6,730</u>

A target for Sheffield of 8,000 by 1981 has been postulated but this may be cut by the Department of Education and Science

to allow growth in other areas. The remaining building programmes for the next 8 years will therefore be for 600-1,300 students.

If City and the Polytechnic were to combine then all or most of the 600-1,300 places could be built at City. If City stays out then all these places are scheduled to be built in the Sheaf Valley.

4. Teachers in Initial Training Courses

If Sheffield has a 50% cut there will be about 1,100 places in initial teacher training. The Department of Education and Science have suggested that, should one College of Education remain separate and the other combine with the Polytechnic, there might be 700 in teacher training at the College remaining separate and 400 within the new institution (College/Polytechnic).

5. Choice of Institutions

There are 243 institutions offering initial teacher training. Most of these will remain, so there will be plenty of choice nationally and in this region. The choice of courses within most of the 150 ex-Colleges of Education will, however, remain narrow. A number of Colleges may no longer be allowed to offer Degree Courses.

6. Size of Institutions and Flexibility

The view of the Department of Education and Science is that the larger the institution the more flexible the arrangements can be when dealing, for instance, with the question of changes in teacher supply. The Department of Education and Science will make sure that powers exist to determine the number of teacher training places from year to year".¹

The special joint meeting of the City and District Further Education Sub-Committee held on the 20th November took on the task of attempting to come to a decision on fundamental issues. Dr Bill Carr (co-opted member and Chairman of the City College Governors) posed the questions: "Can we be certain that teacher training will not be endangered by transferring it into a larger institution? Can we be sure it would respond readily when we need more teachers?" On these points an unequivocal assurance was given.

Dennis Spooner (General Secretary Sheffield Branch NUT) put the view that it was "the nature of the new institution which was important" and there was a wish to see much more devolution. Councillor Miss Pat Santhouse enquired: "Was the City-Totley amalgamation to be ruled out entirely?" In answer to which, Councillor Horton intimated that there was a letter on its way from the DES confirming the fact.

Finally, it was moved by Alderman Bill Owen, seconded by Martin Flannery:

"(a) That the Report of the Steering Committee be accepted.

(b) That the enlarged Steering Committee be asked to continue its work based on consideration of the following models:

(i) Totley-Thornbridge College of Education/Sheffield Polytechnic with City College of Education (1,300 students) remaining separate,

(ii) City College of Education/Sheffield Polytechnic with Totley-Thornbridge College of Education (930 students) remaining separate,

(iii) One institution combining all three establishments".¹

But Councillor Santhouse was not to be put off and proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by Len Harvatt (a co-opted member):

"That the Department of Education and Science be approached in writing to confirm or deny that a two institution model (Sheffield Polytechnic and City/Totley-Thornbridge College of Education) will or will not be acceptable and that in the light of the Department's reply this model be considered".²

The amendment to the resolution was put but it only raised one vote; there were two abstentions and the remainder of the votes were cast against.

The Further Education Sub-Committee next deliberated on the remit of the Steering Committee and resolved:

"That the membership of the enlarged Steering Committee be extended to include one representative from the non-teaching staff of each of the three establishments and up to two representatives of the Sheffield Teachers' Associations.

That the Steering Committee be given guidelines assuming about 8,000 full-time higher education students (including 1,100 - 1,300 in initial teacher training) by 1981 but with consideration given to the position should there be an increase beyond these figures through additional numbers in teacher training, and of the need for a considerable degree of devolution of authority in the combined institutions".¹

Although the aspirations for the future of the City College appeared limited, its Governing Body challenged the decision of the Sub-Committee. At the 2nd January meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee a recommendation from the Governors of the College of Education was considered. It asked that:

"... the Education Committee be formally requested to state the reasons why the Governing Body's request for a feasibility study of the two institution model of higher education in Sheffield (the two institution model consisting of the Polytechnic on the one hand and some form of amalgamation of City and Totley-Thornbridge Colleges on the other) had been ruled out of consideration (the models which were under consideration being one institution combining all three establishments and two institutions consisting of the Polytechnic together with one College of Education, with the other College of Education remaining separate at about its present size).²

Response came in the agreement that:

"... the Chief Education Officer should write to the College Governors, referring them to the recent Department of Education and Science letter and also advising them that it was not wished to have a "third centre" established in the city and that it was wished to have initial teacher training associated with the new institution which included the Polytechnic".³

During January 1974 the extended Steering Committee worked towards producing their revised report. Meanwhile, Harold Peake put forward a four-page counter proposal dated 29th January 1974. The document

envisaged a single institution to be known as the City of Sheffield Polytechnic, a collegiate system comprising three colleges:

Sheaf College	(Polytechnic at Pond Street)	3,400 students
City College	(including Psalter Lane site)	3,400 students
Totley College	(including Grove Road)	<u>1,000</u> students
A total of		7,800 students

The proposed institution would have a Governing Body and a Senate and the collegiate institutions would have a considerable degree of autonomy. There would be Principals over each College and an Academic head who would be styled "Chairman".

Meanwhile, the final meeting of the extended Steering Committee was delayed. The Chief Education Officer was questioned and the teacher representatives were in dispute. The issue concerned the Sheffield Teachers' Association representative, Harry Dowson, who decided to send an alternative representative. The Chief Education Officer had ruled that Dowson was to be the only representative. John Turner (a member of the City College staff) had attended the penultimate meeting claiming he was the alternative member. After discussion, Turner withdrew. Meanwhile, Dennis Spooner claimed that Dowson had resigned and Ron Long was to succeed in his place. The final meeting of the extended Steering Committee was then convened. The revised report followed the direction given by Horton in the previous November and presented the strengths and weaknesses of the various amalgamations. The revised report also outlined the principles on which the single institution might be based and not only referred to the Faculty system approach but included Peake's proposed collegiate system.

The extended Steering Committee refrained from commenting on their proposals. Instead they:

"... considered it desirable to express a view to the Further Education Sub-Committee on the three models under consideration (as opposed to forwarding a Report setting out the pros and cons, constraints and safeguards and structures needed, but with no recommendations), with the following as the basis of indication:

(a) of the three models, the preferred one is:

	<u>Votes cast</u>
(i) City separate and Polytechnic/Totley-Thornbridge combined	3
(ii) Totley-Thornbridge separate and City/Polytechnic combined	6
(iii) All three combined	12

(b) if the Authority wishes one college of education to remain separate, the preferred one is:

(i) City	6
(ii) Totley-Thornbridge	14

(c) if the Authority wishes to combine all three establishments, the preferred structure is:

(i) faculty	2
(ii) collegiate	19 ₁

Not unnaturally, Harold Peake was a disappointed man. A vote against City College seemed like a personal defeat; the university links would be lost. One ray of hope remained: there was overwhelming support for the collegiate system.

The revised document was now distributed to interested parties for comment. The adjacent local education authorities gave it a tart reception; L G Taylor, Director of Education for Rotherham, complained bitterly that 90% of the Higher Education places for South Yorkshire would be concentrated in the Sheffield Local Education Authority. M J Pass, Chief Education Officer for Doncaster Education Department rejoined: he felt it "inappropriate to comment" but observed that "any Higher Education development in South Yorkshire should be sited away from the area already well saturated with such provision...".² The Derbyshire Local Education Authority advised that they intended developing their own institutions of Higher Education.

Within Sheffield Local Education Authority an adroit response was received from the City College Governing Body which met on the 1st March 1974 and resolved that:

"... should there be a two institution solution, it should be the City College which should retain its distinct identity as a separate institution.

... that the Governing Body strongly supports the maximum possible freedom for the Colleges within a Collegiate system, draws particular attention to the possible system suggested by the Academic Board, and considered it essential for all detailed discussions of such a system that there be the closest liaison with this Governing Body and the Academic Board..."₁

The sentiments of the Governing Body were supported by the Academic Body which:

(i) expressed regret that the possibility of a second major institution of higher education in the city formed from some association of City College with Totley-Thornbridge had been discounted;

(ii) reaffirmed its previous opinion that a single institution of 8,000 students on four sites was undesirable and that a two institution model in which the City College retained its distinct identity as a separate institution was the only acceptable solution...

(iii) agreed that if the LEA insists on a new single institution, that institution should be organised on a collegiate basis with a substantial and genuine delegation of authority and responsibility to the colleges..."₂

The parties who had interest in Totley College were somewhat elated and encouraged by the way voting had gone in the Steering Committee. Consequently, the Governing Body instructed the Chief Administrative Officer to remind the Local Education Authority of their previous resolution that it should remain a small independent College. To press the point yet further, John Banfield, the Principal of Totley-Thornbridge College, now took the opportunity to write to the Chief Education Officer on the 5th March 1974:

"Totley-Thornbridge College of Education

Dear Mr Harrison

... would you please bring to the notice of the Sub-Committee the actual wording in Mr Harding's letter, when he stated that:-

'We recognised that whatever the arguments in favour of amalgamating both colleges of education and the polytechnic and they seemed to us to have very considerable force, there would be real difficulties in achieving this unless your further consultations resulted in a fair consensus of opinion amongst the staffs of the institutions concerned that amalgamation would be the best course.'

... I wish to bring to the notice of the Sub-Committee that the costs at Totley-Thornbridge College, per student hour, are approximately 50% of those at the Polytechnic. One would assume that, with the country in financial difficulty, the Education Sub-Committee would not support needless increased spending.

Yours sincerely

J. Banfield

Principal." ₁

Once again, the Polytechnic responded. The Governing Body at its meeting on the 7th March expressed a "willingness to change styles and structures" and intimated that a feasibility study should be proceeded with as quickly as possible. Meanwhile, the Academic Board of the Polytechnic was "seriously disquieted that after nearly a year... there (had) been so little progress". A sting was to come in three resolutions which it put forward:

"(i) Accepting that there must be a merger of Colleges, and that this merger can be of great educational benefit, this Board welcomes a merger, providing that it is a genuine merger aimed at fulfilling educational objectives, and not an attempt to perpetuate existing structures and existing management styles and procedures.

(ii) This Academic Board emphasizes that, whatever the number of constituent Colleges involved in the merger, it seeks the establishment of a single institution as a result of the merger. Within this single institution there should be a considerable devolution of authority such as is essential and usual within any large academic organisation. We are not convinced that the

case is made in the Report for a collegiate structure, neither do we accept that the Faculty and Collegiate structures, referred to in the Report, are in any way representative of varying degrees of devolution.

(iii) This Academic Board re-affirms its desire for a one institution model and recommends that a feasibility study, as previously suggested, be set up quickly, such a study to proceed without preconditions about academic government and management structures imposed upon it".₁

CHAPTER XXXI - REFERENCES

- Page 479 1. In real terms the statistic was even lower as the 1974 boundary changes arising from local government reorganisation brought in parts of other districts not within the Area Health Authority.
- Page 480 1. DES Letter 3/70 "The Balance of Training"
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1973-74, p.49
" 3. SEC Minutes, 1974-75, p.28
- Page 481 1. SEC Minutes, 1972-73, p.201
" 2. SEC Minutes, 1972-73, p.298
" 3. SEC Minutes, 1972-73, p.298
- Page 482 1. "Report to be submitted as a discussion document for comment to the Further Education Sub-Committee on 2nd October 1973..." Dated September 1973.
- Page 483 1. Ibid, p.4
- Page 484 1. Reorganisation of Higher Education in Sheffield. Sheffield Polytechnic Academic Board Submission, Agenda paper 11 F 2(a) 9.1, 16 October 1973, p.3
" 2. Resolution from Meeting of the Governing Body held on 25 October 1973 City College of Education
" 3. Sheffield City College of Education Academic Board resolution, 10th October 1973
" 4. Sheffield City College of Education, ibid.
- Page 485 1. The Reorganisation of Higher Education in Sheffield, City College of Education, P/WMR. Dated 16th October 1973, 8 pps.
- Page 486 1. DES Circular 7/73, para 10
" 2. Minutes of Governing Body of Totley-Thornbridge College dated 26th October 1973.
- Page 487 1. Totley-Thornbridge College, Academic Board paper. "A proposal concerning the future of Totley-Thornbridge College of Education..." 5 pps. dated 29th October 1973
" 2. Report from Secretary, Sheffield Executive Liaison Committee, ATTI, dated 25th October 1973
- Page 488 1. Resolution and Report from ATCDE members in Sheffield City And Totley-Thornbridge Colleges, 7 pps. dated 29th October 1973
" 2. Sheffield Area Students Council. Note to Further Education Sub-Committee on resolutions following meetings on 15th and 22nd October 1973
- Page 490 1. Roach, J P C, Letter dated 23rd October 1973
" 2. Extended Steering Committee meeting 1st November 1973. Note on proceedings.

CHAPTER XXXI - REFERENCES (continued)

- Page 491 1. Board of Institute of Education. Report of Meeting
1st November 1973. Further Education Sub-Committee
Agenda paper 11
- Page 492 1. SEC Minutes, 1973-74, p.181
- Page 494 1. Even eight years after the event, such a prospect
appears nonsensical. Professor W H G Armytage maintained
that although in 1973 the idea seemed improbable, it was
pursued by the College of Education lobby who called into
evidence numerous reports which had been produced over
the years advocating a closer connection between the
Colleges of Education and the Universities.
- " 2. Minutes, Governing Body, City College, 7th November 1973
- Page 495 1. Horton, Peter, Statement on Reorganisation, 11th November 1973
- Page 496 1. Ibid
- Page 499 1. Horton, Peter, Statement of Reorganisation following meeting
16th November 1973
- Page 500 1. SEC Minutes, 1973-74, p.160
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1973-74, p.160
- Page 501 1. SEC Minutes, 1973-74, p.161
- " 2. SEC Minutes, 1973-74, p.182
- " 3. Ibid
- Page 503 1. Final Report of Extended Steering Committee on Reorganisation
of Higher Education
- " 2. Pass, M J, Letter to CEO, Sheffield, dated 4th June 1974
- Page 504 1. Further Education Sub-Committee meeting 12th March 1973
Papers Appendix E
- " 2. Ibid
- Page 505 1. Further Education Sub-Committee Papers Appendix G
- Page 506 1. Sheffield Polytechnic Academic Board Paper, 4th March 1974

CHAPTER XXXII

MONOPOLY

Three possible organisational forms were being considered by the various factions. While the strongest lobby favoured a single institution organised on a faculty basis, those in favour of maintaining Topley-Thornbridge College still sought to press a case for its retention as a separate institution. In contrast, the Academic Board of the City College, being acutely conscious that the College could not remain independent, now sought a different solution by attempting to devise a structure for a Collegiate system of organisation within a single institutional model - an alternative which had been given strong support by the extended Steering Committee.

On the 7th March 1974, Peake issued a confidential note on the "Possible Collegiate Structure". It suggested a Governing Council and overall Academic Board, to be known as "the Senate" and "that the institution should be organised on a Collegiate basis with a substantial and genuine delegation of authority and responsibility to the Colleges".¹

To ensure that each constituent college was able to exercise clearly defined powers and ensure continuity of decision-making it was envisaged that every college would have its own Governing Body, a Principal, a Secretary and an Academic Board. The Governing Council would be made up of members of each College's Board of Governors and while the "President" as head of the institution would be essentially a co-ordinator and directly responsible to the Governing Council, each College Principal would be responsible for the internal organisation, management and discipline of the College.

The Further Education Sub-Committee now needed to come to a decision. The single-institution facility-based lobby was threatened for if the Collegiate structure lobby produced an acceptable, workable solution, the Authority could well be forced into having to accept such a system - particularly if pressure was brought to bear and the DES softened its line. Speed was to be an important factor. At the meeting of the 12th March 1974, Harrison and Hanson, the Officers of the Local Education Authority, outlined the issues: was there to be a single institution or two? On the subject of the suggestions put forward by Peake and the City College's Academic Board, Hanson contended that Peake's proposed Collegiate system could not be considered to be a single united institution, it was merely a federation, and discussion continued until the Chairman of the Further Education Sub-Committee, Bill Owen, expressed a personal view in favour of a single institution and contended that discussion had revealed that there was but one problem and that was how the single institution should be structured?

Thereupon, the meeting went on to consider the merits and possibilities of the various organisational structures based on:

Unitary - centralised with all power at the centre or decentralised.

Federated - maintaining an organic whole through the maintenance of centralised powers with residual power vested in units.

Confederated - sovereign units (the colleges) each with considerable powers, confederated power being vested in a Governing Council.

The Sub-Committee now accepted the single-institution model but it was clear that further detailed discussions were necessary and it was suggested that a Planning Committee be established consisting of the extended Steering Committee, representatives of the ATTI and ATCDE, members of the Further Education Sub-Committee, and representatives of lay members of Governing Bodies.

Finally, two proposals were put by the Chairman and carried with a majority:

- "(i) That, in response to Circular 7/73, it be proposed to the Department of Education and Science that Sheffield City College of Education, Sheffield Polytechnic and Totley-Thornbridge College of Education be merged to form a single, new institution of about 8,000 full-time students, with its own governing council, its own academic council and its own head of the institution, but with a considerable degree of devolution of authority within the institution;
- (ii) That a Planning Committee be established to oversee and facilitate the merger, and to set up Working Parties concerned with the various aspects of implementation of the development of the single, new institution; the membership of the Planning Committee to include the extended Steering Committee together with the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Education Committee and one other member (nominated by the minority parties), the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the three Governing Bodies concerned (or their nominees) and two representatives each of the A.T.T.I. and A.T.C.D.E."¹

The resolutions were confirmed by the City Council on the 3rd April 1974 and by the 5th April they had been communicated to the DES. Immediately, the Sheffield Education Department set in motion the organisation of the Higher Education Planning Committee in anticipation of receiving a response from the Ministry. In a memorandum dated 10th May 1974, written by Brian Hanson and submitted to the Committee under the signature of the Chief Education Officer, he advised "that a preliminary meeting of the Planning Committee might usefully be held... to consider the setting up of Working Parties which would examine and report in detail on the various aspects of implementation..."² The memorandum went on to relate that:

"... considerable change in the higher education establishments cannot be avoided in their merging into a single, new, purposeful institution. Mutual co-operation rather than the protection of existing interests will be needed in the setting up of a single institution with a unity of purpose and of academic planning and direction but with as high a degree of devolution of authority as is compatible with the overall unity.

The handling of multi-site development and of size of the new institution will be important factors in ensuring its success. In determining the organisation and management structures, particular regard will need to be given to these factors...

In the academic category, among the points requiring particular attention are the position of teacher training in a multi-purpose institution; the existing special relationships of the establishments with regard to their validating bodies; the needs of the student who is committed to teacher training, or uncommitted, or wishes to change either way; and the position of existing effective teaching teams. The academic structure, overall, at intermediate and at basic operational level, appropriate to the new single institution will have to be determined.

The question of what is to be devolved, and how, will require a most careful and thorough examination, in academic no less than in organisational and managerial matters; and with exploration of the meaning and limits of autonomy of constituent parts of a single new institution formed by the merger of separate establishments...

The Authority has proposed that the single, new institution should have its own governing council, its own academic council and its own head of the institution. Consideration needs to be given to the practicability, desirability, and timing of the setting up of interim or joint governing and academic councils, and of appointment of a head-designate for the new institution. In all three cases, premature establishment might limit the effectiveness of the Working Parties and late establishment might deprive those who will be essentially concerned with the management of the new institution of the opportunity of contributing appropriately at the planning stages..."¹

Arising from the first meeting of the Planning Committee it was agreed that there should be five Working Parties which would be charged to report on:

1. Government and policy-making structures
2. Academic development and academic structure
3. Use and development of resources
4. Staffing
5. Student facilities and services.

It was clear that the Working Parties which were considering Government and Policy-Making Structures and Academic Development and Academic Structure were keys to the whole strategy and these Working

Parties were instructed to complete their reports by the 1st December 1974. Surprisingly, within days of the first meeting of the Planning Committee, Harding of the DES responded to the Authority's letter of the 5th April:

"

17 May 1974

Circular 7/73 and The Development of Higher Education in the Non-University Sector

Sheffield Metropolitan District

1. I am directed by the Secretary of State to refer to Mr. Harrison's letter of 5 April to me, in which were set out two resolutions concerning the future development of higher education in the non-university sector in Sheffield passed by the Education Committee and subsequently confirmed on 3 April 1974 by the Metropolitan District Council.
2. The Secretary of State has carefully considered the resolutions in the light of earlier correspondence on the subject between the Department and the predecessor Education Authority for the County Borough of Sheffield, and in relation to general government policy for the development of higher education. He welcomes the proposal that the Sheffield City College of Education, Sheffield Polytechnic and Totley-Thornbridge College of Education be merged to form a single new institution. He is confident that a merger of this kind will enable Sheffield to play a full and effective part in the development of higher education in coming years and allow the greatest possible flexibility in meeting future changes in the nature of demand for higher education. He is, therefore, pleased to approve the proposals in principle, subject to what is said below.
3. The Authority's intention that the new institution should provide for 8,000 full-time students is noted. Insofar as this will require the provision of additional accommodation, the Secretary of State's approval of the merger proposal is without prejudice to decisions yet to be taken in respect of future major capital building programmes.
4. The Authority will be aware that at present the Department is setting targets for the intake to initial teacher training courses on a year to year basis, and it will thus be some time before individual institutions can be given firm figures for their teacher training number in 1981. The Secretary of State is therefore pleased to note that the Authority is planning on the basis that the proposed new institution should be capable of supplying a range of teacher training places by the end of the decade. He hopes that, within the total number of teacher training places, the new institution will provide for those

students who wish to defer a commitment to teaching beyond the beginning of their courses. This will be particularly helpful in ensuring that the institution can respond quickly and flexibly in the face of changing teacher supply requirements.

5. The first of the Authority's resolutions refers to the new institution as having its own governing council and academic council but with a considerable degree of devolution of authority. In this context I am to draw the Authority's attention to the Education (No. 2) Act 1968 which provides for the government and conduct of institutions of further education maintained by local education authorities. It appears to the Department that, in order to comply with this Act, formal powers will need to be vested in the new institution's governing body, academic board and director. Careful consideration will be needed to establish whether and in what measure devolution of authority is possible within such a framework but the collegiate structure mentioned in the Steering Committee's report would not seem compatible either with the Act or with the most effective use of available resources. No doubt this question will be carefully considered by the Planning Committee referred to in the second of the Authority's resolutions. Further consultation with the Department will be necessary in due course about the Instrument and Articles of Government of the new institution.

6. The Authority's second resolution, concerning the establishment of a Planning Committee to oversee and facilitate the merger, has been noted with interest. Should the Committee and its Working Parties at any stage find it helpful, members of H M Inspectorate will be very willing to give such advice and assistance as they can. The Secretary of State looks forward to receiving final detailed proposals in due course, and in particular the Development Plan for the new institution to which Mr Harrison's letter referred. It is assumed that such a Plan will be intended in substitution for the present Development Plan for the Polytechnic as submitted by the predecessor Authority on 31 August 1972."₁

The circulation of the letter from the DES raised immediate action from Peake:

"

24th May 1974

Thank you for the copy of the Secretary of State's response to the resolution concerning the future development of Higher Education in the non-University sector in Sheffield.

I am writing to request an early meeting of the full Higher Education Planning Committee to consider the implications of paragraphs 5 and 6 and what action should be taken..."₂

Although the Chief Education Officer considered the calling of a meeting of the Planning Committee unnecessary he nevertheless approached the DES for further clarification on the contentious paragraph No 5. By the 14th June, the DES had responded and, as a result, the members of the Planning Committee were informed by the Chief Education Officer of the DES views and the general policy position:

"

1 July 1974

... When the Further Education Sub-Committee considered the letter of 17 May from the Department of Education and Science approving the Authority's proposal for a single new institution, I was asked to seek clarification of the statement in paragraph 5 of that letter that careful consideration will be needed to establish whether and in what measure devolution of authority is possible within the framework of the Education (No. 2) Act 1968.

The reply from the Department of Education and Science has now been reported to the Further Education Sub-Committee and I have been asked to send a copy of the reply to members of the Planning Committee and of the relevant Working Parties.

You will note that solutions are not ruled out if they can be shown to be workable and to meet the criteria set out in paragraph 5 of the letter of 17 May, though the present view of the Department of Education and Science is that a collegiate structure with a division of powers between collegiate bodies and a superior body would be neither legally possible nor compatible with the efficient use of resources and the effective working of the institution. A Governing Body and Academic Board may, however, devolve parts of their functions on subordinate bodies.

Clearly, detailed consideration will need to be given by the two main Working Parties to the question of devolution, in the light of the considerable degree of devolution of authority proposed by the Authority for a single, new institution with its own academic council, its own governing council and its own head...".₁

It was clear that although elsewhere proposals had been put forward for collegiate systems, these were not sufficiently convincing for the DES to take seriously, even though Harding himself had tentatively put forward some general ideas on collegiate organisation to a meeting of Principals of Church of England Colleges in the summer of 1973:

"... I should make clear our view that wherever it is possible complete amalgamation is the better solution administratively and educationally and so far as relationships with universities are concerned the White Paper rules out any less complete combination...

How far... could there be real autonomy of collegiate policy in relation to students unless some part of the total tuition was college rather than departmentally based? Would it be possible to devise a system under which lectures and some seminars were departmental and other seminars or individual tuition was collegiate? Here I should perhaps warn against the analogy with the Oxbridge college system which is based on tuition arrangements very different from those which obtain in colleges of education and is buttressed by the colleges' handsome private endowments.

The Circular has a good deal to say about the better distribution of higher education facilities and what one might call the macro-geography of higher education. I believe also that the micro-geography is of great importance. In relation to polytechnics it has been a cardinal principle that we should avoid like the plague the creation of institutions scattered over a wide range of sites and that where this is inevitable in the first instance there should be a high priority for building programmes designed to bring facilities together on a common campus...

In a unitary institution the disadvantages of separate sites can be minimised by rationalisation of function between them... But in a collegiate institution each site would serve not only an academic function but also as a base for a self-contained community...

It seems to me different to envisage a successful federal structure consisting of two institutions only. If they differed in size there would be a strong danger that the smaller would in effect become a dependency of the larger, while if they were more equal there would be the alternative danger of polarisation of opposing views between representatives of the two institutions in the common decision making machinery. A federal structure of 3 or 4 institutions would seem to offer more promise..."₁

Harding's letter of the 14th June in many respects confirmed the view that as far as Sheffield Local Education Authority was concerned the Faculty system arrangement would be the most acceptable:

"Development of Higher Education in the Non-University Sector:
Sheffield

... We agree, of course, that under the Education (No. 2) Act 1968 it is possible for a Governing Body and Academic Board to

devolve parts of their functions on subordinate bodies. The word "whether" in our letter was intended to relate solely to the possibility of devolving powers through a collegiate structure. Our present view is that this would be neither legally possible nor compatible with the efficient use of resources and the effective working of the institution.

The division of powers between collegiate bodies and a superior body has, of course, been much discussed in many parts of the country in the context of federations of voluntary and maintained colleges. So far, however, no document has emerged which makes a clear cut proposal about how such powers might be distributed...

While we are therefore fairly firmly of the view that a broad faculty structure is the right solution to the problems you are facing in Sheffield, we do not rule out alternative solutions if they can be shown to be workable and to meet the criteria set out in paragraph 5 of our letter".¹

The two principal Working Parties of the Higher Education Planning Committee now commenced work in earnest. The Working Party concerned with Government and Policy Structures met on the 12 July 1974. Dr W Carr (co-opted member of the Further Education Subcommittee and Chairman of the City College Governing Body) was unanimously elected Chairman. The Vice-Chairmanship passed to Dr J Banfield (Principal of the Topley-Thornbridge College) while the Secretary to the Committee was to be Dr G Tolley (Principal of the Sheffield Polytechnic). Meanwhile, the Working Party on Academic Development and Academic Structure met and appointed Dr H J Peake Chairman and Dr W D Hills Deputy Chairman.

During the summer and early autumn, each Working Party met frequently but final solutions were still months away. It was, by late autumn, becoming evident that the key Working Party was that relating to Government and Policy Making Structures. By the time it convened on the 16th December 1974 to ratify the final draft of its report, it had met fifteen times between July and December, and the opening comments of the report observed:

"... We have also been constantly aware of the fears of many in the existing institutions that a time of change might be one of disruption and disorientation in which good things might be

lost. It is our hope that the structures and the machinery which we propose will, given goodwill and good management, allow and encourage a smooth transition into a new situation of great opportunity...".¹

The report went on to detail the policy and management structures for the proposed institution: the Working Party had clearly opted for a faculty organisation. Each Faculty would be under the responsibility of a Dean. There would be a Principal over the whole institution, supported by Assistant Principals who would act as "senior managers and co-ordinators rather than policy makers"² and it was proposed that with the aid of S B Hanson, the Senior Education Officer, a Draft Instrument and Articles of Government were to be prepared ready for early submission to the Planning Committee.

Within the Working Party, the report did not go wholly supported nor unchallenged. Indeed, notes of dissension were put by several members of the Committee. One paper in particular prepared by Dr B H Fletcher and Mrs J E Ward, both members of staff of the City College, dated 11th December 1974, reminded the Planning Committee that although the extended Steering Committee had accepted the single institution principle, its members had voted strongly in favour of a collegiate structure, and observed:

"... We have examined very carefully the principle of devolution with particular reference to the split-site working which must be faced in the new institution and we cannot agree with the majority report recommendation that major devolution should be to faculties and not to colleges. In Sheffield we are not faced with creating a single new institution on a relatively compact campus, and in our opinion it is unrealistic to minimise the problems presented by trying to produce a single institution using sites which are miles apart: geography must be an important determining factor...

If it is accepted that movement between sites should be kept to a minimum, it is inevitable that staff and students will identify themselves with the particular place in which most of their time is spent. They will give each site a distinct identity and expect it to be academically and administratively cohesive and significant. Although some form of college structure would encourage the development of strong new independent units within the new institution, so too would the proposed faculty based structure. As much prejudice, friction

and undesirable competition can develop within seven small units as within four larger ones. In addition we argue that in an enterprise of this magnitude it is unrealistic to pretend that one can ignore histories, change loyalties overnight and apparently jettison all that the existing institutions have achieved. Integration in any real sense will be achieved gradually and it is likely to be some considerable time before the new institution can be seen as a whole, with its own distinctive reputation within higher education. We remain firmly of the opinion that a college structure provides a basis for moving forward gradually into the challenges of the new situation. At the same time it would provide the flexibility to allow enterprising developments to take place within a unified whole...

We believe that a college structure... would reconcile the legitimate claims of the whole institution with the individual needs of students and staff: it is our view that major devolution to faculties as outlined in the report will not do this...

J. E. Ward (Mrs)
B. H. Fletcher".¹

Not unnaturally, the minority view on the Working Party came from those representing the College of Education interests. The proposed draft Articles and Instrument of Government for the new institution had been discussed by the Academic Board of the City College which resulted in a letter being sent to Dr Carr by the Chief Administrative Officer:

"... I am writing to you in your capacity as Chairman of the Working Party concerning the Management Structures of the New Institution. The Academic Board of this College at their meeting on 6th November, 1974 passed the following resolution which I have been asked to transmit to you:

'The Academic Board reaffirms that the only acceptable form of devolution is one which gives a considerable degree of academic and administrative autonomy to individual colleges and not to schools...'.²

None the less, the prefatory notes to the final report of the Working Party on Government and Policy Structures declared:

"In our view devolution is a requirement for effective management. We are agreed that devolution should be real and should be a requirement within the Articles... We are also agreed that there

shall be devolution to Departments, to Faculties and to sites, which shall be designated as Colleges. We have had extensive discussion upon whether there should be pre-eminence in the matter of devolution given to Colleges or to Faculties, since it cannot be given to both. There is a very substantial majority within the Working Party which is of the view that pre-eminence in matters of devolution should not be given to Colleges".¹

On the subject of organisation, the report proposed that:

"The Governors, in consultation with the Academic Board, shall initially cause to be established the following Faculties, which shall have powers devolved upon them necessary to secure oversight and development of the work of the Faculty; Art and Design, Business and Management Studies, Education, Humanities, Social Studies, Engineering, Science.

The Governors, in consultation with the Academic Board, shall initially designate four Colleges within the Institution to be associated with the sites of City College, Sheffield Polytechnic (Pond Street), Sheffield Polytechnic (Psalter Lane) and Totley-Thornbridge College of Education, and shall require them to establish such consultative and advisory machinery as may be deemed necessary by the Governors and the Academic Board".²

The third meeting of the Higher Education Planning Committee met on 10th January 1975 to receive the Working Party reports relating to Academic Development and Academic Structure, Staffing and on Student Facilities and Services, and then went on to consider a title for the new institution. Four possible names emerged:

City of Sheffield Polytechnic

Hallamshire Polytechnic

Sheffield City Polytechnic

South Yorkshire Polytechnic

These titles were forwarded to the Further Education Sub-Committee for final selection and subsequently the name "Sheffield City Polytechnic" was adopted.

Following receipt of the Higher Education Planning Committee's report, the members of the Further Education Sub-Committee were then called to a special meeting on the 21st January 1975 to consider the recommendations, and arrangements were made to invite comments on

the proposals. By the meeting of the 4th March 1975, these had been received. The Academic Board of the Polytechnic declared:

"We are not in favour of any devolution of powers to Colleges".¹

While the response from the Totley-Thornbridge College Governing Body and Academic Board ran almost in the vein of accepting the inevitable by merely suggesting minor amendments, this was not to be the case with the Academic Board of the City College, which "reaffirmed (its) support for the views expressed in the note of reservation in the names of Mrs J E Ward and Dr H B Fletcher":

"... the new institution's management structure should reflect the fact that the institution will not be housed on one compact site but will be on a number of widely separated sites. Consequently, a Collegiate Structure, such as that outlined in the note of reservation, would best serve the needs of the new institution and meet the requirement of immediate authority that will be necessary on each site.

It was also agreed that teacher training should be clearly identified within the new institution and that, if a faculty structure was to emerge, the Board favoured a Faculty of Education to which the existing Departments of Education, Professional Studies and Postgraduate Professional Studies would be allocated along with appropriate provision for In-Service Courses Research and Curriculum Development. Furthermore, the Board emphasized their belief that colleagues from subject departments contributing to the teacher training programme should be qualified and experienced teachers specifically designated for this work...".²

Events were now overtaking any possible attempts to recover the situation in favour of any form of Collegiate structure.

At the meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee held on the 19th March 1975, the recommendations of the Planning Committee which had met on the 4th and 10th March were put to the Committee by the Chief Education Officer and with minor amendments were approved. At the full meeting of the Education Committee held on the 20th March 1975, the scheme for a single institution was approved. At a special meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee held on 3rd December 1975 the Chief Education Officer

reported that the DES had accepted the draft Articles and Instrument of Government for the new institution and on the 8th January 1976 Dr George Tolley was appointed Principal of the Sheffield City Polytechnic.

In subsequent months, Dr H J Peake opted to take early retirement and shortly afterwards was awarded the CBE. In the ensuing months many other members of staff also took early retirement for not only was there a surplus of staff now that the two Colleges of Education were being rationalised, but teacher training places were being drastically reduced also.

On the 1st April 1976, the Sheffield City Polytechnic came into being, thus ending the monotechnical teacher training and education provision which had existed in Sheffield since 1905 and which was the successor to the Pupil Teacher provision set up by the Sheffield School Board in the 1870s. In the future, the Polytechnic was to have a monopoly of the Local Education Authority-controlled sector of Higher Education in Sheffield.

CHAPTER XXXII - REFERENCES

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THESIS

Up to 1975 the supply, the education and the training of the majority of teachers in England and Wales was undertaken within a "closed system". Teachers were first educated in schools, further educated and trained in colleges, and then returned to the schools to teach. The builders and maintainers of the system can be identified as: the Government, the Executive Department and H M Inspectorate; the universities; the local education authorities; the colleges; the college staffs; and finally, the students themselves.

Central Government, the Executive Department and H M Inspectorate

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, Central Government increasingly became involved in issues concerned with educational provision.

The development of a decentralised educational system from a base of voluntaryism presented administrative and political problems which necessitated the creation of an interface between the Government and the public or voluntary agencies they supported via the grants system. The fact-finding and "watch-dog" role of H M Inspectors of Schools was no substitute for a centralised executive arm of Government: hence the creation of the Education Department of the Council for Education, the Board of Education, the Ministry, and finally, the Department of Education and Science.

The principal agency within the system is Central Government, whose primary aim in the past one hundred years appears to have been the provision of an efficient public education system at the lowest reasonable cost within the existing social organisation.

If the role of successive Governments and the Executive Department is considered conjointly, much is revealed when attempting to sum up the role of the two in relation to the "system" which existed. The problems which the Government faced between 1870 to 1900 were resolved in the main by masterly control of the difficult course which had to be steered between the Voluntary Bodies and the developing School Board organisation.

By 1899 it was becoming evident that strong action was required to move forward the English educational system. While the 1902 Education Act made it possible to effect change legally, there can be little doubt that the rate of change which took place would not have been achieved without the influence of Sadler and Morant. Unfortunately, much of the development set in train by Morant was marred by the insensitivity shown towards the local education authorities and the national educational bodies.

As a result, the local education authorities came to view the Board of Education with considerable suspicion and looked closely on any actions which might be regarded as reducing their autonomy. For many years, relationships were strained and goodwill was lost. Later, Government policy during the period of the 1920s and 1930s, bespectered as it was by economic stringency, did little to allay the fears of both local education authorities and teachers of the possible threat of increasing direct control from Whitehall. In consequence, the Board of Education and the Inspectorate timidly and tentatively introduced reforms more by infiltration than by direct methods.

Under such circumstances, it was hardly surprising that the task of the Secretary of State for Education was a difficult one. Lord Eustace Percy put one of the most succinct points relating to the political emasculation of the role of a Minister and the Ministerial dilemma:

"A minister with wide administrative power is at a peculiar disadvantage in dealing with a question which lies just outside the scope of those powers. He has not enough authority to take a positive line, yet he has too much authority to take a purely tentative one".¹

Viewed in this light, it is hardly surprising the Executive Department also wields its power ambiguously.

The period of the Second World War and the immediate post-war period brought opportunities for development and relationships improved between the educational agencies. Even so, while the implementation of the provisions of the 1944 Education Act proceeded satisfactorily, the subsequent development of teacher education arising from the recommendations of the McNair Report was less than satisfactory. Over-cautiousness and avoidance by the Ministry of Education of direct involvement in the politics of education, a frequent unwillingness to take a positive line, and seemingly intimidated by the corporate power of the local education authorities, often meant that post-war reform and development in teacher-training was insufficient and too compromising.

The effectiveness of the Ministry to stimulate the training and supply of teachers was primarily the result of the finance which it was able to direct towards achieving its aim. In short, the fulfilment of political policies and promises to improve educational provision in terms of staffing the schools was principally achieved by the injection of cash into the system. But the evidence available leads to the conclusion that overall, educational priorities are rated low in the scale of governmental affairs. In consequence, Education is either advanced or retarded according to the prevailing political or economic climate in spite of a Minister's wishes or his Department's plans. Notwithstanding the ultimate control of the situation which it is able to exercise via the "purse strings", the Executive Department still has to resort to consultation, negotiation and persuasion. It seems that open political confrontation involving departmental policies must be avoided at all costs.

By the time of the McNair proposals, the final determination of the form which Institutes of Education was to take must seriously throw into question the willingness or otherwise of the Government's intent to make a political issue of educational reform. Did the Ministry of Education really have a clear indication of how it considered the Institute concept should be established? In retrospect, the unsatisfactory way consultations developed, the lack of resolution which beset the scheme before it was introduced, and the general dissatisfaction with the arrangements when finally implemented, may well be held up as an example of the democratic process. But when, after twenty-five years, assessment is made of the purpose which Institutes of Education served, it would seem that the Ministry merely used them as instruments of administrative convenience and intervention and when the Institutes had outlived their usefulness, discarded them - leaving the task of "winding-up" to the parent university.

After 1958, the problems of teacher supply hinged primarily on the availability of training places and the DES, almost irresponsibly, stimulated the massive build-up of facilities through the dispensation of grant at a level which made it difficult for providing authorities to ignore. Yet what of the process of teacher training and education itself? How much did the Inspectorate contribute by way of leadership and creative innovation?

Finally, when teacher-supply needs slackened, how positive was the leadership from Elizabeth House? While the James Report proposed a major break-through in the traditional pattern in teacher education, the real DES response lay in the contents of Circular 7/73.

Did the DES propose the rationalisation of the Colleges of Education merely as a convenient expedient in the face of rapidly changing demographic trends? Or was the effecting of mergers with Polytechnics and/or the creation of Colleges of Higher Education part of a well-laid and long-laid Departmental plan awaiting a convenient point in time for implementation?

If, in the 1930s, or in 1948 (the time of the attempted implementation of the McNair Report), or even in 1960 (when the three years' teacher's certificate course had been introduced), the Governments of the day had put forward White Paper proposals for the assimilation of the Colleges of Education into a different type of institution, there would have been long and bitter opposition. Yet, how long had such a hope been cherished within the DES?

Clearly, two forces can be seen to be at work within the Ministry. One, where overt political policies and programmes are implemented and where causes and effects are debated openly in Parliament and elsewhere. The other is the mechanism which seemingly exists for the introduction and implementation of covert policies.

It is obvious that the polytechnical idea was well laid in the early years of this century and, by 1931, Lord Eustace Percy was clearly not only reflecting his own ideas but also those of his former Department:

"The universities have suffered, and are suffering increasingly, from the handicap of being regarded as the sole avenue to the coveted status of educated man... Technical colleges have at this moment a great opportunity to win recognition as alternative sources of supply... the first essential step in this direction is the linking up of the schools of technology, commerce and art in each locality into one federated centre of learning".¹

Furthermore, had not Tobias Weaver and Barbara Drake² produced a New Fabian Research Bureau Tract in 1936, the proposals within which had ultimately, one way or another, been implemented by successive Reports and White Papers during the 1950s and 1960s?

While the establishment of polytechnics in 1969 may have been the fruition of a long-laid plan, the place of teacher education was not overtly expressed in the report which gave rise to them. However, earlier, in 1964, with the establishment of the CNA, restless comments had come from those in the College of Education

world who were less than satisfied with the arrangements in their constituent Institutes of Education that the CNAAC might validate the Teacher's Certificate in Education. It was an avenue which was considered yet more seriously when the degree of Bachelor of Education was introduced. To such pleas and suggestions the DES remained overtly inscrutable, yet as some Colleges of Education became involved in Polytechnic development, there was a distinct air of agreement at the proposed innovation.

Meanwhile, ideas had long been mooted for the liberalising of teacher-training. As early as 1933, R W Rich had observed:

"... perhaps the time is not far distant when... training colleges... will become... agencies for some general educational purpose rather than remain dedicated to a narrow professional end..."¹

And, S H Wood of the Board of Education, giving evidence to the McNair Committee, drew to the Committee's attention the weakness "... that we commit young people to teacher training at too early an age".²

It was a sentiment which to some extent had already been expressed by the NUT, which declared that:

"... no student, whether at a training college or at a University, should finally commit himself to teaching until the end of his second year..."³

It would seem that the plain truth of the matter was expediency, and expediency was put above all else. The aim was to fill the schools with trained teachers. In such a situation, any reform of teacher education which was likely to break the "closed system" was not likely to find favour. Then, in the period of full employment, the realisation that a teacher's training and education and subsequent certification may have had employment value outside the education field would without doubt have led to many leaving the teaching profession for other careers. It seems therefore that the maintenance

of the "closed system" was necessary to secure teacher-supply objectives even though it was educationally unsound and professionally limiting.

The Universities and the University of Sheffield

The place and contribution of the universities in general and of the University of Sheffield in particular to the monoteknical training and education of teachers also raises questions. There can be little doubt that the universities were reluctant to respond to the needs of teacher training and supply unless it was via postgraduate training. Admittedly, in Sheffield there was an early "University Connexion" but this was to some extent accidental. At Sheffield, the training of teachers in the Day Training College helped the newly established University College to develop into a fully chartered institution, while at the same time the Connexion also facilitated the growth of the Sheffield City Training College. Unfortunately, the time was not right. The University was seeking academic prestige and there was nothing to be gained through involvement with non-degree teacher training courses. Academic attitudes too mitigated against any longer term connections. Despite initial encouragement from the Local Education Authority the newly established Training College did not see a future in a connection which of necessity put it in a lesser light, and finally, the inflexible attitude of the Board of Education made severance the only satisfactory solution.

The projected rapprochement in the late 1920s when the universities were pressed into the scheme for the validation of the Teacher's Certificate was an arrangement which was in the main resented by the universities. Sheffield University's contribution to the Yorkshire Joint Board was, for a number of reasons, tentative, but the principal reason for its lack of interest lay in possible direct interference from the Board of Education in University government, as well as a distaste for involvement in activities which were plainly seen to be outside the University's academic remit and predominantly the responsibility of the Local Education Authority and the Board of Education.

In the immediate post-Second World War period, the initial reluctance of Sheffield University to become involved in the McNair proposals was only equalled by its unwillingness to support an Institute of Education in spirit and in body, and, when an Institute was established, of keeping it at virtual arm's length from main University activities.

Yet Sheffield University was not alone in its unwillingness to respond to the higher educational needs of teachers in particular and indeed to the community in general. The universities, obsessed with academic standards and full-time degree courses, shunned innovation and alternatives. When finally the monopoly of degree-awarding was broken, first by the institution of the CNA and then by the establishment of the Open University, the situation was too late to recover. Indeed, time may well serve to mark the introduction of the CNA and the OU as the beginning of the decline of the English university education. Academic inflexibility may have been the price paid for academic freedom and relative economic independence.

Local Education Authorities and Sheffield Education Committee

The emergence of civic identities during the latter years of the nineteenth century gave rise to two attributes: one, that government of local affairs was to remain essentially decentralised and, two, the embodiment of civic pride. The consequences of decentralisation are to be found in the constant clash of interests between the aims and policies of central government and the aspirations of local government. There can be little doubt that many reforms and innovations of central government and its executive departments have been in the past, and still are, emasculated by the all-powerful interests of local government and its support organisations. Nowhere is this more evident than in the field of education.

There can be little doubt that from the time of the Sheffield School Board and following the establishment of the Sheffield Education

Committee, relationships with the Executive Department were cautiously maintained. The "removal" of Morant from the Board of Education served to strengthen the hand of the local education authorities and in consequence the position of the Board of Education was weakened and its pressure and interference reduced until the period of economic stress in the 1920s and 1930s, by which time, Percival Sharp had emerged. Nationally, Sharp elevated the status of Directors of Education: he promoted a policy of non-cooperation with the Officers of the Board of Education, until finally the Board was forced into recognition of the role of the Chief Education Officer in local education authorities.

Meanwhile, during the 1920s, within the Sheffield Local Education Authority, political changes soured relationships within the Sheffield City Training College. Indeed, for many years, relationships between the Local Education Authority and its Schools and Colleges were particularly bad. For over twenty years the Local Education Authority was tightly controlled by long-serving members of the Labour Group. While a deep civic pride was engendered, as employers they often frustrated creativity and educational development. The policies which they pursued were not without cause. Central Government cuts in expenditure, slow economic recovery and lack of capital mitigated against real educational development - a conclusion well supported by Roger Longden's thesis.¹

In the post-war period the Sheffield Education Committee took every advantage it could from Exchequer grants. The development of its Schools, Further Education College and Colleges of Education proceeded apace - almost on the basis of "get as much as we can while we can". The period was no less auspicious in the array of civic personalities it projected to national level. Sir William Alexander (later Lord Alexander) followed in the footsteps of Percival Sharp as Secretary of the Association of Education Committees. Alderman Sir Harold Jackson became the spokesman for the Employers'

Panel of the Burnham Committee; W G Glossop, a Sheffield Head Teacher, became General Secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers. Both Alderman John H Bingham and Alderman Albert Ballard served on several national committees as well as being long-serving members of the Association of Education Committees. Finally, Councillor Peter Horton, Chairman of the Sheffield Education Committee, became Chairman of the all-powerful Association of Education Committees. It is hardly surprising therefore that Sheffield Education Committee was in a strong position to influence the national education scene. However, the exercise of such power and influence must inevitably raise questions.

The fifty-year rule of the Sheffield Labour Party (with a single year's exception) has brought benefits, for educational policies have not been subjected to the changes and reversals which have taken place elsewhere. However, dangers may arise from such single-party dominance. How far has it been possible to implement policies without recourse to real consultation? How far has it been possible to gain support on local matters from Central Government on local plans because of the influence held by local individuals at national level?

While the reorganisation of Higher Education into a single institution was the only really effective and ultimate solution, the way it was effected is left open to question. Within days of the DES Circular 7/73 appearing, Horton and Harrison were clearly opting for a single institution. Months later, with opposition reduced and alternative proposals discounted, the single institution scheme was agreed. Over a period of months the Local Education Authority worked seemingly systematically to destroy any bases for compromise or alternatives. While to accuse the Local Education Authority, the DES and H M Inspectorate of being in collusion may be overstating the case, there is sufficient documentary evidence to indicate full support from the DES - short of public confrontation. How much more cost-effective and overtly moral would the situation have been regarded if the Local Education

Authority had made an arbitrary decision. Was all the verbal attrition really necessary? Clearly the will of the Local Education Authority was paramount and the DES attitude ambivalent.

Although subsequent events appear to have vindicated the single institution concept, the rightness of the decision cannot be dismissed as being totally based on known future predictions. Previous evidence relating to decisions on teacher supply had frequently been wrong in the past. Events of 1973-75 merely proved to be an exception due to the refinements of oral birth control and subsequent economic developments.

Colleges of Education and Sheffield LEA Colleges

The essence of meeting the needs of teacher supply was "low cost". That School Boards of the period 1870-1900 faced a Herculean task is accepted without doubt. Frustrated by their own limited powers, they turned to the only possible alternative, the development of the Pupil Teacher System. The School Boards proved without doubt that they could train pupil teachers better and more effectively than the Voluntary Bodies. However, in the social and political climate of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was clear that the School Boards would not be granted further powers. Indeed, the ingenuity with which the extent of their powers was explored proved in the end to be their downfall and exposed the weaknesses of the powers delegated by the 1870 Education Act. In Sheffield the Pupil Teacher system took aboard the ideas from other contemporary institutions and eventually established a single centre, which became probably one of the best of its kind - if not in bricks and mortar, at least in spirit and effectiveness. Unfortunately, it outlived its usefulness but remained in being - a personal monument to an idiosyncrasy of Percival Sharp.

The newly established Sheffield Education Committee's decision to establish a municipal teacher training college was clearly an attempt to redress the wrongs of the previous thirty years and the

sheer enthusiasm of the members of the Education Committee who promoted it was quite remarkable. In the face of controversy, hostility and opposition, the College quickly developed and soon became respected in the annals of teacher-training. The slow development of the 1920s and 1930s merely reflected the difficult economic situation. At times the College came near to closure but such was the support it received from the Local Education Authority, it would have been a difficult decision to have enforced.

The immediate post-war expansion of teacher-training provision gave rise to the Brincliffe Emergency Training College - a bright but short-lived star. It was unique and distinct and made a notable contribution to the education provision in Sheffield. Regrettably, there is little doubt that its alumni were, on entry to the profession, damned by criticism. Many of the existing members of the teaching profession were less than fair both to the institution and its former students. When Brincliffe Emergency Training College closed, its passing was not wholly mourned by a "dyed-in-the-wool" parochial profession who saw it as a threat to existing standards. Unfortunately, many lessons could have been learned from the Emergency Training Scheme but the majority did not wish to listen nor learn from the experience.

The third venture of Sheffield Local Education Authority into teacher training was, if not a potential disaster, merely a mediocre scheme which should not have been proceeded with. Thornbridge Hall Training College had but a single virtue - its idyllic surroundings. Yet, this was to be the very point from which most of its problems stemmed - isolation, lack of social amenities, a single sex institution - everything mitigated against it, particularly when compared with the developments in colleges elsewhere. Had Thornbridge Hall College been established fifty years earlier it may have been a different story.

The fourth venture of the Sheffield Education Committee into teacher training resulted in the establishment of Totley Hall College of

Housecraft. In many respects it was a venture based on opportunism and disappointment. Opportunism because the Ministry was virtually prepared to invest money with any local education authority which came up with reasonable plans; disappointment because the Local Education Authority cherished a wish for a Music, Drama, Arts-biased training college of the ilk of the West Riding County Education Department's Bretton Hall, but were beaten to the post.

After successful initial years as a specialist centre, gradually Totley Hall "ran out of steam" as its base needed to be broadened towards a more generalist approach. Fortunately, as the City Training College grew out of all proportion to its peers, Totley Hall reaped the benefit. It was too a benefit gained at the expense of Thornbridge Hall, although in many respects even the expansion of Totley Hall came a little late. The injection of generalist courses, of a recruitment aimed at attracting mature women as students and finally the admission of male students was by 1970 auguring well for the future. Courses of a different style were being introduced, postgraduate work and courses in educational management all brought a fresh outlook to the scene. Indeed, many who, following the publication of Circular 7/73, pressed the case for it to be retained as a separate liberal-arts college did so in the belief that its approach to teacher education was being tackled differently and successfully.

Finally, the City College of Education: by the end of the 1960s it had emerged as one of the largest of its kind in the country. Long-established, much esteemed and seemingly academically sound. Yet it was not without problems. Its critics argued that it was too large in relation to the type of organisation by which it was managed. Even though substantive and conclusive research has yet to be carried out on the optimum size of certain types of educational institution, had Colleges of Education continued to exist, the discussions on optimum size and types of organisational structure best suited to their management would have continued. Though economies of scale in running the City College were proven,

such measures do not always prove a case for warranting the academic utility of an institution in perpetuity. Nevertheless, that the Sheffield City College of Education as an identifiable institution would totally disappear was wholly inconceivable - even as late as 1974.

College Staffs

Although the trend over the past twenty years has moved increasingly towards a system of college government arrived at through consultation and corporate decision-making, it appears that the office of Principal still has the greatest single bearing on the work and life of the institution.

To examine in detail the role and to assess the achievements of each of the Principals and of their Vice-Principals is almost a comparative study in itself, but sufficient evidence has emerged to warrant a few general observations. Their fortunes certainly varied. At times they were successful; at other times less so. Their state of grace depended often upon their degree of acceptability within the Education Committee and with the Governors. Their work was marked by successes and disappointments, which were sometimes personal and at other times corporate. That some were more effective than others is clearly to be seen. Yet cognisance has to be given to the social, political and economic climate in which they worked and of the nature of those who controlled them, either in the guise of the professional officer of the Local Education Authority or LEA lay members of Committees and Governing Bodies.

Among the College staffs there was an array of abilities - from academic brilliance to questionable mediocrity. The criticism of the staffs of colleges by the education service in general and the teaching staffs in schools in particular was a constant source of irritation. While some members of the College of Education staffs were exceptional teachers both in the schools and as teachers

of teachers, the spread of ability stretched in the opposite direction to the point of a situation which did little to dispel the view that some were undoubtedly refugees from the classroom.

Students in Training Colleges and Colleges of Education

On the subject of teachers and would-be teachers, Asher Tropp's researches revealed telling evidence of the sociological make-up of the teaching profession. There can be little doubt that prior to the First World War both the Pupil Teacher System and the Normal Teacher Training College course provided many working class children with a means of obtaining a Secondary Education which could not have been otherwise acquired. For those who entered the profession of teaching, it provided a means of social mobility and for women it offered access to a "genteel" profession when entry to other professions was severely limited. Entry to elementary school training and teaching was also attractive for it demanded a relatively low standard of academic attainment for entry to college and relatively low academic demands within colleges. Teaching provided a safe option for the betterment of the working-class child whose parents had social aspirations. Of equality of sexes, little existed in real terms. Whilst before introduction of equal pay the salaries of male teachers were better than those for women, the male teachers suffered a different social handicap. In the professional and commercial world outside teaching, the status of male teachers was bedevilled by an outside perception of being seen as "a man among boys and a boy among men". The closed system may well have suited the majority of women, at least up to the time of the Second World War, but a male teacher was not as easily able to mix freely in society as his contemporaries in other occupations. Participation in the exercise of moral and social virtues was acceptable; involvement in anything less - a threat to professional progress:

"The particular image he has had of himself - powerful but threatened - has tended to carry over into his relationships with society outside the school. In his profession he sees himself as a source of wisdom and authority, separated from other people; it is sad that people often feel that he

carries some of this attitude with him into society. Teachers tend to marry teachers, to make friends socially with other teachers. To onlookers his pretensions are not well matched by his financial rewards, while his short working day and long holidays arouse envy...

To sum up, the image that the teacher of the past had of himself was that of a highly responsible figure at the centre of the stage, giving academic, social and moral instruction to children..."¹

The evidence taken by the McNair Committee revealed many of the unfortunate and anachronistic styles of organisations in Training Colleges and ample evidence of a tardiness among men to enter teaching. The Emergency Training Colleges made an impression largely because their students were so very different. Unfortunately, both the teaching profession and the Training Colleges succeeded most effectively in closing the Emergency Training Colleges from the mainstream of teacher training. Much reformation of the Training College system could have been effected by closer contemporary studies of them, particularly relating to their style and purpose. Alas, almost by design, they slipped into the past and much valuable, collective educational experience was lost.

The post-war age gap between the men and women students which existed from 1946 to 1959 helped to create a different environment in mixed colleges such as Sheffield City Training College but in the single sex situation such as Thornbridge Hall and Totley Hall the social environment was little better than it had been in the earliest years of the century. It was allowed to continue far too long and was largely abetted by the long-standing expectation that teachers, and would-be teachers, would be compliant and adhere to the mores of the educational system:

"Perhaps (wrote one observer) the integration of Education with Further Education and Colleges of Art, is a better concept socially than integration with universities. Should the course be preceded by, or accompanied by, industrial or social work?

... How can students be trained in changing methods? Does this imply that they themselves should be taught by individual and

small group methods with 'lectures' as exemplars? ... perhaps interdisciplinary areas of subjects should be the normal content for much of their work. Can one any longer assess practical work by 'the lesson'? ...".¹

By the time Edward Britton² was making a plea that all those entering teaching should come as adults, the Colleges were admitting many married women and some late-entry men. In reality, while Britton's proposal was impractical, it nevertheless reinforced contemporary beliefs that the "closed system" was inappropriate. But even mature entry posed problems. While it produced some splendid teachers on whom public funds were well spent, there was on the other hand a high incidence of drop-out. Equally, and for very doubtful reasons, some students were admitted on minimum standards and their subsequent performance in the classroom left much to be desired - but then, was this not the price paid for attempting to meet teacher supply needs?

Conclusion

From the very beginning of state involvement in education, teacher supply has been the strongest thread in the intertwined problems of teacher supply and teacher education. As far as Central Government has been concerned, quantity rather than quality has been the dominating factor and one which has overridden all other considerations because of its political sensitivity. A further factor inhibiting the English educational scene has been that it has been bedevilled by the translation of improvement and innovation into measurable, comparative or physical terms, such as the duration of courses; the size of institutions; the relationships between certificates, diplomas and degrees - the whole being reduced to so many units of this or that.

But when has there been a fundamental reform of the educational and training needs of a would-be teacher? It may be argued that the James Committee did just that, but what support did the James proposals have? It may well be argued that the proposals came too late or that changed social and economic conditions had overtaken

the pre-James situation but it is characteristic of the English educational service - particularly so in respect of teacher education - that it seems incapable of solving its own fundamental problems.

While innumerable opportunities arose in the period 1875 to 1975 to effect a radical reform of teacher training and education - particularly so in 1949, in 1959 and in 1969 - these opportunities were lost. Regrettably it seems the price of freedom and consultative democracy has too often enabled progress to be frustrated by individual and institutional desires in order to maintain the status quo or to grasp opportunities at the expense of others.

Circular 7/73 caused the whole of the monotechnical education structure to collapse and it was probably the only way of securing rapid and radical organisational reform. Dent summed up the demise with clarity:

"Thus has ended a system of teacher education and training which had endured for nearly two centuries. Throughout that long period the training college curriculum, and the methods employed to apply it, though progressively altered and improved in detail, remained basically the same".¹

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COWLEY, John W	Personal letters
HOLLAS, Frank W	Personal letters
HOOLE, Samuel	Personal letters
JOHNSON, Anne C	Personal letters
KIMBELL, Ralph R	Personal letters
METCALFE, Olive	Personal letters
SMITH, V	Personal letters
WALLIS, P J	Personal notes
WING, Dr Herbert D	Personal notes

2. Primary Sources - Oral

Contemporary evidence has been gathered as a result of discussions with the following:

ARMYTAGE, Professor W H G	Division of Education, The University of Sheffield
BANFIELD, Dr John	Formerly Principal, Totley-Thornbridge College of Education
CARR, Professor William	Formerly Chairman of Governors, Sheffield City Colleges of Education
DOWNEY, Peter R	Formerly Chief Administrative Officer, Sheffield City Training College
EDWARDS, Trevor H	Formerly Secretary, The University of Sheffield Institute of Education
GOODFELLOW, Alan W	Formerly Senior Lecturer, Brincliffe Emergency Training College
HORTON, Peter	Chairman, Sheffield Education Committee
JOHNSON, Alwyn	Formerly Student, Brincliffe Emergency Training College
MOULTON, Jane, OBE	Formerly Deputy Principal, Sheffield City College of Education
PEAKE, Dr J Harold, CBE	Formerly Principal, Sheffield City Training College
ROACH, Professor J P C	Formerly Director, The University of Sheffield Institute of Education
SPINKS, Peter G	Formerly Vice-Principal, Totley-Thornbridge College of Education

2. Primary Sources - Oral (continued)

Oral evidence has also been collected over an extended period of time from the following:

BASHFORTH, G	Formerly Secretary, Old Crescenters' Association
BOWKER, Miss E K	Formerly Principal, Thornbridge Hall Training College
CHAPMAN, Dr A W	Formerly Registrar, The University of Sheffield
CODDINGTON, Dr A	Formerly Lecturer, Sheffield City Training College
HOLDSWORTH, Alfred J	Formerly Secretary, Old Crescenters' Association
HOOLE, S	Formerly Principal, Sheffield City Training College
JOHNSON, Miss Annie C	Formerly Lecturer, Sheffield City Training College
KIMBELL, Rev R R	Formerly Principal, Sheffield City Training College
LENTHALL, Clement	Formerly Lecturer, Sheffield City Training College
MATTAM, Donald	Formerly Head of English, Sheffield City Training College
TUCKER, Reginald A	Formerly Lecturer, Sheffield City Training College
WALLIS, Dr P J	Historian, King Edward VII Grammar School
WHITTAKER, Dr P	Formerly Principal, Thornbridge Hall Training College
WING, Dr H D	Formerly Principal, Sheffield City Training College

A further note:

Students and former students interviewed have not been listed.

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Many instances of hearsay evidence have been acquired over the years as a result of the following:

In 1942 I became an indentured seven-year apprentice compositor and later a skilled craftsman at the City of Sheffield Printing and Stationery Department. During that time I engaged in copy-holding and typesetting of such works as the Education Committee minutes, school magazines such as "The Holly Leaf", "Prest", and "Crescenter"; Education Committee Annual Reports and the Annual Handbook for Members of the Education Committee. An apprenticeship with the "municipal printing works" was highly prized, and although of mere apprentice status, it brought contact with many civic dignitaries and personalities of the time. Many were pillars of the original Labour group: John Holland, S H Marshall, Isidore Lewis, Albert Ballard and John Henry Bingham would regularly visit the Printing Department. Under war-time conditions, difficulties abounded but the war broke down many barriers. The young apprentice would be despatched down the corridors and into the inner sanctums of municipal power in the Town Hall and in the Education Offices in Leopold Street. All too frequently was one directed to await the reading of urgent proofs, thereafter being suitably rewarded with sixpences. Sitting in W P Alexander's room (later Lord Alexander) while he checked the final proofs in his dressing gown and carpet slippers, and drinking coffee, he having, for one reason or another, seemingly spent the night in the Education Offices, was a remembered experience.

Moving into a studentship at the City Training College during the 1950s, I became immersed in College activities, renewing acquaintance with "Crescent" first as Student Editor and later as Old Crescenter Editor; as Social Secretary of the Student Representative Council of experiencing the trying and sometimes frustrating task of dealing with Dr Herbert Wing and his liberated approach to teacher

2. Primary Sources - Oral (continued)

training. My studentship at Sheffield City Training College coincided with the Fiftieth Anniversary and provided an opportunity of writing a brief history of the College. Consequently, I was exposed to the presumptions and prejudices of the teaching profession and was made privy to many skeletons in cupboards and enjoyed many confidences.

Later, when appointed Head of the Department of Printing in the Sheffield College of Art, I was heir to some of the legacies of Brincliffe Emergency Training College - mainly the science laboratory and equipment. I had the 'task' of disposing of the once magnificent grand piano which belonged to Brincliffe College after Art students had reduced it to a heap of junk. As Secretary of Sheffield Branch ATTI it was a significant experience to be a member of the Joint Committee of teacher representatives which consulted with the Officers on the changes from secondary to comprehensive education. Finally, in the closing years of service at Sheffield College of Art and briefly in Sheffield Polytechnic, I was not only in the melee as one of the members of the ATTI negotiating staff conditions but also as a senior member of the College of Art of negotiating acceptable terms on which integration into a Polytechnic could take place.

On the other side of the higher education scene - "the autonomous sector" - a seventeen year connection with that auspicious institution, the Postgraduate School of Librarianship and Information Science of the University of Sheffield, serves to make a close-on forty-year involvement with the subject.

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