

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLMASTERS IN
ENGLAND AND WALES, 1891-1951, WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE
WORK OF THE ASSISTANT MASTERS ASSOCIATION.

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines to what extent and by what means the Assistant Masters Association (AMA) was able to influence provision in relation to conditions of service for the secondary schoolmaster in England and Wales in the 60-year period from the AMA's foundation in 1891. A thematic approach is adopted with chapters devoted to the specific issues of tenure, salaries, superannuation, registration and training. Within each chapter there is a necessary concentration on the earlier period of the AMA's history when the impetus to create acceptable conditions of service was at its most imperative.

The thesis draws upon much previously unused material from the Assistant Masters Archive, lodged at the University of London Institute of Education Library. The study builds upon and extends the earlier research of Baron, Tropp and Gosden, and provides an alternative interpretation to the more recent work of Lawn, Ozga, Grace, and others, which presents the behaviour of organized teachers in terms of employer-employee conflict. The strike, confrontational stratagem and the coercion of its membership are seen as alien to the AMA's philosophy. The AMA's participation with Joint Four, and its interaction with other teacher unions, are fully explored.

The significant contribution of the AMA to enhanced provision across the spectrum of teacher employment is shown to be primarily the result of the Association's persistent, professional dialogue with government - both central and local - via carefully researched data and targeted argument.

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Terminology used in reference to the Assistant Masters Association

The Assistant Masters Association was founded in July 1891 and incorporated in November 1901. To be pedantic the Association should be referred to as the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters from its incorporation but, to do so, would be inappropriate in that the original and less formal title was that that remained in common usage amongst its members. The *AMA Circular to Members*, November 1901, p.85, had this humorous comment to make on the change of title: 'At last we are incorporated: our style, the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools. The old symbols A.M.A. will do, however, for a short title, better than such a group of letters as I.A.A.M. which from long experience of a sister society we well know are hard for human tongues to pronounce.'

For the purposes of this thesis the abbreviation AMA will be generally used in reference to the Association. The Association's Archive and its annual reports, however, will be referred to as the IAAM Archive and the IAAM *Annual Reports*.

Contents

Introduction	Page	6
Chapter 1 The Assistant Master in the context of the AMA's foundation	Page	34
Chapter 2 Tenure	Page	57
Chapter 3 Salaries	Page	128
Chapter 4 Superannuation	Page	221
Chapter 5 Registration and Training	Page	263
Conclusion	Page	311
Appendices	Page	331
Bibliography	Page	342

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INTRODUCTION

FOCUS AND ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

The Assistant Masters' Association (AMA) was founded in 1891 to represent and promote the interests of the secondary schoolmaster. (1) The chief focus of this thesis will be to examine to what extent, and by what means, the AMA was able to influence institutional provision in relation to conditions of service for the secondary schoolmaster in England and Wales in the period 1891-1951.

For clarity of treatment it is essential at the outset to define the terms 'conditions of service' and 'secondary education'. Conditions of service are conditions of employment and in the context of this thesis are liberally interpreted to embrace tenure, salaries, pensions, registration and training. (2) The question of nomenclature in relation to the term 'secondary education' taxes every historian of this period. (3) The writer considers a secondary schoolmaster to be one teaching pupils in the 11-18 age group.

The study is confined to England and Wales in that employment conditions in Scotland in many regards were noticeably different, often, in fact, superior to those prevailing south of the border. The AMA's membership has never included the Scottish schoolmaster although many members have always been recruited in Northern Ireland.

The time-span of the thesis is wide, covering some 60 years. There is, it will be noted, an imbalance to the chapters if viewed chronologically. On each of the major issues addressed, the coverage is greater in the earlier period of the Association's history (and hence in the earlier part of each chapter) when the impetus to create acceptable conditions of service was at its most imperative. It will be observed, too, that a thematic approach has been adopted. The rationale for this approach is purely for clarity of analysis and presentation: the issues covered, though obviously interrelated, by their intrinsic complexity demand separate treatment. (4) Chapter I, therefore, sets the scene for the subsequent analysis by outlining the background to the formation of the AMA, giving the aims of the Association and explaining why a distinct representation of the secondary schoolmasters' interests was considered necessary. Later chapters cover tenure, salaries, superannuation, registration and training.

Scant attention paid to research topic

An official history of the AMA has not been written, and few scholars have, for whatever reason, been interested in the historical development of teaching as a profession in England and Wales. Concomitant research into conditions of service, embracing tenure, salaries, pensions, registration and training, and the setting up of the teachers' associations whose initial and essential aim was to further and protect those conditions of service, has been minimal. This study, therefore, deals with an area in the history of education which has received scant attention, a fact reflected in the paucity of literature in this field. The writer has found no thesis - apart from that of Sinclair (1940) which is concerned solely with the issue of tenure (5) - that explores the AMA's role in relation to institutional provision.

Scholars have concerned themselves in writing sweeping general histories of educational development with scarcely a passing reference to the role of the schoolmaster, to his training and the conditions of service he experienced, nor to the

professional associations - of which there was a proliferation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century- which he frequently joined. A perusal of the standard histories of education gives positive proof that reference to the study of teachers as an occupational group is either omitted or marginalized. In Curtis' collaborative study with Boulton (1966, 4th edn.), the following sentence suffices to describe the development of the teachers' associations: 'Before 1868 the teaching profession in England had been unorganised, but, because of ties of common interest, various associations had been formed'. (6) In the same work, the year of the foundation of the AMA is incorrectly given as 1892, the Association, in fact, being founded the previous year. Earlier general histories of education by Archer (1921), (7) Adamson (1930), (8) and Barnard (1961, 2nd edn.) (9) give only fleeting consideration to the professional standing of teachers. Adamson, almost as an addendum, wrote a final chapter on 'The Schoolmaster's Profession', but dealt principally with teacher-training and not with the wider concerns of tenure, salaries, and superannuation. He made only one reference to the AMA with no further elaboration: 'In 1891 the Assistant Masters' Association (incorporated 1901) began a vigorous life'. (10) Armytage (1970, 2nd edn.) (11) refers to the foundation of the AMA but gives no account of the association's contribution to the improvement in conditions of service.

Roach (1986, 1991) in his respected two-volume history of secondary education in England, (12) covering the period 1800-1902, aimed to reverse the balance of earlier histories which, to his perception, had failed - largely owing to the lack of available research material - to give much substance and reality to their accounts. He wanted

to look at schools of many different kinds and to examine as closely as possible the ways in which they actually worked...what the masters and mistresses thought and felt....There was a lot to investigate...about individual personalities...many heads of grammar and private schools...have been largely forgotten by later generations. (13)

Roach's underlying aim was to 'put much more flesh on to the skeleton of generalities than was formerly the case'. As for his treatment of the assistant master, however,

Roach's work adds little to scholarship. He gives high praise to T.E. Page, sixth-form master at Charterhouse 1873-1910 - and national chairman of the AMA, 1903 - describing him as 'probably the greatest pure scholar' amongst schoolmasters, (14) but, that apart, he offers no further information on the *personae* of the period. His discussion of the role of assistant masters in public schools is based largely upon the account given in Norwood and Hope (1909). (15) Using the evidence amassed by Norwood and Hope on assistant masters' salaries, Roach hastily concludes: 'Such figures suggest that much of the success of the schools was based on the exploitation of their staff. (16) It is surprising, equally, that in a work of such magnitude no reference is made to the AMA and the Assistant Mistresses Association (AAM).

Lawn and Grace (1987) as editors of *Teachers: The Culture and Politics of Work* and in their writings elsewhere espouse the cause of further research into the teachers' organizations:

At a wider historical level and structural level we still have relatively few studies which have looked in detail at the formation of teachers' organizations: their socio-historical origins; internal groupings and divisions; struggles and conflicts; occupational ideologies and relations with the state and other agencies. Crucial questions about the nature of teacher professionalism and teacher unionism and of their history, culture and politics have remained underdeveloped. (17)

There is undoubtedly a need for research related to the AMA and other teachers' organizations.

REVIEW OF PRIMARY SOURCES

The key primary source in relation to this research is the IAAM Archive lodged at the University of London Institute of Education Library. A first deposit was listed in 1974 with a cut-off date of approximately 1960; a second deposit was made at the time of amalgamation with the Assistant Mistresses Association (AAM) in 1978, but remained unlisted until January 1989. (18) It must be stressed that the archive is far

from complete, a contributory factor being the bombing of AMA headquarters, Gordon Square, London, in 1940, with the destruction of many records and papers. It is regrettable that the first five annual reports of the Association are missing, the first available report being that of 1896. (19)

The archive was to all intents untouched when the writer began his research in 1987 and the position remains materially the same. No reference to the archive has been seen in any work on teacher unionism. To date research into AMA history has drawn largely on the published journals of the Association - the *AMA Circulars*, 1898-1908, and thereafter the *AMA*, 1908-56.

Apart from a few newspaper cuttings and the minute book of a rival but short-lived masters' association - the National Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools (20) - the oldest surviving papers are the case books of the Legal Sub-Committee, from 1899, and of the Benevolent and Orphans Scholarship Fund (usually referred to as the B & OS Fund), from its inception in 1907. While most of the archive is open to the researcher, reserves apply to the more sensitive material: for example, a 75-year reserve for the B & OS Fund, and 60-year reserves for the legal case files and the records of individual disputes. (21) Archive material of particular interest to the present research includes: transcripts of Council and Annual General Meetings, Executive Committee minutes, proceedings of the Independent Schools Sub-Committee, various Branch minutes, papers related to surveys and investigations of topics of interest, correspondence with other organizations, and the files of honorary and headquarters's officers. Throughout the thesis various books and pamphlets published by the AMA are referred to, many of which are unavailable outside the archive.

As no study of the AMA is possible without cross-reference to the kindred secondary teachers' associations, it is apposite to mention that the Assistant Mistresses

Association archive is deposited at the Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick Library, Coventry, and the archive of the 'Joint Four' (IAHM, AHM, IAAM, AAM) at the Library of Southampton University. The NUT Library, NUT headquarters, Hamilton House, - and an important resource for any teacher union research - was regrettably closed in 1992. The archive papers from that collection have been deposited at the Modern Records Centre, Warwick.

The Education Department's Class lists at the Public Record Office (PRO) at Kew disappointingly offered little to further the research. It was surprising that so little documentation had been deposited; if it had it might have been expected to have shed light on the contact and relationship between the Board of Education and the teachers' associations. Details of deputations to the Board, for example, had largely therefore to be taken from the *AMA* and the *Schoolmaster*, the official journals of the AMA and the NUT.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate the paucity of the deposited material. Two thick dossiers of representations to the Board of Education *re* the impending 1902 Bill contain nothing from the AMA. (22) Likewise, the minute books of the Teachers' Registration Council make no reference to the Association. (23) Even the papers related to the Schoolteachers' (Superannuation) Act (1922), to which the AMA, as will be seen, had made such a distinctive contribution, record nothing of that contribution. (24) By contrast, the papers related to the Cardiganshire dispute, 1921-5 - the most acrimonious and protracted confrontation with an LEA on the issue of non-implementation of the Burnham scales - aided the research by revealing the scale of the disruption that dogged secondary education in that county for so many years. (25) The occasional paper sheds light on the personality of a Board of Education official or a minister. The known rift between Sir Robert Morant, Permanent Secretary at the Board, and Yoxall, NUT Secretary, is highlighted in a communique of 1911. (26) In a letter of 1942 R.A. Butler is seen humouring Sir Will Spens over the latter's concern

that the Norwood Committee would replough the ground of the Consultative Committee. (27) All in all, however, the deposit at Kew is not a rich primary source.

REVIEW OF SECONDARY SOURCES

Immediate reference must be made to J.G.Tilney-Bassett's history of the AMA written in 1950 for the diamond jubilee of the Association but never published; the manuscript is little known yet forms valuable source material. (28) A draft of the manuscript had been seen by George Baron in preparation for his doctoral thesis (29) but, thereafter, lay hidden in the IAAM Archive, listed as an 'Anonymous, unpublished MS' until 're-discovered' by the author in 1987. For many years prior to Tilney-Bassett taking up the challenge to write a history of the AMA there had been discussion within the AMA Executive that such a history be written, a dialogue that certainly dated back to the time of the majority of the Association in 1912. (30)

In 1949 J.G. Tilney-Bassett, (31) a member of the Association since 1928 and a member of Council from 1937, wrote to Andrew Hutchings, general secretary, AMA, to suggest that the diamond jubilee of AMA's foundation (1951) be 'fittingly celebrated... by the publication of a short history of the Association'. (32) The Executive responded positively to the draft, and set up a sub-committee to deal with the production of the history. The sub-committee recommended that the manuscript be published and estimated the total cost of the publication to be: 2,000 copies, £400; 2,500 copies, £450; 3,000 copies, £500. (33)

Investigation as to why the history was never published reveals certain anomalies, as well as valuable insights, into the administration and organization of an association of teachers. The reason as to why the Executive Committee, having enthusiastically supported the writing of the history, decided against publication was one of cost.

Hutchings, in correspondence with the writer, recollected that financial considerations alone were responsible for the manuscript never being published. (34)

The prime value of the manuscript to the research was that Tilney-Bassett had reduced the amassed material of 60 years of the AMA's history to manageable proportions, thus giving later researchers a base for more detailed investigation. His task - the proverbial 'labour of love' - had been colossal and undertaken almost single-handed. The manuscript has, however, a number of limitations. Tilney-Bassett bases his account almost entirely upon the contents of the *AMA*; his work does not involve original research into the wider IAAM Archive nor does he explore other primary sources. To use the manuscript can be frustrating in that he rarely gives his sources, and, although his approach is thematic, a strict chronology is not always adhered to within each theme. The style is tedious at times, with too much attention to detail and insufficient analysis. A final criticism of Tilney-Bassett's text is that it is adulatory in tone, a failing of many trade union histories; he was an *AMA* man through-and-through and, no doubt unconsciously, lets this colour his account.

The other main secondary sources are three in number: Baron's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 'The Secondary Schoolmaster, 1895-1914', (1952), (35) Tropp's *The School Teachers*, (1957) (36) and Gosden's *The Evolution of a Profession*, (1972). (37) An immense debt is owed to Baron, Tropp and Gosden for the current understanding of the historical development and contribution of the teachers' associations. Baron's study of the qualifications, conditions of employment, and professional associations of masters in English secondary schools in the 20-year period prior to 1914 remains unsurpassed after 40 years. (38) Tropp has written the only major history of a teachers' association (the NUT) to date, while Gosden's book is the sole work outlining the contribution of the teachers' associations to the development of school teaching as a professional occupation - a publication of seminal importance to the researcher.

It is of concern to the writer that it has become fashionable in certain recent research to challenge the interpretation given to the development of teaching as a profession by Tropp and Gosden in the above-cited works. They are accused of having no 'model' for the interpretation they offer and of giving a simple, linear, almost Whig approach to the history they write. The critics dislike an interpretation which, as they see it, depicts the teaching profession as rising by steady progression from a state of abject oppression in the mid-nineteenth century to one of professional standing and acceptance in the 1950s - history of the 'onward and upward variety' as one of their number expresses it. (39)

The challenge to Tropp and Gosden was initiated by Martin Lawn in his collaborative study with Jennifer Ozga (1981), *Teachers, professionalism and class: a study of organized teachers*, (40) a challenge that was expounded further in his doctoral thesis *Organised Teachers and the Labour Movement, 1900-30* (1982) (41) and developed into a more refined 'model' in his later writings. (42) Other researchers, either influenced by, or in collaboration with Lawn, have substantiated, either in whole or part, his conclusions: these include the aforementioned Ozga, (43) Grace (44) and Barber. (45) The point at issue to the present writer is that much of Lawn's criticism is seriously flawed. Lawn's research has focused upon the elementary teacher, with particular reference to the NUT, but his perspective has wider implications for the whole development of the teaching profession. By a skilfully contrived analysis of past events he has presented what to some has appeared as a plausible interpretation, but the writer's own research into the major teacher union archives would find nothing radically to undermine the judgement of Tropp and Gosden.

Lawn has as the central focus of his argument the State's antagonistic relationship with its employees. This perspective is summarized thus in Lawn's collaborative study with Ozga (1981):

The most fruitful way of understanding the behaviour of organized teachers is in terms of employer-employee conflict, which leads to attempts by teachers to resist State interference. The State may disguise its essential relationship with the teachers by manipulating those aspects of the professional ideology which stress teacher autonomy, while teachers may resist State interference by making use of a defensive argument based on possession of professional expertise. The fact that both the State and the teachers make use of the same term does not mean that they are essentially in harmony, the conflict is disguised, and often the State uses its buffer sub-government, the LEA, to further conceal the true nature of the relationship. (46)

History is seen in terms of confrontation: the teacher and state locked in continual conflict; the Department of Education (the 'state agency'/the 'master') ever hostile to the teacher (the 'servant'). (47) Such an interpretation is sheer distortion. The later chapters of this thesis will clearly indicate what the AMA, from the earliest years of its foundation and within the time-scale of the study, was able to achieve by direct dialogue with government - both central and local - and that rarely in the atmosphere of bitter confrontation. In this context the recent research of Kerchner and Mitchell (1988) in the USA is of interest. Their research is of seminal importance to the current debate as to the process of teacher union development identifying a 'generational development' of teacher unions. The first generation - 'meet and confer' - is succeeded by a second generation phase of 'good faith bargaining', succeeded by a third generation stage of 'negotiated policy'. Most schools in their American sample were at the second generation stage. (48) Many scholars, including Barber (1992), believe the research to have a validity beyond the American schooling system. (49) Kerchner and Mitchell's 'model', if applicable to the English system, would undermine the credibility of Lawn's interpretation. Lawn (1990), in an initial response to their research, questions whether the 'model' is applicable outside the American system, and sees the third generation phase as unduly benefiting management. (50)

REVIEW OF CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

'Secondary school' - early problems of definition

The 1902 Education Act made the responsibility for maintained secondary schooling that of the newly-created LEAs - an assumption that the uncertainty expressed by select committee (1891) (51) and government commission (1895) (52) as to what exactly constituted a 'secondary school', and what their numbers were, had been resolved. The question of nomenclature in relation to the term 'secondary' was raised at the start of the Introduction and the issue will now be taken further.

In the introductory memorandum to the Education Department's *Return of 1897* (53) - the first census of the schools in England which were providing secondary education - it is stated that 'the whole subject (that is, the classification of secondary schools) is exceedingly obscure, and has never been brought within the scope of comprehensive, statistical inquiry'. The *Return*, ordered in May 1897 by the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, made the admission that it was 'impossible to prescribe any definition of a secondary school'. (54) Baron (1952) referred to the difficulty of arriving, with any precision, at the meaning of the term 'Secondary Education'; he pointed out that secondary education was based upon the 'master', whether he held a freehold under an endowment or was a private individual who owned his own school. (55) Gordon (1980), who has written extensively on nineteenth century educational history, wrote in his work *Selection for Secondary Education*: 'Any attempt to describe the English education system in the nineteenth century raises difficulties of nomenclature. The distinction between elementary and secondary education was often unclear as, for example, in the case of endowed schools'. (56)

For the reasons stated, it will be apparent that in the context of this thesis it has been impossible for the early period of the AMA's history to give full and, in any sense,

reliable information as to the schools the members taught in - with the sole exception of membership within the so-called 'Clarendon Nine' (*vide*, Appendix 3). Appendix 2A provides statistical information as to growth in AMA membership but any attempted breakdown of those statistics by type of school for the early years has proved abortive - the range of schools' terminology was not exact.

'Profession'/Union' - a Dichotomy?

'Professionalism' is not by implication the antithesis of 'unionism', but the debate as to the relationship between the two has lasted for many years: the concept is central to the study of teacher unionism. Beatrice Webb (1915), (57) Graham Wallas (1915) (58) and Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) (59) were amongst the first to contribute to the debate. Millerson (1964), (60) after an exhaustive study of sociological literature, listed 23 'elements' which have been involved in the various definitions of 'profession'. More recently, Harold Perkin (1985) in the Bedford Way Paper, edited by Peter Gordon, *Is Teaching a Profession?*, has given a pithy and deeply illuminating sociological analysis of the development of teaching as a profession. (61)

Ozga and Lawn (1981) asked for 'progress in understanding organized teacher behaviour beyond the sterile dichotomy of professionalism versus unionism which dominates the literature at the moment' and complained that there was no discussion of 'the probability that "professional" behaviour may simply represent an orientation of union action rather than an alternative to such action'. (62) Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985) observed a link between teacher perceptions of professionalism and their macro-structural conditions - to such factors as the social esteem in which 'education' has been held and the levels of demand for staff. (63) Lawn (1987) reiterates his conviction of employer-teacher conflict and describes 'professionalism' as a term used by teachers 'to symbolize their attempts to define and control their work and was part and parcel of their opposition to employer control - over pay,

tenure, cheap unskilled teachers and compulsory overtime'. Professionalism, to Lawn, has involved, historically, 'deference' - 'professional dignity' has therefore to be seen in his paradigm in the context of imposed and arbitrary control; control of a 'direct and humiliating nature, exercised by managers, clergymen or School Board businessmen and an indifferent Department or Board of Education'. (64) Kerchner and Mitchell (1988) propose the term 'professional unionism' as appropriate to their third generation model of teacher unionism - called the 'era of negotiated policy'. (65) Barber (1992) prefers the term 'strategic' to 'professional' unionism in predicting the pattern of teacher union development in the 1990s; the teacher unions will need 'a long-term vision of the changes they would like to see brought about and a cogent strategy for moving towards this vision'. (66)

The following chapters of this thesis will show that the AMA from its inception consciously embraced the concept of 'professional unionism'; a union with strategic goals intent on defining its relationship with the employer and the government in constructive, apolitical, and, if possible, non-confrontational terms. The commitment of ATL at the present time to the idea of a General Teaching Council (GTC) for England and Wales is consistent with the Association's conception of professional responsibility. (67)

Gender

Gender in the context of teacher unionism has embraced historically the issue of equal pay (implemented by the payment of seven equal annual increments, 1955-61) and the wider issues of equal status and equal opportunities. Gender is an emotive concept and has generated heated debate and militant interaction. (68) As a single-sex union the AMA was unaffected by the growing feminist movement in the early years of this century and, for that reason, escaped the disaffection and consequent dissension that split the NUT; in 1909 the National Union of Women Teachers (NUWT) severed its links with the NUT on the issue of equal pay, and later, on the

conversion of the NUT Executive to the principle of equal pay in 1919, a group of schoolmasters seceded from the union to form the National Association of Men Teachers (later to become the NAS). The AMA, by contrast, enjoyed cordial relations with the AAM, its sister association; from the earliest years, as will be seen, there was a commonality of view on tenure, registration, training, and the need to secure improved salaries and adequate superannuation. The establishment of the Federal Council in 1906 formalized an already close liaison between the four secondary associations (IAHM, AHM, AMA and AAM) and was the forerunner of the Joint Four established in 1917. Joint discussion, joint deputations, an agreed policy on the secondary Burnham committee and a shared headquarters building were indicative of the tone of inter-union relations within the Joint Four. An analysis of the matters raised at AMA and AAM annual conferences shows, however, that there was a gender divide in the priorities of masters and mistresses. Certain issues were to the forefront of the schoolmistresses' thinking: these included concern for professional status, registration and training. Salary issues, crucial to AMA discussion, tended not to dominate AAM agendas; it was seen as somewhat improper for women to discuss the question of remuneration in public. (69) The AMA consistently courted the principle of equal pay; the majority of mistresses, however, accepted the inevitability of lower pay scales for women, a few even arguing that the married male teacher warranted a higher salary to meet family responsibilities.

Gender, therefore, never constituted a dilemma to the AMA. When equality for women became the vogue no *apologia* was needed, as with the NAS, for former attitudes towards women teachers. Bernard Morton (1969), a past president of the NAS, in his golden jubilee history of the association entitled *Action, 1919-1969* tries to vindicate the NAS's overtly anti-feminist past:

It should be stated clearly that...the men's movement in the teaching profession was not an opposition to feminism generally, and it was certainly not an opposition to the political aims of feminism. There was no recognition that an equal pay society and a family society are incompatible, and that the one would surely destroy the other. It was simply a recognition

that the 'average' teacher was a single woman, and that 'equal pay' salary would be that deemed appropriate for a single woman. As a man could not bring up his family on such a salary, then men would be drawn by economic pressures away from teaching....This was the foundation upon which the NAS was formed. The earliest statement of its objectives was clear and to the point: to safeguard and promote the interests of schoolmasters; to secure men teachers for boys; to endeavour to secure separate consideration of the claims of schoolmasters and to secure recognition of their greater responsibilities. (70)

Since 1975 sexual discrimination in employment has been outlawed by statute; the Equal Opportunities Act has made it illegal to label jobs for either men or women only, or to discriminate against women in any other way. All teachers' associations are today fully committed to an equal opportunities policy whereby no teacher should be discriminated against on the grounds of sex, age or race. Unfortunately practice frequently fails to match statutory provision, and union officials have often to investigate cases of sexism, ageism and racism.

The myth of 'elitism'

To many the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) - the new name for the Association from 1992 - is still considered to be an association of former grammar school masters and mistresses - a totally incorrect assumption in that the current (September 1994) ATL membership figure - 154,628 - includes a large number of primary and a substantial number of FE members. Another common assumption is that historically the AMA membership was 'elitist'. Rhodes (1978) in an unpublished doctoral thesis on the influence of professional organizations on the evolution of the state system of secondary education in England and France since 1939 perpetuates this myth. (71) Assessing the role of the AMA and the AAM, Rhodes stresses the exclusivism of both organizations, confining themselves almost completely to graduate members; their path, he states, 'was always smooth'. Exclusive in their largely graduate memberships the two organizations certainly were, (72) but the graduate teacher, as will be seen, faced problems in employment the equal of those of

any certificated or non-certificated teacher in either the elementary or secondary sectors.

AMA membership lists show that in the formative years of the Association some 70-80 per cent of members taught in first and second grade schools, but this in no sense implies that the members escaped much of what the average teacher faced in regard to adverse conditions of service. The legal casework of the AMA increased as the shortcomings of conditions of employment were exposed and challenged. The legal casework files give ample evidence of the difficulties and hardships faced: reports of rancour between governing bodies, headmasters and assistant masters; excessive demands made upon staffs in terms of working hours and duties; grossly unfair salaries and improper regard for pension provision, and unfair dismissal. (73) The AMA's benevolent fund (B & OS Fund) was established in 1907; a study of its case-files belies the frequently-made assertion that the AMA only attracted the well-heeled schoolmaster to its ranks. (74)

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Perkin (1985) states that separate teachers' unions were formed to represent disparate interests: the unions were usually formed to represent sectional interests. (75) On occasion, as will be illustrated in later chapters, the teachers' unions were so intent on promoting and protecting their sectional interests that their stance on certain passionately held policies might be legitimately described as dogmatic, bigoted, or even, blinkered. The AMA's fight, as will be seen in Chapter 3, to establish and maintain differentials in salary to protect the specific interests of its largely graduate membership, can be given as an example of what many saw as a policy diametrically opposed to the best interests of the teaching profession as a whole. It must never be forgotten, however, that there is a commonality to all teachers' union activity. No teachers' union could ever exist in isolation from the others, however pragmatic its

differences might on occasion be. It is essential to avoid a partisan study of a particular union. Donna Thompson's *Professional Solidarity among the Teachers of England* (1927) regrettably falls into this category. In reading her history of the NUT it is obvious that a balanced study has not been achieved, the NUT being perceived as the prime mover in any major union-initiated change. Thompson, an American, and Professor of Economics and Sociology at Adelphi College, Brooklyn, New York at the time of writing her work, had spent two years in London, a part of the time as a student at the LSE. It was at the suggestion of Graham Wallas, her supervisor, that she commenced a study of the organization of the NUT.

Sinclair's study (1940) of the AMA's contribution to tenure reform has the same failings. Sinclair held many senior offices within the AMA, including that of executive officer for many years, and wrote what at times degenerates into a promotional tract exhorting AMA's achievements. The truth is that the AMA did not, and could not, play a role in the betterment of any aspect of conditions of service that was totally independent of other teachers' associations, notably the NUT. It will be shown throughout the period covered by this thesis that the AMA was but one agent or catalyst in the process of reform. The commonality of union activity has been referred to. A study of the basic aims of the National Union of Elementary Teachers (NUET) and the AMA in their earliest years (76) shows this to be the case. It is clear that both unions sought to achieve

1. Control of entrance to the profession and teachers' registration.
2. Right of appeal.
3. Superannuation.
4. Security of tenure.
5. Freedom from compulsory extraneous conditions.
6. Adequate salaries.

Both unions, it will be seen, frequently adopted similar tactics to further their aims: publicity in the media, pressure upon the authorities, deputations and memorials, support for teacher representatives at Westminster, lobbying of politicians at local

through to national level. Baron (1965), in a work aimed principally at overseas students studying in Britain, makes an important observation in regard to the *modus operandi* of a teachers' association:

Teachers associations possess opportunities for making their influence felt at many points in the administrative structure. They do not, however, possess means of controlling recruitment and training such as are possessed by the medical profession through the General Medical Council; nor are they equipped to award titles of status such as those awarded by the engineering institutions. In consequence, their standing on any issue depends upon the pressures they can bring to bear, whether of a political or administrative kind, and not upon formally defined rights. (77)

Barber (1992) in his work *Education and the Teacher Unions* makes a detailed analysis of the means by which the NUT - and other unions - influence their employers, the government and the decision-making process in general. (78) His analysis is the first in-depth study of the strategic and tactical options available to a teachers' union and an important contribution to the research literature.

The NUT, by reason of its numerical supremacy, was the union that had the greatest political influence; successive governments had to consider the deliberations of the NUT, albeit unwillingly at times. (79) The NUT's dominance of union negotiations at all levels in no sense detracts from the contributions of the other smaller unions. There has to be an awareness, therefore, of inter-union relationships. Common aims, common policies, joint action, will all be seen as crucial to the initiation of change. Unions, too, it will be observed, have had at times to represent the sectionalised interests of their members at the expense of other unions. Inter-union rivalry has been a constant feature of union development. G.D.Dunkerley, general secretary of the AMA, 1921-39, on one occasion supplied a member, about to chair an important meeting, with 'Anti-NUT propaganda material'. (80) Policy issues have always divided the unions: in such issues as whether to strike, whether to withdraw school dinners' supervision, or whether to support differentials in salary.

Another facet of trade union activity that will become apparent in this thesis is that a vocational organization cannot exist *in vacuo*; outside influences can affect outcomes. Such influences might take the form of press support for or hostility to an action; public support or antipathy towards teachers; or the imposition of a cut-back in pay as, for example, that recommended in 1922 by the Geddes Committee. To give one illustration from the history of the AMA: the tenure dispute at Haverfordwest Grammar School, Pembrokeshire, in 1934, bitter and prolonged though it was, had the consolation to the AMA of the staunch support of the community and the local press for the aggrieved masters and for the legal action undertaken by the association. Beatrice Webb, in the report referred to earlier in the Introduction, *English Teachers and their Professional Organisation*, when writing of the role of the Headmasters' Conference, reached the same conclusion: 'A vocational organisation does not act *in vacuo* - its efficiency depends in large part on its relation to other social and political facts of the time'. (81)

The present research will also show the need for careful judgement in assessing the veracity of a trade union's claims. It is common for a union to overstate its case, and to colour its stance; frequently, trade union delegates resort to heightened emotion in their oral and written pronouncements. Two examples will suffice from the early AMA publications to illustrate this point. First, as early as 1898, seven years after its foundation and with a membership of only 400, the AMA in its annual report claimed to be the official representative body for secondary teachers in England and Wales. (82) This was a ridiculous claim, and certainly not a view shared by headteachers. Second, in the Association's journal *AMA* for October 1906 the editor utilized pathos, a common editorial ploy, to give an exaggerated description of a schoolmaster's lot:

To take a post just now in a secondary school is to build a house on the slope of a volcano. There cannot be a moment's security...to be overworked and ill-paid for half a lifetime and then to be turned out into the street with as little consideration as is shown to a worn-out cab-horse, such is the

treatment which may be expected at present by men who take up work in the public secondary schools! (83)

CONTRIBUTION OF THE THESIS TO PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE

Using primary sources, principally the IAAM Archive, the thesis looks in a structured and systematic way at to what extent, and by what means, the AMA was able to influence provision in regard to conditions of service for secondary schoolmasters in England and Wales in the 60-year period from 1891; such a carefully focused analysis has not been done before. The relevance of those findings to other secondary works on teachers in this period is evaluated, and an interpretation presented of the behaviour of organized teachers in terms of employer-employee relations.

INTRODUCTION : NOTES

1. The AMA was incorporated in 1901, thereafter being officially known as the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters (IAAM). In 1917 the four secondary teachers' associations - the Incorporated Association of Headmasters (IAHM), the Association of Headmistresses (AHM), the Association of Assistant Mistresses (AAM) and the IAAM - formed the Joint Four to co-ordinate policies and actions. In 1978 - anticipating government legislation outlawing single-sex associations - the AMA and the AAM (founded in 1884) amalgamated to form the Association of Assistant Masters and Mistresses (AMMA). In January 1992 the AMMA was renamed the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) to reflect the wider membership base.
2. The current conditions of employment of schoolteachers, deputy headteachers and headteachers are wide ranging and were imposed by the Secretary of State under The Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act (1987). The conditions, which are by law part of teachers' contracts, are set out in full in the HMSO publication *School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Document*. The conditions of service published in the Burgundy Book *Conditions of Service for School Teachers in England and Wales* remain in force.
3. See, for example, Roach, J. (1986) *A History of Secondary Education in England 1800-1870*, p.vii: 'Since, during the first two-thirds of the century, a staged organization of the educational system into primary, secondary and higher had not fully developed, the word "secondary" is really an anachronism. It has been useful to retain it as a convenient adjective to describe education during the period of adolescence - from 11 or 12 up to 18 or 19.'
4. Likewise, the AMA early instituted specialist sub-committees to cover tenure, salaries, pensions, registration and training.
5. Sinclair, A. (1940) Unpublished M.Ed. thesis (Manchester), 'The problem of tenure of assistant masters in secondary schools'.
6. Curtis, S.J. and Boulwood, M.E. (1966 4th edn.) *An Introductory History of English Education since 1800*, p.98.
7. Archer, R.L. (1921) *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*.
8. Adamson, J.W. (1930) *English Education, 1789-1902*.
9. Barnard, H.C. (1961, 2nd edn.) *A History of English Education from 1760*.
10. *Ibid.*, p.486.

11. Armytage, W.H.G. (1970, 2nd edn.) *Four Hundred Years of English Education*.
12. The two volumes are: Roach, J. (1986) *A History of Secondary Education in England, 1800-1870*; Roach, J. (1991) *Secondary Education in England, 1870-1902*.
13. Roach J. (1986) op.cit., p.vii.
14. Ibid. (1991) p.149.
15. Norwood, C. and Hope, A.H. (1909) *The Higher Education of Boys in England*.
16. Ibid. (1991) p.150.
17. Lawn, M. and Grace, G.R. (eds.) (1987) *Teachers: The Culture and Politics of Work*, p.2.
18. The underfunded Institute Library was unable to finance the cataloguing and listing of the second deposit of IAAM archive papers and they remained as deposited for many years. The author in 1987, concerned that the post-1960, and some earlier papers, remained unavailable to the researcher took the matter up with AMMA Headquarters. Mark Stedman, a Senior Assistant Secretary to the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association (AMMA) - the title of the amalgamated AMA and the AAM, after 1978 - in a letter to the author in December 1987, expressed his view that it would be improper to use members' subscriptions to preserve records for prosperity. The author thereupon made an appeal to the AMMA national president, Cynthia Watmore, which resolved the issue; the AMMA agreed to jointly fund, with the Institute, the final listing.
19. Extensive research by the author in other archives has failed to unearth the reports for 1891-5. None are lodged in the British Library. A report of the first annual general meeting of the AMA, held at the offices of the Teachers' Guild on 27 October 1891, is given in the *Journal of Education*, 1 February 1892, p.97.
20. See Chapter I, pp.37-8, for details of the National Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools and its relation to the AMA.
21. The author has been given unrestricted access to the entire IAAM Archive. Since 1974 he has served as the Lancashire Branch Almoner of the Association. Each of the 109 branches of ATL elects an almoner annually to give, on request, support to members facing personal difficulties. The Lancashire Branch currently (1995) has in excess of 3,500 members, and the LEA allows .3 of a timetable in facility time for Almoner's casework.

22. PRO Ed.31/22.
23. PRO Ed.44/1; PRO Ed.44/5.
24. PRO Ed.31/217.
25. PRO Ed.109/7740
Ibid./7750
Ibid./7760
Ibid./7775
Ibid./7785
26. PRO Ed.24/102. See also Note 79.
27. PRO Ed.136/131.
28. Tilney-Bassett, J.G. (1950) Unpublished MS - history of the AMA, IAAM Archive, Section A/2.
29. Baron, G. (1952) Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London), 'The Secondary Schoolmaster, 1895-1914'.
30. Reference was made in the *AMA Annual Report* for 1912 to the majority of the Association. The report of the Executive Committee for that year drew attention to the 'great deal of useful work' that had been done by the Association in its first 21 years, and to the many interesting personalities that had 'twined themselves into our history'. In its report the Committee then made a plea for a history of the Association to be written: 'That history, could we find the historian, *The IAAM: 1891-1912*, would make interesting reading, and bear at many points on educational progress in England.'
31. For a profile of J.G.Tilney-Bassett, see the *AMA*, November 1955, p.277.
32. Letter Tilney-Bassett to Hutchings, 12 July 1949, IAAM Archive, Section A/6.
33. IAAM Archive, Section A/6, Doc.1625, 4 February 1950.
34. Letter Hutchings to author of thesis, 12 May 1988. See also statement from the AMA Executive, *AMA*, February 1950, p.90. Further insight into the financial stringencies experienced by the secondary associations in the immediate post-war period is given by Olive Hastings, recounting her work as organising secretary of the AAM: 'With old habits of working on a shoe-string subscription, it meant a real effort to set up enlarged offices and staff to support the expansion in our Committee organization. As the membership increased rapidly and better salaries made possible the slow raising of the subscription, we were able to meet our rising costs, although the Honorary Treasurers and the Finance Committee held to a long established policy of

economy and careful spending' - see Hastings, O.M. (1978) *AAM, In Retrospect or Reminiscence*, p.11. Hastings and Hutchings served for many years as the joint honorary secretaries of the Joint Four.

35. Baron, G., op.cit.
36. Tropp, A. (1957) *The School Teachers*.
37. Gosden, P.H.J.H. (1972) *The Evolution of a Profession*.
38. See Milburn, J. (1969) Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London), 'The Secondary Schoolmistress: A Study of her Professional Views and their significance in the educational developments of the period 1895-1914' for a study of the secondary schoolmistress: the only research in this field but not of the calibre of Baron's work, op.cit.
39. Barber, M. (1992) *Education and the Teacher Unions*, p.93.
40. Ozga, J. and Lawn, M. (1981) *Teachers, professionalism and class: study of organized teachers*.
41. Lawn, M. (1982) Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Open University), 'Organised Teachers and the Labour Movement, 1900-30'. The essence of Lawn's challenge to Tropp's interpretation of the development of teaching as a profession is seen in the following quotation from the thesis:
'Each step in the teachers' development - training requirements, school layout and resources, Education Acts, salary improvement is contrasted with an earlier period, and every new decade is 'proof' of the progress of the system and the teachers within it. History is seen in a Darwinian light and Tropp reveals the progression of teachers from servants to professionals.' (Ibid., p.ix)
42. See: Lawn, M. (ed.) (1985) *The Politics of Teacher Unionism*; Lawn, M. (1987) *Servants of the state: the contested control of teaching, 1900-1930*; Lawn, M. and Grace G.R. (eds.) (1987) *Teachers: the culture and politics of work*.
43. Ibid., Ozga, J and Lawn, M. (1981).
44. See Grace, G.R. (1978) *Teachers, ideology and control: a study in urban education*, and, Grace, G.R. (1987) 'Teachers and the State in Britain; A Changing Relation' in Lawn, M. and Grace, G.R. (eds.) (1987) *Teachers: The Culture and Politics of Work*. Grace offers societal and economic determinants to an interpretation of past actions. Grace (1987) sees the socio-historical inquiry as 'a powerful and illuminating mode of educational policy analysis' (op.cit., p.194), and in the context of his earlier study in urban education (1978) is willing to 'violate many of the conventions of historical scholarship and use history explicitly as a resource for other purposes'. (op.cit., p.4)

45. Ibid., Barber, M. (1992).
46. Ozga, J. and Lawn, M. (1981) *Teachers, professionalism and class: a study of organized teachers*, p.vii.
47. See Lawn, M. (1987) *Servants of the state: the contested control of teaching, 1900-1930*, p.3 *et seq.*
48. Kerchner, C. and Mitchell, D. (1988) *The Changing Idea of a Teachers' Union*. A polarization of position frequently jeopardizes the resolution of management/employer-employee conflict, and thus would make the realization of a third generation model difficult of attainment. This polarization is well illustrated in Sir Herbert Geraint Williams' sharp response to AMA Secretary Andrew Hutchings' request for MPs' support in a House of Commons debate on a detail of the 1944 Education Bill which would have increased the consultative powers of teachers:
 'I certainly think that teachers should have reasonable security of tenure, and naturally they should be consulted about curriculum; but, in respect of management, it seems to me their position is very much that of the workpeople in a factory. A Works Committee is a good arrangement, but I am doubtful about putting workpeople on the Board of Directors. I do hope you do not mind my using this analogy, but it is perhaps rather a good one'.
 (IAAM Archive, Section K7)
 Williams, the Conservative member for Croydon South and an engineer by training, had recently served as the Director of the Empire Industries Association.
49. Ibid. (1992) p.98 *et seq.*
50. For a critique of Lawn's paper see Barber, M. (1992) *op.cit.*, pp.108-9.
51. 1890-1, (335), Vol.XVII, *Report from Select Committee on Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill*, 14 July 1891.
52. Bryce Commission.
53. Parl. Papers 1897, Vol.LXX, *Return of the Pupils in Secondary and Other Schools, etc.*, p.3.
54. Ibid., p.3.
55. Baron, G. (1952) *op.cit.*, p.1.
56. Gordon, P. (1980) *Selection for Secondary Education*, p.239.
57. Beatrice Webb in a series of reports prepared for the Fabian Research Department and published in the *New Statesman* was one of the first writers to seriously research the development and role of the professions. Beatrice,

with her husband, Sidney, had founded the left-wing *New Statesman* in 1913 and its pages were an appropriate forum for her reports written in the period 1915-17. Lawyers, medical men, and teachers all came under her scrutiny, all reports being written with a sense of urgency against the backcloth of human slaughter in Western Europe during the First World War. Her report on 'English Teachers and their Professional Organisation' appeared in a special supplement of the *New Statesman* in 1915. Webb described teaching as an 'elusive expression', observed an 'extreme heterogeneity' in the world of teachers, and resented the 'want of teacher organisation' to resist the frequently 'retrogressive' legislation of government.

58. Graham Wallas, an early Fabian, a founder member of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and a later holder of the chair of Political Science in that institution, was another academic with an interest in the development of the professions. Wallas in his writings - as evidenced in *Human Nature in Politics* (1908), *The Great Society* (1914), and *Our Social Heritage* (1921) - urged that the human being should never be forgotten when dealing with institutional development. In an article in the *New Statesman* in 1915, he gave due acknowledgement to the constructive role that could be played by a professional organization of teachers (the NUT):
 'The NUT has given the elementary teacher self-respect, an improved social and economic position, and some measure of intellectual liberty, much more rapidly than Parliament or the School Boards would or could have done unassisted by a professional organisation'. (*New Statesman*, 'English Teachers' Organisations', 25 September 1915, pp.586-7)
59. See Carr-Saunders, A.M. and Wilson, P.A. (1933) *The Professions*. This is a seminal work in the sociology of the professions which has not been surpassed until the recent work of Harold Perkin. Carr-Saunders and Wilson adopt an altruistic view of the professions, seeing the profession as a bulwark against threats to stable democratic processes.
60. Millerson, G. (1964) *The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalisation*. For a critique of Millerson's perspective see Johnson, T.J. (1972) *Professions and Power*.
61. Perkin, H. (1983) 'The Teaching Profession and the Game of Life', in Gordon, P. (ed.) *Is Teaching a Profession?*, Heinemann (1985, 2nd edn.). Harold Perkin is currently (1995) Professor of History at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. He has pioneered research studies into the professions. His principal works in this field are: *Key Profession, The History of the Association of University Teachers*, (1969); *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*, (1969), and its sequel, *The Rise of Professional Society, England since 1880*, (1989); *The Structured Crowd, Essays in English Social History*, (1981). He also gave the Stenton Lecture (1980) at the University of Reading: *Professionalism, property and English Society since 1880*.
62. Op.cit., pp.vi-vii.

63. Sikes, P.J., Measor, L., and Woods, P. (1985) *Teacher Careers, Crises and Continuities*, p.95.
64. Op.cit., pp.15-16.
65. Op.cit., p.230.
66. Op.cit., p.119.
67. There has been a Statutory General Teaching Council for Scotland since 1965 - currently some 30 major associations are committed to an agreed statement of the future roles and functions of a General Teaching Council (GTC) for England and Wales. See editorial, pressing for support for a GTC, by Peter Smith, general secretary, ATL, in *Report*, November/December 1994 (*Report* is ATL's monthly magazine issued free to members).
68. A number of newspaper and periodical cuttings relative to the equal pay issue are to be found in the IAAM Archive, Section K4. An example of such, giving a radical and tangible expression of the effects of unequal pay, is a cutting from *The Educational Worker*, September 1929, published by the Teachers' Labour League: 'The qualified woman teacher in 40 years' service, forfeits, merely on account of her sex, a sum greater than the first 10 years' salary of a man doing similar work.'
69. This point was corroborated at a seminar led by the writer at the Institute of Historical Research in December 1993. A retired schoolmistress who had belonged to the AAM throughout her long teaching career commented that the delegates to conference always said that 'it wasn't decent for women to talk about money and that salary matters were best left to Miss Hastings' [Olive Hastings was Secretary of AAM, 1942-60]. Hastings, in a booklet on the history of the AAM published in 1978 at the time the AAM lost its separate identity on amalgamation with the AMMA, wrote of this diffidence on the salaries front in the early days of the Association: 'Interest in their own conditions grew more slowly...indeed some members resigned when it was decided that the Association should give evidence at a salaries enquiry' - see Hastings O.M. (1978) *AAM, In Retrospect or Reminiscence*, p.1, an AMMA publication.
70. Morton, B. (1969) *Action 1919-1969*, p.10, an NAS publication for the Jubilee Conference, Easter 1969. See also IAAM Archive, Section/I9 for a collection of papers relative to the NAS policy on equal pay. The papers clearly show the preoccupation of the NAS to protect male interests in a profession dominated by women.
71. Rhodes, F.A. (1978) unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London), 'The influence of professional organizations on the evolution of the state system of secondary education in England and France since 1939'.

72. See Appendix 2B for a breakdown of AMA membership by type of school (1949).
73. IAAM Archive, Section D/8: a 60-year reserve applies.
74. IAAM Archive, Section D/2: a 75-year reserve applies.
75. Op.cit.
76. See respective *Annual Reports*: the first *NUT Annual Report* is for 1870, the earliest surviving *AMA Annual Report* is for 1896. See also Trevor Phillips' unpublished M.Phil. thesis, 'The National Union of Elementary Teachers, 1870 to 1882', (Institute of Education, London, 1991) for an in-depth study of the formative years of the NUT. Phillips covers a period of just 12 years of the NUT's history as opposed to the "longitudinal surveys of Thompson (1927) and Tropp (1957)".
77. Baron, G. (1965) *Society, Schools and Progress in England*, p.73.
78. Op.cit., pp.74-91.
79. The NUT membership figure was 18,072 at the time of the AMA's foundation in 1891. By 1921 the NUT membership had risen to 115,577. (For statistics of membership of the NUT, 1870-1921, see *NUT Annual Report* for 1922, pp.xxvii-xxviii).
An example of the high feelings that could exist between the Board of Education and trade union officials is well illustrated in the conflict between Morant and Yoxall (PRO Ed.24/102). In 1911 an application was made for an interview between the Executive of the NUT and officers of the Board of Education. Morant, Permanent Secretary at the Board, in a memo, requested that the interview be withheld until attacks on officers of the Board had ceased. Morant stressed that his stance was not out of pique (despite being personally offended by Yoxall, NUT Secretary, and despite the possibility of him taking libel action against Yoxall) but out of deference to maintaining the integrity of the Board. Morant believed that the alleged NUT attack on himself and his officers was undermining the credibility of the Board in the eyes of the public.
80. IAAM Archive, Section I/14; G.D.Dunkerley's personal file.
81. Ibid., p.14.
82. See editorial, *AMA Annual Report*, (1898), p.16.
83. *AMA*, October 1906, p.90.

CHAPTER 1

**The Assistant Master in the context
of the AMA's foundation.**

CHAPTER 1

THE ASSISTANT MASTER IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AMA'S FOUNDATION

The intent of this chapter is to set the scene for the subsequent analysis: first, by outlining the background to the formation of the AMA, stating the AMA's aims and sketching its early growth; and, second, by taking an overview of the problems and grievances of the assistant master as enunciated at the time of the AMA's foundation. It is axiomatic that conditions of service were such as to beget the formation of an association of assistant masters specifically organized to protect and promote their specialist interests.

FOUNDATION OF THE AMA

Many teachers' associations were formed in the second half of the nineteenth century, and, accordingly, the foundation of another such body in the summer of 1891, on that occasion for secondary schoolmasters, passed largely unrecorded. (1) The first five annual reports of the AMA have not survived, and the only contemporary account of the Association's inaugural meeting traced by the writer - and on which the information given here is based - is that published in the September 1891 issue of the monthly periodical *Education*. It reported that at a meeting of assistant masters drawn largely from London schools and held at the Birkbeck Institution, London, on 11 July, it was decided to form an association 'to promote and watch over the interests of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools'. (2) John Montgomery of Parmiter's School,

Victoria Park, London, and Robert Blair (3) of Aske's School, Hatcham, London, had been instrumental in calling the meeting. At the meeting a committee of eight, which included Blair and Montgomery, was formed and given the task of taking all necessary steps to bring the Association to the notice of assistant masters, and, of calling a second meeting in October 1891. Blair was appointed as honorary treasurer and Montgomery as honorary secretary. No permanent chairman was appointed.

The circumstance that in all probability precipitated the foundation of the Association, according to a frequently-made reference in the early AMA publications, (4) was the fact that the inquiry by a Select Committee, 1890-1, appointed to report on the two rival bills for the registration of teachers, had shown that assistant masters in secondary schools were the only body of teachers to have made no attempt to form an association to represent their views. The Select Committee referred to was that appointed in 1890 to report on the Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill, and whose report was published in July 1891. (5) Witnesses to the committee had included the College of Preceptors (CP), the Teachers' Guild (TG), the HMC, the IAHM and the NUT, but had not included any representation from secondary teachers. Charles Hodgson, secretary to the College of Preceptors, when questioned by the committee as to the number of teachers employed in secondary education said in evidence, 'We reckon that there are from 10,000 to 12,000 secondary schools, and that there would be about 35,000 or 40,000 teachers in those schools'. (6)

George Girling, a witness for the NUT, stated that there was no secondary association of size in existence to represent the specific interests of secondary teachers, but that

he knew that many such teachers demanded registration. (7) It was apparently, therefore, the attempt to provide professional representation for the views of assistant masters in secondary schools on officially recognised consultative bodies - an omission publicly revealed in the Select Committee's inquiry into teachers' registration - that was the key factor behind the AMA's foundation. The report in *Education* welcomed the foundation of the AMA, and made jocular reference to the fact that an association of assistant mistresses had been established some seven years earlier (in 1884):

An Association of Assistant Masters has long been needed for the fuller organization of the teaching profession, and, characteristically enough, the Association of Assistant Mistresses, some time ago, set the men the example. In educational matters, it would seem that women begin and men follow - a long way after. This Association of Masters having been formed...the new unionists should be supported and praised for their meritorious, if somewhat tardy, action; and...every publicity should be given to their objects and methods. (8)

The same article, however, expressed concern that about a fortnight after the inaugural meeting of the AMA was held, another association of assistant masters - the National Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools - was formed. The hope of the report in *Education* regarding its formation was that 'an amalgamation (with the AMA) will be rapidly arrived at. It is too early days for rivalry'. The National Association was in fact short lived despite attracting considerable and influential support in the educational and political field. (9) At its inaugural meeting in St James' Hall, London, on 31 July 1891, J. Cruickshank proposed, 'That a National Association of Assistant Masters in Schools be, and is, hereby founded'. (10) Montgomery, who was present at the meeting, moved a short amendment on the ground that an association of the kind had been formed on 11 July by representatives of 13 London public schools. It was argued, however, that the present meeting was convened long before that mentioned by Montgomery was held, moreover that his

resolution was primarily to unite masters in London schools. On a division, the amendment was lost, and the previous resolution carried by a very large majority. On the dissolution of the National Association, early in 1892, many of its members joined the AMA. (11)

The AMA: Formative Years - quest for acceptance and recognition.

In October 1891 a second meeting of the AMA was held in London. The delegates elected Mr E.W. Hensman, MA, as the first chairman of the Association and drew up brief rules for the organization of their affairs. The Revd G.C. Hull read a paper to the meeting on a proposed pension scheme for assistant masters. 72 members joined the association in its first year. The objectives of the Association were formulated in its early meetings and printed in its annual reports. (12) The AMA aimed to form a body which should protect and further the interests of assistant masters in secondary schools:

- 1.by obtaining for teachers in secondary schools the status and authority of a learned profession.
- 2.by securing a high standard of qualification for registration.
- 3.by making the employment of non-registered teachers in secondary schools illegal.
- 4.by securing the abolition of the present system of 'dismissal at pleasure'.
- 5.by the making an audited and detailed financial return compulsory on all schools aided by public money.
- 6.by doing all such other lawful things as may conduce to the welfare of assistant masters and the advantage of education.

Further early objectives of the Association were the establishment of a legal fund, a provident fund, and an improved agency system.

In 1895, just four years after its foundation and with a membership of only 580, the AMA achieved national recognition through its submission to the Bryce Commission. Martin and Montgomery, the Association's witnesses, submitted detailed evidence to the commission, including extensive statistical information, on a wide-ranging list of issues that were of concern to the assistant master. Tenure,

salaries, pensions, registration, and training were the key areas on which the AMA gave evidence; and all these topics, and the AMA's developing policy towards them, are the focus of separate chapters of this thesis.

The AMA: Early Structure and Organization

It is expedient to refer to how the AMA, an embryonic teachers' association breaking new ground in secondary education and aiming at establishment and survival, structured its organization in its formative period. A priority of the Association was to attract membership, and yet to attract and then serve a membership required finance, expertise and day-to-day management skills. The annual membership subscription to the AMA at its inception was 2s.6d.; by 1896 this had risen to 4s.0d. - the expanding work of the Association necessitated the increase in its members' subscriptions. Conscious of the poverty of many assistant masters, the executive committee recommended that for the year 1896-7 'four shillings' should be described as 'the minimum subscription', but requested those members who could afford to do so to pay a higher subscription. (13) The strain on the financial resources of the Association as its support for members expanded, was a recurrent theme of the yearly financial reports. At the end of the financial year 1897-8, the honorary treasurer reported that he had given his personal guarantee to the bank to cover the deficit on the year's banking. (14) At that time a nominal salary of £50 per annum was paid to the Association's part-time assistant secretary, E.A.Virgo; all other work for the Association was carried out at the members' own expense. Members of Council and the Executive Committee paid all their own travelling expenses.

With the continuing increase in membership - to 784 in 1896 (15) - it was decided to administer the association through a branch structure. The first three branches to be established, all in 1896, were the Bedford and Northamptonshire, the Lancashire and Cheshire, and the Surrey (originally named 'Guildford and District'). The Lancashire and Cheshire Branch, which admitted teachers outside those counties to membership,

attracted 89 members in its first year. The national organization was administered through the AMA's General and Executive Committees. The General Committee, which consisted of 49 members in 1896, was elected from branch members on a pro rata basis depending upon the size of the branch. The General Committee appointed the Executive Committee which had not to exceed 20 members. The Executive Committee had oversight of applications for membership, and, with its approval, any 10 or more members might form a branch. Association rules could only be made or altered by a two-thirds majority of members present at a general meeting; from 1896 two ordinary general meetings were held each year. (16) Within the first six years of the AMA's foundation the following sub-committees had been established: Legal, Agency, Finance, Parliamentary, Press, and Official Publications. The Legal Fund was opened in 1896 with an annual subscription of 4s.0d. Any member who was a subscriber to the fund was offered legal assistance in case of need, provided that his case was adopted by the Executive. The subscription to the Legal Fund was abolished in 1900; thereafter, free legal assistance was available to all members. The abolition of the subscription was only made possible by an increase in membership fee to 10s.6d.

At a general meeting of the AMA in May 1896, *Education*, a penny weekly, was adopted as the official press organ of the Association. Members saw this as an important step in bringing the work of the AMA to the notice of a wider public: 'To print and circulate a regular record of its doings is the first step by which the Association may begin to influence public opinion and such educational authorities as may be established by Parliament'. (17) By arrangement with the publishers of *Education*, a column was reserved for the use of the Association. The columns of *Education* were also used by the Agency Department to advertise vacancies referred to it, thus saving subscribers substantial commission fees. The AMA continued to use *Education* as its publishing outlet for some two years. In July 1898 the *AMA Monthly Circular* was launched as the official mouthpiece of the Association, to be

replaced in February 1906 by the AMA. In November 1901 the AMA was incorporated (henceforward officially known as the IAAM but still commonly referred to as the AMA), giving the Association recognition in law. Coinciding with incorporation the AMA acquired its first offices in Great James Street, Bedford Row, London. (18) Membership then stood at 1,500, with 24 branches. With the increasing workload of the Association, it was appropriate that its first general secretary was appointed; C.J.C.Mackness, the senior assistant master on the training ship *Conway* and a former practising solicitor. (19)

The AMA's benevolent fund (B & OS Fund) was established in September 1907 with an initial grant of £100 from the accumulated funds of the Association. Thereafter the fund was to be maintained by an annual contribution of four per cent of the total yearly income of the Association (a figure that could be increased, if warranted, by the Finance Committee), together with voluntary contributions. (20) A study of the early papers of the benevolent fund belies the frequently-made assertion that the AMA only attracted the well-heeled schoolmaster to its ranks. (21) The officers of the fund, with limited moneys available for grants or loans, restricted their help to 'cases of absolute penury and overwhelming need'. Early casework included help given to enable an assistant master, with no resources and suffering from tuberculosis, to enter a sanatorium; (22) money to assist a master to buy special spectacles that he required; aid to a widow with no means to pay for her husband's funeral; a grant to a master in difficulties owing to dismissal at short notice, and to another dismissed owing to a decrease in numbers at his school. Many members were in the clutches of money lenders, and officers spent much time in negotiating the most favourable settlements. Old age brought penury to many older schoolmasters, with an absence of or inadequate pension schemes, and no prospect of an old age pension until 70 years of age (after the introduction of old age pensions by Asquith's Liberal Government in 1908). Many such members of advanced years were helped by the fund.

In July 1912 the AMA came of age. The membership had risen by that time to 4,000, and the Association had 47 branches. Recognition of the AMA's work on behalf of secondary schoolmasters had been achieved in good measure: the Association was represented on 21 educational and public bodies, including the British Association, the Council of the Workers' Education Association (WEA), and the Teachers' Registration Council which had been set up by Order in Council in February 1912 and had replaced the old Registration Council.

To conclude this overview of the formative years of the AMA, it is requisite to refer to the formal establishment of the Joint Four (IAHM, AHM, AMA and AAM) in 1917. (23) The Joint Standing Committee of the Joint Four, as will be seen, greatly strengthened the influence of the four secondary associations in negotiations with government and local authorities. By 1920 some 60 local Joint Four Committees had been set up, adding to the strength of the associations in dealing with LEAs and individual school governing bodies.

THE ASSISTANT MASTER: 'THE PERCEIVED NEED' - problems and grievances as enunciated at the time of the AMA's foundation

This concluding section of the chapter addresses what had become a perceived need by the late 1880s, and highlighted by the Select Committee on teachers' registration (1890-1), that the specific interests of the assistant master be defended, protected, and promoted. The foundation of the AMA, as has been outlined, was a direct response to that need.

It must be stated at the outset, however, that few masters from the nine public schools investigated by the Clarendon Commission joined the AMA in its earliest years. Two notable exceptions were A.A.Somerville from Eton, an early chairman of the Association and an indefatigable worker for the Benevolent and Orphans Scholarship

Fund (B & OS Fund) from its foundation in 1897, and Revd G. Richardson, second master and head of mathematics at Winchester. (24) The AMA to the schoolmaster in one of the 'great' public schools would have had the semblance of a plebeian organization; (25) by reason of his appointment he enjoyed a good measure of privilege and status, and often had a personal financial investment in his school through the boarding house structures embodied in the school's statutes. It was to the schoolmasters in the lesser public schools, the proprietary schools, and the endowed grammar schools that the benefits of AMA membership soon became apparent. Many assistant masters in private schools also joined the ranks of AMA membership. The Education Department's Return of 1897 (26) shows that many secondary schools at that time had small pupil rolls with teaching staffs that consisted of the headteacher and two or three assistant teachers: in such circumstances there would be an attraction to corporate membership in an association such as the AMA. In overall terms, however, although AMA membership was open to all secondary schoolmasters, an assessment of early membership lists shows that some 70 - 80 per cent of Association members taught in schools ranked, according to the Bryce Report (1895), as 'first' or 'second' grade. (27) The AMA's membership, therefore, could be classed, from the start, as 'elitist' if categorized by the type of school the majority of members taught in, but that in no sense is to imply that the membership escaped much of what teachers in schools other than those of 'first' or 'second' ranking faced in regard to adverse conditions of service. The legal case-files of the AMA give ample evidence of rancour between governing bodies, headmasters, and assistant masters; excessive demands made upon staffs in terms of working hours and duties; grossly unfair salaries and improper regard to pension provision; and unfair dismissal.

Primary source material relative to a study of the assistant master in the context of this analysis includes: memoirs written by or about individual schoolmasters; press comment; the written pronouncements of masters printed in the correspondence columns of educational journals and magazines, notably the *AMA Monthly Circular*

(1898-1906), and the *AMA* (from 1906); the evidence of witnesses to royal commissions and departmental committees; and the case-files contained in the IAAM Archive. The following quoted primary source material which accounts for the remainder of this chapter, a mere sample of that available, constitutes an indictment of the prevailing conditions of service for the assistant master; a situation which the *AMA* set itself to reverse.

The overall assessment of the Bryce Commissioners was that there had been 'a revolution in the status of the teacher' and accordingly 'a higher tone and dignity to the whole profession' in the quarter-century since the Schools Inquiry Commission (SIC). (28) The noted improvement in the position of teachers was in part attributed to the growth of so many teachers' organizations. (29) The Commissioners, however, were realists, and conceded that though great improvements had been accomplished 'much remains to be done'. The comments and correspondence of ordinary assistant masters at the time generally concurred with the latter sentiment. D'Arcy W. Thompson, a teacher of classics at the Edinburgh Academy, who counted Robert Louis Stevenson and Andrew Lang amongst his pupils, had in 1868 described teaching as a 'professional cul-de-sac'. (30) The situation appeared to be materially unchanged at the turn of the century.

An amusing, yet balanced and informative article, was published in the *Journal of Education* in January 1886 with the title 'Schoolmastering as a Profession'. The article, written by a teacher of 20 years' standing, was based upon a paper he had read before a College Essay Society. The pros and cons of schoolmastering were first discussed - salaries, types of appointment, the demands on the time and energies of masters - and then the writer gave his ultimate advice to young undergraduates, which was, in short, to avoid the profession: 'Don't go in for Teaching. Better article yourselves to Mr James Payn, who professes the art of novel-making, and, at any rate,

makes it pay himself; or design wall-papers, under Mr William Morris; or put yourselves in the hands of the Brothers Case, and emigrate to Manitoba'. (31)

A letter, signed 'Unwilling Crammer', to the editor of the *Journal of Education* in April 1890, revealed the parlous state of salaries paid to assistant masters and to the strictures, without the aid of an association, placed upon any attempt to gain financial betterment:

I read with great interest in the last issue of your Journal a letter signed 'underpaid', for I too am one of the distressed brotherhood....I am fully aware of your correspondent's opinion that the subject of assistant-masters' salaries is ripe for discussion, but at the same time I recognise great difficulties in the way, for are not we subordinates bound hand and foot, and precluded from forming any active combination for the protection of our interests? So numerous are the unemployed among us that, should our posts be vacant, our headmasters would have no difficulty in filling them up at once....Who will run the risk of incurring his chief's displeasure by taking an open part in agitation for an increase in salary? (32)

A frequently-quoted article on the lot of the late nineteenth-century schoolmaster appeared in the *Daily News* in July 1891. Extracts from the article were used to effect the day after it had been published, by Edward Lummis, an Oxford graduate, in launching the proposed 'Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools' referred to earlier in this chapter. (33) The writer of the article drew attention to the strain of teaching, the low regard given to the profession, and the impossible demands made on the average schoolmaster. The article ended with a graphic description of the schoolmaster's conditions of service:

It is too often forgotten that the schoolmaster has no Sundays; by no means all his Saturday afternoons. His work begins early and continues late; the responsibility of his charge is never entirely off his shoulders....There are the games. In wet weather there is the workshop. There are natural history collections, there is drawing, and the writing of essays. The fact is that the poor pedagogue of to-day is expected to be at once an athlete and an engineer, an artist, a naturalist, a dictionary of universal information. Eight hours a day, indeed! The schoolmaster's day is often ten hours, sometimes fifteen, and there are seven days in his working week. (34)

A Mr Barker, headmaster at Aske's Haberdashers' School, Hatcham, London, read an interesting paper entitled *Position and Prospects of Assistant Masters* (35) to the summer meeting of the IAHM at Brighton in June 1894. Barker's sympathies were obviously with the assistant master (36): 'A rough, but not wholly inadequate summary would be "Position bad, prospects none". There can be no doubt that the position of assistant masters in secondary schools at the present day is such as to form a really serious danger for the future of education generally.' Barker then proceeded to outline the position and conditions of service of assistant masters in schools of his acquaintance:

They are badly paid, they have few, and I fear increasingly few, prospects of promotion; they are too often looked down upon almost contemptuously by governing bodies - at such times as the latter happen to be aware of their existence - and they become old in the estimation of those who have to employ them while still in the prime of life. They are often subject to caprice and in such a position of dependence as to be unable to resent any unfair treatment they may receive. Their work in their classrooms is often continuous and exhausting to a degree that the average businessman, who thinks and says that schoolmasters have easy times, has absolutely no idea of.

The chairman of the parliamentary committee of the IAHM, at the same meeting, made an appeal for uniformity in regard to dismissals of masters:

The conditions under which masters were dismissed...ought to be rendered uniform. There was no reason why, in the one case, the right of appeal to the governors should be allowed, and why in another case it should be denied, and he thought they would all feel that in such matters as that, they should be guided by exactly the same principles in all the schools. (37)

The IAHM had genuine concern for the position of the assistant masters employed in the endowed schools.

A master signing himself 'A Victim' in a letter to the *AMA Circular to Members* in March 1899 referred to the way in which the time of assistants was often encroached upon, and pointed out what seemed to him the best way to resist such encroachment:

We are frequently asked to do little acts of courtesy for the Head Master, or for the benefit of the School. It may be that a few boys want seeing home, or

a football team wants escorting, or a Natural History Club wants a little help....But, if the help is given more than once, it becomes increasingly difficult to decline....I would suggest to those who are likely to be placed thus, that they always find some important engagement which shall prevent the series of 'courtesies' extending to more than two terms. (38)

Two months' later, in May 1899, a further letter to the *AMA Circular to Members*, signed 'E Specula Custos', warned readers to obtain written particulars of their duties:

Last autumn, in company with two other masters, I accepted a post in a Foundation School, under a Head Master highly recommended by the agents. At personal interviews the duty and work were explained to be exceedingly light, the former only occupying about ten minutes a day besides preparation....After a few weeks' residence the real state of affairs began to show itself. When a master, not on duty, stated, as a matter of courtesy, that he would be away on a half-holiday, he was informed that he was at his Head's disposal from the beginning of the Term to the end thereof! (39)

The *School World*, a monthly magazine of educational work and progress, carried a lively correspondence on the social position and duties of assistant masters in its March, April, and May issues in 1901. A correspondent in the March issue, signing himself 'A Cambridge Man', wrote with feeling on what he perceived to be the ostracized social position of the assistant master. (40) The letter from 'A Cambridge Man' elicited a sympathetic response in the April issue of *School World*. A writer who stated his pride in signing himself 'Schoolmaster' thanked 'A Cambridge Man' for championing the rights of the assistant master. He expressed his concern at the undeserved social inferiority attributed to assistant masters, and confessed, as a young member of the profession, to a feeling of utter disgust at the way in which the 'mere assistant master' was treated: 'He is set aside, slighted, and sometimes even actually insulted, by those under whose roof he lives, and for whose good he spends his best energies'. (41)

A pithy article expounding the need for improvement in the conditions under which assistant masters worked appeared in the September 1901 issue of the *Pilot*, a weekly journal reviewing politics, literature, and learning. (42) The article highlighted the

common concerns of the schoolmaster - tenure, salaries, and superannuation - and suggested ways to secure an improvement in conditions of service, concluding with an exhortation to join the AMA as a sure way to enhance professional rights.

Outlining the professional concerns of the schoolmaster, the article stated:

The career of the average master, who, although he may not have taken a brilliant degree, may nevertheless be a first-rate teacher, is too often one of hard work and little reward. He is settled, perhaps, at some public school, assimilating the traditions of that school, learning the best methods of influencing and improving the boys under his care, when a new headmaster is appointed; he brings his own staff with him, and our friend is turned off to look for another insecure billet, with a prospect of receiving £250 a year until he is too old to work, and then, perhaps, if he is lucky, of receiving a testimonial from his fellow-masters that may help to keep him from actual want. Such a state of affairs is terribly common among the men who are at work on the foundations of the England of another generation. (43)

Turning to the need for reform, the following course was indicated by the writer:

The reform lies in the conditions under which assistant masters hold their office and the prospects they have of being provided for in their old age. It is only when these conditions are improved that the best men will be attracted to this profession; and the only way by which improvement can be effected is that the masters themselves should combine in working to secure reforms. (44)

The AMA was singled out in the article as being worthy of every master's support: 'The Assistant Masters' Association has already done a good deal to solidify the profession and to define the lines on which the reformers must work, and it is an association which should have the support of every master'. (45)

A forceful plea to raise the status and improve the lot of the assistant master was made by Cyril Norwood and Arthur Hope in their work *The Higher Education of Boys in England* (1909), and will suffice as a final example of contemporary comment illustrative of the assistant master's lot. At the time of writing Norwood was headmaster of Bristol Grammar School; Hope had earlier been an assistant master at Radley College. (46) In the chapter 'The Position of the Assistant Master', the assistant master in an English secondary school is shown to lag behind the majority

of his European counterparts both in status and conditions of service. Norwood and Hope stressed that the crucial role of the assistant master to the efficient functioning of a school could not be overlooked. The authors castigated the low salaries paid to masters, and expressed alarm that the payment of a fair salary was often secondary to the provision of school premises built to impress the visitor and the parents of prospective pupils. The chapter concluded with an appeal to the government to urgently take measures to improve conditions of employment, and by so doing serve the national interest:

The situation of the Assistant-master is today intolerable. To mend it, is quite the most urgent of all reforms. We venture the prediction that no half-measures will prove effective, and the plea that the State shall, as it alone can, apply the complete remedy. For we are sure that, without sacrificing one tittle of the individuality of the school or one jot of the personality of the teacher, it is practicable to make education a reality in England, by emancipating the masters, in whose hands it lies, from the penury, insecurity, and inefficiency which are still rather the rule than the exception.
(47)

CONCLUSION

Caveats are needed in any analysis, such as that presented in this chapter, where the conclusions are based essentially upon the evidence of contemporary witnesses aggrieved by their conditions of employment. Baron forewarned of a difficulty in using the evidence of contemporary witnesses in gaining an assessment of any aspect of nineteenth-century secondary education: 'A major difficulty in considering any aspect of secondary education is that contemporary witnesses usually generalise from the small subsection of the field with which they are familiar'. (48) Baron is of the opinion that the assistant master was not as hard up as he frequently professed, but believed himself to be underpaid because he based his salary claim on trying to maintain a parity with other professions (for example, doctors and lawyers) whose members he equated with his own social background and educational training. He wrote that the schoolteacher was 'at pains to base his claims to an adequate income, to opportunities for leisure, and to professional security, on what he felt due to him by

reason of his level of culture and his social affinities with the acknowledged professions.' He gives figures to show that the assistant master by 1912 was receiving a much higher salary than the elementary teacher, and points out that a university lecturer 'was lucky to get £150 per annum, with no certain prospect of increase.' Baron attributed the continuing dissatisfaction amongst schoolmasters on salaries to their persistence in 'measuring their remuneration and prospects against those of doctors and lawyers and the small highly paid groups of senior Civil Servants.' (49)

Likewise, it was recognized by the AMA Executive, and others, (50) that not all masters could be adjudged bona fide practitioners, and that knowledge of that fact would necessarily attract adverse public and press comment. Similarly, the accusation could be made - and was - that the testimony presented by, or on behalf of, the assistant master was atypical. Those points conceded, however, it must be stated that the weight of evidence supports the conclusion that the assistant master, at the time of the AMA's foundation, faced employment conditions that must be conceded as 'untenable'. The subsequent chapters will examine the AMA's contribution to the betterment of conditions of service for the assistant master.

CHAPTER 1 : NOTES

1. The editorial of *The Educational Times & the Journal of the College of Preceptors*, 1 May 1895, p.213, is devoted to 'Schoolmasters' Unions'. The editor defends the proliferation of such associations of schoolmasters: 'Organization has been forced upon teachers...by the extraordinary chaos of education in England, and by the prospect of legislation which may or may not be based upon sound principles. It is inevitable that schoolmasters, in the present crisis of their ancient craft, should be forced into an attitude of self-defence. (They) are confronted by possibilities of danger against which it would be simply imbecile not to make provision'.
2. *Education*, September 1891, p.254.
3. Later Sir Robert Blair, Chief Education Officer of the London County Council.
4. See, for example, *AMA Annual Report*, 1896.
5. 1890-1, (335), Vol.XVII, *Report from Select Committee on Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill*, 14 July 1891.
6. *Ibid.*, Q.74, p.5.
7. *Ibid.*, Q.4114-6, p.207.
8. *Education*, loc.cit.
9. Sir John Lubbock, MP, and A.J.Mundella, MP, were honorary vice-presidents. Lubbock, vice-chancellor of London University, 1872-80, had served the university as its Liberal MP since 1880. Mundella, a Liberal MP since 1868, was, with Lord Spencer, responsible for the Education Act of 1880, and held the position of vice-president of the Committee of Council on Education, 1880-5.
10. The meeting was well reported in the press. See, for example, *Schoolmaster*, 15 August 1891, p.219.
11. It is ironic that the surviving archive material from the rival National Association, including the hand-written minutes of its inaugural meeting, is now lodged in the IAAM Archive (IAAM Archive, Section A/1).
12. See, for example, *AMA Annual Report*, 1896, p.10.
13. *AMA Annual Report*, 1896, pp.4-5.
14. *Ibid.*, 1899.

15. See Appendix 2A.
16. In 1897 the rules of the Association were altered. The General Committee was replaced by the AMA Council, a body elected like its predecessor by the branches but with wider powers.
17. *AMA Annual Report*, 1896, p.13.
18. In May 1911 new offices were acquired at 35 John Street, Bedford Row, London. Ten years later, in 1921, the move to 29 Gordon Square was made, the headquarters of the Association, apart from a brief wartime exile to Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, until 1984, when the present headquarters building was purchased at 7 Northumberland Street.
19. See *AMA Circular to Members*, March 1902, p.141, for details of Mackness' appointment.
20. IAAM Archive, Section D/2. A 75-year reserve applies to the papers of the Benevolent and Orphans Scholarship Fund, including the Crowther Fund.
21. See, for example, Rhodes, F.A., (1978), Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 'The influence of professional organisations on the evolution of the state system of secondary education in England and France since 1939', University of London Institute of Education, p.18.
22. A large number of cases were recorded in which masters were stricken with tuberculosis.
23. The exact date of the Joint Four's foundation has not been clearly established by the author, despite detailed investigation in the Joint Four Archive. Published lists of chairmen of the Joint Four date from 1919, as do the earliest known audited accounts, but it is probable that the joint committee was established two years earlier. Support for a 1917 foundational date is found in an editorial in the *Joint Four Report for the Year 1934*, in reference to the retirement of Miss Ruth Young from her office of joint honorary secretary, and in an article on the development of professional associations of teachers, written in 1935 for the *Journal of Education*, by A.Gray Jones, assistant secretary, AMA. See Joint Four Archive, Section 1/3, *Annual Reports*, and, *Journal of Education*, May 1935, p.340.
24. See Appendix 3 for statistics of AMA membership within the Clarendon 'nine', 1899-1905. Richardson's appreciation of the value of AMA membership to a public schoolmaster is mentioned in his obituary published in the *AMA Circular*, February 1904: 'He will be remembered best by this Association for the fatherly interest he showed in its growth, for his great desire to advance the cause and position of assistant masters...he was the first public school man to recognize, in its early days, the value and future possibilities, of the AMA.'

25. Perkin (1989) in *The Rise of Professional Society, England since 1880*, pp.349-50, refers to 'the fragmentation of the teaching profession into quarrelling factions reflecting the divisions of the English education system by social class and education. The NUT, founded by the elementary teachers in 1878, came to represent the bulk of non-degreed teachers in the state elementary schools (until 1944 for most children to age 14) and, since 1944, in the primary and secondary modern schools, most of them underpaid women, while the grammar and public boarding school teachers tended to join the Assistant Masters' and Assistant Mistresses' Associations or the (until recently) single-sex Association of School Masters.'

Perkin had earlier (1983) developed this same theme in greater detail in his paper *The Teaching Profession and the Game of Life* in the Bedford Way Paper 15, p.20. Perkin referred to the Joint Four as always the 'aristocracy of labour' of the teaching profession.

26. Parl.Papers 1897, Vol.LXX, *Return of the Pupils in Secondary and Other Schools, etc.*
27. In giving a classification of existing secondary schools, the Bryce Commissioners adopted the criteria and nomenclature of the Schools Inquiry Commission (SIC). The SIC had distinguished three grades of secondary schools, according to the age up to which the pupils normally remained at school. Whilst keeping to the broad outline and the spirit of the SIC's classification, the Commissioners adopted a flexible approach in order to embrace changes that had inevitably occurred to secondary school provision in the intervening 30-year period between the publication of the two reports. The Bryce Report listed the following secondary schools as belonging respectively to the first, the second, and the third grade:

First Grade Schools.

- a) First grade endowed schools, including the seven 'great public schools'.
- b) First grade proprietary schools sending pupils to the universities or university colleges.
- c) Private schools of the more advanced type.

Second Grade Schools.

- a) Second grade endowed schools.
- b) Proprietary or private schools, which send in pupils for the higher classes of the College of Preceptors' examinations, or for the Oxford and Cambridge local examinations.
- c) Some day schools at technical institutes.
- d) The highest departments of some higher grade elementary schools.

Third Grade Schools.

- a) Third grade endowed schools.
- b) Private schools in which the ordinary standard is that of the third-class certificates in the College of Preceptors' examinations.
- c) Higher Grade Elementary schools.

Source: Bryce Report, Vol. I., p.41.

28. The Taunton Report, Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868.
29. The Commissioners listed the principal teachers' associations founded in the period since 1868: the Headmasters' Conference (HMC) (1870), the NUT (1870), the AHM (1874), the University Association of Women Teachers (UAWT) (1883), the Private Schools' Association (PSA) (1883), the AAM (1884), the Teachers' Guild (TG) (1885), the IAHM (1890), and the AMA (date incorrectly given as 1892; in fact, the AMA was founded in 1891). Their conclusion was that 'the creation or extension of so many organizations within the last 26 years bears witness to the growth of a stronger professional spirit, and will probably tend to raise the influence and status of the profession itself. (Bryce Commission, Vol.1, pp.14-15)
30. Thompson, D'Arcy W., (1868). *Wayside Thoughts*, p.182. In an earlier work Thompson had pleaded for a remedy 'for the cure of our (teachers) social debasement' in Britain; as a child he had spent his school vacations in Bruges and Brussels and had observed the high regard in which the teacher was held. See Thompson, D'Arcy W., (1864), *Daydreams of a Schoolmaster*, p.211.
31. *Journal of Education*, 1 January 1886, pp.21-4.
32. *Journal of Education*, April 1890, p.204.
33. For extracts and comment on Lummis' address see: *Pall Mall Gazette*, 31 July 1891; *Evening Standard*, 31 July 1891; also the *Daily Chronicle* and *The Times*, 1 August 1891. The meeting was held on 31 July 1891 in the Banqueting Room of St James' Hall, London. Lummis' speech was frequently interrupted by cheering or prolonged applause as he touched upon issues which were at the heart of the schoolmasters' concern.
34. *Daily News*, 30 July 1891.
35. IAHM papers, MSS 58/4/1, pp.43-4, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick.
36. There was a close liaison between the IAHM and the AMA. The honorary secretary of the IAHM at that time was Dr R.P.Scott, head of Parmiter's School, Victoria Park, London. Scott had the honorary secretary of the AMA, John Montgomery, on his staff. Likewise, there was an affinity between the

AHM and the AAM: headmistresses frequently encouraged their assistants to become active in the AAM.

37. Ibid., p.8.
38. *AMA Circular to Members*, March 1899, p.3 .
39. Ibid., May 1899, pp.6-7.
40. *School World*, March 1901, p.119.
41. Ibid., April 1901, p.159.
It is important to analyse why there was such a surge of complaints against the schoolmaster at this particular time, 1899-1901. There was undoubtedly considerable antipathy to the teacher in society. Baron commented: 'Many felt that he demanded too much, and overrated his contribution to society.' See Baron, G. (1952) Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London), 'The Secondary Schoolmaster, 1895-1914', p.326 *et seq.*
42. The *Pilot* had an ephemeral life; edited by D.C.Lathbury it was only published from 1901-4.
43. *Pilot*, 28 September 1901, p.369.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. A copy of the text annotated by the authors in the Senate House Library, University of London, reveals that it was Arthur Hope who wrote the chapter on *The Position of the Assistant Master*, Part II, Chapter IV.
47. Norwood, C. & Hope, A.H. (1909), *The Higher Education of Boys in England*, p.280.
48. Op.cit., p.51.
49. Ibid., p.315; p.327.
50. See, for example, the evidence of Mr Barrow Rule, College of Preceptors, and George Girling, NUT, to the Select Committee on the Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill, 1891.
Mr Barrow Rule, a witness called before the Select Committee on the Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill, 1891, based his argument for the establishment of the teachers' register on his belief that large numbers of men who had set up as private schoolmasters were bringing bona fide practitioners into disrepute by reason of the fact that they were lacking in either learning or professional skill. (Special Report from the Select

Committee on the Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill (1891),
Minute of Evidence, No.320, 1890-1 (335), Vol.XVII)

George Girling, Inspector of Schools under the London School Board, and a former president of the NUT, a witness for the NUT, was equally concerned at the existence of a bad core of teachers within the profession. Girling advocated registration 'in part to sort out the unqualified and bad teachers many of whom taught in the private schools'. (Ibid., p.203; Q.4012.)

For a detailed consideration of the Select Committee on the Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill (1891), see Willis, R. (1993), Unpublished M.Phil. thesis (University of Leeds School of Education), 'The Contribution of the College of Preceptors to Education in England from 1846 to 1917', p.232 *et seq.*

CHAPTER 2

Tenure

CHAPTER 2 : TENURE

Tenure issues still challenge the legal departments of the teacher unions in the 1990s (1) but the scale and nature of the current casework is insignificant compared with that faced by earlier generations of union officials. In the context of this thesis, tenure casework stems from the conflict over security of employment between the assistant master and his employer. In the first section of this chapter the historical precedents for that conflict will be explored as a base for the detailed assessment of the AMA's contribution to tenure reform which follows - a contribution that will be shown to be distinctive.

Tenure was arguably the most contentious of all the employment issues affecting a secondary schoolmaster's life at the end of the nineteenth century. The AMA Annual Report for 1896 - published five years after the foundation of the Association and the earliest surviving of the annual reports - expressed the view that 'security of tenure was probably the most perplexing and worrying single issue that confronted assistant masters'. (2) Tenure cases dominate much of the early casework of the AMA's Legal Sub-Committee, and the hardships brought by arbitrary dismissal from appointments contributed to the casework of the Association's B and OS Fund. (3) The first tenure case to be recorded in the casebooks of the Legal Sub-Committee refers to St John's Royal Latin School, Buckingham, in the year 1892 and is typical of many. R.C.Macculloch had been appointed to the headship at Easter 1892 and at the following Christmas had dismissed the two assistant masters, Rose and Wood. Rose had been on the staff for several years and had later learnt that the headmaster had had

two objections against him: first, that he had been at the school longer than himself, and second, that he was too old (he was just 30 years of age). No details are given of Wood's circumstances, but it is recorded that the Association had failed to make a successful representation on its members' behalf. The second tenure case listed in the legal casebooks is an entry for 1894 and records that at King Edward VI School, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, the governing body had directed the incoming headmaster to 'make a clean sweep of the staff'. Accordingly, the three assistant masters, all Oxbridge men, had been summarily dismissed 'without reason assigned'. A footnote records that one of the men was 35 years of age, with a wife and seven children, and 'without employment and destitute' several months after his dismissal.

The task facing the early secondary teachers' associations in relation to tenure was daunting. Difficulties were posed by the fragmentation of the institutional structure of secondary schooling; (4) there was the powerful, and frequently dominant, position of the headmaster to counter, as well as public antipathy to the schoolmaster's concern to secure greater security of tenure.

Norwood and Hope, writing in 1909, asserted:

It is a tradition of English life that the Headmaster is an autocrat of autocrats....The Headmaster, in most English schools, certainly holds a position of absolute power, for which no analogy can be found in any other profession whatever, a position, further, of authority and influence far surpassing all that is exercised by those of the same rank in other countries.

(5)

Cyril Norwood, at the time of writing, was headmaster of Bristol Grammar School, but had earlier served, when still an assistant master, as Secretary of the West Riding

Branch of the AMA. He, together with Arthur Hope, who had been an assistant master at Radley College, had obvious empathy with the lot of many assistant masters in their often difficult relationships with their headmasters.

The widely-held view that the reasonable security of tenure enjoyed by certain professional people - notably the civil servant and the Anglican clergyman - should not be extended to the schoolmaster was reiterated by Patrick Cumin, Secretary of the Education Department, giving evidence to the Cross Commission in 1887. Drawing on his former experience as Secretary of the Scotch Education Commission, Cumin saw inherent dangers in giving to the schoolmaster a freehold of his office. In such a situation, he observed, it was almost impossible to remove the incompetent master. Likewise, where there had been a freehold of office in an endowed school in Scotland, the endowment was either wasted or inefficiently used. Cumin was therefore of the opinion that the Education Department was unlikely ever to agree to appeals from masters complaining of capricious dismissal. He stated, 'We have constantly had cases where attempts have been made to determine whether a man has been capriciously dismissed, and of course we have no power of trying the question; we cannot put people on their oaths, and we always decline to have anything to do with it'. (6) His response to the question, 'You do not think that the Department would be prepared to accept responsibility of that kind?', was an emphatic 'No'. (7)

The tenure issue in girls' secondary schools was never of the same magnitude as in boys' schools. The Assistant Mistresses' Association (AAM), founded in 1884, led the campaign here, and submitted evidence to the Bryce Commission. (8) The members of the AAM taught largely in the endowed high schools and in the schools founded by the Girls' Public Day School Company. In the majority of girls' schools, including many of the endowed high schools, it was normal practice to refer dismissals of assistant teachers to the governing body.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: PRECEDENTS FOR CONFLICT

Before analysing the distinctive contribution of the AMA to tenure reform, it is necessary to outline the historical background to the tenure debate, prior to the AMA's foundation. The Reports of the Public Schools Commission (Clarendon) in 1864 and of the Schools Inquiry Commission (Taunton) in 1868 contain, in their observations and recommendations, the issues leading to the historical debate on tenure. Both reports were highly critical of the standards of secondary education witnessed in schools, and perceived the virtual life tenancy enjoyed by the majority of headmasters and their assistants as a serious inhibiting factor to their schools' development. The Clarendon inquiry had been limited to nine foundations - Eton College, Winchester College, Westminster School, the Charterhouse School, St Paul's, Merchant Taylor's, Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury Schools - and the Taunton Commissioners had reported on all other schools excluded from the operation of the Parliamentary grant. The Taunton Commission had classified the schools within its brief as either endowed, private, or proprietary.

The Clarendon Commission very strongly recommended a reinforcement of the headmasters' powers within their schools as a way to raising standards: 'The Head Master should, in our opinion, be as far as possible unfettered'. (9) Giving details of the powers that should be exercised by the headmaster, the Commissioners concluded that 'the appointment and dismissal of Assistant Masters...had better be left in his hands'. (10) The more precise phrasing of the official recommendation was that 'The Head Master should have the uncontrolled power of selecting and dismissing assistant masters'. (11) In similar vein the Taunton Commission had reiterated the view of Clarendon that a headmaster must be able to appoint and dismiss his assistants at pleasure. The Report advanced the argument that 'if the master has not the appointment and control of his assistants, it is impossible to hold him responsible for the good conduct and teaching of the school'. (12) The Taunton Commissioners,

in conducting their inquiry, had visited a wide range of schools, and had come to the conclusion that great harm was being done under a system of freehold tenure of office whereby many headmasters and their assistants were practically irremovable. The Report gave much weight to the evidence of the Revd J.S. Howson, a man considered by Lord Lyttelton, a member of the Commission and later chairman of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, 'a great authority on the subject'. (13) The Revd Howson was headmaster of Liverpool College, an institution with a roll of 909 pupils and governed by a board of 36 directors. Howson was anxious to inform the Commissioners, 'with strong conviction', as he put it, that he believed 'no constitution could work so well as that which we have, namely, that I should be absolutely removable at a moment by the directors, and that all the masters should be removable at a moment by me'. (14) When asked for the grounds on which his opinion rested he replied:

I think that if the masters were either wholly or partially appointed by the directors, parties might be formed among them against me, which would disorganize the whole school-work: and I think that if the directors had not an absolute power over me, the school might be in a very low state through my fault, and the public would have no remedy. (15)

In fairness to the Commissioners it must be pointed out that four other headmasters besides the Revd Howson were questioned as to their views on the tenure of assistant masters. Of these, only one, the headmaster of Chesterfield Grammar School, shared Howson's stance. The other headmasters - from the City of London School, Repton Grammar School, and King Edward the Sixth's College at Birmingham - all stated that they had experienced no problems in exercising a system of dismissal by the governors. The former headmaster of Leeds Grammar School, the Revd A. Barry, who at the time of the Inquiry in 1865 was the Principal of Cheltenham College, said, in giving evidence, that the right of dismissal possessed by the governing body at the grammar school had not 'in the smallest degree' interfered with his influence as headmaster over his assistant masters. He qualified this by adding, 'because I take it

for granted that a board of trustees would consider such a power as an *ultima ratio*. If they did not, it would, of course, be a great evil'. (16)

The recommendations of the two Commissions in relation to the tenure of assistant masters were fully accepted by Parliament and gained statutory approval in the Public Schools Act of 1868, and the Endowed Schools Act of 1869. Masters serving in schools outside the scope of the two Acts, in the private and proprietary secondary schools, would be well aware that the period of 'capricious dismissal' would continue for the foreseeable future. The following is the clause of the Public Schools Act of 1868 in relation to tenure:

The Head Master of every School to which this Act applies shall be appointed by, and hold his Office at the Pleasure of the new Governing Body. All other Masters shall be appointed by and hold their Offices at the Pleasure of the Head Master. (17)

The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 similarly reinforced the exposed and vulnerable position of assistant masters under its control:

In every scheme the Commissioners shall provide for the dismissal at pleasure of every teacher and officer in the endowed school to which the scheme relates with or without a power of appeal in such cases and under such circumstances as to the Commissioners may seem expedient. (18)

The passage of the Public Schools Act in 1868 produced an understandably sharp and bitter response from assistant masters serving in the schools covered by the Act. Protests were particularly vehement at Eton, Harrow, and Rugby. At Harrow the assistant masters presented the governing body with a memorandum in which they outlined their grievances. The masters asserted that their previous security of tenure had been destroyed by this single Act. They expressed particular concern for those masters who had boarding-houses, and who would, therefore, have a personal financial investment at stake. As expressed in the memorandum, any future headmaster

would thus be invested with a power almost without example in the English Public Service, a power exceeding that of a Commander-in-Chief of the Army - that of summary dismissal, on his own authority, of any member of a large and educated staff, while the governing body are precluded from hearing in his defence, or supporting by remonstrance, an old, it may be a valued servant. (19)

An attempt was made in the House of Commons in 1872 to present a bill to ensure a right of appeal to the governing body in cases of dismissal, but it was defeated on the first reading.

The body charged with implementing the Endowed Schools Act was the Endowed Schools Commission set up in 1869. One of the Commission's first schemes gave the headmaster the sole power of appointing and dismissing his assistant masters, with the proviso that on the occasion of any dismissal the headmaster should make a full report of the case in writing to the trustees. Assistant masters found this proviso objectionable in that they had been given no right to see the headmaster's report, and no opportunity to answer any indictment that might have been made. Dissatisfaction on these points led to a group of about 400 assistant masters sending a memorial, dated 25 November 1872, to the the Endowed Schools Commission. (20) In the memorial, the assistant masters made two requests. First, 'that the appointment of Assistant Masters by the Head Master should in every case be subject to confirmation by the Governors,' and second, 'that in all cases of dismissal by the Head Master there should be an appeal, either to the Governors, or to some other Court of Appeal, to be hereafter constituted.'

The reply from the Commission to the memorial, in a letter of 4 December 1872, dismissed the first request, but would appear to have given an unconditional promise of a right of appeal in all schemes where the dismissal of assistant masters was vested in the headmaster. The exact phrasing of the Commission's letter regarding dismissals was: 'They propose henceforth in all schemes which give the Head Master the power of dismissing Assistant Masters, to make such dismissal subject to an appeal to the

Governors.' That that was the thinking of the Commission would appear to be confirmed by the statement given in evidence by Henry Roby, one of the Commissioners, to the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Act (1869) in 1873. (21)

Roby said in evidence:

We acted upon a large memorial which was forwarded to us, signed by about 400 assistant masters, who requested that something of the kind might be done, and we, believing that opinion to be not merely that of the assistant masters, but to be shared, to a large extent, by great numbers of people, thought it desirable to give effect to it. (22)

Roby also informed the Select Committee as to why the policy stated in the Endowed Schools Commission's letter was not extended to third grade schools. The Commission had left the power of appointment and dismissal as the prerogative of the governors in the third grade schools, and, according to Roby, the reason for this was because 'Head Masters of such schools were not always persons of that calibre which would justify our putting a power of that sort into their hands'. (23)

Soon after the publication of the Select Committee's report in June 1873, Uppingham School, as if to test the stated position of the Commission regarding dismissals, issued a draft scheme granting a dismissed assistant master at the school the right of appeal to the governors. Within days the scheme was withdrawn, the school reverting to its practice of empowering the headmaster to dismiss assistant masters 'at pleasure'; only in those cases where a master had a boarding-house would an appeal to the governors be allowed.

Uppingham's quick change of position - first in line with the Endowed School's Commission's statement, and then counter to it (24) - led to a further letter to the Commission from those same masters who had signed the memorial in November

1872. The response of D.C.Richmond, Secretary to the Endowed Schools Commissioners, in a letter of 12 December 1873, was as follows:

The Commissioners still propose to adhere to the intentions expressed in my letter of the 4th December, 1872, so far as any rule can be laid down. But neither was that letter, nor is this, to be understood to fetter the Commissioners in the free exercise of their judgment when considering the particular circumstances of each case as it comes before them. (25)

In 1874, with the advent of the Conservative Government, the Endowed Schools Commission was merged in the Charity Commission. Under the Charity Commission the Uppingham scheme became the accepted scheme of tenure for first and second grade schools; the appointment and dismissal of assistant masters in third grade schools remaining the prerogative of the governing bodies. The Charity Commission's scheme on tenure was therefore an inherited one, its policy of refusing a right of appeal defended on the grounds of

the importance of keeping in view, above all, the interests of the scholars; and next of securing the Head Master from a too great weakening of his position, such as would follow if he were dismissible at pleasure without assignment of cause, and had not an equivalent power over the assistants, upon whose co-operation his own success must in large measure depend. (26)

AMA'S SUBMISSION TO BRYCE COMMISSION

The Royal Commission on Secondary Education (Bryce Commission), whose Report was published in 1895, had as its terms of reference 'to consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organized system of Secondary Education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies....' The Commissioners gave due concern to the status and role of the teacher, and, although stating that the position of the teacher had 'sensibly improved' over the last quarter of a century, admitted that much remained to be done. (27) The recommendations of the Commission clearly reveal that the Commissioners had approached their task with open minds, and that they had taken note of carefully researched and presented submissions. Such had been the case

in relation to the AMA's submission on tenure; the final recommendations undeniably reflecting the persuasive arguments of the Association.

Charles Martin, treasurer of the Association from 1894, and Montgomery, its honorary secretary, were the AMA's witnesses before the Bryce Commission. Their evidence covered the entire range of the assistant masters' position in secondary schools, but the detailed questioning they faced on tenure reveals the importance attached to this issue by the Commissioners. Montgomery had been given the brief of presenting the Association's views on tenure. Montgomery exhibited much confidence and skill in dealing with the incisive questioning of the Commissioners. He had prepared his case well and admitted that he represented an Association formed only three years previously, and with a modest membership of 460 assistant teachers. Stating in evidence that membership of the AMA was open to assistant masters in all secondary schools, whether endowed or non-endowed, public or private, Montgomery then proceeded to give an analysis of the Schemes of the Charity Commission for the administration of secondary schools for boys up to 3 October 1894. (28) In relation to the tenure of assistant masters, Montgomery gave the following statistics:

Number of Schemes	409
Appointment of assistant masters; number of cases in which the appointment is in the hands of:	
The governors	50
The headmaster, subject to the approval of the governors	4
The headmaster	355
Dismissal of assistant masters; number of cases in which the power is given to:	
The governors	50
The headmaster, subject to an appeal to the governors	42
The headmaster, subject to an appeal to the governors if expense has been incurred in setting up a boarding-house	4

The headmaster, subject to the approval of the governors	4
The headmaster	309

When asked how the Association had gained this information, Montgomery revealed that the analysis had been made at the offices of the Charity Commission from the official copies of the schemes.

Invited to comment upon the analysis, Montgomery drew attention to the prevalent practice in relation to dismissal:

With regard to the dismissal of assistant masters, the schemes of the Charity Commission vary a great deal. The prevailing regulation is that in which the assistant master is dismissible at pleasure by the headmaster, as has been shown already by the statistics which I have given, namely in 309 out of 409 schemes, without any right of appeal to the governing body. (29)

Montgomery further remarked that it was the opinion of the AMA that where an assistant master had been appointed by a headmaster that same master ought not to be dismissible by the headmaster unless there was a right of appeal to the governors; and yet, he added, that according to the statistics presented, a right of appeal did not exist in three-quarters of the Schemes of the Charity Commission. Montgomery requested that he might comment upon the 'prevailing regulation as to the tenure of office of assistant masters and on the circumstances under which it was introduced.' He pointed out that the prevailing regulation dated back to the five schemes of the Endowed Schools Commissioners when a clause had been inserted which stated that the 'headmaster should have the sole power of appointing and dismissing all assistant masters; but that he should forthwith notify every appointment to the trustees, and on the occasion of any dismissal make a full report of the case in writing to the "trustees".' He informed the Commissioners that the provision relating to dismissals had proved to be totally unacceptable to assistant masters and had led to the memorial of November 1872 to the Endowed Schools Commission, signed by some 400 assistant masters, followed by the subsequent correspondence from the

Commissioners to the memorialists of 4 and 12 December 1873. (30) Thereafter, according to Montgomery, the prevailing clause with regard to the dismissal of assistant masters had been that they should be dismissible at pleasure by the headmasters. The AMA's contention, he argued, was that the first letter of the Commissioners, dated 4 December 1872, was an unconditional general promise to give assistant masters the right of appeal. He admitted, however, that the whole question had been complicated by an inexplicable difference in the schemes offered at Uppingham School and Oakham School, schools of the same foundation:

What makes the whole question all the more singular is that there were two schemes being drafted at the same time, the scheme of Uppingham School (31) and the scheme of Oakham School, both of which schools are on the same foundation, viz., the foundation of Archdeacon Johnson; and in the scheme for Uppingham School the right of appeal did not appear, while it remained in the scheme for Oakham School. (32)

In further commenting upon the Uppingham scheme, Montgomery pointed out what the AMA perceived as an unfairness and, by implication, an inconsistency, in the treatment of the assistant master:

It is also a curious fact that in the same scheme for Uppingham School, which was the first scheme in which the Commissioners, after their promise to give a right of appeal, withdrew it, there is a provision that no boy can be expelled from the school without an appeal to the governing body; they gave to a boy of the school a privilege which they withdrew from the assistant masters, and the consequences of dismissal to an assistant master might be, and probably would be, much more serious than the consequences of expulsion to a boy. (33)

Montgomery, in presenting the AMA's policy on tenure, was anxious to show that the AMA believed that it had been the intention of the Endowed Schools Commissioners that assistant masters should have the right of appeal. He asserted, however, that since the Uppingham case it had been usual for the Charity Commission to insert a clause making the dismissal of an assistant master subject to the pleasure of the headmaster, except in third grade schools where appointment and dismissal of teaching staff remained the prerogative of the governors. (34)

Widening the argument for improving an assistant master's security of tenure, Martin informed the Commissioners of the practice common in many secondary schools on the resignation of a headteacher:

I should like to bring this fact before the Commission, that, under the present conditions, when a headmaster resigns his post, or is dismissed, he has to give notice to every assistant master on the staff, for the reason that the assistant masters are his servants, and not the servants of the governors; so that when you dismiss the headmaster you dismiss every man in the school. I think that is a point on which assistant masters feel rather keenly. (35)

Martin would not retract his stated evidence even under close questioning, and in the face of obvious incredulity on the part of two of the Commissioners, George Cockburn and Edward Maclure. Cockburn, chairman of the Leeds School Board since 1881, had wide experience in both the politics and administration of local education. Maclure, Dean of Manchester, a respected chairman of the Manchester School Board and soon to be appointed chairman of the School Boards Association of England and Wales, was equally unwilling to be easily fobbed off by Martin's evidence. Maclure tried to rationalize the position by making an analogy with the animal kingdom: 'I suppose that is on the principle of ploughing with his own heifer?' It is ironic that four years later at the Grantham Inquiry in 1899, (36) the two headmasters giving evidence on behalf of the LAHM, in support of the AMA, against the governors of Grantham Grammar School, refuted Martin's argument. Dr J.Gow, the headmaster of Nottingham High School, stated in his evidence that the custom of the profession was a term's notice, expiring at the end of a term. Dr R.P. Scott, the headmaster of Parmiter's School, corroborated, and said, 'It is not a custom for a new headmaster to re-appoint the assistant masters when he came in. He took them on, or, if he intended to dismiss them, he gave them notice'. (37)

Michael Sadler, in questioning Montgomery, surmised that the clause on tenure incorporated into its Schemes by the Charity Commission had its origins in the recommendation of the Taunton Commission that a headmaster should have the

powers of appointment and dismissal of assistant masters. Montgomery concurred in that he could see no other grounds for the insertion of the prevailing clause. He then proceeded to develop the argument that if such was the case then a reappraisal of the whole premise of the tenure clause was overdue in that the Taunton Report had been published almost 30 years previously, and gave the following historical analogy and statistical information in evidence:

The state of affairs in schools now is very different from the state of affairs at the time the Schools Inquiry Commission made their report. At that time masters might be roughly divided into two classes: one class of good men who would become headmasters, and sometimes were made headmasters without any previous experience; and another class of very inferior men to whom the term "usher" was applied. At the present time, the majority of assistant masters are as well qualified as headmasters, from the point of view of academic qualifications. The percentage of headmasters who are graduates is 84. We have obtained statistics as to assistant masters in 465 public secondary schools for boys in England and Wales (the statistics are compiled mainly from school prospectuses), and we find that out of the 2,958 assistant masters in 465 schools, 1,858 are graduates, giving a percentage of 63. (38)

Montgomery argued that the changed status of assistant masters, particularly in regard to their improved 'intellectual qualifications' justified a change in the policy recommended by the Taunton Commission. Andrew Fairburn, principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, from its foundation in 1886, was concerned as to the accuracy of Montgomery's statistics and questioned whether the figures applied to first and second grade schools or only to second grade schools. Montgomery replied:

These statistics refer to all public secondary schools, both first grade and second grade, from which we have received replies to our inquiries; we have obtained the prospectuses of all the leading public schools, and therefore they contribute towards these figures and influence them. The schools from which we have not received prospectuses or information are, as a rule, the smaller schools; and if returns could have been obtained from all public secondary schools the percentage of assistant masters who are graduates would be lower than 63; probably it would not come much above 50. (39)

Sadler wondered whether an analogy could be drawn from industrial arrangements in favour of giving headmasters absolute power of dismissal. Montgomery, in response,

skilfully referred to the greater security of tenure enjoyed in the armed services when compared to the assistant master:

If dismissal at pleasure were necessary anywhere it would be in the army and navy; but it has not been found necessary there; and if it has not been found necessary in the army and navy, I do not see how it can be necessary in the public secondary schools. But I should like to add that we consider that the headmaster ought to have power to suspend at once an assistant master, because cases might arise of serious misbehaviour on the part of assistant masters, and such must be dealt with at once. (40)

Montgomery believed that the teacher in the smaller school was particularly at risk from dismissal on the grounds of 'mere caprice', whereas those teachers faced with dismissal in a first grade school would probably be able to enlist public opinion in their support. In concluding his evidence, Montgomery stressed the overriding importance of the tenure issue to the assistant master: 'The system of dismissal at pleasure is felt by the assistant masters as the keenest disability under which they suffer. Their salaries are low, but they feel much more keenly this system of dismissal at pleasure'. (41)

The Dean of Manchester remained unconvinced as to why the AMA regarded 'dismissal' by a headmaster as being of greater significance to the assistant master than 'appointment' by a headmaster. Using a further analogy from the animal kingdom, the Dean stated that the issues were 'very much on all fours'. Montgomery responded by quoting from a recent resolution of the Association that 'the appointment of assistant masters by the headmaster is likely to tend most to efficiency,' and added, 'That resolution when it was put to the meeting met with very little discussion, because what assistant masters feel to be unsatisfactory is not the appointment, but the dismissal at pleasure'. (42) Montgomery, however, was generous enough to point out that the majority of headmasters were 'able and upright men'. He was well aware of the close links being forged between the AMA and the Incorporated Association of Head Masters (IAHM). (43) The IAHM was to argue strongly to the Bryce Commission for the retention by headmasters of the power of

dismissal; at the same time, the IAHM was to suggest three qualifications to its stance to mitigate the effects of possible hardship to any assistant master affected:

1. That on the appointment of a new head master, any assistant master already on the staff might for one year have a right to appeal to the governing body.
2. That after the completion of 10 years' service on the foundation, an assistant master might have a similar right of appeal.
3. That an assistant master who, with the written sanction of governing body or of head master has incurred expenses for building or furnishing in connection with a boarding-house should have a similar right of appeal, and if dismissed, should be entitled to reasonable compensation. (44)

Despite Montgomery's acknowledgment that most headmasters could be regarded as honourable, he was adamant that the prevailing regulation regarding dismissals was objectionable because 'an assistant master never knows when he may not be under a man of different class'. (45)

The recommendations of the Bryce Commission with regard to the appointment and dismissal of teaching staff clearly reflect the substance and arguments of the AMA submission:

The improvement which has taken place in the qualifications and status of assistant teachers during the last 20 years, has to some extent modified the circumstances in which the Schools Enquiry Commissioners made their recommendations with regard to the appointment and dismissal of the teaching staff, and we have come to the conclusion that, so far as the tenure of office of assistant teachers is concerned, there should be some limit to the power of the head teacher, besides that involved in his general responsibility to the governing body. At the same time, we consider it would be unwise to apply the same rule to every class of school....We recommend, therefore, as a rule that - In schools which we have provisionally described as belonging to the first and second grades, assistant teachers should be appointed by the head teacher, who should also have power to dismiss them, but subject always to the approval of the governing body....In other schools, both the appointment and dismissal should rest with the governors, who should, however, be required to receive a report from, and to consult with, the head teacher before coming to a decision....Under either plan we think that, before the governors decide in favour of dismissal, the assistant teacher concerned should be afforded an opportunity of making a statement of his own behalf. (46)

EARLY CASEWORK

From its formation the AMA was concerned to help assistant masters faced with dismissal on grounds other than misconduct, the only inhibiting factor to offering help in all cases being a financial one. As an infant association, the AMA did not have the funds readily to pursue cases that might lead to court action, but where resolution could come through negotiation and compromise, help was given. An early *AMA Circular to Members* in December 1898 notes that 'the whole question of security of tenure is one requiring the most careful consideration,' and that 'during the year by the help of the Executive Committee we were successful in bringing about reinstatement of one of our members the security of whose tenure was threatened'. (47) Likewise an early *Annual Report* contains a report from the Legal Subcommittee stating that during the year 1897-8 there had been four cases involving security of tenure, and four cases of dismissal without notice. (48)

Grantham Case (1898)

The Grantham case has been referred to by Sinclair (1940) as the *cause célèbre* for the AMA. (49) Certainly the case was the first to attract nation-wide attention, receiving coverage in some 30 to 40 newspapers and magazines, and bringing the issue of the security of tenure of the assistant master forcibly to public notice. The successful involvement of the AMA in the case proved to be a valuable aid to recruitment, as the Association was seen to be fulfilling one of its stated and basic objectives 'to abolish "dismissal at pleasure" '.

The outline details of the case are as follows. (50) In August 1898 W.J.Hutchings, headmaster of Grantham Grammar School, Lincolnshire, wrote to the governors resigning his appointment, and asking that his resignation might take effect 'not later than the end of the January term'. (51) In September Hutchings informed his staff that

he had resigned and would retire 'not later than' the end of the January term, and expressed the fear that their position might be affected by his departure. In December a former assistant master, Revd W.R.Dawson, then headmaster of Corby Grammar School, Northamptonshire, was appointed as the new headmaster. Hutchings, having found other work, asked to be allowed to retire immediately. At this point the clerk of the governors wrote to him: 'On the termination of your appointment, whenever that may be, the engagement of your assistant-teachers will also terminate.' On 22 December this intimation was passed on to the assistant teachers, and on 24 December they were informed by Hutchings that his successor did not intend to retain their services. At this they protested to the governors against such treatment and, acting on the advice of the AMA's Legal Sub-Committee, presented themselves at the start of the spring term. The new headmaster refused to employ them.

AMA had urgent talks with the IAHM and together they decided to make the events at Grantham into a test case of 'the legal change, if any, affecting the tenure of assistant masters upon the appointment of a new headmaster.' It fell to the AMA to draw the attention of the Charity Commissioners to the intended action. AMA immediately launched an appeal to cover the legal expenses, and the response from members was quick and generous. Within weeks over £65 had been subscribed. (52) At the public inquiry which followed, the Association was represented by counsel, together with John Crichton, honorary secretary of the Legal Sub-Committee, and Paul Swinstead, honorary secretary of the Association. Dawson, the headmaster, in giving evidence, exonerated the governors, declared himself to be a free agent, and gave three reasons for his dismissal of the assistant masters: they were senior to himself; they were not athletes; and they did not desire to live in the school house.

The decision of the Commissioners was expressed in a letter to the clerk of the governors. The Commissioners pointed out that they regretted that an impression had

been present among those responsible for the administration of the Charity that 'the engagements of Assistant Masters were *ipso facto* terminated by the resignation of the Headmaster.' They concluded that

under the terms of their engagements the Assistant Masters became, by custom of the profession, entitled to one term's salary in lieu of notice, and that these sums are payable out of the funds of the Charity. In order to avoid any further misapprehension I am to add that the provisions of the Scheme do not appear to impose any personal liability on the Head master vacating his office by reason of his omitting to give notice to terminate the engagements of the Assistant Masters, a step which is neither customary nor, in the interests of the School, desirable.

The AMA was justifiably elated at the Inquiry's findings, and tried to capitalize on this by advising unattached masters to join the Association that was willing to fight so vigorously on their behalf. It had to be acknowledged, however, amidst the euphoria, that the findings of the Commission had no legal validity. This was on two counts: first, because the findings were not opposed by the governors, and second, because the Charity Commission took no steps to enforce its verdict. The AMA went so far as to have a writ issued against the governors on behalf of one of the three assistants for the recovery of a term's salary, but on the advice of counsel dropped legal proceedings. The case was not clear-cut in law, and the AMA simply did not have the funds to undertake a protracted and potentially costly action. It was not, in fact, until the Richmond case of 1907, which will be dealt with later, that the AMA was prepared to undertake litigation.

The Grantham case, despite its lack of legislative sanction, was of great significance for the assistant masters' cause. Baron rightly points out that its success helped to destroy the commonly-held belief that engagements ended on the death, retirement, or resignation of the headmaster, and established more firmly the legal right to claim a term's salary in lieu of notice. (53) After Grantham it became increasingly difficult for the Secondary Branch of the Board of Education to resist the demand for legislative change. The 1908 Endowed Schools (Masters) Act, which, as will be seen,

affirmed that assistant masters were employed by the governing body and not by the headmaster, was the inevitable statutory response to the victory gained at Grantham. For its part the AMA had seen the value of a co-ordinated campaign and of corporate action. The unsatisfactory nature of the assistant masters' position had been exposed in the press, and public understanding, if not sympathy, engendered. The joint stance of the AMA and the IAHM had undoubtedly been productive. A direct result of the Grantham case was that the IAHM set up a special Committee to re-define the Association's position on the tenure issue. While maintaining that a headmaster should retain the powers of appointment and dismissal, the IAHM did concede that a dismissed assistant should have the right to submit a written statement of their case within six months of receiving notice. (54)

The success of the assistant master at Grantham was an encouragement to further achievement. The AMA saw no room for complacency. The *Annual Report* for 1899 summed up the Association's view: 'The Grantham Case has accomplished much, but the position of Assistant Masters in Secondary Education is a discredit to this country, and, at time like this, when the re-organisation of Education is beginning, it is more than ever necessary to bring before the public the scandalous abuses which thrive under the present system'. (55)

Oundle Case (1899)

A particularly blatant example of arbitrary dismissal followed in the wake of the Grantham case, at Oundle School, Northamptonshire. In July 1899 R.Edward Jones, a clerk in holy orders and an assistant master at Oundle, was summarily dismissed by his headmaster, F.W.Sanderson. Prior to his dismissal, Jones had been well thought of by Sanderson, and had been recommended by him for a vacant headship. In a letter to the editor of the *Journal of Education*, Jones explained that it had been his defence of a long-standing colleague, H.Rowsell Cooper, against what he had seen as an unwarranted and improperly executed charge of opposition and disloyalty by the

headmaster, that had led to his dismissal. (56) For example, Jones had been unable to condone Cooper being ordered from his class and the premises by the headmaster, and within earshot of the pupils, 'for his dirty behaviour'. Cooper, an AMA member, wrote a letter to the *AMA Circular* in which he poignantly described employment conditions as he found them at Oundle. (57) He described his working day as occupying from 6 a.m. until midnight 'with hardly half an hour that I could call absolutely my own.' He stated that he was treated by Sanderson with 'insult and abuse...as though I was an escaped convict.' He explained that it was still possible at Oundle School for masters to be dismissed 'without cause assigned - without appeal to the Governors - at the mere discretion, or, it may be, caprice, of a headmaster.' He concluded by making a topical reference to the Boer War which had recently begun: 'It is really a national blot that in this free England of ours such unlimited power - a power withheld from our officers in the Army and Navy - should be placed in the hands of headmasters whereby, as we see, a member of the staff may be reduced to the position of a helot, or a Uitlander.'

To widen its understanding of the tenure issue, and to inform the membership of the status and employment conditions of assistant masters in many areas of Europe and the wider world, the AMA Press Sub-Committee during 1900 made arrangements for the preparation of reports on the situation in Prussia, Wurtemberg, France, Sweden, Russia, Denmark, Norway, Australia and Canada. The differing position of the Scottish and Welsh schoolmasters was also analysed. (58)

Merchant Taylors' Case (1901)

In 1901 another serious tenure dispute involving AMA members was brought to the attention of the Association's Legal Sub-Committee. The school concerned was the Merchant Taylors' School in the City of London, and the dispute received full coverage in *The Times*, and in such weeklies as the *Athenaeum*, the *Cambridge Review*, the *Saturday Review*, and *Truth*. (59) Merchant Taylors' School, was almost

entirely supported by the Merchant Taylors' Company and governed by the Court of the Company. The Charity Commissioners, acting as Endowed Schools Commissioners, claimed jurisdiction over the school on account of a small endowment which it had. Assistant masters were appointed and dismissed by the Court, and it had been the practice of the Court to present retiring masters to livings in the Company's gift, or to grant them pensions.

At the beginning of 1901 a new headmaster, aged 26, who had little experience of schoolwork, took office. Shortly afterwards the quaintly called Chief Master of Modern Subjects resigned (at the request of the Court). He had served the school for many years and was granted a pension. In December three other masters, all AMA members, received notice of dismissal, to take effect at the end of March 1902. The first, an Oxford MA aged 51 years, had been a master at the school for 23 years, during which time he had received promotion five times. When he protested against such treatment, he was granted a year's salary. The second, a science graduate aged 55, had been a master in the lower school for 25 years. After an unsuccessful first protest, a second appeal gained him a year's salary. The third man, a linguist, with a first-class honours London degree, aged 45, had served the school for 12 years. He received no grant.

P.Coleman, chairman of the Legal Sub-Committee, expressed deep concern at the treatment of the three dismissed masters. No reason had been given for their dismissal: there was no suggestion of incompetence in that the headmaster was willing to give a testimonial to each of them. Coleman believed, however, that it would be unlikely that any of the three men, on account of their age, would be able to secure a new position. His view was that they were 'professionally ruined'. All three men were married with family commitments.

The Merchant Taylors' case was the most recent of many instances of unfair dismissal that had been referred to the Association. In January 1902, as will be seen later, the AMA joined with the IAHM in a joint deputation to the newly-created Board of Education, to draw the Board's attention to the increasing number of cases of hardship resulting from unfair dismissal, and to suggest a direct appeal to the Board in such cases, together with a referral of the whole question of tenure to the Consultative Committee.

The dismissal of the three masters at Merchant Taylors' School was effective from the 31 March 1902. On 17 April F.S.Stevenson MP (Suffolk, Eye), a former parliamentary Charity Commissioner and an advanced Liberal, at the request of the Association, raised the question in Parliament. (60) The AMA was increasingly to use its parliamentary contacts to pursue the cause of legislative change. Stevenson asked Sir John Gorst, Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, whether the attention of the Board of Education had been drawn to the dismissal by the Court of governors of Merchant Taylors' School, on the recommendation of the headmaster, of three long-serving assistant masters, in circumstances where there was no question of incompetence or misdemeanour, and where there had been - contrary to the School's normal practice - no provision of pension rights. Stevenson also enquired whether the Board of Education had any jurisdiction over the school by reason of its endowment, and whether it would make any representation to the Court of governors on the subject. He further asked whether the Board would consider the desirability of inserting in schemes for endowed schools a clause giving to assistant masters reasonable security of tenure. Gorst replied that the Board had no official information on the practice of granting pensions at the school, and the Board had never yet succeeded in devising any plan of appeal which could in their judgement be properly inserted in a scheme. He stressed that the Board knew the limits of its jurisdiction, but that there was a nice point of law involved whether a particular school was an endowed school or not, and that there was no particular reason why the

Board should take steps to determine this point until a question arose on which the jurisdiction of the Board was necessary.

In deference to the wishes of the dismissed masters no further action was taken by the Association, but a few weeks later it was found possible to raise the question of tenure during the discussion in the Committee of Supply, on 26 May, of the Estimates for the Board of Education. (61) Stevenson again put the Association's case for a right to appeal to the Board and for the whole question of tenure to be referred to the newly-established Consultative Committee, a body set up by the Board of Education Act of 1899 to advise on matters referred to it by the Board. In reply, Gorst sardonically assured the honourable member that he was 'quite alive to the disadvantage in the profession of teachers being liable to dismissal by the arbitrary will of a headmaster, having served as an assistant master before he was born.'

Gorst expressed willingness to consider any practical plan. He thought that a right of appeal to a governing body was a possibility, but that an appeal to the Board was not, 'because I do not think the Board of Education is either qualified or able to undertake such a task.' He refused to refer the matter to the Consultative Committee on the grounds that 'there must be a practical plan before we can undertake to move in the matter at all.' It has been seen that the Consultative Committee by its terms of reference could not initiate an enquiry of its own volition, and, therefore, Gorst's decision was final. (62)

At this stage the AMA's Parliamentary Sub-Committee, set up in 1897, considered the possibility of moving an amendment to the Education Bill whereby in the case of all new schools the local authority should have some control over the appointment and dismissal of teachers. It was thought better, however, to raise the question by way of a new clause and Stevenson put down an amendment on the Order Paper. No time was found, in fact, at the committee stage in the Commons to move the amendment.

The Bishop of Hereford, John Percival, who had been a public school headmaster for 21 years, first at Clifton College and later at Rugby School, tried to aid the Association by moving an amendment during the committee stage of the Bill in the House of Lords in December 1902, but without success. (63) The amendment was to provide that the consent of the local authority be required for the dismissal of teachers in all schools and colleges under Part II of the Bill, and that any dismissed teacher might appeal to the Board of Education, whose decision should be final. He said that it was contrary to the ordinary English practice that assistant masters should not have the opportunity to appeal. The Marquess of Londonderry, a former chairman of the London School Board, and President of the Board of Education in Balfour's Conservative government from July 1902, opposed the amendment because

it would prevent secondary schools of high character under governing bodies being made available for secondary education under Part II of this Act, unless the authority was about to provide a very large subsidy for the benefit of the school. No governing body would hand over to the contributors of only a small part of the income of the school such a very important detail of the management as the control over the dismissal of teachers.

Londonderry saw no reason why the local authority should have a say in the dismissal of teachers. Lord Alwyne Compton, Bishop of Ely, put the position against which the Association was fighting when he resisted the amendment on the ground that it was 'the almost universal custom in important secondary schools for the governors to appoint the headmaster and to look to him for the success of the school, putting entirely into his hands the question of the assistants.' He said that the amendment would go 'exactly contrary to that almost universal practice.' In the face of this concerted opposition Percival's amendment was defeated. (64)

The AMA's championing of the dismissed masters of the Merchant Taylors' School had, therefore, in legislative terms achieved nothing. But the publicity surrounding the case had done much to arouse public interest on behalf of the teachers' cause. The Legal Sub-Committee drew up a Memorandum on the case which, with the aid of

branch secretaries, was widely circulated amongst MPs, county councillors, and other public figures, many of whom were expressing increasing support for the contentions of the Association. The Bishop of Hereford sent this message to the Association: 'I am sorry my poor efforts failed so utterly: but you will succeed bye-and-bye.'

In April 1901, with the dismissals at the Merchant Taylors' School clearly before them, the AMA's Council laid down that the tenure policy of the Association would demand one term's notice of dismissal, expiring at the end of the term, that a term's work should carry with it a third of a year's salary, and that in any proposed system of appeal there should be

- a) a right of appeal direct to the Board of Education
- b) the person appealing and the person appealed against should have equal privileges as regards hearing
- c) the findings of the Board should be published
- d) the Board should have power to order reinstatement and
- e) the Assistants' status as a servant of the Governing Body should be formerly recognised. (65)

It is important to point out at this juncture, to maintain a balanced view and to illustrate the professionalism of the AMA's policy, that the Association would not in every instance support the case of a dismissed member. The Association was aware that there were teachers totally unfit to hold their positions, on the grounds of incompetence, misconduct, dereliction of duty, or possibly of age. In the *AMA Circular to Members* of March 1901 an editorial note admitted that it 'would be unwise to throw too great difficulties in the way of dismissal,' and went on to explain that the problem often arose from headmasters shrinking from their task of dismissing unsuitable assistants. (66)

CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION: 1899-1902

The creation of the Board of Education in 1899 and the passing of the Balfour Education Act in 1902, had, as has been seen to some extent already, a direct bearing

on the tenure issue. Gosden outlines the transfer of the educational powers of the Charity Commissioners to the Board of Education, a transfer period extending from May 1900 to April 1903. (67) It was understandable that a number of county councils should wish to see at this time of transfer an amendment to the schemes of government of those endowed schools where an appeal to the governing body against dismissal was not provided for. The vested interest of these county councils was that they were providing monetary support, in the form of grants and scholarships, to many endowed schools. In October 1901 W.N.Bruce, Assistant Secretary, Board of Education, in a minute to Kekewich, Secretary of the Board, suggested that the time had come to consider allowing such a right of appeal. Bruce referred to the precedent of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889, where in five out of the 16 Welsh authorities an appeal was allowed. Kekewich's response was that the Board should not commit itself to any general rule. (68)

Discussion on the Education Bill and increasing concern as to the role of the LEAs in relation to tenure, led the IAHM to write to the Board, in December 1901, requesting that it should receive a deputation. In their letter, the IAHM pointed out that a number of LEAs had already resolved to secure increased powers for themselves in relation to the appointment and dismissal of staff, and, accordingly, that Association urged that the question of tenure be referred to the Consultative Committee. The Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters (IAAM) - the official title of the association after incorporation had been adopted in November 1901 (69) - after consultation with the IAHM, asked the Board to receive a deputation of its members at the same time as the requested deputation from the IAHM. The Board agreed to a joint deputation, which was received by Kekewich in January 1902. (70) Dr J. Gow, chairman of the IAHM and leader of the joint deputation, asked that the question of tenure might be referred to the Consultative Committee to enquire and report. Gow urged that the Board lay down a national policy on tenure to prevent LEAs formulating their own policies. He argued that the local authorities were now active,

and would be even more so in secondary education, and that they would both need guiding, and have to be consulted on the subject of tenure. G.F.Bridge and A.Gorham, representing the AMA, referred to the large number of cases of hardship which had come to the notice of the Association, including the recent Merchant Taylors' case, and sought a right of appeal to the Board in cases of unfair dismissal. Kekewich assured the deputation that their requests would be put to the Lord President of the Board. Minutes of the Board reveal, however, that Gorst, then Vice-President, recommended to the Lord President that the question of tenure 'be not referred to the Consultative Committee since the Board of Education by such action would give a kind of pledge to deal with the matter.' He added, 'The only possible appeal seems to me to be one to the governing body of the school. There are, however, strong objections to this, and on the whole the question might rest at present. There is no difficulty in getting plenty of assistant masters on present terms'.
(71)

The joint deputation had, therefore, failed to influence the policies of the Board, but, on the positive side, the IAHM and the AMA were working together and were being listened to by the most senior officials of the Board. Gorst addressed the question of appeals to the Board during the debate on the 1902 Education Bill in the Commons, but, as has already been seen, dismissed such appeals as impracticable.

AMA/IAHM RESOLUTIONS: 1903-4

Tenure was without doubt the most important issue which the Association had to deal with in the early years of the century. In November 1902 T.E. Page of Charterhouse School, the chairman of the AMA, speaking at a conference arranged by the University of Cambridge on the training of teachers, quoted the following passage from the Association's submission to the Bryce Commission in 1895: 'The system of dismissal at pleasure is felt by assistant members as the keenest disability under

which they suffer. Their salaries are low but they feel much more keenly the system of dismissal at pleasure.' He told the conference: 'The words are as true today as they were eight years ago'. (72) In January 1903 the AMA's Council laid down, in more precise terms than previously, the Association's position on tenure. The resolutions passed in council remained the Association's policy for the next few years and were:

a) Appointment.

The permanent appointment of Assistant Masters to posts on the staffs of schools should be made by Governing Bodies on the recommendation of the Headmasters.

b) Dismissal.

i) Assistant masters should be dismissible only by the Governing Body at the instance of the Headmaster.

ii) No dismissal should take place until the Assistant Master had had an opportunity of stating his case.

c) Appeal.

i) Any Assistant Master dismissed by a Governing Body should have the right of appeal to the Board of Education.

ii) The decision of the Board should be communicated to both parties.

iii) Such decision should not be held to be private.

iv) The Board of Education should have power to make such order as it deems advisable. (73)

In October 1903 the IAHM invited the Association to a conference on tenure under an independent chairman, Sir Edward Fry, one of His Majesty's Judges. The conference produced a joint-policy statement on security of tenure, the resolutions contained within being adopted by the two associations in January 1904. These resolutions were:-

1) The Headmaster shall be empowered as agent of the Governing Body,

a) At discretion to appoint Assistant Masters. He shall notify all such appointments to the Governing Body. The Assistant Masters on such appointments shall hold office from and under the Governing Body,

b) At discretion to give notice of dismissal to all Assistant Masters. He shall notify without delay any exercise of this power to the Governing Body.

Note : the words 'at discretion' are meant to record that the Governing Body is in a position to inquire into the mode in which this power has been exercised. The Assistant Master shall have the right of appeal to the Board of Education against such dismissal, this right to be exercised not later than one month from the receipt of notice.

- 2) The decision of the Board of Education in matters of appeal under section (1b), shall be accepted as final by all the parties concerned. In cases of a successful appeal the Assistant Master shall not suffer any loss of salary pending the decision. (74)

The Board of Education was asked in the spring of 1904 to receive a joint AMA/IAHM deputation to discuss the agreed policy statement. The request was turned down. Bruce, now Principal Assistant Secretary, Secondary School Branch, minuted that there was no point in meeting while the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 remained on the statute book, the Act categorically rejecting any right of appeal. Morant, Permanent Secretary of the Board and a ruthless administrator, declared his opposition 'on all grounds' to any appeal to the Board. (75)

By the autumn of 1904, however, the Board of Education had modified its rigid stance, and agreed to see a joint deputation. Sir William Anson, recently appointed as the first Parliamentary Secretary to the Board, abandoned his predecessor Gorst's earlier inflexibility and positively responded to the Associations' argument that if a settlement was delayed the assistant masters of locally-aided endowed schools might appeal to the new LEAs. At all costs Anson wanted to avoid 'throwing the Assistant Masters into the arms of the local authority', thereby preserving the freedom and authority which the Board wished to maintain for headmasters. (76)

The Board had exhibited a more flexible attitude, but its negative response to the deputation's request for appeals to the Board revealed its continuing intransigence on this central issue. Cyril Norwood, then a master at Leeds Grammar School and secretary of the West Riding Branch of the AMA, in a letter to the *Yorkshire Daily Observer* earlier in the year, had drawn attention to the fact that the Board stuck rigidly to what was basically the Charity Commission's policy on all tenure matters.

His letter referred to the request of the governors of Bradford Grammar School to make a slight modification to the headmaster's right to dismiss his assistants, a request which was flatly rejected by the Board. (77)

LEAs AND THE BOARD: POST-1902

In the period following the Education Act of 1902, the Board faced pressure from an increasing number of LEAs intent on assuming responsibility for the appointment and dismissal of teachers in the new secondary schools that they were providing under the Act. The London County Council, early in 1905, by a short resolution, practically settled the tenure question in London secondary schools, excluding only a few of the older schools such as Westminster and Dulwich. The Council resolved that governors of schools receiving grants from itself should be informed 'that it is the wish of the Council that they shall exercise control and responsibility in the appointment, dismissal, and payment of all teachers employed in their schools, and that they be asked, if their schemes prohibit such control and responsibility, to apply to the Board of Education for such modification in the schemes as will give them the power to sanction the appointment, dismissal, and payment of all persons employed in their schools.' (78)

The Middlesex County Council's scheme in 1906 for taking over the Isleworth County School and the Tottenham Grammar School provided for the appointment and dismissal of assistant masters to be made by the headmaster subject to the approval of the governors. The majority of governors in Middlesex were the nominees of the County Education Committee. The AMA was concerned in the Middlesex scheme as to whether the clause 'subject to the approval of the governors' made the assistant teacher legally the servant of the school or the authority. G.F.Daniell, deputy chairman of the Middlesex Branch of the AMA, and a former national chairman of the Association, wrote to the Board of Education for

clarification of certain clauses in the Middlesex Scheme. The reply of the Board appears to break new ground in the tenure issue:

Clause 10 of the proposed new scheme, while reserving for the headmaster the initiative in the appointment and dismissal of the staff, takes away from him the sole power of appointment and dismissal. The assistant masters would hold office as servants of the governing body, and the head master would exercise his authority under the clause as agent of the governing body. No appointment or dismissal of the assistant masters could effectively be made without the definite authorities of the governing body. (79)

If the response from the Board was a correct interpretation in law - and the Legal Sub-Committee of the AMA doubted that it was - then the position of the assistant master was completely changed. The editorial in the *AMA* for May 1906 commented: 'Instead of being a personal dependent of an individual, he becomes a public servant....The contention that his engagement terminates with that of his chief will become impossible....As far as status goes, we have won all that we have been fighting for'. (80)

The Board's interpretation may, therefore, have clarified the 'status' of the assistant master, but the question of his security remained unresolved. Several of the worst cases of dismissal had occurred in schools where a right of appeal to the governors was provided for. During 1905 the AMA Executive had conducted an inquiry into conditions of service, Information sent in from 123 schools showed that the ratio as between headmasters and governors with power to appoint teachers was 4 to 1, and with power of dismissal 5 to 1. The inquiry also revealed that for every assistant who had a right of appeal to governors there were two who had no such right. (81)

At the annual general meeting of the Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education in January 1905, support was given in the presidential address to the assistant masters' cause. F.Wilkinson, the President, referred to the fact that until recently the Secondary Branch of the Board of Education had tried to secure for headmasters of the newly-created maintained secondary schools, the same powers of

arbitrary appointment and dismissal as the heads of endowed schools enjoyed under the 1869 Endowed Schools Act. He reminded delegates that 'This is the year 1905, and not 1805,' and informed them that 'County and county borough authorities are asked at this time of the day to give to one class of servant autocratic powers which they deny to every other chief officer in their employ.' He strongly supported giving to the assistant teacher in secondary schools the same rights as to tenure as those possessed by headmasters. The President derisively commented, 'Is there no court of Appeal? Is the headmaster's stable boy to be in a better legal position than the responsible assistant in his secondary school?' He concluded his remarks by the following plea on behalf of the assistant master: 'The assistants in endowed secondary schools have been too long in bondage, and now the opportunity is coming along when our committees can help them to their emancipation. I sincerely hope that the authorities of this county will protest in the very strongest possible manner against this modern recrudescence of despotism'. (82)

It is apparent that increasing pressure was being put upon the Board of Education to modify its stance on the question of arbitrary dismissal which effectively meant that the provisions of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 would have to be reviewed. At the request of the AMA, S.H. Butcher, MP for Cambridge University, raised a question in the Commons asking why in certain cases no provision was made for protecting assistant masters from arbitrary dismissal. In reply, Augustine Birrell, President of the Board of Education from the start of Campbell-Bannerman's Liberal administration, gave the Board's standard response that Section 22 of the 1869 Endowed Schools Act made it imperative that every scheme should provide for the dismissal of every teacher 'at pleasure', adding, however, the proviso 'with or without a power of appeal in such cases and under such circumstances as the Board of Education may seem expedient'. Birrell then outlined the Board's normal practice in cases which came up for reconsideration, and in all new schemes: 'The Board's present practice is, generally speaking, to insert provisions requiring the approval of

the governing body in all cases where the appointment or dismissal is vested in the headmaster'. (83)

LEGISLATIVE ACTION: Richmond Case (1907)

The AMA Executive was encouraged by Birrell's statement in the Commons, as given above, because the President had admitted that the general practice of the Board of Education was no longer to approve schemes which allowed arbitrary dismissal by a headmaster. The Richmond Grammar School case in 1907, however, illustrated the continuing gross insecurity of the profession stemming from the exercise of 'capricious dismissal'. Upon the sudden resignation of Mr Furness, headmaster of Richmond Grammar School in Yorkshire, at the end of the summer term in 1906, the governors appointed a new headmaster, Algernon Prestwich. In a letter of 10 September, Prestwich informed the existing staff of four masters, all resident, that he intended to commence work on the 21 September with an entire change of staff. No notice of dismissal had been given by the outgoing headmaster, and Prestwich, on his appointment, worked on the assumption that all posts were vacant. The school was an old endowed foundation and the clause governing the tenure of assistant masters stated that 'The Headmaster shall appoint, and may at pleasure dismiss, all assistant masters in the school.' All four dismissed masters were members of the AMA, and the Association took up the case. As at Grantham a guarantee fund was opened to which over £900 was subscribed. Legal proceedings were instituted in the High Court in London against the governors of the school, the claim in each case being a term's salary, plus compensation for board and lodging, as damages for wrongful dismissal. The case was listed as *Wright v Zetland and Others* - the action being brought by Charles E. Wright, one of the dismissed masters, to recover damages from the Marquis of Zetland and other members of the governing body - and was tried by Mr Justice Lawrance and a special jury. (84)

As indicated, the case of only one master, Charles E. Wright, was tried, it being agreed that this was a test case and would govern any subsequent proceedings. The hearings commenced on 17 July 1907. The main contentions for the plaintiff were:

1. that an assistant master was the servant of the governing body, and not the headmaster.
2. that the term 'at pleasure' in the school scheme simply meant that it was not necessary to prove misconduct against an assistant master in order to dismiss him.
3. that a term's notice was necessary for dismissal.

The defence submitted that there was no case against the governors, drawing upon certain sections of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, and the school scheme, to show that the assistant masters were not the servants of the governing body. The judge decided that the question of custom and damages should go to the jury, who found that the custom of a term's notice had been proved and awarded damages to Wright in the agreed sum of £67.13s.4d. The judge then intimated that there was no case against the governors, expressing the view that the case should go to the Court of Appeal. This decision carried the implication that assistant masters in endowed schools were the personal servants of the headmaster, a decision in which the Association could not acquiesce. On the other hand, the verdict of the jury in deciding that the custom of a term's notice had been established was legally important, for this point had never before been established in the High Court.

The Appeal was heard in November 1907. The questions raised on the appeal were, first, whether an assistant master could be dismissed without notice; and second, whether he was employed by the headmaster or the governing body. The court dismissed the application. Lord Justice Vaughan Williams, in summing up, agreed with Mr Justice Lawrance's (trial judge) point on which he decided the case, namely, assuming the plaintiff to have a good cause of action for wrongful dismissal, the governors were not the right persons to be sued.

The legal costs to the AMA of taking up the Richmond case were £675; an expensive action which from the legal viewpoint had little to show for it. In fighting the case the Association had wished to prove two points: first, that an assistant master could not be dismissed without cause assigned and without notice, and second, that the assistant masters were the employees not of the headmaster but of the school. On both points the law had decided against the Association. The case, however, received a great deal of publicity and in this way promoted the cause of the assistant master. There was widespread concern about the verdict, and the existing state of tenure for assistant masters was generally condemned. *The Times*, in a leading article on 26 November, expressed the opinion that 'coming at a time when everything ought to be done to better their position and to attract to the scholastic profession men capable and ambitious, this decision is unfortunate.' The *Daily Mail* on 7 December wrote: 'The legal position of assistant masters in grammar schools and public schools is, it seems, that of a charwoman...the lot of an assistant master in a secondary school, which has never been a particularly enviable one, has been changed for the worse by a judgement of the Appeal Court this week.'

At the AMA Executive Committee meeting in October 1907, it was decided to confer with the IAHM on the question of tenure as affected by the decision in the Richmond case. The outcome was a joint deputation of AMA/IAHM representatives to the Board, early in 1908. The views expressed by the deputation were instrumental in the introduction of The Endowed School (Masters) Bill in the Commons in July 1908 at the start of Asquith's Liberal government. The bill met with no opposition in either House, and only one substantial amendment was made: the provision in the original draft for a master dismissed on the grounds of misconduct to be given the reasons for his dismissal was deleted at the committee stage in the Commons. (85) In the Lords the Lord Steward, the Earl Beauchamp, who had been a member of the Cross Commission set up in 1886 to inquire into the working of the Education Acts in England and Wales, made reference to the contribution of the IAHM and the AMA to

the final format of the bill: 'The Bill in its present form represents the result of long negotiations which have taken place between the Board of Education and the Incorporated Association of Headmasters and a similar Association of Assistant Masters and it is understood to have the support of these bodies'. (86)

ENDOWED SCHOOLS (MASTERS) ACT (1908)

The bill became law in August and its passage vindicated the AMA's action in the case. By the Act the assistant master became the servant of the governing body and not of the headmaster, and was entitled to at least two months' notice of dismissal, taking effect at the end of a school term. (87) It must be stressed that the Act in no sense gave security of tenure to the assistant master, but, what it did, and this is its importance, was to clarify the status of both headteachers and masters in the endowed schools. The assistant master no longer could be the victim of 'capricious dismissal'.

The statutory requirements of the Endowed Schools (Masters) Act of 1908 led the Board to re-draft its guidelines to county councils regarding their management of secondary schools. Form 24S - *'Articles of Government for a Secondary School provided by a County Council'* - now stipulated that all assistant masters should be employed under a contract determinable by a notice. (88)

The 1908 Act had shortcomings but, before these are analysed, it must be acknowledged that the AMA experienced a justifiable pride at its part in securing the legislation. The Association had taken the initiative throughout in drawing public attention to the scandal at Richmond. It had taken courage to make a test case of the issues, particularly in view of the uncertain costs of litigation. The Association was not yet 20 years old, with a membership figure still under 2,000. The fact that a guarantee fund of £900 had been raised within weeks shows the earnestness of the members to oppose injustice within the profession. Norwood and Hope, writing

within a year of the passing of the 1908 Act, gave due credit to the role played by the AMA: 'This is the first great instalment towards securing a proper chapter of Assistant-masters' rights. That any legislation should have been arrived at, is directly due to the Assistant-masters' Association ...by exposing the insecurity of an assistant's tenure, (they) made some remedy imperative.'. (89) At the same time, however, Norwood and Hope were aware that the Act could only be regarded as a beginning. It was apparent to the AMA's Parliamentary Sub-Committee that much lobbying of MPs would be required to achieve more radical change.

An obvious limitation of the 1908 Act was that, by its very nature, it could only apply to endowed schools. The Act did not apply to the Public Schools Act of 1868, or to municipal or other unendowed schools. Additionally, no provision was made for any right of appeal to the Board, despite the fact that the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908 had legislated for appeals to the Scottish Education Department in cases of unfair dismissal. Another limitation of the Act was that no entitlement was given to a dismissed master for a personal hearing before the governors.

R.F.Cholmeley, the retiring chairman of the Association for 1908, summed up the task still to be faced in the tenure field:

The Tenure question is not settled beyond reach of cavil....The Act is a short Act, and much that we aimed at - and, with the active concurrence of the headmasters, still mean to attain - is not to be found in it...the functions of governing bodies are to be defined, and wherever and whenever that definition is embodied in a document we have to see that it is based upon the right principles. (90)

Cholmeley's thinking was reflected in an AMA Council resolution on tenure in January 1909: 'That it is highly desirable that all schemes or other written documents defining the functions of governing bodies, should specify the rights and duties which the governors intend to exercise regarding the appointment and dismissal of assistant masters'. (91)

CONTINUING CAMPAIGN: POST-1908

AMA/IAHM co-operation

The policy of AMA/IAHM co-operation, the value of which had been referred to by Cholmeley, was enhanced in 1910 by the two associations setting up an arbitration court, consisting of three members from each association with an independent chairman. The aim of the court was to try to resolve differences stemming from personal grounds that arose between headmasters and their assistants, and thus avoid prolonged and acrimonious tenure disputes. The court functioned efficiently and effectively, and was utilized on numerous occasions in the period before the Second World War. (92)

'Blacklisting' Policy

In November 1911 the Association adopted a new strategy in its campaign against the abuse of the assistant master's right to tenure: the strategy of publicly blacklisting schools and LEAs where injustices were evident. The November 1911 issue of the *AMA* printed a notice, within black borders, warning AMA members against taking up an appointment at the Dorking High School, Surrey. In a letter to the press, which was printed in many of the leading London daily papers, A.A. Somerville, an assistant master at Eton and chairman of the AMA, outlined the Association's concern at the treatment of an AMA member at the school. The governors, at the suggestion of the Surrey Education Committee, and with the intent of cutting costs, had dismissed this member (current salary £210 p.a., rising by annual increments of £7.10s. to £250 p.a.) and replaced him by a new man, engaged at a much reduced salary (£120 p.a.). Somerville pointed out that an AMA request to represent the dismissed member's interests at a specially convened meeting of a sub-committee of the LEA and the governing body had been refused. Subsequently the sub-committee reported that they saw no reason why the LEA should interfere with the action taken by the governors at the school. (93)

The Association asked a Conservative MP, William Joynson-Hicks, an old boy of Merchant Taylors' School - the scene of the earlier tenure dispute - and a solicitor by background, to raise the Dorking case in the Commons. (94) Joynson-Hicks asked if the attention of the Board of Education had been drawn to the facts of the dismissal at a school under the inspection of the Board, and, if so, what action the President intended to take. The response of the President was simply that this was a case in which he could not interfere.

In December 1911 two more schools were added to the blacklist, those of Stockton Grammar School, County Durham, and Newark Grammar School, Nottinghamshire. At both schools, staff were indiscriminately dismissed on the appointment of new headmasters. The dismissals at Stockton were particularly heartless: three men were involved, a young teacher who quickly got another post, a Mr Daphne, aged 65, and a Mr Worthington, aged 53, who had served the school for 25 years, latterly as acting-head upon the illness of the headmaster. A local solicitor in Stockton, Reuben Cohen, sent a scathing letter to the *Northern Echo* protesting at the dismissals and drawing public attention to the derisory way in which the governors had offered a financial settlement to Worthington and Daphne: 'The governors, through their chairman, the Revd Canon Martin, MA, gave Mr Worthington £15, and I believe - though I am not quite sure of this - their blessing. And lest the responsibility of so much wealth should overwhelm him, they strongly recommended that out of this munificent sum he should give £5 to Mr Daphne. He did so.' Support was readily forthcoming from the IAHM for the Association's new policy of 'blacklisting'; a resolution being passed endorsing the action. It had become the common goal of the two associations to attack any patent injustice in the profession. The methods of their attack had involved campaigns for legislative change, action in the courts, and now embraced the boycott of offending schools and LEAs.

Market Bosworth Grammar School, Leicestershire, was another school to be added to the blacklist. Early in 1913, on the advice of the AMA, an assistant master sued the headmaster and governors for damages following upon his summary dismissal. The school had figured before in the Association's casework; no fewer than 14 assistant masters had been dismissed from their posts since 1907. In the current case, the plaintiff was awarded the sum of £21, with costs. The case attracted a lot of local publicity and the *Hinckley Times and Boston Herald* could not resist referring to the public showing its approval of the trial's decision by applauding in the court. (95)

Right of hearing

In the period immediately prior to the First World War, the main concentration of the Association's efforts was to secure for assistant masters a 'right of hearing' by the governing body before dismissal. The case argued was that it should be a natural entitlement for a teacher to be able to present his version of the facts before the governors, since the Endowed Schools (Masters) Act of 1908 had made assistant masters the servants of the governing body. The Association during 1913 had a lengthy correspondence with the Board of Education on this issue, and met with fair success. The Board ruled that there was no reason why either governing body or LEA should not provide for a 'right of hearing' in their schemes. To encourage members to take advantage of this ruling, the Executive, in October 1913, published in the *AMA* a list of schools where a 'right of hearing' had already been granted. (96)

ACHIEVEMENTS BY 1914

In reviewing the progress of tenure reform by the outbreak of war in 1914, the part played by the AMA had been significant. The thrust of the NUT's campaign, to this time, had been at the elementary level, and had been undoubtedly successful. With a membership greatly exceeding that of the AMA, NUT pressure had been directed first, in the pre-1902 period, to the larger school boards, and subsequently to the

Local Education Authorities. At the secondary level, however, it had been the concurrence of the AMA/IAHM campaign which had largely brought change; the AAM's initiatives being somewhat muted by the generally better employment conditions prevailing in girls' schools. The AMA and the IAHM had contributed greatly to the Bryce Commission's recommendations in 1895, and to the provisions of the Endowed Schools (Masters) Act of 1908. Through responsibly challenging the injustice of arbitrary dismissal, and upholding the concepts of 'right of appeal' and 'right of hearing', reform was gradually emerging. By 1914 the AMA was an influential force in the politics of English education. Baron, though, correctly perceived deeper social issues being, in part, responsible for the betterment of teachers' employment conditions:

It is easy and misleading, however, to conclude that the degree of progress made was due to a series of 'cases', public protests or conferences. They played their part and change would have been slower if the Assistant Masters' Association had not sponsored the cause with energy. But fundamentally what was taking place was a reflection of changes in social life which demanded a greater measure of justice for the employee as opposed to the employer and which stimulated the many measures of the Liberal Government. (97)

WAR YEARS: 1914-18

The coming of war in August 1914 had the immediate effect of taking from the classroom a large number of able-bodied young masters. (98) As the months passed, and the prospect of an early end to the war faded, 'economy measures' were introduced throughout the educational service, leading to the disappearance of posts and to serious issues of tenure. No teacher enlisting for the services could have any guarantee of his position being kept open for him on his return. In the *AMA* for June 1915 a letter from a headmaster to his staff is quoted which reveals the grim reality of the situation:

It is therefore with regret that my governors instruct me to say that if you feel it to be your duty to enlist, they would not be able to pay you a salary during the time you were absent from school, although, of course, in the event of there being a vacancy at a time when you were looking out for

another appointment, they would be most pleased to give their very favourable consideration to any application you may make. (99)

In the Annual Report for 1915 the Executive Committee wrote:

The tenure question has during the year called for special attention and sustained effort...it has been the object of the Association to secure that economy in the personnel of education should not be introduced until all possible economy on the material side has been effected. Where economy in personnel has been inevitable, the aim of the Association has been directed towards maintaining salary conditions, the desired economy being effected rather by curtailment of the number of new appointments. (100)

The Association, early in 1915, sent a deputation to the Board of Education to voice its concern at the cut-backs in staffing in many schools on the ground of economy. The deputation was favourably received, and learned that the Board, although conscious of the need for economies, had a mutual desire to protect the posts of teachers wherever that was possible.

Reading Case (1915)

The most important tenure case since that at Richmond in 1907 occurred later in the year at Reading in Berkshire. (101) The Reading Education Committee decided to amalgamate two of the secondary schools within its area, Reading School and Kendrick Boys' School, the latter school to be closed under the scheme. The management of the combined school was to be transferred from the Reading Education Committee to a Board of Governors, and a Unification Committee was appointed by the Council with executive powers to carry the amalgamation into effect. The displaced headmaster was found another post under the authority; scholarship pupils at Kendrick Boys' School were allowed to hold their scholarships at Reading School; fee paying pupils, whose fees were lower at Kendrick Boys' School, were transferred with no increase in fee. All vested interests appear to have been safeguarded by the Unification Committee, with the exception of those of the assistant masters. The staffs of both schools were dismissed; but those of Reading school were re-appointed to the new school. Only one of the eight members of the

Kendrick School was re-appointed, despite the fact that no outside appointments were made. At no time was the efficiency of Kendrick School staff in question, and under the new articles of government the headmaster had the sole power of appointing staff.

The Executive Committee set up a special *ad hoc* committee to deal with the case. A vigorous campaign was initiated: the support of the local press enlisted, old boys and parents circularised, leading residents and members of the Borough Council canvassed, and the Board of Education notified. The Board, as a result, wrote to the Reading Authority, urging them to find suitable posts in their service for the men concerned. Prolonged negotiation, and the rejection of initial schemes of resolution, eventually led to four men being appointed to elementary schools, without loss of salary, and the granting of two terms' salary, by way of compensation, to the other two men. The seventh man, originally concerned, resigned independently of the case.

The Executive Committee considered the success achieved in the Reading case to be 'the greatest victory in the annals of the Association,' and thought it noteworthy that the sympathy of the Board of Education had been 'translated from formality into definite action with the authority concerned'. (102) The gratitude of the dismissed men was expressed exuberantly in a letter to the editor of the *AMA*:

When we were dismissed...there seemed little hope of redress; but thanks to the energetic action of the Committee appointed to deal with case, and especially to the magnificent work of its Chairman, Mr Alex Blades, the difficulties were overcome one by one as they presented themselves and the matter carried through to a triumphant conclusion....Reading, like Richmond, is a milestone on the road to a complete recognition of our rights. Long live the AMA!'. (103)

Dispute with Essex LEA

From May 1915 to March 1917 and again from March 1919 to October 1920 the Association was engaged in a bitter tenure struggle with the Essex Education Authority. The first dispute arose out of dismissal notices, to take effect in August, sent to two members of the staff of the County High School for Boys, Walthamstow,

in May 1915. (104) The two men concerned had served for 18 and 16 years respectively, and were on their maximum salary. They were dismissed owing to an alleged excess of staff. As one was a member of the NUT, the Association arranged for concerted action by the two associations. The claim that dismissal was on the grounds of over-staffing was questioned in that three new assistants had been appointed during the previous two years. Appeals were accordingly sent to the governors and to the Essex Education Committee who maintained the school. As in the Reading case, the Board of Education was given the details of the dismissals, and its response was to write to the governors on behalf of the masters concerned. The associations suggested to the LEA that transfers should be arranged, but it was purported by the Authority that the machinery did not exist to effect such a policy. A breakdown in relations between the AMA/NUT and the LEA resulted, and the school was duly added to the AMA blacklist.

The blacklisting lasted from March 1916 to March 1917 and resulted in the Essex Education Committee refusing to have any communication with the AMA. However, despite the official ban on contact by the Authority, informal discussions did take place, and a quasi-compromise agreed. While it was not found possible to re-open the case, assurances were given that in future the County Education Committee would 'refer matters in dispute to a disinterested tribunal chosen from its members, before which representatives of the Association may appeal on behalf of the masters.'

The assurances proved worthless, as evidenced in a most serious tenure case at the Monoux School, Walthamstow, in March 1919. (105) The acting headmaster had appointed to permanent posts more men than would be required when those on active service returned. As a result one man, after being demobilized at the request of the Essex Higher Education Committee, was immediately given two months' notice of dismissal and banned from entering the school. Two other demobilized men were told that their services would not be required after the end of the term. The three men

appealed to the Essex Higher Education Committee who had confirmed the dismissal in the first man's case before the AMA had been asked to represent his interests. The Association protested to the Authority at the arbitrary and unreasonable circumstances of his dismissal, but the LEA's response was that they considered the case closed.

The AMA Executive liaised with the NUT on the case in that one of the men who had been given notice of the termination of his employment was a member of that association. At the request of their executive councils, the Essex branch of the AMA, and the Walthamstow branch of the NUT, organized a public protest meeting which was presided over by the local MP, A.E. Newbould, the independent Liberal for West Leyton, Essex, and supported by county councillors and parents. At this meeting a resolution was proposed and seconded by two parents which demanded 'a full and impartial inquiry into the whole of the circumstances culminating in the issuing of notices of dismissal to certain masters of the Monoux School.' A further resolution came from the two teachers' associations, proposed by Alex Blades, AMA, and seconded by G.A. Bubbert, NUT:

That while not abating the claim of teachers to direct representation on Education Committees, this meeting requests the Essex Education Authority to set up immediately a Consultative Committee, consisting as to half its membership of persons nominated by the Education Committee, and as to the other half of teachers nominated by their respective Associations.

Both resolutions were carried unanimously and sent to the County Council, but to no immediate avail. In view of the Authority's intransigence, the AMA blacklisted the Monoux School from June to December 1919. The February 1920 issue of the AMA took the matter further by naming and blacklisting all the secondary schools under the control of the Essex Education Committee. Throughout, the AMA maintained public support for its hardline policy, which by the autumn term, 1920, had led to serious teacher recruitment problems within the county. Faced with an indefinite continuation of a policy of confrontation from the AMA, the Authority was forced

into making concessions. All charges made against the dismissed teacher were withdrawn, and he received a letter of assurance, the wording of which had been agreed upon between the officers of the Association and the chairman of the LEA. Additionally, the director of education for Essex wrote a conciliatory letter to the AMA saying, 'I will arrange to give your Association as early information as possible on matters in which the Association is likely to be interested, in order that your Committee may have an opportunity to place its views before the Essex Authority prior to the holding of any enquiry.' He also advised the Association that an Advisory Committee was to be set up upon which elementary and secondary education were to be equally represented, the existence of which would act as a check against injustices arising in the future.

INTER-WAR YEARS

The casework at Reading and the extended confrontation with the Essex Authority were but two of several tenure cases with which the AMA was involved during the First World War. In the immediate post-war period, the Association had to deal with an unusually large number of cases of dismissals, the cause of which was attributed in the *IAAM Annual Report* for 1922 to the 'present economic situation'. (106) Many LEAs considered the newly-introduced Burnham salaries too high and tried to introduce cuts, (107) while many Welsh Authorities paid less than the agreed Burnham scale. The situation became more acute with the introduction of the Geddes Report in 1922, which demanded drastic reductions in expenditure on education. (108)

In view of the hardship being experienced by many members, the Executive Committee, towards the end of 1921, decided to set up a special fund with the primary objective of assisting any member dismissed 'on the score of economy'. This fund, generally known as the Protection Fund, had, within weeks, £5,000 at hand for

immediate casework, and guarantees of a further £50,000 if needed. (109) At the end of 1922, 15 members were receiving assistance from the fund.

In June 1921 the Association sent a deputation to the Board of Education to ask that all possible steps be taken to prevent dismissals of staff on the ground of economy; and, alternatively, if that was impossible, to mitigate resulting hardship. Herbert Fisher, who had gained much respect as President of the Board since his appointment by Lloyd George in December 1916, said in response:

The Board of Education was anxious that unnecessary hardship should be avoided. Unfortunately, in whatever direction economy in national expenditure was practised, it was impossible to avoid causing some hardship to individuals. He thought that local education authorities should keep before them the dual aim of securing economy and ensuring that such dismissals as were necessary should have the least detrimental effect on the educational efficiency of the schools....He saw no reason why the Board's Inspectors should not...assist the local education authorities with their advice in this sense. (110)

The economic stringencies, which were an in-built part of the policies of the inter-war governments, had a continuing and serious effect upon tenure. Economies in educational spending inevitably led to reductions in staffing levels. A Board of Education circular, published in 1933, stated that expenditure on teachers' salaries accounted for 70 per cent of the gross cost of maintaining secondary schools at that time. (111) Within a larger authority, transfer of staff between schools to avoid dismissals caused by overstaffing was often an available option; but this was not the case in smaller authorities.

In 1923, after many months of negotiation and indicative of a growing liaison between secondary teachers' representatives and their employers in the maintained sector, a standard form of employment agreement was approved both by the Joint Four Committee (112) and by the Association of Education Committees (AEC). Although having no statutory approval, this form of agreement was generally welcomed and widely adopted by LEAs. The form provided for:

1. the same notice as under the Endowed Schools (Masters) Act of 1908, that is, two months expiring at the end of a term.
2. provision for the right of appeal against dismissal. (113)

The introduction of the standard form improved job security, but did little to abate the rate of staff dismissals. A memorandum on tenure prepared by the AMA in 1935 for presentation to the IAHM stated that the tenure problem still overshadowed all other work of the Association, and revealed that during 1934, 23 dismissed assistants had appealed for help. (114)

Haverfordwest Case (1934-47)

The most serious tenure case to be referred to the AMA in the inter-war years was that arising from staff dismissals at the Haverfordwest Grammar School, Pembrokeshire, in 1934. (115) The status of the school was that of an aided endowed school, receiving an annual income of £800 from endowments and £5,200 from the Pembrokeshire County Council. In September 1933, reputedly on the grounds of reorganization of the curriculum to provide for the less-academic pupils, the governors gave notice to five masters, four of whom were members of the Association. Three of the five men were over 50 years of age, the other two over 40. Two of the dismissals were to take effect on 31 December, the others on the 31 August 1934. The dismissals would mean that all men would be deprived of their pensions; one man, Mr Mortimer, had only 10 months more service to put in to qualify for pension rights. In raising a question in the Commons on the case, J.Smedley Crooke, the Conservative MP for the Deritend division of Birmingham, a Welshman living at Aberdovey, Merioneth, and a member of the national executive council of the British Legion, pointed out that the teachers were all ex-servicemen, and that their work was perfectly satisfactory. (116) The Pembrokeshire Education Committee repudiated all responsibility for the dismissals, while admitting its impotence to act against the governors' decision. The Association appealed to the governors jointly with the NUT (whose one member on the staff was among the five

given notice). The appeal was heard on 31 October, but failed to effect any change, the governors re-confirming the dismissals by a vote of 9 to 6. A public protest meeting in February 1934 unanimously called for the governors to withdraw the notices then in operation and to reinstate the masters already dismissed. The local press was strongly antagonistic to the governors; at the start of the dispute the *West Wales Guardian* reported that their action had 'shocked the conscience of the community,' and that if their resolution was persisted in it would 'fasten an odium on the Haverfordwest Grammar School that it would never outlive'. (117)

A strong AMA/NUT deputation laid their views before the Board of Education. Dan Edwards, representing the NUT, said that his association in conjunction with the AMA would fight this injustice to the bitter end. Herwald Ramsbotham, Secretary to the Board, was asked in the Commons whether he would cause an inquiry to be made into the manner in which the school was being administered. The Secretary in his reply, acknowledged that he had 'full sympathy with the men,' but explained the Board's position in the following terms:

The school in question is regulated by a scheme framed under the Endowed Schools Acts which gives the governors of the school absolute control over the appointment and dismissal of masters. Consequently, the Board have no power to intervene. If there is a remedy it would appear to be a legal one which can be sought only in the courts. (118)

The case remained unresolved for 13 years with the school blacklisted from 1934-47. In 1947 approaches were made to the Association and the NUT to withdraw the stigma of blacklisting and allow a normalization of relations. Details of a settlement were worked out at a conference of involved parties held in September 1947: the associations, as a condition for lifting the ban, required the governors to place on record an expression of regret for the 1934 dismissals. Andrew Hutchings, general secretary, AMA, spoke with forthrightness on behalf of the Association. The governors accepted the proposed terms of settlement and publicly conceded that:

In the reorganization of the Teaching Staff in 1933-4 the then Governors and the Headmaster acted harshly towards the members of staff concerned, and accordingly, (the present Governors) on their behalf and on behalf of the Headmaster, express their regret for the action which was then taken.

The governors also undertook to observe the national agreement on Conditions of Tenure which had been drawn up by a joint committee of the Joint Four, the NUT, the AEC and the County Councils Association (CCA) in 1947.

ACHIEVEMENTS BY 1939

In law, the assistant masters' tenure was the same in 1939 at the outbreak of the Second World War as it had been in 1914 at the start of the First World War; there had been no statutory advance beyond the provisions of the Endowed Schools (Masters) Act of 1908. In practice, however, a greater security in employment had been attained during the inter-war years; apart from in exceptional circumstances, as at Haverfordwest Grammar School where, as has been seen, a third of the staff could be arbitrarily dismissed as late as 1934. It was within the county boroughs that the greatest security of tenure was found; there, secondary education was controlled directly by the authority, and no school had its own governing body. Under such a system of management a headmaster would be reluctant to suggest dismissal, unless he was very certain of his case. By contrast, the most vulnerable area for security of employment, in a tenure dispute, was in an aided endowed school, as at Haverfordwest, where the LEA was powerless to reverse any decision for dismissal taken by a governing body.

The teachers' associations had not been inactive in pressing for legislative change. Resolutions had been passed yearly at the annual conferences of the Joint Four associations, pressing the government for further tenure reform. The NUT, with an increasing number of secondary school teachers as members, had shared in the demand for reform. It has been seen how the AMA/NUT had on many occasions

engaged in joint action to protect the tenure interests of their members. At the NUT Conference in 1936 a resolution was passed calling for an immediate improvement in the conditions of tenure for teachers in secondary schools. The resolution urged that teachers in all schools, whether aided or maintained, should be servants of the LEA, and that transfer schemes for teachers facing dismissal in overstaffed schools - including direct grant - should be introduced. (119)

Gosden explains the absence of tenure legislation in the period down to 1939 in terms of a teacher supply/demand syndrome. (120) He refers to the chronic over-supply of well-qualified persons seeking posts in secondary schools in the 1930s, and estimates that for the approximately 300 posts available in secondary schools each year there were some 900 newly-trained teachers seeking appointments. (121) Gosden's conclusion is that in view of the surfeit of qualified teachers, the government would have no urgency for reform. If his premise is correct, the lack of legislative enactment infers no stigma for the failure of the efforts of the teachers' associations to secure a greater degree of tenure reform.

SECOND WORLD WAR: 1939-45

Britain's entry into the war in September 1939 had an immediate impact upon the educational system. Compulsory enlistment, by cruel irony, solved the problem of a surfeit of teachers and led to a situation of teacher-shortage in many LEA areas. The imbalance between available recruits and limited vacancies had gone, and tenure casework became significantly reduced for the teachers' associations.

A problem of particular concern to the AMA arose out of the national policy of evacuation, whereby schools were closed in areas likely to be bombed. The evacuation of an LEA school to a 'safe' area posed few problems as regards tenure, in that staff transfers could be arranged, and financial implications arising from

evacuation met. Where a direct grant or an independent school was obliged to re-locate, however, the situation usually had serious financial repercussions: the cost of renting or buying suitable accommodation to house a school, and the inevitable loss of income from fees, since not every pupil would automatically transfer with the school, could cause budgetary problems for many such schools. Faced with financial crisis, many of these schools advised staff that their services would not be required; for many of these teachers their employment would be terminated as early as 31 December 1939. The AMA's concern was that a high proportion of its members taught in the independent sector - some 20 per cent, in fact (122) - and that jobs were at risk. The Association acted quickly and, following a formal request, a deputation of Joint Four/Headmasters' Conference representatives was received by the Board of Education in October 1939. (123) The Board's response, in regard to the direct grant schools, was positive: where such a school had suffered a loss in pupil numbers due to the evacuation, the standard grant support per pupil would be increased proportionately to the loss. (124) This decisive action on the part of the Board led to many notices of dismissal being withdrawn.

Constant pressure by the teachers' associations, in particular by the Joint Four and the NUT, for a tightening of the procedures for dismissal in maintained secondary schools, led to the publication of a White Paper in 1944, *Principles of Government in Maintained Secondary Schools*, in which the government made the following proposals:

1. a teacher should be given the right to appear, accompanied by a friend, at any meeting of the governing body at which his dismissal was being discussed.
2. there should be a right of appeal to the LEA for the teacher to whom notice had been given. (125)

The proposals contained in the White Paper were made the basis of a wide-ranging discussion on tenure at the joint conference of the local authorities' associations (AEC, CCA) and the Joint Four and the NUT in 1947. From this conference came the

recommendations that have generally governed the procedures adopted in cases of dismissal in county and voluntary schools in the post-war period:

1. a teacher faced with dismissal should have a right of hearing, and a right of representation, before the LEA.
2. the hearing should be before a specially appointed sub-committee of the education committee.
3. prior to the hearing, the teacher should be given, written details of the charge made against him. (126)

The procedures, as described, have in general satisfied the interests of both the LEAs and the teachers' associations, and permitted a resolution of the tenure issues related to dismissal as they have arisen. The AMA also found a sharp drop in tenure casework in the independent sector in the post-war period; governing bodies conceding that fair conditions of tenure were rightfully demanded by staff and their professional associations. (127)

Throughout the war years teachers were faced with an increasing number of non-teaching duties, which, despite the will to assist the war effort, impinged upon their primary job of teaching. As will be discussed later, a third of children in maintained schools were taking school dinners by 1944. School milk had to be distributed, evacuee children accommodated and cared for, potatoes dug, national savings and waste paper collected, clothing coupons handed out. The teacher found himself undertaking duties for a wide range of government ministries - Food, Health, Labour, Supply, Agriculture, Trade, to mention a few. The school had, in effect, become the pivot of social activity in the community, facilitating the introduction and operation of services essential to the war effort. The AMA Executive, in November 1939, instructed its members not to undertake any duties 'consequent upon evacuation' without prior agreement at a common-room meeting. (128)

A deputation from the NUT, complaining of the proliferation of extraneous duties, was sympathetically received by the Board of Education in October 1941. (129)

Pressure from teachers' associations for fuller consultation and a reduction in the number of imposed additional duties, led to the Board issuing a memorandum to LEAs in December 1941 warning of the need to consult with the teachers' representatives on the whole area of extraneous duties:

The war has inevitably involved teachers in a number of extraneous duties, and their participation in these duties has been of the greatest help in forwarding the war effort. The incidence of these duties is naturally uneven but there is evidence that in some cases they have reached a volume which seriously interferes with the teachers' primary duty of teaching. (130)

The memorandum also reminded LEAs that under the terms of the Education Act of 1921 (131) there was no obligation upon any teacher to undertake dinner duties.

The AMA's defence of members' interests during the Second World War was sensitively approached, aiming at the protection of essential tenure rights while conscious of the extra demands made upon all employees in time of war. The low-key, constructive approach to tenure issues adopted by the Association, in common with other teachers' associations, produced a ready response from the Board of Education in its mutual desire to prevent the classroom teacher facing an intolerable workload.

1945-51

The immediate post-war years were dominated by three separate tenure issues: first, the implication that the Education Act of 1944 made the supervision of school meals a condition of tenure; second, the attempt at Gateshead in 1947, and in Durham in 1950, to make compulsory union/association membership (*closed shop* policy) a condition of employment; and third, the introduction of political tests, as a condition of tenure, by Middlesex County Council in 1950. None of these issues was resolved in the period covered by this thesis, and therefore will only be treated briefly. The AMA in dealing with all three issues had to consider its degree of interaction with

other teachers' associations. For example, the militancy of the National Association of Schoolmasters (NAS) on the school meals issue was anathema to the majority of AMA members, while the policy of the NUT to the Durham authority's 'closed shop' policy had the full backing of the Association.

The school meals issue had its origins in the Education Act of 1944 which imposed upon the LEAs the duty of providing meals. (132) A regulation issued by the Minister stated that the LEA 'may require teachers of any school to supervise pupils'. (133) The executive committees of both the AMA and the NUT saw the provision of meals at school as a social necessity - by the end of 1947 2½ million children, 50 per cent of the school population, having school meals daily - and considered that their members had some obligation to offer supervision. The AMA membership generally shared the view of its executive, but within the rank and file of the NUT, as evidenced in the debates at the immediate post-war annual conferences, there was increasing dissension from the executive view. From 1948 onwards, following a conference resolution, the official NUT policy was to remove the liability to school meals' supervision as a condition of tenure.

In the 1950s the AMA's stance hardened, a direct response to the dissatisfaction over salary negotiations and a general discontent with the proposals of the Teachers' Superannuation Bill of 1956. In February 1956 the AMA Council passed a resolution calling for an amendment to the Education Act of 1944 and the removal of the school meals from the education estimates. The Association henceforward urged that the school meals service should be a fully staffed ancillary service. (134) It was not until 1968 that the supervision of school meals ceased to be a condition of tenure. The 1960s had seen the imposition of selective sanctions by the NUT, hard line militancy from the NAS, attempts at negotiations between the LEAs and the teachers' associations, but it was not until the end of the decade that the issue was finally resolved.

In 1946 Attlee's Labour Government repealed Baldwin's Trades Disputes Act of 1927, thus enabling local councils, if they so wished, to insist upon union membership as a condition of employment. A number of left-wing councils took advantage of this enabling legislation, and insisted that all employees should belong to a trade union. The policy was welcomed by many trade unions, and usually met with few problems in relation to the non-professional grades. The problem became significant, however, where professional employees were affected, and, in the case of teachers, led to serious tenure disputes at Gateshead in 1947, and at Durham in 1950.

At Gateshead, the LEA, in a circular, asked teachers to state which professional association they belonged to. The advice of the teachers' associations to their members was that they should ignore the request. The AMA refused to become involved in what was seen as a party political issue, and stated in the *AMA*, in January 1947, that the Association 'preferred to rely on (its) own record of service to attract members' and would allow no other body to exercise 'the slightest compulsion in the matter'. (135)

The 'closed shop' policy reached its bitterest expression at Durham three years later. *Circular 58* was sent by the Durham council in November 1950 to all teachers in its employ, informing them that notice would be given to all who did not belong to a trade union; re-employment, in cases of dismissal, being dependent upon union membership. (136) Similar notices were issued to all council employees, causing, in particular, acute consternation to members of the professions. Doctors, dentists, and nurses, as well as teachers, all presented, through their associations, a united opposition to the Durham authority. Letters were sent from the Ministries of Health and Education to the council expressing disapproval of the policy of coercion. The letter from the Ministry of Education included this statement:

The Minister is in favour of teachers joining a union or professional association, but he considers that they should not be coerced into membership. If the Council were to persist in the line of action proposed,

they might find themselves, as a result, unable to discharge their statutory obligations under Section 8 of the Education Act, 1944. The Minister wishes the Council to know that he could not remain indifferent to this threat to the educational service, and that, if it materialised, or seemed likely to do so, he would be compelled to take action.

Attlee, narrowly holding on to power after his slender victory over the Conservatives in the February 1950 general election and facing serious internal divisions within his own party, must have seen the Durham dispute as damaging to the future prospects of continued Labour government. Throughout the Durham dispute, the Joint Four and the NUT retained a common opposition, refusing to countenance compulsory membership of an association as a condition of tenure. In May 1952, in view of a continuing escalation of the dispute, all the teachers' associations asked their members to place their resignations in the hands of their unions, the resignations to be effective from 31 August 1952. The response of the members was overwhelmingly one of support, thus forewarning of a breakdown in the county's education service as from 1 September 1952. The Durham authority, faced with a collapse of its professional services, agreed that the dispute should go to binding arbitration - the Board of Arbitration, in July 1952, finding against the council.

The Joint Four, the NUT and the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutes (ATTI) jointly opposed the introduction of political tests in 1950 by the Middlesex County Council as a condition of employment for certain educational posts: headships of schools, lectureships in training colleges, and specified appointments in further education. Middlesex defended its policy on the grounds that it prevented an infiltration into the education service of applicants sympathetic, whether actively or otherwise, to the communist and fascist parties. The NUT could not deny that a number of communists had been elected to positions in the Middlesex branch, nor that the headmaster of a county secondary school, a former president of the Union, was a communist. The stance of the teachers' associations was that union membership was independent of either religious or political beliefs. The tests continued until

1958, when a change in the political balance of the County Council, following the May elections, led to a reversal of policy. Few AMA members had been affected by the tests, in that only a small percentage of the membership would apply for such posts; but a point of principle, that of freedom of political persuasion, had had to be defended. Throughout the dispute the Ministry of Education had refrained from direct involvement, stating that it would intervene only if the authority failed to fulfil its statutory obligations. (137)

CONCLUSION

As stated at the start of this chapter, tenure casework in the context of this thesis stems from the conflict over security of employment between the assistant master and his employer, and is, by its nature, an aspect of conditions of service which continually engages both headquarter's and branch officers. As has been shown, the AMA - often in association with other teacher unions, notably the IAHM (after 1917, via the Joint Four) - has played a significant part in both promoting and securing change at the secondary level. It has been noted that the scale and nature of current tenure casework is nominal when compared with that faced by earlier generations of AMA officials. Tenure, at the time of the AMA's foundation, was indubitably the most contentious of all employment issues. The Association's initial campaign, including its submission to the Bryce Commission (1894-5), had centred upon challenging the injustice of arbitrary dismissal, and upholding the concepts of 'right of appeal' and 'right of hearing'. Reform came slowly; the modest achievements of the early years being allied to the uncertain costs of litigation to an infant body of schoolmasters. However, financial constraints apart, the AMA had taken the initiative in exposing the scandals at Grantham (1898), Oundle (1899), and Richmond (1907), and through their exposure had made the remedy the more imperative. The Endowed Schools (Masters) Act of 1908 - despite its limitations, a watershed in tenure reform - owed much to the AMA.

Although there was no statutory advance beyond the provisions of the 1908 Act in the inter-war period, despite pressure from the AMA and other unions for legislative change, there was, in practice, a much greater security in tenure, particularly within the county boroughs where secondary education was controlled directly by the authority, and no school had its own governing body. The AMA, at that time, fostered links with the LEAs, encouraging its branch officials to establish good working relationships with their local education committees. Where serious tenure disputes arose, however, frequently involving aided endowed schools as in the bitter and prolonged dispute at Haverfordwest Grammar School (1934-47), the AMA prepared detailed case-files and was persistent in its fight for an equitable settlement.

Post-1945 AMA's tenure casework declined dramatically. The Joint Four, along with the NUT, had for some years been instrumental in pressing for a tightening of the procedures for dismissal in maintained secondary schools. This sustained pressure had led to the publication of the White Paper *Principles of Government in Maintained Secondary Schools* (1944) which, in its turn, had formed the basis of the wide-ranging proposals which stemmed from the joint conference of the local authorities' associations (AEC, CCA) and the Joint Four and the NUT in 1947. The 1947 conference resolutions on tenure, as has been pointed out, have been largely the procedures adopted in the post-war period for resolving disputes (procedures now incorporated in the 'Burgundy Book').

CHAPTER 2 : NOTES

1. Examples of present-day ATL tenure casework are given in an interview with ATL solicitor, Gill Sage, in the April 1993 issue of the Association's magazine *Report*. Sage reports a spate of insolvency cases amongst independent schools where members' interests can be seriously at risk: 'There are a goodly number of those cases these days. I have dealt with at least five schools this year affecting 30 or 40 of our members...teachers become very vulnerable, even finding their pension rights at risk if they are not part of the Teachers' Superannuation scheme.' Sage also reports an increase in redundancy cases: 'As schools run into financial difficulties, they look around for someone disposable, and settle on the weakest member of staff.' (*Report*, April 1993, Vol.15, No.6, p.3)
2. *AMA Annual Report*, 1896, p.10.
3. For work of Legal Sub-Committee see *AMA Annual Reports* - earliest surviving Report that of 1896 (IAAM Archive, Section M); Legal Sub-Committee minutes and casebooks - 1935-64 (minutes), 1899-1939 (casebooks) (Section D/8 - casebooks subject to 60-year reserve). Benevolent and Orphans Scholarship Fund, 1907-60, including Crowther Fund, inception to 1960 (Section D/2 - subject to 75-year reserve).
4. John Montgomery, the first honorary secretary of the AMA, expressed the view that the position could have been alleviated 'were secondary schools more than a number of unrelated atoms'. He suggested that if a number of schools could be grouped under the same governing body, then men might be transferred from one school to another if disputes continued between headmasters and their assistants. See Montgomery, J., (1895), *The Tenure of Office of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools*, p.20.
5. Norwood, C. and Hope, A.H. (1909) *The Higher Education of Boys in England*, p.213.
6. Cross Commission, Third Report, 1887, Q.59,453, p.682.
7. *Ibid.*, Q.59,454, p.682.
8. Bryce Commission, 1895, Vol.IV, pp.55-6.
9. Public Schools Commission, 1864, Vol.I, p.6.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p.53.
12. Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868, Vol.I, p.238.

13. Lyttelton paid this tribute to the Revd Howson when giving evidence before the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Act in 1873 - Answer 1,276. It is not generally known that Lyttelton was brother-in-law to the Prime Minister, W.E.Gladstone.
14. Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868, Vol.IV, Evidence, 2,590, p.267.
15. Ibid., Evidence, 2,592, p.267.
16. Ibid., Evidence, 5,229, p.508.
17. 31 and 32 Vict., c.118, s.13.
18. 32 and 33 Vict., c.56, s.22.
19. Bowen, W.E. (1902) *Edward Bowen, A Memoir*, pp.135-6.
20. The memorial is printed in full in Montgomery, op.cit., pp.9-10.
21. Roby had served as Secretary of the Endowed Schools Commission from its inception in 1869, and then was appointed as one of the three Commissioners on Arthur Hobhouse's retirement in 1872. Roby was somewhat of a controversial figure and was known to speak out of turn. The whole workings of the Endowed Schools Commission was a highly political issue. The Commission had been appointed by Gladstone's Liberal Government in 1869 and then had been merged with the Charity Commission at the start of Disraeli's Tory Government in 1874. Roby later became a Liberal MP. For a detailed discussion of the politics surrounding the workings of the Endowed Schools Commission see Gordon, P. (1980) *Selection for Secondary Education*.
22. Report from Select Committee on Endowed Schools Act (1869), 1873, p.30.
23. Ibid., p.30.
24. Thring had been headmaster at Uppingham from 1853, but none of his biographers - Parkin (1898), Rawnsley (1926), Hoyland (1946) - throws light on the question as to why there was this quick change of position. Parkin's study of Thring's personal papers (pp.333-4) reveals that the headmaster's opinion was that both he and his boarding-house masters should be dismissible without appeal. Thring wrote, 'Occasional acts of injustice and occasional suffering are far preferable to the heavy, constant downward drag of bad masters and the difficulty of getting rid of them.' Thring had no liking of governing bodies, seeing governors as 'amateurs', ignorant of the workings of a school, and unworthy to serve as an appeal body. In the same papers, he wrote, 'Governors, as a body, often have been, and often will be, by the present system, a great incubus on schools, as it is not always possible to find competent men, and if competent intellectually, they are non-workers - live

statues, without interest in the question or understanding of it. A Court of Appeal is a roundabout statement of the simple fact that masters shall be rendered more incompetent than they are, and that it shall be impossible to dismiss masters for incompetency.' Thring, however, despite these stated viewpoints, was loath to dismiss any of his own assistant masters at Uppingham. Parkin writes, 'More than one master who persistently thwarted his plans, gave half-hearted support, or who fell short of his ideals, and so was a constant thorn in his side, was suffered to go on at Uppingham, year after year, simply because the headmaster's heart triumphed over his head'. (ibid., p.335)

25. The letter from the Endowed Schools Commission, dated 12 December 1873, is reproduced in Montgomery, op.cit., p.11.
26. Charity Commission, 42nd Report, 1894, p.41.
27. Bryce Commission, 1895, Vol.I, pp.189-90.
28. The analysis was reproduced in full as an appendix to the Bryce Report. See Vol.IV, Section A, Appendix 3, p.534.
29. Bryce Commission, 1895, Vol.IV, Q.13,124, p.69.
30. *Vide*, pp.64-5.
31. *Vide*, p.65.
32. *Ibid.*, p.76.
33. *Ibid.*, p.77.
34. *Vide*, p.66.
35. *Ibid.*, p.77.
36. *Vide*, pp.74-7.
37. In a detailed discussion of the Grantham case, a leader in the *Journal of Education* (September 1899, p.549) expressed astonishment that the evidence of Martin and Montgomery was not challenged by headmasters present at the Bryce hearing. The leader states: 'It is astounding that the evidence referred to was not promptly controverted by one or more of the headmasters present, for, if this be an accurate representation of the legal aspect of the case...it is obvious that a strong ground exists for a change in the system under which assistant-masters hold their appointments.' The leader goes on to mention the considerable confusion that surrounds the question of 'capricious dismissal': 'Public discussion has, however, clearly shown that the misapprehension

entertained by the above-mentioned witnesses was singularly widespread, even among headmasters and members of governing bodies....'

38. Ibid., p.78.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., p.79,
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. It is interesting to note that Montgomery was an assistant master at Parmiter's School, London. where Dr R.P.Scott was headmaster. Scott was the driving force of the Headmasters' Association. Also, Robert Blair, a key worker in the AMA's formative years and an honorary secretary of the Association, was an assistant master at Haberdasher's School, Hoxton, where R.W.Hinton, honorary treasurer of the Headmasters' Association was headmaster. Later Blair, by then elevated to a knighthood, served as chief education officer of London County Council. Montgomery himself gained the headship of Uckfield Grammar School, Sussex, in 1898.
44. Bryce Commission, 1895, Vol.V, p.320.
45. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.80.
46. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.316-17.
47. *AMA Circular to Members*, No.3, December 1898, p.8.
48. *AMA Eighth Annual Report*, 1898, p.8.
49. Archibald Sinclair was an executive member, AMA, 1935-9, and a member of the AMA Parliamentary and General Purposes Sub-Committee, 1936-9. While containing much useful information and valuable references, his unpublished M.Ed. thesis, 'The Problem of Tenure of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools', (Manchester, 1940), can only be described as 'partisan'. Donna Thompson's study of the NUT (1927) is equally 'partisan' in tone.
50. For coverage of the Grantham case see:
Journal of Education, September 1899, p.549 *et seq*; *Circular to Members of the AMA*, March 1899, June 1899, July 1899, September 1899; *IAAM Annual Report*, 1899, pp.18-19. Also, AMA Legal Sub-Committee casebook, 1899-1904, IAAM Archive, Section D8/3, pp.70-103.
51. The phrase might be interpreted as meaning either 'Christmas' or 'Easter'. The governors assumed the headmaster intended 'Easter'.

52. See *AMA Circular to Members*, Supplement, September 1899, for details of Grantham Enquiry Fund.
53. Baron, G. (1952), *op.cit.*, p.354.
54. *Journal of Education*, February 1901, pp.147-8.
55. *AMA Annual Report*, 1899, p.9.
56. A letter to the editor of the *Journal of Education* from Jones, outlining the details of his dismissal, can be found in the October 1899 issue, pp.628-30.
57. *AMA Circular to Members*, No.10, November 1899, p.8.
58. See *AMA Circular to Members*, October 1900, p.9, also, *AMA Annual Report* for 1910, p.10.
59. For detailed coverage of the dispute, and a resume of AMA's involvement, see *IAAM Annual Report* for 1902, pp.17-26.
60. *Hansard*, H.of C., 17 April 1902, cols.537-39.
61. *Hansard*, H.of C., 26 May 1902, cols.606-12.
62. The fact that the Consultative Council 'could not speak until it had first been spoken to' was a serious defect in its terms of reference. The repeal of the Act of 1899 by enactment of the Education Act of 1944 brought the end of the Consultative Council. In its place were created two Central Advisory Councils for Education, one for England and the other for Wales and Monmouthshire. The Councils had the duty of advising the Minister upon such matters connected with educational theory and practice as they thought fit, and upon any questions referred to them by him.
63. As headmaster of Rugby School, Percival had given evidence in 1891 to the Select Committee on the Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill. See *Select Committee on the Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill, Report and Evidence, 1890-1 (335), XVII 199, p.240.*
64. *Hansard*, H.of L., 9 December 1902, col.1393.
65. *AMA Circular to Members*, 1901, p.43.
66. *AMA Circular to Members*, March 1901, p.32.
67. Gosden, P.H.J.H. (1966) *The Development of Educational Administration in England and Wales*, pp.96-7. See also PRO Ed.24/63, Memorandum by D.R.Fearon.

68. PRO Ed.12/178, Minute of 21 October 1901, W.N.Bruce to G.Kekewich.
69. Incorporation was adopted in November 1901, giving the Association full recognition in law, and full legal status in the law courts. The *AMA Circular to Members*, November 1901, p.85, had this humorous comment to make on the change of title: 'At last we are incorporated: our style, the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools. The old symbols A.M.A. will do, however, for a short title, better than such a group of letters as I.A.A.M. which from long experience of a sister society we well know are hard for human tongues to pronounce.'
70. Details of the joint deputation are given in the *IAAM Annual Report, 1902*, pp.13-16.
71. PRO Ed.12/178, note of 15 January 1902, J.E.Gorst to Lord President.
72. *IAAM Annual Report, 1902*, p.25.
73. *IAAM Annual Report, 1903*, p.50.
74. *Ibid.*, p.13.
75. See *IAAM Annual Report, 1904*, Supplement I, pp.7-13; the *Schoolmasters' Year Book, 1905*, pp.5-6, for details of Bruce's response to the Headmasters' Association; PRO Ed.12/178 for Minutes of 19 April 1904 and 15 July 1904 by W.N.Bruce, and 15 July 1904 by R.L.Morant.
76. *IAAM Annual Report, 1904*, p.9; PRO Ed.12/178, Minute of 27 October 1904 by W.Anson, agreeing to joint deputation.
77. *Yorkshire Daily Observer*, 1 July 1904, p.4.
78. *Journal of Education*, April 1905, p.255.
79. *AMA*, May 1906, p.38.
80. *Ibid.*
81. See *IAAM Annual Report, 1904*, p.17.
82. The full text of the presidential address can be found in *Education*, 27 January 1905, Supplement, p.6.
83. *Hansard*, H.of C., 5 December 1906, cols.936-7.
84. The official legal reference for the case is: C.A. [1907] W.N.225. For details of the case see *The Times*, 6 and 7 November 1907, and the *IAAM Annual Report* for 1907, pp.11-16.

85. *Hansard*, H.of C., 29 July 1908, col.1629.
86. *Hansard*, H.of L., 7 July 1908, cols.1419-20.
87. Endowed Schools (Masters) Act (1908), 8 Edw, vii, c 39. Under the Act, despite its title, women assistants were given the same rights as men if employed under similar schemes.
88. See PRO Ed.12/137. Clause 18 of the draft document, giving the headteacher power to dismiss assistant teachers subject to the approval of the governors, was amended to include provision for contractual notice.
89. Norwood, C. and Hope A.H. (1909) *The Higher Education of Boys in England*, pp.264-5.
90. *AMA*, February 1909, p.3.
91. *AMA*, February 1909, pp.9-13.
92. See Jones A.G., 'Tenure in Secondary Schools', *Journal of Education*, November 1934, p.691.
93. For details of the Dorking High School case, see *IAAM Annual Report*, 1911, p.7.
94. See *Hansard*, H.of C., November 27 1911. Joynson-Hicks was perhaps better known for his work outside than within parliament: he was chairman of the AA, 1908-23, a member of the Church Assembly, and President of the National Church League from 1921.
95. *AMA*, May 1913, p.65; *Hinckley Times* and *Boston Herald*, 19 April 1913.
96. *AMA*, October 1913, pp.144-5.
97. Baron, G., (1952), op.cit., pp.392-3.
In this context the comments of R.F. Cholmeley, a future chairman of the AMA, on the implications of the Richmond decision, are pertinent: 'Apart from any consideration of the general bearings of this position upon the status of schoolmasters, it means that whatever financial liabilities attach to the relations between head and assistant, the head master must face them alone. This becomes an extremely interesting state of things in view of the Workmen's Compensation Act which it will be remembered applies to all whose incomes do not exceed £250 a year. There is no obligation upon anyone except the head master, either to insure the assistant against accident or to compensate them under the Act'. (*AMA*, February 1908, p.3)
98. The Executive Committee in the *IAAM Annual Report* for 1915, p.9, reports on the number of AMA members enlisting for service, and on the terms of

release from their schools: 'The number of our members with the colours is increasing rapidly. So far as can be ascertained, some 900 members of the Association are serving in various capacities in His Majesty's Forces. The majority have been granted terms approximating to those obtaining in the Civil Service, viz., full salary less army pay, with reinstatement at the conclusion of the war...very few cases of difficulty have been reported to the Association.' The official membership figure of the AMA for 1915 was 5,221.

99. *AMA*, June 1915, p.94.
100. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1915, p.4.
101. For details of the Reading case see the *IAAM Annual Report*, 1915, p.5; also, the *AMA*, November 1915, p.188; December 1915, p.203; January 1916, pp.2-7.
102. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1915, p.6.
103. *AMA*, January 1916, p.7.
104. *AMA*, January 1916, pp.22-3.
105. For details of the Monoux School, Walthamstow, case see the *AMA*, March 1919, pp.33-4; June 1919, pp.49-50; October 1920, pp.110-11.
106. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1922, p.27.
107. At Southampton and South Shields, for example, attempts were made to cut salaries of AMA members. See *IAAM Annual Report*, 1922, p.26.
108. *Vide*, Chapter 3, p.181.
109. See *AMA*, July 1922, p.127, for details of the regulations governing the Protection Fund.
110. *AMA*, July 1922, p.118.
111. Board of Education *Circular*, No.1428, 1933.
112. The Joint Four had been formed in 1917 - a corporate body to represent the interests of the AMA, AAM, Association of Headmistresses, and the Headmasters' Association.
113. See *Times Educational Supplement*, 16 November 1929, p.509, for comment on the adoption of the standard forms.
114. *Memorandum on the unsatisfactory Conditions of Tenure of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools*, (1935), AMA.

115. For details of the dispute see the *AMA*, December 1933, p.296; March 1934, pp.86-7; May 1934, p.106; June 1934, p.155.
116. *Hansard*, H.of C., 22 February 1934, col.493.
117. *West Wales Guardian*, 22 September 1933.
118. *Hansard*, H.of C., 22 February 1934, cols.492-4.
119. See the *Schoolmaster*, 17 April 1936, p.694. Despite the resolution being passed that there was an urgent need for tenure reform in secondary schools, the chairman of the NUT Tenure Committee told conference that as far as elementary schools were concerned security of tenure had, in all essential points, been secured.
120. Gosden, P.H.J.H. (1972) *The Evolution of a Profession*, p.174.
121. Gosden refers to statistics presented to the Commons in a debate on the employment in grant-aided schools of graduates completing courses in university training departments, July 1936 - July 1938. See *Hansard*, H.of C., 23 November 1938, cols. 1765-68.
122. The AMA prepared a membership analysis, by type of school, for the year 1949 (All Branches, except Northern Ireland). This is reproduced as Appendix 2B.
123. *AMA*, November 1939, p.294.
124. Board of Education *Circular* No.1491, 1939.
125. Ministry of Education, *Principles of Government in Maintained Secondary Schools*, Cmd.6523, 1944; see also, the *AMA*, June 1944, p.126.
126. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1949, p.
127. Since 1919 the AMA had had an Independent Schools Sub-Committee to represent members' interests. See the *AMA*, June 1958, p.179; September 1960, p.209; for a discussion of the casework of this sub-committee.
128. *AMA*, December 1939, p.289.
129. *NUT Annual Report*, 1942, pp.xlvii-xlix.
130. Board of Education, *Administrative Memorandum*, No.336, 8 December 1941.
131. 11 & 12 Geo 5, c.39, s.85.

132. 7 & 8 Geo 6, c.31, s.49.
133. S.R.O., No.698, 1945.
134. *AMA*, February 1956, pp.79-80.
135. *AMA*, January 1947, p.1.
136. For detailed coverage of the Durham dispute see Roy, W. (1968) *The Teachers' Union*, pp.131ff.
137. *Hansard*, H.of C., 17 February 1955, written answer 90.

CHAPTER 3

Salaries

CHAPTER 3 : SALARIES

AMA'S SALARIES' CAMPAIGN: - an overview

From its foundation the AMA fought with dogged determination to combat the gross injustices perpetrated against the financial interests of its members. First in its submission to the Bryce Commission (1895), then in its adoption of a recommended scale (1904, amended 1911), followed by its *Inquiry into Conditions of Service* (1910) and the later salary survey (1914), the Association was instrumental in providing much needed data on salaries; data which proved to be the catalyst to reform. The AMA's early campaign was directed to the realization of a fair salary for the assistant master, with the in-built security that an incremental scale could afford. The union's basic strategy centred around professional dialogue with the Board of Education, and, after 1902, with the newly-created LEAs. Reasoned argument, as opposed to direct confrontation, was at the heart of the AMA's policy. The Association was, from the start, conscious of the need to first elicit, and then court, the approval of the general public in its salary claims on behalf of the assistant master.

Post-1918 the AMA became committed to the principle of a national scale. A national scale, as an AMA chairman expressed it, permitted 'mobility of transference', and was thus best suited to the needs of the Association's largely graduate membership. Unlike the elementary teacher who generally enjoyed wider

employment opportunities, the secondary schoolmaster could often only secure employment by being willing to relocate.

The Burnham Committees created the first national negotiating machinery on salaries. The AMA welcomed the potential for stability that Burnham (first Burnham award 1920) offered on the salaries front, but fought tenaciously to force the few recalcitrant LEAs to accept the Burnham settlement, and to protect the original Burnham award from government cuts in the wake of the Geddes Report in 1922. The Association respected the conciliatory approach of Viscount Burnham, the long-serving first chairman, and would frequently acquiesce in his judgment if, by doing so, accord was to be maintained.

Post-1945 the AMA's salaries' campaign was directed to the maintenance of differentials to protect the privileged salary structure of the graduate against the incursion of a government policy increasingly based upon an egalitarian ethic. The egalitarian ethic, with its implicit demands for a common scale, was foreshadowed in the Spens (1938) and McNair (1944) Reports and made explicit in Butler's announcement of a reconstituted Burnham in 1944 with the Elementary, Secondary and Technical Committees fused into one. Thereafter, the AMA adopted a defiant stance for differentials in salary, which, aided by market forces (teacher shortages), was to be recognized in the Burnham settlements of 1948, 1951 and 1954. The AMA showed no animosity towards those teachers who benefited from the introduction of a basic scale, but protested that there could be no 'parity of esteem' between schools: to the AMA the demands of teaching a good sixth form, or a strong scientific side in a

grammar school, could never be equated with work in a primary school classroom. To the Association a premium had always to be placed upon the services of the highly qualified graduate.

The structure of the chapter will be first to review the salary position of the assistant master at the turn of the century, with the use of contemporary comment, and then, through selected reference, to outline and analyse the specific contribution of the AMA to salary reform.

ASSISTANT MASTERS' SALARIES, CIRCA 1900: lack of structure, abuses and unfair practices

When the AMA was founded in 1891 the salary an assistant master could expect to receive was the result of the type of school he was employed in and his own powers of individual bargaining with his headmaster and governing body. Inadequate salaries were the norm: frequently so low that many assistant masters had seriously to consider the feasibility of marriage if such a prospect presented itself. In the majority of teaching posts no fixed salary scales existed; the salary offered at a teacher's commencement of employment could remain that teacher's salary throughout his tenure. Tenure itself, as has been described in Chapter 2, was fraught with uncertainties. In many endowed schools the original endowment invariably would have been overtaken by inflation leading to permanently deflated salaries for teachers. In such circumstances any increase in fees would normally have been used to improve the physical appearance and amenities of the school to attract more pupils at

the expense of adequately rewarding the teaching staff. If any individual school or headmaster went bankrupt - a regular occurrence in the private sector where the headmaster was often the proprietor of the school - there was no redress for the assistant master from either the school or headmaster. A concern of the AMA was the common practice of schools to fail to pay a year's salary for a year's work. It was frequently the case that assistant teachers engaged in September and resigning in July were paid for 11 months. Another prevalent abuse was that of deduction of salary during periods of enforced absence through illness. In some schools this practice was compounded by the contention of numerous headmasters and governing bodies that if a teacher was absent through illness then the sick teacher was liable for the salary of a *locum tenens* during the period of absence. The general absence of incremental scales meant penury to many teachers in their advancing years. Reference has already been made in Chapter I to the hardship of many older teachers as reflected in the case-files of the AMA Benevolent Fund. Old age was a bleak prospect for the majority of teachers in the period prior to the introduction of state (1908) and teachers' pensions (mainly post-1919).

Schoolmasters' salary grievances: contemporary comment

The schoolmaster - usually anonymously for fear of dismissal - voiced his concerns in the letter columns of the *AMA Circular to Members* (superseded in February 1906 by the *AMA*), newspapers, periodicals and journals. The *Outlook*, a weekly magazine on 'life, politics, finance, letters, and the arts' published at the turn of the century, (1) had a wide AMA readership and served from time to time as a kind of unofficial forum of assistant masters' grievances, particularly as regards salaries. Selected correspondence

to the *Outlook*, in that it was similar in tone and sentiment to that appearing in other publications, will be used to illustrate contemporary comment on salaries.

Between January and July 1900 the correspondence columns of the *Outlook* were full of letters from masters complaining of their alleged impecunity. R.D. McKinlay, vice-chairman, AMA, initiated much of the later correspondence with a letter in a January issue:

The first and most important step in the reform of our secondary educational position must be the amelioration of the assistants' position. Salaries must be increased, regular increments should be given, and at the close of his career the assistant-master should be pensioned as a public servant who has deserved well of the State. Then, with reasonable security of tenure, an assistant would be enabled to devote himself to the great national work entrusted to him, unharassed by pressing and harrowing monetary cares. (2)

In a February issue an MA (Camb.), an ex-headmaster and assistant-master, expressed similar disillusionment at the assistant masters' lowly financial status: 'Except in very few schools assistant masters are abominably underpaid in every department of the profession; underpaid in every way, they have neither money nor position....We cannot hope to command definitely a supply of capable men if we refuse to pay them. (3) In subsequent issues one correspondent begged 'to thank (the *Outlook*) for throwing open (its) columns to the discussion of the grievances of an important body of men', (4) while another issued a warning to would-be aspirants to the profession: 'I can only repeat to those thinking of adopting teaching as a *permanent* profession the immortal advice of *Punch* - "Don't!". (5) An editorial in March defended the magazine's policy of devoting so many column-inches to the schoolmasters' letters and refuted the potential critic who might consider the masters to have overstated the level of their grievances. (6) Having discussed salaries paid to assistants in a variety of schools, the conclusion of the editorial was that apart from in a handful of the first-rank public schools a living wage was rarely paid to the schoolmaster:

The situation must be faced. At present, there are half a dozen public schools where a man is paid enough to live on and even save money, and in many others there are boarding-houses which fall to the fortunate. Those who fail to get one of these 'prizes' - the best of which is not worth the practice of a decent solicitor - or a headmastership, which generally goes to a clergyman, have a salary which barely succeeds in keeping a bachelor, and which they may lose on short notice from a headmaster's whim. (7)

A steady flow of letters continued in following issues (8) culminating in a second editorial in July in defence of the schoolmasters' interests. (9) The first part of the editorial outlined the successful work of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters (IAHM) and the AMA in pursuing the interests of the assistant master, and then the editors launched an attack on the complacency of the masters in the leading public schools who had in 'their drowse of self-contentment' done little to help their less fortunate colleagues in other schools. The editorial saw some cause for hope however: 'We are glad to note that the public schools have lately begun to stir, and the Assistant Masters' Association at least is getting a firm hold upon them'. (10) As stated at the outset, the schoolmasters' letters published in the *Outlook* were typical of those appearing in other periodicals and newspapers of the time (11) and, in their profusion, must bear testimony to the reality of schoolmasters' grievances.

AMA SUBMISSION TO BRYCE COMMISSION (1894)

The AMA gave detailed evidence on salaries to the Bryce Commission, evidence which appeared as an appendix to the final Report. (12) The Association's submission, welcomed by the Commissioners because so little information on salaries paid to assistant masters was available, was to have a direct influence on the Commission's ultimate recommendations. The AAM, the AMA's kindred association, made a similarly detailed submission on salaries on behalf of assistant mistress. (13)

John Montgomery, honorary secretary, and Charles Martin, treasurer, were the AMA representatives, and their evidence was heard on 3 October 1894 with Sir Henry

Roscoe in the chair. (14) As Liberal MP for Manchester South, Roscoe had shown himself to be a vigorous advocate of social reform, emphasizing the need for improved working conditions. The AMA representatives would give their evidence, therefore, in the assurance that the chair would be sympathetic to their grievances.

The submission of the AMA on salaries was seen as of 'very considerable importance' to the Commission. (15) Roscoe principally conducted the examination of the Association's evidence, and ascertained from Montgomery and Martin the sources of the AMA's submission. The AMA had gathered its statistics it was revealed by firstly summarizing the yearly financial returns from schools to the Charity Commission, (16) and, secondly, in view of the gaps in the official records, by compiling their own statistics from voluntary returns received from AMA members teaching in public endowed secondary day schools.

Explaining the deficiencies of the returns required by the Charity Commission (17) Montgomery pointed out that many governing bodies failed to send in the annual financial statement. He admitted that the blank forms issued by the Charity Commission even when returned were not in the view of his Association the best forms for the purpose and frequently were filled in incorrectly. The AMA had had however, he stressed, full access to the financial returns. A difficulty faced in analysing the returns to ascertain the average salaries of assistant masters had been the failure of nearly half the schools to show the yearly rate of payment to each teacher. In some returns, and therefore compounding the problem, the salaries of assistant masters had appeared under the head of 'Assistant masters, apparatus, etc.'. Additionally, the returns did not distinguish between resident, non-resident, and visiting masters, making any calculation of an average salary subject to error. Montgomery explained that to compile statistics from the returns the AMA had had in some instances to go back to 1886 - the start of the Charity Commission's audit - to find a return for a particular school. He further explained that if such a search proved

negative then the Association as a final resort to supply missing data would request clerks to the governing bodies to provide it. Despite the irregular means used to obtain their statistics, Montgomery maintained that the figures used by the Association in its submission were in no sense manipulated. However, bearing in mind the incomplete nature of the returns to the Charity Commission, he informed the Commission that the Association had decided to ask all AMA members in public endowed secondary schools to make a voluntary return for their schools. By this decision, some 200 members had been circulated and statistics obtained on between 20 and 27 schools, the variance stemming from the fact that not all returns gave information on all requested items. (18) Despite the smallness of the sample, Montgomery professed the statistics to be a reliable indicator of the 'state of affairs in what I may call well-endowed middle-class public secondary day schools'. (19) The AMA's secretary refused to identify the schools from which voluntary returns had been received, and reflected that same caution shown in the earlier AAM submission: 'I am not able to give names. The reason is that there is a great difficulty in getting returns, and the only way we saw of obtaining information was by stating that the names of the schools would not be published, and that the returns would be used solely for the purpose of obtaining averages'. (19) The statistical information sent in by AMA members was summarized as follows:

	Number of Schools	Average		
Number of boys	27	180		
Number of boys in a form	26	22		
Number of assistant masters (excluding visiting masters)per school	27	5		
		£	s	d
Income from endowment	20	1,095	0	0
Income from fees	25	883	0	0
Fees	12	5	6	0
Cost of education per head	15	10	10	0
Salary of headmaster	26	445	0	0
Total salaries of assistant masters (excluding visiting masters), per school	27	716	0	0
Total salaries of visiting masters per school	14	75	12	0

Salary of assistant master (excluding visiting masters)	27	149	6	0
Cost of headmaster per boy	26	2	8	0
Cost of one assistant master(excluding visiting masters) per boy	27	7	6	0
Cost of staff per boy, including visiting masters and excluding headmasters	27	4	0	0
			(21)	

Montgomery, in commenting upon the statistics, bluntly told the Commission that he did not attach much value to the figures except as regards the salaries of masters. His reason for claiming particular credence for the salary figures was that the salaries of assistant masters did not vary to the same extent as the endowments. The AMA's overall judgement on the salaries paid to assistant masters in the light of their investigation was expressed thus:

We consider that assistant masters in public secondary schools are badly paid. We consider that in establishing a school some sum should be assigned for the salaries of the assistant masters. The Charity Commission schemes arrange for the salary of the headmaster; they give him a certain sum out of the income from endowment and a capitation fee; but there is no provision made for the salary of assistant masters; the schemes state, as a rule, that the governors shall fix a sum for assistant masters and apparatus, but in no scheme is there any provision as to what proportion of the endowment or how much per head should be assigned as the salary of assistant masters. The result of making no provision is that the assistant masters, in some cases, are very badly paid. (22)

The AMA in presenting an average salary for an assistant master of £140 a year emphasized that their returns were exclusive to a particular class of school, the second grade public endowed school (defined for the Commissioners as 'schools at which the leaving age under ordinary circumstances is 16'). The Association stressed that it was aware of much lower salaries being paid in certain other types of school, and acknowledged that salaries of £20-£40 a year (plus board and residence) were commonplace in many secondary schools. Asked to propose an improved salary scheme for assistant masters, Montgomery responded with the following suggestion: 'We think that it is necessary in establishing every school to consider what is the minimum cost of efficient education per head, and to assign a certain proportion of that minimum to salaries for assistant masters...taking into account the amount of

available income and the number of boys'. (23) When pressed to put figures to his suggested scheme, Montgomery was unable to do so pending the results of a detailed analysis of the financial returns to the Charity Commission. As a result of his own experience, however, he stated that he considered £5 per head for the staff, excluding the headmaster, to be the irreducible minimum to guarantee efficient education in second grade schools of not less than 300 boys - the rate being proportionately higher for first grade schools, and lower for smaller second grade schools.

The AMA's submission had a direct influence on the final recommendations of the Commissioners. The Commissioners had been willing listeners to all arguments put forward, had welcomed the statistical information presented, and by rigorous questioning had done much to ascertain the deficiencies of existing salary provision and to gain insight into a possible way forward to enhanced and fairer salary payments. In their recommendations (24) they were concerned that the governing body of a school should have 'ultimate responsibility' in the fixing of salaries of assistant teachers, and that even where the headteacher had the right, however limited, to appoint and dismiss, the governors 'should fix the aggregate yearly amount or proportion of the income of the school to be applied in payment of assistants' salaries'. Headteachers might, however, but always subject to the approval of the governors, determine the amount to be paid to each teacher. The Commissioners hoped that by adequate supervision and properly administered accounting a more professional salary structure would be engendered:

We trust that the supervision of the Local Authority, through its inspectors, the representative character of the governing bodies, the submitting of the school accounts to the Local Authority, and the requirement that those accounts shall include full particulars of salaries, will effectually prevent the fixing of salaries, as sometimes now happens, at figures too low for the maintenance of a proper standard of professional efficiency. (25)

THE AMA'S SALARIES' CAMPAIGN TO 1914

The AMA's evidence to the Bryce Commission in 1894 had highlighted at the highest level the concerns of an infant body of secondary schoolmasters largely employed, as has been seen, in the well-endowed middle-class public secondary day school. The first annual reports of the Association (earliest surviving is 1896) record the determination of its officials to combat the worst injustices perpetrated against the financial interests of its members. In 1898 the Executive took tentative first steps to try and establish a definite custom of the profession in regard to salaries, aiming at the payment of a year's salary for a year's work. A circular was issued to members asking them to state the mode of payment of salaries, and, despite a poor response, information was gathered to formulate a policy. The Legal Sub-Committee thereafter always adhered to the principle of a third of a year's salary for a term's work and met with conspicuous success in its casework. In its report for 1902 the committee noted some progress: 'Cases of payment of less than a year's salary for the year's work still crop up. The Sub-Committee has successfully carried its point in more than one case during the year, but regrets that it has not yet been able to obtain a High Court decision in this important matter'. (26) In fact in 1901 a High Court judgment had seemed probable but the case was settled out of court with full salary paid.

To give members guidance on the vexed question of deduction of salary during periods of absence through illness, the Legal Sub-Committee in its report for 1899 (27) gave the opinion of the eminent authority Disney quoting the *Law relating to Schoolmasters*:

Temporary illness...is not good ground for dismissal. Of course a Head Master may dismiss his Assistant with due notice on the Assistant falling ill; but the illness is not sufficient cause for summary dismissal, unless it is likely to disable him permanently, or for a long time, from doing his duties. If the Assistant is obliged, because of illness, to be absent from his duties for any time, and then returning to them again on recovery, he has a right to his salary for the time he was laid by, as the contract between him and his employer had not been rescinded, and has, therefore, been in force all the time.

An irony attached to a teacher's absence through illness in some instances was for the sick teacher to be held responsible for the salary of a *locum tenens*. To give one such example, an AMA member who had to resign his post through illness in November 1901 was informed by the governors that salary amounting to nearly one-seventh of his annual pay would be deducted to pay the salary of his replacement (a three weeks' appointment to the end of term). The Association successfully defended the member's interests; no deduction of salary being made.

To further its salaries' campaign it was desirable that the Executive had exact statistical information on wages paid to assistant masters in secondary schools. To that end F.S.Stevenson, Liberal MP for Eye in Suffolk, was asked to move for a return of salaries in schools carried on under the Endowed Schools Act. (28) Stevenson made the request at the start of the 1902 session, but the return was refused, the Government pleading the pressure of the Education Bill. (29)

1902 Education Act: implications for the salaries' issue

The 1902 Education Act stated that it was the duty of every LEA to 'consider the needs of their area and take such steps as seem to them desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary'. (30) The brief of the Act was exacting, necessarily cost-intensive to implement, and many local authorities sought independent expert advice in formulating their audits. Many LEAs, in fact, turned to Michael Sadler, at that time part-time professor of education at Manchester University, to conduct local surveys of existing secondary provision and potential need. Sadler responded to the challenge and his output of reports for LEAs in the period 1903-6 was prodigious. (31) A central point of all the reports, in the context of this thesis, was the totally inadequate salaries paid to the vast majority of secondary schoolmasters and the disregard by employers of the need for pension provision. The first of the reports, that for Sheffield in 1903, set the tone of the later reports:

In order to secure men of the right ability and experience it would be desirable to offer substantial salaries, large enough to attract the best ability among the younger men in the secondary school teaching profession. At present the efficiency of English secondary day schools for boys is being dangerously impaired by the wholly inadequate salaries paid to Assistant Masters....In order to secure men of social standing, culture and skill needed for a first-grade secondary school in Sheffield, good salaries must be offered. The Assistant Masters should have a good prospect opened before them. They should be able to marry on their salary. (32)

Sadler's report on Essex (1906) revealed an average salary of £142.1s.3d. a year for assistant masters in all but three of the county's public secondary day schools. (33)

His principal concern was the lack of financial security that faced masters particularly in their middle and later years:

An assistant master in a secondary day school has hardly any prospect of obtaining an adequate competence in middle or later life...the assistant master (in such a school) cannot hope, unless he becomes a headmaster or leaves the profession, to maintain a family in comfort or to save a competence for old age. He has no pension to look forward to. A serious illness may reduce him to want. He labours on under the blighting discouragement of means too narrow to secure efficiency in his work. (34)

Baron refers to a special report (1906) on higher education in the county of Kent in which its authors - a group of administrative officers - noted a concern akin to Sadler's at the lack of adequate salary scales for the secondary schoolmaster:

The problem of the salary of the Assistant Master is not so much how to provide for the young graduate fresh from the University a remuneration which will satisfy him for the moment, as to how to give him an assurance that if he proves himself competent he may expect in middle age to be receiving a salary on which he can support a family. (35)

The 1902 Education Act in its statutory requirement for secondary provision had generated widespread activity amongst the LEAs; on the salaries' front the spate of surveys had identified need and revealed a far from satisfactory situation. The weight of evidence showing inadequate salaries, lack of salary scales, and a need for pensions for the older teachers made it incumbent upon the LEAs to review their position and consider action. The position of the county and county borough authorities was fraught with difficulties. Education was but a part of local authority

budget commitment. The administrator had to assess whether an increase in the educational budget - to permit, for example, increased teachers' salaries - was feasible, and to ascertain whether additional financial support would be forthcoming from central government to permit an extension of provision. (36)

In general terms the administrative changes initiated by the 1902 Act brought the prospect of higher salaries for the majority of teachers. Elementary teachers in the county areas were paid directly by the county councils - rather than, as previously, by a multiplicity of school managers and small rural boards. In the larger urban centres the former board school teachers were now the employees of the county borough councils. The county and county borough councils were large employing bodies with whom the teachers' associations could negotiate on salaries and other issues.

Improved bargaining position, post-1902; approval and adoption of the AMA's draft scheme

It was apposite that both the elementary and secondary teachers' associations should take advantage of what had become an improved bargaining position on salaries in the period following the passage of the 1902 Education Act. It should be noted that the highest salaries paid to teachers in the pre-1902 period had been in London and the county boroughs where the teachers' associations had been able to muster their considerable resources to influence the larger school boards. In the post-1902 era it was the LEAs that became the target of the unions' salary campaign. The AMA led the campaign of the secondary associations to secure improved salaries and incremental scales, but the NUT's campaign on behalf of the elementary teacher will be outlined first. The two campaigns had many parallels and must be seen as part of an overall concerted campaign for enhanced teachers' salaries.

The salary campaign for the elementary teacher was spearheaded by the NUT and is well-documented in Asher Tropp's *The School Teachers*. The campaign, conducted at local level by the branches and co-ordinated nationally by the NUT executive, pressed for the introduction of progressive salary scales for heads and certificated teachers. In 1913 - in the wake of a sharp rise in retail prices - the NUT's Special Salaries Committee was set up to 'formulate and put into operation, a national campaign to secure the adoption of the Union Scale of Salaries'. In October 1913 the NUT invited delegates of 10 national organizations of teachers (including public, secondary and technical) to attend a conference on salaries. A resolution of the conference urged 'that substantial proportions of any further grants of money to the LEAs...should be definitely assigned to the specific purpose of improving the staffing of schools and increasing the stipends of teachers'. (37) The NUT campaign met with considerable success: in January 1914 an NUT deputation was received by the Board of Education; and a large number of LEAs progressively adopted or improved upon existing salary scales. A keenly-fought resistance to any introduction of salary scales was met however in Herefordshire. In its first large-scale strike action the NUT closed more than 60 schools in the county, and it was some months before the two sides reached a compromise agreement, Herefordshire agreeing to a salary scale on a par to those paid in similar authorities.

Of the teachers' associations the AMA had the greatest impact upon the betterment of teachers' salaries at the secondary level in the period before the First World War. The Association's policies on salaries, as will be seen, were adopted by the London County Council (LCC) in 1906 and by many other authorities soon afterwards. In September 1903 a salaries sub-committee had prepared a draft scheme of salaries for assistant masters which had then been forwarded to the branches for detailed consideration. The draft scheme met with general approval, and as finally approved by the Executive Committee was submitted to Council in January 1904. The scheme, as published in the *IAAM Annual Report* (1903), was as follows:

1. That in every secondary school there should be a definite scheme of salaries including provision for increments.

2(a) The lowest salary paid in any secondary school to any master registered in Column B should be at least £150, rising by automatic yearly increments of £10 to at least £300.

(b) Salaries upon a higher scale than the one suggested above should be paid to masters who are specially qualified by attainments or experience and to the holders of the following posts: (1) Second Master, (2) Heads of Departments, (3) Head of Lower School.

(c) So far as can be done without injury to the interests of the school, these better paid posts should be given to members of the staff of long standing and meritorious service.

(d) In fixing the salary of an assistant master regard should be had to experience gained in any efficient school.

3. A pension scheme is an essential part of any sound scheme for the remuneration of masters.

4. The school authority should recognise that the assistant master is not liable at common law for the payment of a substitute in cases of ordinary illness.

5. When residence is designed to be partly payment for teaching services some deduction may be made on account thereof from salary, but where residence involves further important duties and responsibilities no such deduction should be made. (38)

Council in January 1904 adopted the scheme as the Association's salary policy and reaffirmed the principle 'that the payment for a full scholastic year's work should be the full agreed annual stipend, whether the assistant master be returning after the vacation or not; and in cases, where the year is divided into terms, the payment for a term's work should be one-third of the agreed annual stipend'. (39)

The Board's new Regulations for Secondary Schools were issued in August 1904 with no guidance on the vital question of the remuneration of teaching staff. The response of the Executive to the Board was to urge that the regulations be amended to make it 'a condition of receiving a grant that the scale of salaries for masters be such as the Board can approve'.

The AMA as a key element of its campaign strategy aimed at informing as wide a public as possible of the financial plight of the assistant master. Norwood's letter to

the *Yorkshire Post* in March 1904 - referred to earlier in this chapter (40) - is a good example of the Association's directed publicity campaign. At every level from the Board of Education and the large LEA down to the most recalcitrant of governing bodies of a small endowed school, the AMA pressed the case of its members for a fair salary on a progressive scale. An outcome of this sustained pressure was the substantial adoption of the AMA's proposed scale in 1905 by the Sheffield Education Committee. Sheffield had been the first of the LEAs to commission a survey by Sadler (1903) of secondary provision and was quick to act upon the shortcomings highlighted in his report. The *Journal of Education*, April 1905, (41) congratulated the AMA upon the friendly reception accorded to a deputation from the Association's West Riding Branch by the Sheffield Education Committee to discuss tenure, salaries, and pensions. On the salary issue it was reported that Colonel Hughes, chairman of the Higher Education Sub-Committee, told the deputation that 'they were speaking to men already converted'. It was further reported that Hughes reminded the deputation that his Authority had done much to secure improved tenure for teachers and that he advised the delegates 'to continue to hammer at the doors of the Board of Education' to demand a superannuation scheme. Hughes, according to the report, gave the advice in that he believed 'a single authority could not form a scheme that would be financially sound'.

Following the adoption by the Sheffield Education Committee of the AMA's salary scale the Association scored another notable success in July 1906 when the LCC introduced a scale of salaries for assistant teachers modelled on that put forward by the AMA. In making its recommendations the Salaries Sub-Committee of the LCC acknowledged that account had been taken of the proposals put forward by the AMA and the AAM, and in presenting its report set out in detail the proposals of both secondary associations. The scale of salaries for teachers in secondary schools adopted by the LCC in one or two details improved upon the proposals of the AMA, in particular in regard to the maximum being extended to £350 per annum for those

masters holding posts of special responsibility. The scale for assistant mistresses began at £120 rising by £10 a year to £220, or in special cases to £250. (42)

The AMA Executive, understandably elated at the LCC's adoption of its proposals, wrote in its annual report:

As regards salaries, the most important event of the year has been the adoption by the London County Council of a scale of salaries for Assistant Teachers, which is identical with that suggested by the Joint Conference on London Salaries and that which has been put forward by the Association for some years, except that in one or two points it is better. (43)

In the same statement the Executive praised the LCC decision that required the governors of institutions in receipt of rate-aid to bring their salary scales as nearly as possible up to the standard of the authority. The report concluded: 'It cannot be doubted that this action of the largest local authority in the country will have considerable influence'.

The *Journal of Education* expressed satisfaction at the LCC salary scale and acknowledged the AMA's role in getting the scale adopted: 'The scale for assistant masters is quite the best that could be expected at present. It is the scale that has been urged by the Association of Assistant Masters and endorsed by Mr Sadler'. (44) The lead given by London had been awaited by other LEAs and many (for example, Kent and Middlesex) quickly implemented similar salary schemes. The AMA recorded the pleasure of the Association at the adoption by an increasing number of LEAs of satisfactory salary scales: '(LEAs) are beginning to realize the importance of offering fair terms to schoolmasters,' and added, 'in the policy of influencing those authorities lies the best hope for the future, for it is to their action that whatever upwards movement there is in salaries is due, just as it is their persistent pressure which has forced the Board of Education to make concessions in tenure'. (45)

While many LEAs were quick to adopt salary scales in the wake of London's decision, this was by no means universally the case. To give one example, particular resistance to the introduction of a satisfactory salary scale was met by AMA members in Glamorgan, South Wales. In two of the largest schools in the county the highest salary paid to an assistant master in one school was £160 per year, in the other £140 per year. To put pressure on Glamorgan County Council to pay fair scales the South Wales branches of the AMA submitted a memorial to the council in March 1907 protesting against the inadequacy of salaries paid in most schools in the county. (46)

In demanding adequate salaries for its members the AMA was acting in accord with Board of Education thinking. A memorandum of the Board concerning grants to secondary schools (1908) (47) had emphatically laid down that the object of the grants was not to save the rates but to promote efficiency, and that among the most important elements of efficiency in any school was the provision of a well-qualified and well-paid teaching staff.

Despite the memorandum, and despite the earlier AMA memorial, the Cardiff Education Committee was still advertising in June 1908 for masters 'specially qualified in science, or maths, or English', at an initial salary of £110 per annum rising to a maximum of £160 per annum. Matters were brought to a head in December 1908 when the Welsh branches of the AMA and the AAM submitted a memorial on salaries to all the Welsh LEAs to protest against an average salary (for the year 1906-7) for men in secondary schools throughout the Principality of £138.4s.7d. and for women of £112.3s.9d. The vigorous and sustained pressure of the AMA upon the Welsh authorities brought quick results; Glamorgan, for example, had introduced a new salary scale by the autumn of 1909. (48) The AMA's salaries' publicity campaign within Wales was unremitting. In July 1910 the *South Wales Daily Press* (49) carried a report - based upon the AMA's *Inquiry into the Conditions of Service of Teachers in English and Foreign Schools*, (1910), which will be referred

to later in this chapter - which unfavourably compared the salaries and conditions of service of the Welsh secondary teacher with those of his counterparts in Europe and overseas. The report stated that most foreign teachers could earn over £300 per annum, whereas only five schools in Wales paid a salary of over £200 per annum (the average salary being £142.5s.0d.).

Fiscal Considerations related to Salary Increase; exploration by the AMA of civil service status

The teachers' associations were adamant that teachers were underpaid and that salaries should take cognizance of the extended professional training required prior to teacher qualification and the vital function of the teacher's role to the national economy. Many LEAs in introducing salary schemes for their teachers had acknowledged the criteria for salary increase put forward by the unions. Of equal importance to the LEAs was the question - the legitimacy of salary increase discounted in this analysis - of whether they could under existing funding afford a greatly increased teachers' paybill. As mentioned earlier in this chapter education was but one facet of an LEA's fiscal commitment and at a time of a widening of provision in education (for example, the introduction of free school meals (1906) and medical inspection of schoolchildren (1907)), coupled with a rising school population, local authority budgets were overstretched. Baron (50) quotes F. Storr, vice-chairman of the Teachers' Guild who gave warning at the Council Meeting of the Guild in December 1904 of the dilemma facing LEAs in the light of union demands for higher teacher salaries : '(Storr) could not see how the money for the improvement of salaries was to be provided, as the rates were at breaking point in many areas'. (51) One statutory option for the hard pressed LEA faced with the need of enhanced secondary provision was to levy a 2d rate (less than 1p). (52) Few LEAs however chose to follow that path, a path that they considered would alienate too many potential voters. The *Times Educational Supplement* in an editorial just prior to the First World War commented on how the early hopes of rate-aid for secondary education

had not materialized: 'A few have levied no rate at all; some content themselves with a half-penny or three-farthings rate, while the majority do not rise above a penny'. (53) The editorial in offering an explanation for the minimal implementation of rate-aid by the LEAs referred to the existence of 'much popular indifference to secondary education and to the necessity for liberal expenditure'. The irony was that rate-aid, fully implemented, would have permitted greatly increased teachers' salaries.

Rate-aid therefore gave little financial benefit to the assistant master and this led teachers' leaders to explore other ways of attaining the desired goal of higher salaries. Some saw the necessity of the government making specific grants to the LEAs to enable improved salaries to be paid. An advocate of this course was Robert Cholmeley, a former AMA chairman, headmaster of Owen's School, Islington, and joint secretary of the Headmasters' Association. Cholmeley in his book *Secondary Education in England* (1913) wrote: 'I want approved schemes; I want the education authority to exercise powers efficiently under an Act; and I want the Board of Education to contribute by way of grant to the extent at least of some large fraction of the authority's recognized expenditure upon salaries'. (54)

Other teachers' leaders seriously discussed the pros and cons of the teacher seeking civil servant status and thus being paid directly by the government. To further discussion on this controversial issue the AMA invited Michael Sadler to read a paper 'Should Secondary Teachers be Civil Servants' to the General Meeting of the Association in January 1908. (55) Sadler readily identified with the AMA's concern over conditions of service particularly in regard to low average salaries and the general lack of pension provision. Making direct reference to his recent surveys on behalf of nine LEAs he told the meeting: 'Personal investigation has brought me face to face with the same evils as those upon which your inquiries have thrown so clear a light.' Sadler's earlier appointment as Director, Office of Special Inquiries, 1895 - 1903, had given him vast experience of state systems of secondary education in many

parts of the world, and, drawing on his knowledge of the German system, he informed delegates of the well-organized system in the Grand Duchy of Baden. (56) He told the meeting that in that state every master who held a post in a secondary school was a member of the civil service and as such enjoyed considerable privileges: a salary scale in the range £120 - £300; a pension equal to 30 per cent of salary after ten years' service with 1½ per cent increase for every year of service beyond ten; widows' and children's pensions; and regular secondment for educational travel.

Relating the issue of civil service status to the current position of the secondary master in England, however, Sadler expressed the opinion that such a move would have more disadvantages than advantages: 'Teachers gain by public supervision, but at the same time they need scope for individual initiative, and require a measure of freedom which the administrative rules of the Civil Service might perilously impair'. In reaching his conclusion that 'the best interests of higher education in England would not be served by making secondary teachers into civil servants', Sadler said that he was swayed by the following considerations, all unique to the English system. He submitted that it would be found impossible to draw a satisfactory line between elementary and secondary education, that it would be unfair to draw a sex distinction in regard to Civil Service tenure because women should by right be included along with men, and that the semi-independence of the great endowed schools, and the future of many efficient proprietary schools would be threatened.

Sadler's address provided the stimulus within the AMA membership for a full and wide-ranging debate on the advantages and disadvantages of the incorporation in the Civil Service of teachers in all secondary schools aided by public money. In January 1909 the following resolution was urged on the Council:

That in the view of the many abuses still attached to the teaching profession, the chief of these being insecurity of tenure, inadequacy of pension, disparity between head masters' and assistants' salaries and clericalism among head masters, this Council is of the opinion that the only final and satisfactory solution lies in the incorporation of the profession as a branch of

the Civil Service; and considers that such a result can best be brought about by this Association adopting this incorporation as its immediate policy. (57)

The tone of the resolution signalled an initial rejection of Sadler's advice to secondary teachers that they should not at that stage seek civil service recognition. The Council, however, accepted an amendment instituting an inquiry into the conditions under which teachers served in other countries. The results of that inquiry were presented to Council a year later and published as the *Report of an Inquiry into the Conditions of Service of Teachers in English and Foreign Secondary Schools* (1910). Baron (58) was unfairly dismissive in his reference to the 'amateur nature of the investigation': in fact the final report represented a snap-shot of informed educational opinion relating to conditions of service in the year 1909-10. It must be stressed that this was a pioneering and exhaustive survey conducted at a time when the Board of Education itself had yet to publish its own first official survey of salaries. (59) The clear message of the report was that the English schoolmaster fared badly in most comparisons with colleagues in the countries reviewed.

The *Educational Times* (60) reported that 'in a point of energy and business-like procedure the Assistant Masters' Association stands prominent. The *Report* submitted at their annual meeting is a striking example of enterprise, and forms a valuable basis of future progress'. The *School Government Chronicle* (61) gave similar acknowledgement of the value of the AMA's inquiry: 'So long as it is not forgotten that the line of inquiry and of comparison is taken - most fairly and properly - from the standpoint of the chief organised body of English Secondary Teachers, much benefit should be gathered from a study of these comparisons, from that or any other important standpoint of concern with the subject'. Viewed pragmatically the *Report* was of immense value to the AMA for publicity purposes in the months that followed publication.

Ultimately the AMA membership did not pursue the path of civil service recognition. Fred Charles, chairman of the AMA, 1910-11, convinced a majority of delegates of the foolishness of seeking civil service status in a speech to the General Meeting in May 1910. (62) He warned delegates of the red tape, the delays, the mass returns that would follow such a reorganization, and the soul-destroying attempts that would be made to mould school teachers and pupils to an official pattern. The changes that would be needed, he stressed, would constitute a 'revolution': 'Present endowments must be pooled; the Local Education Authorities must be replaced by permanent officials; the Board of Education must be - I give it up'. He advised members that the desired improvements to conditions of service could best be obtained by 'following the line of less resistance, by the development of the present system'.

During 1910 the Executive mounted a massive publicity campaign using data from the *Report* to raise government and public awareness of the need to augment assistant masters' salaries. The *Educational Times* commented, in complimentary vein, upon the high profile propaganda campaign of the AMA: 'The activity of the Assistant Masters in presenting their case is incessant and exemplary'. (63) The Board of Education was called upon to increase the grants made to secondary schools and cautioned to ensure that any such increase be used solely to provide adequate salaries for teachers. Fred Charles, as national chairman, wrote letters in July 1910 to the *Morning Post* and the *Yorkshire Post* which emphasized the markedly inferior position of the English teacher to his German counterpart. (64) In October 1910 Charles sent a detailed letter on conditions of service to all LEAs, the Head Masters' Conference, the Association of Head Masters and the Private Schools Association. (65) In the letter he gave details of salary scales paid in 62 LEAs and compared them unfavourably with those paid in the State Oberlehrer in the largest German States. (66) He also pointed out that every German state provided pensions of from 75 - 100 per cent of the last salary (in half the states on a non-contributory basis) and compared that entitlement with the situation in England where only five or six LEAs

made any pension provision whatsoever. Aware that the letter would receive widespread publicity, Charles stressed in his final paragraph that poor conditions of service for teachers militated against efficient education and thus against national efficiency.

As anticipated by the Executive, Charles' letter was printed in all the leading newspapers and periodicals and attracted much editorial comment. (67) Any survey, in whatever context it was written, that cast Britain in an unfavourable light compared with Germany in the immediate pre-war years was assured wide discussion. The AMA had therefore through persistent publicity kept the issue of assistant masters' salaries in the public view. To give a final example of the chairman's drive for publicity, Charles had a letter published in the *Times Educational Supplement* in early October 1910 purporting to contribute to a running correspondence on the subject of teachers' holidays but in effect making a planned reference to teachers' pay. (68) His letter elicited the following supportive editorial response in the November issue:

The teaching profession, especially the rank and file, is beginning to think that the next step towards making right and justice to prevail is the wider application of the truth that the labourer is worthy of his hire...some grades of the profession are fairly well paid; others, notably the staffs of many secondary schools, are so far underpaid that their position is discreditable to the parents, the managers, or the ratepayers, as the case may be. (69)

Response of Board of Education to salaries' campaign unleashed by the 1902 Education Act

Morant, Permanent Secretary, 1903-11, and the Board of Education were fully aware that the requirement of the 1902 Education Act for secondary provision by the LEAs would unleash a demand for more school buildings, more teachers, and an adequately resourced service (including implicit regard for teachers' salaries). The realization that adequate salary schemes would have to be implemented was tacit in the Board of Education's Report for 1905-6:

It is...idle to expect full efficiency from a teaching staff which is inadequately paid; and in the majority of schools a substantial increase of the salary fund, with provision for both increments for length of service and for superannuation, must be regarded as a matter not only in itself urgent, but a necessary condition for getting the full value out of other improvements. (70)

A high-powered deputation of AMA officials (71) led by the AMA chairman, A.A.Somerville, a master at Eton, was given a sympathetic hearing by Walter Runciman, president of the Board, in March 1911. (72) Philip Magnus, MP, in introducing the deputation referred to the recent 'very careful inquiry' the Association had made, and presaged the cordial and constructive tone of the meeting by acknowledging the need for an improvement in salaries and the introduction of a pension scheme. (73) On the matter of pensions he said: 'We shall all admit that the so-called working class are not the only classes for whom pensions are required'. Runciman quibbled with one or two points in the AMA's Inquiry (1910) in relation to the reported teachers' salaries paid in England and Germany, complaining of unfair comparison, but generally conceded that salaries of secondary teachers in England and Wales were too low: 'I am impressed with the fact that the complaint that you make about the low scale of salaries in the English and Welsh secondary schools is a sound complaint, and that the present low scales on the whole are detrimental to the efficiency of these schools.' The president admitted that HMI had in reports to the Board shared a similar concern to the AMA in relation to salaries : 'I find that in 1910 we conducted 168 full inspections. Out of that number...in nearly fifty cases, I am told, the inspectors drew attention to the fact that the low scale of salaries in force in the schools was detrimental to the best interests of the schools.' Runciman promised the deputation that the Board - 'with your assistance' - would make further inquiry in the direction of superannuation and in the meantime would put pressure on governing bodies to give adequate salaries.

In November 1911 the Board of Education published its first official statistics of salaries paid to heads and assistant teachers in secondary schools. (74) The AMA, as

has been seen, had earlier asked that such statistics be made available but their publication of 1911 was not the direct result of union pressure, nor an act of altruism on the part of the Board, but simply an administrative response to the anticipated requirement of the impending national insurance legislation to make it compulsory for all employees earning less than £160 per annum to be insured against sickness. (75) The Board had no statistics of teachers falling within that category and hence hurriedly arranged for an appropriate survey to be undertaken. Information on salaries paid to 4,002 masters in grant-aided secondary schools was collected. The figures showed that 62.7 per cent of assistant masters received less than £180 per annum, 76.7 per cent less than £200. In 60.7 per cent of the schools surveyed the highest salary paid to an assistant master was under £220. The average salary of an assistant master between the ages of 40 and 45 - assuming a service of 18-23 years - was given as £189 per annum. (£128 per annum for the 20-25 age group). Only 5.7 per cent of men in the survey were over 50 years of age, and a meagre 0.9 per cent over 60. Headmasters' salaries (average, £438 per annum) were on average 2.6 times more than those paid to assistant masters.

The statistics given in the Board's survey must be used with caution; it is axiomatic that statistics can be used to support any argument. Baron stated - incorrectly - that there was no reference to the 1911 survey in the *AMA* and in the *IAAM Annual Report* for the reason that 'the survey showed that the salaries of the older men were not as desperately inadequate as the Assistant Masters' Association had painted them'. (76) Baron selected statistics to show that 23.3% of assistant masters had salaries of over £200 (11.4%, £200 - £250), and indicated that salaries rose regularly by age. He also quoted evidence from a report of committee of the British Association (77) and figures from the Board of Education Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales (1911-13) to show that secondary masters were, comparatively well paid in relation to many other workers. (78) The weight of evidence already presented in this chapter - in particular in the Sadler Surveys (1903-6) - points to salaries for assistant

masters that were, for the vast majority, totally inadequate. What might be stated to give credence to Baron's view is that a trade union traditionally bargains for a salary scale beyond what it can realistically expect to attain. The assistant master in all but the first grade public schools could only anticipate a salary that market-forces dictated, usually well-below those of professional colleagues, of similar qualification and cultural background, in the senior professions (for example, law, medicine). Hence, the perennial dissatisfaction of the schoolmaster on the salaries' issue.

AMA's intensified salaries' campaign in immediate pre-War period

The AMA's officially supported salary scale (£150 rising by increments of £10 per year to £300) had remained the same since 1904. In 1911 the Executive put forward an enhanced scale for consideration by the branches (£150 rising by annual increments of £10 to £300, and then by annual increments of £15 to at least £450) which was accepted by Council in January 1912 and thus became official policy. The Executive, to maximize an awareness of its salaries' campaign to parliament, sent out a memorandum to all MPs immediately before the debate on the education vote in 1911. (79) The memorandum pointed out that the Board of Education gave grants to 950 secondary schools and had in its power the facility to insist on improved salaries for teachers. It was stressed that this would be best achieved by insisting that any increase in government grant be used solely for the purpose of augmenting teachers' salaries. The memorandum - utilizing the common ploy of a trade union, an 'appeal to conscience' - asked MPs to consider the plight of the schoolmaster: 'Schoolmasters must often, do often, reflect that, had they chosen another field for the exercise of their industry and ability, they would not have to lament their subjection to the cramping influences of narrow means and public disregard'.

F.H.Jennings in an article in the *AMA* (80) exhorted members to institute local salary campaigns. Jennings in promoting such a policy was trying to capitalize on the recent success of the joint AMA/AAM salaries' campaign in Essex. The Essex branches of

the AMA and AAM had compiled detailed statistics of salaries paid in Essex schools, had compared those salaries to the LCC secondary school scale and to salaries in the Intermediate Civil Service and in the assistant examiners' scale in the Patent Office, and had sent their figures to all members of the Higher Education Sub-Committee. The local initiative had proved highly successful. A deputation had been received by the Essex authority, and an improved salary scale adopted, with maxima of £250 for men and £200 for women.

Month after month in the pages of the *AMA* those authorities that the Association had identified as paying below average salaries were singled out for scathing criticism. Hertfordshire, for example, fell into this category and was denounced with barbed comment. The May 1913 issue of the *AMA* recorded that the average salary of an assistant master in the county was £141 (if Berkhamsted School was left out of the reckoning) and that that compared unfavourably with the £120 that a clerk to the Assistant Education Officer received. The *AMA* also noted that a boilermaker in Hertfordshire - '*vide* daily press' - frequently made £300. (81)

On 29 March 1913, at the instigation of the London branch of the AMA, a large conference on salaries was convened at London University by the Joint Committee of the London Secondary Associations and by the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutes. (82) For a salaries' conference the meeting had an air of respectability with Edward Lyttelton, headmaster of Eton, in the chair (it might be said 'to see fair play' knowing Lyttelton's passion for cricket) and Lord Haldane, the Lord Chancellor, as principal speaker. It is significant that the teachers' associations consistently aimed their campaign towards converting those in positions of authority in government and in school management to the genuineness of their grievance.

Haldane in his address acknowledged his support for the teachers' cause: 'It is abundantly true, it is plain on the evidence, that the secondary teacher is vastly

underpaid'. (83) He advised the conference, however, that there was public antipathy to any significant increase in teachers' salaries and that the case for increase must be put persistently, tactfully and logically: 'Before redress can be obtained there is one preliminary condition which has to be fulfilled, and that is, that you interest the great British public in your case...we must go into the world as missionaries, and preach to our fellow-countrymen, until they see things with the knowledge that we see them'.

In May 1913 the Executive accelerated its campaign through the branches for increases in salaries and the establishment of salary scales. Constant agitation for improved financial status for teachers within the LEAs met with considerable success. In its annual report for 1913 the Executive noted: 'It would seem as if the conversion of authorities is nearly complete, and that it only remains to concentrate opinion and pressure upon the Treasury'. (84)

The salaries' campaign continued in earnest throughout 1914 until the outbreak of war in the late summer caused the AMA, along with other teachers' associations, to realign its efforts. In February 1914 the Parliamentary Sub-Committee set up a special salaries sub-committee which the Executive in May made into a standing sub-committee once the magnitude of its task had been assessed. The first chairman of the salaries sub-committee was G.D. Dunkerley, a master at Watford Grammar School, who became chairman of the AMA, 1915-16, and the general secretary of the Association in 1921 (serving until 1939). Alexander Blades served as the sub-committee's honorary secretary, later becoming honorary secretary of the AMA in 1917, and chairman in 1921. The brief of the sub-committee was to collect information with regard to existing salary scales and to initiate policies that would improve existing conditions.

The salaries sub-committee quickly co-ordinated an intensive campaign throughout England and Wales through the branch network; within weeks some 50 local

campaigns were underway. (85) The sub-committee prepared detailed instructions for the guidance of the branches as to the conduct of a campaign, issued statistics that could be utilized by deputations, compiled and circulated the expressed opinions of government ministers and educationalists on the salary issue, and offered financial support to any campaign if needed. The sub-committee spearheaded the campaign by sending out an enquiry to all 'aided' and 'maintained' schools which asked for details of salaries. Over 4,000 schools supplied information. County and County Borough authorities were requested to give details of salary scales and readily complied; 139 returns out of 140 were received within a week. The statistics received were collated and published in pamphlet form in December 1914 as *Statistics of Salaries of Assistant Masters in the aided and maintained Secondary Schools in England and Wales*.

The results of the AMA's salary campaign were immediate; a number of LEAs amended their salary scales within months of the start of the action. The strategy had been vindicated and the value of an executive-led, nationally co-ordinated action proven. The AMA wrote thus on the stratagem of the campaign:

In every case the Sub-Committee has kept in close touch with the campaigners, and there seems to be general satisfaction at the fact that there is a central body to combine isolated units, to give individual schools the experience and cohesion of the whole body, and to break down that feeling of insecurity that has prevented men from asking for their deserts. (86)

The outbreak of war in 1914, as one of its lesser consequences, denied the secondary teacher an imminent salary increase. Collective pressure from the teachers' associations, led by the AMA, had persuaded the Government to earmark a special grant for salaries, a grant that was withdrawn with the onset of hostilities. The Sub-Committee in their introduction to their pamphlet on salaries acknowledged, too, that the time was inopportune for conducting an active salaries' campaign:

We are Englishmen first and teachers afterwards, and we do not wish to hamper public business by active propaganda at present. In the meantime, however, let the figures go out into the highways and byways; let us quietly

make our preparations; and, above all, let us throw all the light possible upon the question, so that when the time comes for fair and honestly putting forward our claims, we shall find our powder dry and all our weapons ready. (87)

The AMA's achievement on the salaries' issue to 1914

The AMA had indubitably led the campaign to enhance the assistant masters' salary. The Association, first in its submission to the Bryce Commission (1895), then in its adoption of a recommended scale (1904, amended 1911), followed by its Inquiry (1910) and the later salary survey (1914) had been instrumental in providing data on salaries, incomplete though that data had been. By contrast the government's surveys had been limited to the Board of Education Survey (1911), and the published Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales (1911-13). The Association, noting the decline of the clerical tradition in secondary education and aware of the changes generated by the 1902 Education Act. had had to convince the government, LEAs, headteachers and governing bodies and the wider public that to the majority of assistant masters teaching constituted a total career. (88) No longer could a master tolerate a small stipend in the hope of the rewards of an early headship. (89) In the post-1902 world of the LEA maintained and aided schools it was salary scales and the need of security in middle and old age that preoccupied the teacher's thinking. The fact that the AMA had helped to establish the credibility of the teacher's pay claim to all parties is a measure of its success.

The AMA had repeatedly petitioned the Board of Education to augment the grants to secondary education and to designate a proportion of any increase specifically for teachers' salaries. In October 1913 the four secondary associations, along with the NUT and five other national teachers' associations in joint conference, had passed a resolution that echoed the AMA's long-standing policy: '(Resolved that) a substantial proportion of any further public money to local authorities should be definitely assigned to the specific purposes of improving the staffing of schools and increasing the stipends of teachers'. (90) Government grants, as has been seen, had failed to keep

pace with the overall growth in educational expenditure thus putting an added burden upon the local rates and making the LEAs either reluctant or unable to countenance any demand from teachers for increased salaries. (91) The issue of treasury grant versus local education rate was, and was to remain, at the heart of the secondary association's dialogue with government. Herbert Fisher (1940) in his *An Unfinished Autobiography* showed his acute awareness that a re-structuring of the funding of secondary education had been the prerequisite of educational progress in the post-1902 period:

Finance...was at the heart of the problem. The cause which had been arresting educational progress in the country was lack of financial support. The engine was reasonably well built but there was a lack of petrol. Too great a proportion was borne by the rates, too small a proportion by the taxes...Only a financial revolution, such as the introduction of percentage grants, would enable teachers to be adequately paid, and a suitable recruitment to the schools to be secured. (92)

Baron pointed out the crucial importance of the organized pressure of the teachers' associations, led by the AMA, in bringing salary improvement for the assistant master at a time when few would otherwise have been willing to ratify his demands:

(The assistant master) had to face the reality that no one owed him anything by right...he learnt that individual Governing Bodies could not grant his demands, that Local Education Authorities felt other commitments more pressing than the raising of his salary, that recognition of his needs and merits by Cabinet Ministers did not mean that Treasury grants would be made immediately available and that only the organised pressure he was able to exert through his Associations could be made decisive'. (93)

THE WAR YEARS: 1914-18

The AMA's publication *Statistics of Salaries of Assistant Masters* was widely circulated during 1915 and did much to increase an awareness of the legitimacy of the Association's case concerning salaries both in government and educational circles and with the general public. In July 1915 Dunkerley and Blades - Dunkerley the national chairman of the AMA for 1915 and the chairman of the salaries sub-committee, Blades the honorary secretary of the sub-committee - had a lengthy article on the

subject of salaries and conditions of service published in the *School World* which was later reprinted in the *AMA*. (94) The authors stressed that no apology was needed for raising such issues at a time of war and they prophesied that at the end of the European crisis the educational programme in England would have to be 'severely overhauled'. In the article the salary statistics compiled and published by the *AMA* in 1914 were analysed and suggestions for improvements made.

The average salary of an assistant master in England and Wales was given as £175.2s. after 12 years' service, and it was stated that among the LEAs of England and Wales there was only one scale of salaries (London) in which the ordinary maximum obtainable was £300 (after 15 years' service). Blades and Dunkerley drew attention to 'the enormous disparity in the salaries of different men with the same qualifications, engaged in precisely the same work and in similar areas' and to 'the parochial principle of disregarding, wholly or in part, service in other areas, so that a man cannot move to another district without throwing away the value...of his previous service'. What the authors described as the 'chaos' in salaries' policy they largely attributed to 'the incessant struggle between the local and the central authorities, each endeavouring to put the responsibility (especially in matters of payment) upon the other'. The authors saw the obvious solution to the dilemma in the funding of secondary education as being in a merger of the secondary teaching profession into the Civil Service, with its automatic scale...and its superannuation' but rejected that course as viable on the ground of its 'very magnitude'. For the immediate future they perceived increased grants from the national exchequer as the practical way out of the national crisis in education.

Despite the war, Blades and Dunkerley had consciously kept the issue of inadequate teachers' salaries in the forefront of public thinking. Throughout the war years the *AMA* took every opportunity to emphasize the linkage between sound education - which implied a well-resourced and adequately paid teaching force - and national

efficiency. (95) Blades and Dunkerley aware of the natural reticence of many teachers to fight their own case believed that there was a need for a cohesive, well-publicised public campaign. They wrote:

(The secondary school teachers) as a rule...are disinclined to seek the limelight of publicity...(but) one fact seems clear. Teachers are awakening from their long apathy. They are understanding the value of cohesion. They are discovering that a more active participation in, and closer contact with, public life will be advantageous both to themselves and to their country. (96)

War bonuses

As the war progressed the cost of living rose steadily (97) and the AMA pressed for war bonuses to be paid. The war bonus campaign opened with a vigorous editorial in the October 1916 issue of the *AMA* exhorting members to seek such a bonus where LEAs had failed to increase salaries to compensate for the rise in prices; a few LEAs had responded positively but the majority had not. (98) By early December 1916 over 400 appeals had been organized; every LEA had had the question brought directly before its notice by a letter from the Executive, and most governing bodies had been circularized. Alex Blades in an *AMA* article reported on the progress of the campaign and referred to the 'gratifying numbers' of war bonus payments being granted. (99) A list of war bonuses already given in aided and maintained secondary schools was appended to the article. The bonuses ranged from £40 (one school only) to £5; £10-£15 was the average, and some authorities differentiated between single and married men. Blades described the campaign as one of the most successful instituted by the Association. Once again the value of an Executive-led, co-ordinated action had been demonstrated.

Fisher's support for salary increase

Fisher as President of the Board of Education early revealed an empathy for the financial hardships faced by the average teacher, and his understanding was welcomed by the teachers' associations. In presenting the education estimates to the

Commons in 1917 and putting the case for higher grants he showed obvious cognizance of the repeated representations to his office by the teachers' leaders:

I...regard it as essential to a good scheme of education that the teachers should be relieved from perpetual financial anxieties, and that those teachers who marry should be able to look forward to rearing a family in respectable conditions....The first condition of educational advance is that we should learn to pay our teachers better. If we do not take this step, we shall not be able to keep the profession at its present level in numbers and quality. (100)

Regulations for Secondary Schools (Supplementary Grant) were issued in April 1917 that provided for an additional grant of £433,900. In presenting the Regulations the Board acknowledged why the increase had been given: 'The increase in the cost of living, and the increasing competition of other professions for the services of men and women of the type needed for Secondary teaching, make an increase in remuneration urgently necessary.' In awarding the increase the Board specified that they regarded teachers' salaries as 'the primary object to which the new grant should be applied'. (101)

The AMA immediately expressed concern that the supplementary grant was not exclusively ear-marked for raising teachers' salaries, thereby opening up the possibility of the hard-pressed LEA using the greater part of the grant for other purposes. A deputation laid the Association's views before Fisher. The Salaries Sub-Committee urged the convening of local protest meetings in conjunction with other teachers' associations to lobby the LEAs where the grant was likely to be misapplied. A meeting of the Central Salaries Sub-Committee of the NUT and the AMA discussed co-operation and agreed on a policy of sustained pressure to secure an increase of salary to take effect retrospectively from the date of the grant; a policy supported by the AAM. (102)

Fisher had encouraged the LEAs to use the supplementary grant to raise teachers' salaries but this was not mandatory as he pointed out in a written answer in January

1918: The Regulations for the payment of the Supplementary Grant...do not contain specific directions as to the manner in which the Grant is to be expended, but the Board have expressed the view that the improvement of teachers' salaries is a matter of pressing importance at the present time' (103). An editorial in the *AMA* made reference to the blatant disregard of many LEAs to carry out the spirit of the Regulations: 'The ingenuity of many Education Authorities in ignoring or evading the spirit of the regulations governing the application of the Grant has sometimes almost amounted to genius!' (104) It was soon realized by the teachers' associations that even if the whole of the grant had been used to increase salaries an all round increase of only £40 would have resulted in England and £50 in Wales. In the event a £10 increase was seen as a substantial gain to the teacher. In April 1918 a memorandum was sent to the Board commenting upon the unsatisfactory application of the supplementary grant. (105)

Despite the *AMA*'s disappointment over the application of the Fisher grant, progress was evident on the salaries' front: the salary issue had been forcefully and consistently kept before the government by the teachers' representatives, and, despite setbacks, a climate was being created that was increasingly sympathetic to the teachers' claims.

It was symptomatic of Fisher's desire to have dialogue with the teachers' associations on salaries that in the summer of 1917 the Board had set up a Departmental Committee to report on 'periodical increases on salaries in the public institutions for higher education other than universities'. (106) G.D.Dunkerley had been appointed a member of the Committee and in November 1917 four representatives of the Association - S.A.Birks, F.T.Adkins, A.H.Cooper, and S.B.Lucas - had given evidence to the Committee. (107)

INTER-WAR YEARS

A National Scale - the dominant issue of the immediate post-war period

Cogent arguments were made against the principle of a national scale. To many critics a 'national scale' could be rendered an 'average scale' by a levelling down of the salaries of the highest paid teachers. By implication the salaries of the lowest paid would not perforce be raised to parity with the highest paid. (108) The AMA, however, actively promoted the principle of a national scale because such a scale most suited the interests of its members. To the AMA such a scale would offer recognition of past experience; uniformity, and thus fairness, in pay; the introduction of a career structure, with the added security that that would afford; and, most importantly to the graduate, unfettered 'mobility of transference'. (109) With regard to the so-called 'mobility of transference', the secondary schoolmaster had to be more mobile than his elementary counterpart for the reason that his promotion opportunities were more limited.

In January 1918 the AMA Council came out openly in favour of a national scale:

This Council advocates a National Salary Scale with an initial salary of £160 per annum, rising in increments of at least £15 to £600, and considers essential the immediate introduction of a compulsory Minimum Salary of £160, rising by at least £15 to £450, these scales to be supplemented by an additional allowance in districts where the cost of living is high. (110)

In the autumn of 1918 the *Report of the Departmental Committee on Salaries in Secondary Schools* was published. In presenting evidence to the Committee the AMA representatives had pressed for a national scale. S.B.Lucas, a master at King Edward VII School, Sheffield, had seen much merit in a national scale: 'I am in favour of a national scale of salaries for assistant masters. A teacher should know definitely on entering his profession what his prospects of advancement are. The scales should be uniform throughout the country and honestly worked. At present not enough

recognition is given to past experience'. (111) F.T.Adkins, a teacher at the Whitechapel Foundation School, London, had been equally adamant on the need to break away from a system of local scales:

In a system of local scales there is always a danger that men of equal attainment will receive widely different rates of pay in different localities. The scales hitherto found in our Secondary Schools, including even those which have been introduced during the past few months, vary to a marked degree. The war bonuses of 1916-17 were granted on strangely conflicting principles, and the recent allocations of the supplementary grant give proof of anything but unanimous opinion....The only satisfactory solution is a national salary scale. (112)

A.H.Cooper, senior science master at the County School, Wrexham, had given evidence of grossly inadequate salaries and an almost complete absence of scales throughout Wales:

There are about 100 Secondary Schools in Wales. Scales of salary are almost non-existent. Salaries differ in each locality, and are in the main very low. The average salary per school of three or more masters varied in 1915-16, for North Wales from £185 to £123, for South Wales down to £128. In North Wales one master received £250, while three graduates received £100. (113)

Representatives of the other secondary associations had given evidence to the Committee - most submissions supportive in principle of a national scale - and the general rejection of local scales was reflected in the final Report. (114) The Committee saw funding as the prime obstacle to a national scale, but if that could be overcome, then it reported in favour of such a scale: 'A national scale in fact implies a national guarantee, and it is difficult to see how the teacher can have real security in all cases till that is forthcoming. How far this is likely to occur we cannot say as it is no part of our duty to discuss the sources from which the amounts required should be provided'. (115)

Despite the Committee's reservations over the source of funding for any move towards a national scale it did make the following recommendations:

- i) a minimum initial salary should be fixed by the Central Authority for graduate teachers in all secondary schools in receipt of public money.
- ii) a further minimum figure should be fixed by the Central Authority at a point part of the way up the scales.

The Departmental Committee, while stopping short of advocating a national scale for secondary schools, had in its recommendations embraced the principle of such a scale. Concerted pressure from secondary teachers through their associations had no doubt influenced the Committee's deliberations. By contrast the Report of the Departmental Committee (Elementary School Salaries) had come out firmly against a national scale for elementary teachers on the ground that it would not be practical to introduce a national scale in view of the diverse structure and criteria governing local salary agreements. (116) Nonetheless the Committee had been anxious that the elementary teacher be adequately remunerated and be paid by salary scale and not by flat wage.

The reaction of the AMA - as given in the *IAAM Annual Report, 1918* - was on the whole favourable to the Report of the Departmental Committee on Salaries in Secondary Schools. (117) The Report, according to the official comment, had, to its credit, adopted 'many of the positions already put forward by the Association'. The Report had found in favour of salary scales and had recommended that a minimum initial salary be paid to graduates. What remained of concern to the Association, however, was the weakness of the Committee on the issue of a national minimum scale; the Report had not, to the chagrin of many AMA members, recommended the immediate adoption of such a scale. The Association was of the opinion that much time would now be wasted by the LEAs arguing over what was a fair and reasonable scale - an additional argument, according to the *Annual Report*, in favour of a national minimum scale. Putting unsatisfactory aspects of the Report aside, and taking an overview of the Committee's statement on salaries, Dunkerley, honorary secretary of the Salaries Sub-Committee, was able to write in positive terms in the October 1918 issue of the *AMA*: 'Two years ago it (the Report) would have been

unthinkable; and if we can secure anything like a reasonable interpretation of its proposals, the burden of the secondary schoolmaster will be considerably lightened'.

(118)

The AMA's call for a centrally-funded national scale was forcibly stated by S.A.Birks, chairman of the Association, in an article in the *Journal of Education* in November 1918: 'To prevent 'stagnation' and ensure mobility...salaries and pensions must be provided directly by the state. The former...should be in accordance with a national scale with an initial salary of £160 during the first year of service, rising by annual increments of at least £15 to £600'. (119) Recognizing that the stated scale might appear unrealistic to government in the post-war situation, Birks modified the scale in his subsequent paragraph to a range of £160 to £450, but insisted that this should be enforced immediately 'with the placing of each man at the step in the scale which corresponds to his years of service in recognized secondary schools'.

In July 1919 an AMA deputation was received by the Board, when again the question of a national scale (proposed range of £200-£600 by £20 increments) was raised. (120) The deputation drew attention to the Association's restraint from agitation during the war years but remarked that it was the 'stress of circumstances' that forced them to act now. The AMA officials advised the Board that it should be wholly responsible for salaries, leaving the LEAs to provide the buildings and equipment. Bruce, Second Secretary, while noting the effectiveness of the AMA's presentation, stated that he had no power to make any promises.

LEA initiative for a national scale, 1919

LEAs were faced with an acute shortage of teachers in the immediate post-war period. The carnage of war (121) and the expansion of secondary school provision consequent upon the Education Act (1918) (122) made it incumbent upon local authorities to review their teacher recruitment policies. LEAs increasingly came to

the conclusion that a national scale with a range of salaries that would aid recruitment was necessary. Early in 1919 a joint committee of the Association of Metropolitan Corporations (AMC), the County Councils Association (CCA) and the Association of Education Committees (AEC) was established to consult periodically on the question of a common scale. At that stage the teachers' associations were not consulted - a fact to which the AMA took strong exception (123) - but in June 1919 a resolution at the General Meeting of the AEC called upon the Board to consult urgently with all parties, including the recognized teachers' associations, with a view to the establishment of a national scale. (124)

The Establishment of the Burnham Committees (1919-20)

Fisher announced the setting up of the Standing Joint Committee on Salaries during the third reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill in August 1919. In making the announcement he stated his concern at the spate of teachers' strikes in various parts of the country (125) and the distraction that such militancy posed to the efforts of the LEAs to implement the Education Act:

There have been strikes here and strikes there, and the work of the local education authorities, whose attention ought now to be engaged in tackling the very difficult problems created by the Education Act, is greatly embarrassed by these salaries disputes. I have accordingly endeavoured to find some means by which these disputes may be minimised, and the atmosphere generally sweetened. (126)

Fisher then informed the Commons of the establishment of a joint standing committee of representatives of the LEAs and the NUT 'for the exploration of the salaries question'. As will be seen later a joint standing committee for salaries in secondary schools was set up in May 1920.

Fisher in establishing what are commonly referred to as the Burnham Committees - named after their first chairman, Viscount Burnham (127) - had created the first national negotiating machinery on salaries. Such a move by the President of the

Board was a positive response to the representations that had been made to him by the AEC and the AMA, *inter alia*, in favour of a national scale. Fisher's hope was that the Burnham Committees would regularize the system of teacher remuneration, thereby reducing friction between the LEAs and the teacher, and raising career prospects (and hence recruitment) within the profession.

The salaries' issue in the inter-war period centred upon Burnham; in fact, the history of the salaries' campaign is the history of Burnham. No secondary teachers' association was represented on the Standing Joint Committee for salaries in elementary schools. Teacher representation on the committee was exclusive to the NUT, initially with 22 representatives. (128) Chaired by Lord Burnham the committee issued its first report in November 1919, subsequently introducing four sets of scales (Scales I-IV) to accommodate differentials in the cost of living in various parts of the country. (129)

The AMA took careful note of the proceedings of the Burnham Committee (Elementary) and prepared for the setting up of the Burnham Committee (Secondary). To influence forthcoming discussion on secondary scales the following resolution was proposed (and agreed) at the Annual General Meeting in January 1920:

That this Association considers that the best interests of education can be adequately secured only by the adoption of a National Salary Scale for Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools of £300 rising by annual increments of £30 to £800, and that the first step for this should be the immediate institution of a minimum scale of £300 by £20 to £600, and the placing of all existing registered teachers at the point on this scale which they would have reached had it applied to the whole of their teaching service. (130)

S.B.Lucas, the retiring national chairman, in commending the resolution to the meeting reminded delegates of Fisher's comment when he had introduced the Education Bill: '(Teachers) ought to be on an equality as regards status with first-class civil servants'. Lucas remarked that a scale reaching £800 'would go some way

towards this'. The AAM likewise claimed a scale for graduate mistresses of £300 to £600 by increments of £20.

The Association expressed concern at the delay in calling the first meeting of the Standing Joint Committee, held on 21 May 1920, asserting with other teachers' associations that the delay only added to the financial plight of the schoolmaster. (131) The Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham, consisted of 26 representatives of the LEAs and an equal number of representatives of the teachers' associations. (132) Dunkerley, a former chairman of the AMA and chair of the Salaries Sub-Committee, was appointed secretary to the Teachers' Panel of the Committee; the other five AMA representatives were W.R.Anderson, A.H.Cooper, E.Hotham, A.H.Joslin and S.B.Lucas. The 'Joint 4' (21 representatives) - as opposed to the NUT (five representatives) - had been given a position of dominance, numerically, on the Teachers' Panel.

The Report of the Standing Joint Committee for Salaries in Secondary Schools was published in October 1920. (133) National scales were recommended for assistant masters and mistresses as follows:

	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Increment</u>	<u>Maximum</u>
I Graduates			
Men	£240	£15	£500
Women	£225	£15	£400
II Non-Graduates			
Men	£190	£12.10s	£400
Women	£177.10s.	£12.10s.	£300

Additionally, a London allowance was recommended, together with payments above the basic scale for holders of good honours degrees and posts of special responsibility.

Burnham was an advisory committee of the Board of Education and, as such, its scales were not mandatory. However the executives of both the local authority and

the teachers' associations had accepted the recommendations within weeks of its publication. The initial reaction to the Report in the columns of the *AMA* was one of dismay. The recommendations were condemned as 'thoroughly unsatisfactory and disappointing'. 'One bitter lesson,' it was stated, 'could be drawn from the Report, that we cannot expect ever to obtain the salaries which the dignity of our profession and our own individual needs demand so long as we are the servants of a host of local authorities, some rich, some poor, who are themselves at the mercy of their own ratepayers'. (134) Criticism was levied, in particular, at the five years' truce that the teachers' representatives had agreed to, and at the fact that the scales would not cover the cost of living. (135)

Sober reflection on what had actually been offered by Burnham led to a reaction within the *AMA* ranks and a referendum showed a large majority in favour of acceptance. In December 1920 the *AMA* Executive formally accepted the report. Dunkerley had played a large part in persuading the membership of the wisdom of acceptance. In the columns of the *AMA* (136), and at branch meetings he stressed that the Report was a compromise, the result of hard bargaining, and the best that could possibly have been obtained under the circumstances.

A dispassionate appraisal of the Report shows it to have had much to commend it. For the first time the right of the teacher to a voice in the determination of his salary had been recognized. A national scale had been established, and, by way of the Reference Committee (set up by Burnham), the teacher had the means to question the interpretation of the terms of the Report. Past service had been fully acknowledged, and it had been recommended that existing non-graduates be placed on the graduate scale. The scales offered were better than most of those previously offered to teachers. And, most importantly as it proved, no sliding scale had been imposed related to the cost of living. (137)

Lord Burnham made reference to the importance of the absence of a sliding scale when he addressed the AMA Annual General Meeting in January 1921. He predicted that a fall in the cost of living would surely come about thereby enhancing the value of the Burnham agreement. (138) Dunkerley and Kingham (1923) concurred in Lord Burnham's judgement:

The general opinion expressed by the Associations of Teachers responsible for the negotiations was that while these scales in themselves would not make the remuneration sufficiently attractive at the cost of living then prevailing, yet, as the latter diminished, the teachers would be placed relatively in a more favourable position. (139)

The predictions of both Lord Burnham and Dunkerley and Kingham were borne out by the general fall in prices from 1921 - a fall which for the next two decades was to lessen the real effect of the reductions that were to be imposed on teachers' salaries. (140)

Fisher, in a letter of thanks to Burnham and the Committee, expressed the opinion that the Report, besides securing better pay and prospects for teachers, would stabilize salary negotiations in the future: '(The Report) recommended a substantial advance in the direction of securing better remuneration and prospects for the teachers, while it aims at relieving Local Authorities from the uncertainties and embarrassments of a system, which left salaries to the haphazard operation of local circumstances uncontrolled by any recognised standard'. (141)

Fisher's hopes for greater stability on the salaries' front were to a large degree to be realized in the inter-war period. A common brief of the Standing Joint Committees on teachers' salaries had been to 'secure the orderly and progressive solution of the salary problem by agreement, on a national basis', a brief that was to be substantially translated into practice. (142) Dr James Graham, Director of Education for Leeds, addressing a gathering of Leeds headteachers some ten years after the inception of Burnham, said: 'The Burnham scale system had secured one outstanding advantage - that of an era of peace to the authorities, to the teachers and to the nation generally'.

(143) R.Metcalf, retiring AMA chairman, spoke with respect for the positive role of Burnham in salary negotiation at the Annual General Meeting in January 1932:

The work of this Committee has represented something more than the fixing of salary scales. It represents an amicable approach to a question which had formerly been a continual source of trouble. It enabled representatives of the Authorities and of the Teachers to get round the same table, and to understand each other's point of view, and the spirit of co-operation thus engendered has been largely responsible for the vast improvement in all departments of education since 1920. (144)

In the period before the Second World War, under Burnham, the basis of the remuneration of teachers was the result of the dialogue between local authority and teacher representatives. (145) It said much for the relationship between the employers' and the teachers' panels, and for the personal qualities of Lord Burnham (146), that there were only occasional refusals to accept the negotiated agreements in the period 1920-44. (147)

The challenge to the AMA, and other teachers' associations, in the inter-war period was to protect the salary position gained in 1920 against public sector cuts as the state of the national economy progressively worsened, and also against the few recalcitrant authorities who refused to implement the Burnham pay scales according to the national agreement.

AMA's campaign to protect the Burnham pay award (1920) against LEA and Government cuts.

Defence of the original Burnham scale against LEA and government pressure for economies was the priority of the AMA's salaries' campaign in the post-1920 period. The AMA, whenever the principle of the 1920 agreement came under threat, gave wide publicity to the statement of the Secretary of the AEC made in 1922:

The question was raised in the Burnham Committee as to whether the scales should be fixed according to the rise in cost of living, which would have meant a reduction as the cost of living fell. Had that been done, higher amounts would have been paid. The alternative was to put to the teachers, who considered it, and said they would accept a scale applicable to normal

conditions. By normal conditions the Committee had in mind a cost of living about fifty points above the pre-war standard.

By implication any attack on the salary position negotiated in 1920 was seen as a betrayal of trust by the perpetrator. From the inception of Burnham it was clear that many LEAs accepting the Report were interpreting it as strictly as possible, while a minority were refusing to honour pledges given by the representatives. The following were typical of infringements of the spirit of the Burnham agreement by certain LEAs: postponement of applications for good honours allowances and for the institution of posts of special responsibility; refusal of recognition of claims from non-graduates of long service to be put on the graduate scale; and the withholding of increments. The AMA expressed its disgust at such attitudes: 'In the whole history of local administration it would be difficult to find a parallel to such a gross breach of contract'. (148) On 5 February 1921 the Executive Committee passed the following resolution:

That this Association is prepared to recommend members serving under Authorities which do not accept the Burnham Report to hand in resignations to expire at the end of the summer term, or earlier if circumstances warrant it, it being understood that this action will only be taken after the failure of Headquarters to obtain a satisfactory settlement.

The offending LEAs defended their actions on the ground of the need for national economy but such pronouncements did not assuage the anger of the unions at the authorities' failure to honour a nationally agreed pay settlement.

The AMA resorted to blacklisting those authorities that refused to accept the Burnham Report: West Hartlepool, Southampton, Cornwall, and Surrey were among the first to be publicly exposed in the columns of the *AMA*. (149) For the protection of AMA members and to widen the scope of its salaries' campaign, the Association published a list of public and other independent schools in which the salaries (and pensions) were inferior to those in schools which had adopted the Burnham scales. (150)

Redress through exposure was a key component of the AMA's campaign strategy. The aim of the union was to enlist public sympathy for the assistant masters' cause. Frequently the local press acknowledged the justness of the Association's fight on behalf of numbers in local schools (as will be seen in the support of the *Welsh Gazette* in the Cardiganshire dispute, 1923-6). The Association circularized MPs and LEAs with details of its campaign, and wherever possible sought the approval of the Board of Education for its stance in enforcing a nationally negotiated agreement. Liaison with other teachers' associations beyond the Joint Four - notably the NUT - was increasingly necessary to present a common front against the recalcitrant authority.

1922 saw no abatement in the struggle - Southampton, Cambridge, Croydon, Gateshead, South Shields, West Hartlepool, and Monmouth had all failed to implement the Burnham provisions. Accordingly the Executive in March 1922 decided to set up a Protection Fund, the object of which was to provide support for members who (i) might be dismissed and offered re-appointment at lower salaries, and (ii) might be dismissed on the ground of economy. (151) In setting up the fund the Executive was anticipating cuts in educational expenditure consequent upon the recommendations of the Geddes Report (1922). (152)

The situation at South Shields was viewed with particular concern, and was one of the few cases where the AMA's involvement failed to achieve a successful outcome. (153) In March 1922, 17 AMA members on the staffs of the High School and Westoe School had received dismissal notices as a preliminary to re-appointment on salaries reduced by 15 per cent. The Executive responded by advising the members concerned to refuse re-appointment on anything less than the Burnham scale, and pledged that the Association would undertake full responsibility for salary and pension rights while the members were out of work as a result of following the Executive's instructions. The assistant mistresses took the same course on the advice of the AAM.

The AMA/AAM action had the full support of the Joint Four, the NUT (one of the dismissed teachers belonged to the union) and the National Association of Schoolmasters (NAS). The IAHM showed solidarity by setting up a Special Emergency Fund in support of the joint efforts of the teachers' associations to maintain the position agreed upon by the Burnham Committees. Yet despite the concerted support by the the teachers' associations the action at South Shields had collapsed within three weeks, and a majority of the dismissed staffs - contrary to the advice of the Association - had decided on a return to work on the authority's terms. Fear of job loss with an authority prepared to employ unqualified staff would appear to have led most teachers to return to work.

The AMA voiced its disquiet at the continued unwillingness of certain LEAs to honour the Burnham agreement: 'The profession is drifting back into that state of unrest which it was the object of the Burnham Committee to remove. Distrust is the predominant feeling among teachers at present'. (154) The most acrimonious and protracted dispute with an LEA on the issue of non-implementation of the Burnham scales was with Cardiganshire. (155) Cardiganshire had never adopted the Burnham scale for secondary schools. In January 1922 lengthy negotiations had resulted in the teachers accepting a scale known as the 'January' scale (£220 - £15 - £310 - £20 - £400) for men graduates which was £100 lower than the Burnham scale at the maximum. In March 1922, however, a new county council was elected and in April the 'January' scale was withdrawn before it had been implemented. Of the teachers involved - attached to the county's five secondary schools - some belonged to the AMA, some to the NUT, and some had dual membership (AMA and NUT). The five secondary schools were Aberystwyth, Aberayron, and Tregaron (Northern Schools), Cardigan and Llandyssul (Southern Schools). (156)

In view of the interaction of four teachers' associations in the dispute on behalf of members' interests, a Joint Action Committee was set up in July 1922. The LEA

proved recalcitrant and in October adopted the so-called 'October' scale (£200 - £12.10s. - £350) which was far inferior to Burnham. A further deterioration in the situation resulted in the staffs in the three Northern Schools (Aberystwyth, Aberayron, and Tregaron) being put under notice of dismissal at the end of the Easter term, 1923. The staffs of the two Southern Schools (Cardigan and Llandyssul) - on the advice of the associations - handed in their resignations at the same time.

Disagreement occurred within the Joint Action Committee over the NUT's tendency to unilateral action at the expense of the four secondary associations - particularly in regard to the NUT's promise of open-ended sustentation (rather than the normal five years' limit) to involved teachers. Normally, however, a common front was vigorously maintained against the authority. The defence of its members proved costly to the AMA - the total salaries bill (sustentation) on account of masters was some £450 a month - and this led to a subscription increase (to 2 guineas per annum) of which 10s. 6d. was paid into a Defence Fund.

The dispute proved to be very bitter. The three Northern Schools were unable to find suitable applicants and remained closed for the summer term 1923. (157) Cardigan and Llandyssul schools re-opened with blackleg staffs obtained in the utmost secrecy. A dual, but independent, inspection by inspectors of the Central Welsh Board and HMI led to the Board of Education in July 1923 removing the Cardigan and Llandyssul schools from the list of grant earning, efficient schools. Matters dragged on until 1926 when on 1 April the LEA finally adopted the Burnham scale. (158) The authority yielded after receiving a letter from the Welsh Department of the Board of Education pointing out that Cardiganshire was the only area of England and Wales that had not adopted the Burnham scale. The authority was informed that it could be adjudged to be in breach of its responsibility to provide an efficient system of education in its area.

Throughout the Cardiganshire dispute the *Welsh Gazette* had fully supported the action of the teachers' unions. In a review of the dispute, under the title 'The Gods are Just', a correspondent had stressed that the sole crime of the teachers had been to refuse to accept a scale of salaries far below that of Burnham. (159) The memory of the dispute lingered long. In 1929 13 teachers were still receiving sustentation in varying degrees from the associations concerned. South Shields and Cardiganshire apart, the AMA had had resounding success in securing salary increases in accord with Burnham for its members. The *AMA* for June 1926 recorded that salary increases had already been secured in upwards of 1300 cases. (160)

'Salary Cuts': 1921-35

The 1920 Burnham settlement was generally seen as favourable to the teachers. A leader in the *Times Educational Supplement* commented: 'In our view they (the teachers) have been remarkably successful, and can congratulate themselves on the able efforts made on their part by their representatives'. (161) As has been noted a sliding scale had been rejected and a settlement reached based upon 'normal conditions' (a cost of living about 50 points above the pre-war standard had been the criterion of the Standing Joint Committee). It had been the general expectation that the cost of living would fall and that teachers' salaries would thereby become progressively more equitable. The sharp fall in prices that followed - and the consequent gain in the real value of income - had not been anticipated, however, and it was not surprising as the crisis in the economy deepened that the government should call for cuts in educational expenditure (including teachers' salaries). The call for national economy had led a minority of LEAs to defer the implementation of the Burnham award with the resultant conflict, as has been seen, with the teachers' associations.

The proposed and actual cuts in teachers' salaries in the period to the early 1930s are summarized in the following table:

Year	Proposed Cut	Actual Cut
1921	Board of Education suggested to teachers' associations that members should surrender part of salary and contribute towards cost of pensions.	Nil Suggestion of contributory pension met stiff resistance from teachers' associations
1922	Geddes Report - called for drastic cuts: i) reduction in education estimates for 1922-3 of £16,100,000 (i.e. reduction from £50,600,000 to £34,500,000). Salary cuts seen as inevitable. ii) contributory pension 5 per cent of salaries .	Nil (by statute), but Burnham Committees accepted a voluntary abatement of 5 per cent for 1922-3. Temporary charge of 5 per cent of salary imposed 1 June 1922 to pension scheme (non-taxable).
1923	Emmott Report - endorsed 5 per cent superannuation contribution	Mandatory 5 per cent superannuation contribution under Teachers (Superannuation) Act (1925).
1924-5	Negotiations for 2nd Burnham Agreement - Authorities sought 15 per reduction. Arbitration of Lord Burnham invoked.	Arbitration gave cut of less than 1 per cent. 1925 Burnham Agreement to last for six years. Board of Education issued draft regulations (July 1926) to ensure Burnham scales were paid (government grant adjusted to recalcitrant LEAs).
1931	May Committee recommended a cut of 20 per cent - amended in Cabinet (August 1931) to 15 per cent; further amended to 10 per cent (September 1931).	10 per cent reduction in salaries effective from 1 October 1931. 5 per cent of cut restored, July 1934. Remaining 5 per cent of cut restored July 1935.

The AMA adopted a policy of stiff resistance to all proposed cuts while maintaining a sensitivity to the country's obvious need for economy. The AMA Executive encouraged the membership to lobby their local MPs to oppose the proposed Geddes cuts (1922), and again to resist the Chancellor's call (162) for teachers to contribute for one year five per cent of their salary as a contribution to the superannuation fund - a contribution ultimately made mandatory in the Teachers' Superannuation Act of

1925. Any erosion of the 1920 Burnham scales and any attempt by the Government to introduce a contributory pension scheme were presented by the Association as a breach of faith. Strike action over the cuts was an unattractive option to the rank and file of the AMA membership, the Association preferring dialogue within Burnham. The NUT, by contrast, was more ready to take the strike option, calling out members in Gateshead, Lowestoft and Southampton in 1923. (163) The AMA had a deep-seated respect for the fairness of Lord Burnham's judgement, unequivocally accepting his arbitration as a way out of the deadlock of the second Burnham negotiations, 1924-5.

The Association was aware of public hostility to the teachers' financial status. The *Daily Mail* scornfully attacked teaching as a 'parasitic pursuit', claiming that teachers liked to identify themselves with the cause of education but that their rate of pay had nothing to do with educational efficiency nor with their qualifications. (164) S.Rowland in an article in the *Contemporary Review* in November 1924 pointed out that the less scrupulous journals represented teachers as 'war-profiteers in salary...luxuriating in incomes double or treble those received before the War'. (165) It was left to the quality Press to rally to the teacher's side. The *Observer* in an article headed 'The Teacher's Battle' in April 1923 gave encouragement to the embattled profession:

He (the teacher) is only just emerging from his long purgatory of disparagement and underpayment...relieve the teacher of the misgiving that a wave of purblind 'economy' may engulf himself and cripple the work of his profession, and his Conferences will be no more pre-occupied with salaries, pensions, and so forth than are those of lawyers or medical men. (166)

The AMA ultimately resigned itself to the inevitability of cuts in salaries in view of the government's repeated calls for retrenchment. The Association's stance became one of 'damage limitation', a policy pursued by fighting to keep cuts to the essential percentages. Once an amount had been agreed upon the Executive then saw it as its duty to get the award interpreted as favourably as possible. The day-to-day work of

headquarters' staff in support of members' salary problems was thorough and frequently successful, albeit tedious and humdrum. (167) In the year 1926 alone several hundred salary cases were dealt with in the wake of the Second Burnham Agreement of the previous year. The report of the Salaries Sub-Committee for 1926 recorded: 'The ordinary member of the Association can have very little idea of the assistance given to members during the year. Mr Hotham (Hon.Sec. Salaries Sub-Committee) dealt with over 100 cases, but the bulk of the enquiries were dealt with by Headquarters'. (168) By 1927 the number of salary query referrals had dropped to 68 - a respite before the crisis that stemmed from the 1931 May Committee recommendations.

The AMA castigated the report of the Committee on National Expenditure (1931) (169) as:

a tissue of misstatement based on crass ignorance or deliberate distortion, of the very elements from which any adequate report could have originated...The Prime Minister's catchword of 'Equality of Sacrifice' becomes in their case (the teachers) a cynical mockery. Nor is this the end of the story. The contract in which teachers placed implicit faith has been ruthlessly torn up. It is now a scrap of paper. (170)

The editorial vehemently attacked the drastic and callous nature of the proposed cuts:

(The Report was) more misinformed as to facts, less careful in inference, and more drastic and callous in recommendations than anyone had anticipated. It was so inaccurate, indeed, that it seemed impossible that anyone would take it seriously, but as soon as the National Crisis intervened it became apparent that it had to be reckoned with seriously. (171)

The Report was published at the end of July 1931. Dunkerley, the general secretary, cut short his holiday to spearhead the AMA's resistance. On 2 September representatives of the Joint Four, the Technical Teachers and the NUT agreed on joint action. On 4 September all AMA school correspondents received a letter urging them to protest to local MPs against the inequality of treatment meted out to teachers. Following an emergency meeting of the AMA Executive Committee on 5 September

a carefully argued letter of protest was sent to the Cabinet, to all MPs and the Press. The gist of the letter of protest was that the teacher had been singled out for unfair treatment by the government:

Teachers in Secondary Schools are ready to bear their fair share of the present financial burden, but they consider that the imposition upon them of a far greater percentage of salary reduction than is demanded from any other public servants whose remuneration is comparable, contravenes the principle of equal sacrifice...the reduction proposed, accompanied as it is with increased income tax...will render the plight of the assistant masters with children, and assistant mistresses with dependants...well nigh desperate. (172)

The combined opposition of the AMA, the Joint Four, the AEC (representing 260 of the 318 LEAs in England and Wales), (173) *inter alia*, to the May Committee's recommendations, undoubtedly influenced the Prime Minister's decision to announce a 5 per cent reduction in the proposed level of cut; on 21 September 1931 Macdonald stated that the 15 per cent would be reduced to 10 per cent. (174) On 23rd September a protest meeting of AMA members from the London and Home County branches was held at the Kingsway Hall, London, and called upon the government 'for a definite pronouncement that any cut that may be inflicted should remain in force for a strictly limited period only, and that all pension rights under the Burnham scales will be preserved'. (175) The AMA Council, at a special meeting on 26 September refused 'to accept the ten per cent cut in principle' and expressed its determination to continue to protest against it. (176)

It was to be expected that the salary issue should dominate the January 1932 AMA Council meeting. Thirteen resolutions on the subject were passed. The Executive was called upon 'to continue to fight vigorously against the injustice produced in regard to Superannuation by the recent salary cuts', and a plea made to the government that the reduction should be regarded 'as a purely temporary one' and that pensions should still be calculated 'on the original scale'. (177)

The cuts remained, despite an upturn in the economy during the summer and autumn of 1932 which led Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Macdonald's Second National Government, to anticipate a budget surplus. The AMA demanded a speedy restoration of the cut and in October 1932 the Executive set up an 'Ad-Hoc' Committee to organize a campaign to that end. Each member of the 'Ad-Hoc' Committee was made responsible for co-ordinating branch activity in a prescribed area of the country. In London 82 members of the LCC and 23 Boards of Governors were lobbied, and a joint deputation of the Joint Four, ATTI, and three other teachers' associations, were received by the LCC Teaching Staff Sub-Committee. In the West Riding a questionnaire was sent to candidates in the Skipton by-election, whilst in Cheshire an AMA deputation met with local MPs.

Throughout the early months of 1933 encouraging signs of national recovery were in evidence as witnessed in the following statement from Stanley Baldwin, the Lord President, on 24 June: 'I think we may say today that the danger of financial and currency collapse in...this country, which was imminent, has disappeared'. (178) A joint-statement from the NAS/AMA was quick to capitalize on the Lord President's remarks, urging the government to abolish the cut. (179) The statement made pointed reference to the earlier words of Sir David Maclean, President of the Board, on 17 September 1931: 'The reduction in teachers' salaries is occasioned by the national emergency and is not to be regarded as the view of the Government of what should be the proper rates of remuneration of teachers under less abnormal conditions. The position should be reviewed on its merits when the financial position of the country allows'. (180)

On 21 November 1933 a Joint Four deputation was received by Lord Irwin, President of the Board. Irwin expressed doubt as to whether the Chancellor would be prepared to accept that the financial emergency had passed but declared that 'he would endeavour to see that teachers were treated on a basis of complete justice with other

affected bodies'. (181) On 8 December 1933 a letter was sent by the Joint Four to all LEAs and governing bodies on the ten per cent cut urging them to put pressure on the government to restore full salaries to teachers. The campaign of the Ad Hoc Committee continued unabated into 1934.

Neville Chamberlain, the Chancellor, finally yielded: as from 1 July 1934 half the ten per cent cut was restored. The remaining five per cent cut was restored as from 1 July 1935. The AMA had fought to the end to have the cuts reversed; a Joint Four deputation on the issue had been received by the Board as late as 2 April 1935. Tilney-Bassett summed up the salaries position at that juncture thus: 'If full justice had not been done it had been substantially done and an unfortunate episode in the history of salaries and pensions was at an end'. (182)

The AMA's salaries' policy, 1936-9: resistance to pressure for a common scale

The Burnham scales codified in 1920 and revised in 1925 had remained substantially unchanged (the cuts apart). In 1936 the Burnham award of 1925 was renewed for a further three years. The AMA Executive aware of correspondence between Oliver Stanley, President of the Board, and Lord Onslow, Lord Burnham's replacement as chair of the Burnham Committees at his death in 1933, that suggested the possibility of a fundamental overhaul of the whole salary system towards a common scale, resurrected the Salaries Sub-Committee as a standing committee. It was in the interests of the largely graduate AMA membership for the Executive to maintain the differentials in salary that the elementary and secondary Burnham scales had given. A. Gray Jones, assistant secretary, AMA, outlined the Association's concern in an article in the *AMA* in February 1937:

We are...about to enter on a period in which (salaries) will be scrutinised closely and perhaps re-cast. The advocates of change are already busy. Their first aim is to improve their own salaries whatever happens to anyone else's. This is a natural aim and should be recognised as such. Moreover, in this aim, the lowest-paid teachers have our good wishes - providing their efforts do not prejudice the position of their colleagues in other schools. (183)

The largest section of the primary teachers belonged to the National Federation of Class Teachers (NFCT), which strongly advocated a basic scale and had produced proposals for the same. It was to the proposals of the NFCT that Gray Jones addressed his attack in defence of the assistant masters' salary position: 'The proposals are simple,' he wrote, 'even if they are about as flexible as the laws of the Medes and the Persians'. Having set out a detailed comparison of how, under the proposed basic scale, the secondary teacher would fare compared with the primary teacher over a period of 15 years' service starting from the initial salary base, he then expounded how the secondary teacher would be disadvantaged:

The primary teacher reaps a generous, and in some cases an amazing increase; in no instance does he lose a penny. The only reductions would be applied to the secondary teacher, and he would lose handsomely, if monotonously...The present distinction between graduate and non-graduate scales would disappear. A degree as such would be valueless for salary purposes. Training would become all-important...The graduate who is not professionally trained would become the pariah of the profession. He might...have taken a brilliant First, but he would rank far below a Certificated teacher who had spent two years in a primary Training College. (184)

As for women, Gray Jones wrote that 'not even their sex would avert their doom' on the basic scale. In putting the case for differentials in salaries based upon qualification and type of school a master taught in, Gray Jones was anticipating the internecine rivalry that was to dominate teacher union politics in the post-Second World War period. His arguments gave credence to the allegations that the AMA with its predominantly graduate grammar school membership enjoyed an elitist position.

The AMA Salaries Sub-Committee presented an Association Salary Policy to Council in January 1938 which rejected the principle of a basic scale, stating that such a scale was impossible 'if justice was to be done to existing teachers'. New salary scales were adopted as follows:

<u>Graduates</u>	£250 - £18 - £600 (except London)
	£300 - £18 - £650 (London)
<u>Non-Graduates</u>	£200 - £18 - £500 (except London)
	£250 - £18 - £550 (London) (185)

The Report of the Consultative Committee on Post Primary Education (the Spens Report) was issued in December 1938. In its recommendations the committee had considered it of great importance 'that everything possible should be done to secure parity of status for Grammar Schools, Technical High Schools, and Modern Schools'. (186) The AMA was not opposed to the principle of a 'tripartite system' but the Salaries Sub-Committee was sceptical of the implications of the salary proposals of the Spens Report: it was proposed that there should be two salary scales, a higher and a lower, and a fixed establishment of each scale varying in the three different types of school. It was the opinion of the Salaries Sub-Committee that the assistant master in a grammar school could be disadvantaged if such a salary structure was instituted. (187)

The NUT with its predominantly female, non-graduate, primary based membership was fundamentally opposed to the continuance of the separate scales for teachers in secondary and technical schools under Burnham. The NUT's *Memorandum on Salaries* (1939) outlined the underlying criteria of its salary policy - criteria which were greatly to influence the reconstituted Burnham Committee in the immediate post-war period. The Memorandum stated: 'Salaries of teachers should depend upon qualifications, length of service and special responsibility, and not upon the sex of the teacher or type of school or area in which service is rendered'. (188)

THE WAR YEARS: 1939-45

Salary issues that were of concern to the AMA during the Second World War were in many respects similar to those of the First World War: dismay over rising prices, care for adequate war bonuses to be paid to all practising teachers, and for adequate

supplements to be made to the service pay of enlisted teachers. Additional to those areas of concern - endemic in wartime - was the new issue of the added financial burden facing the evacuated teacher and the need to review Burnham by 1942 (the end of the five year agreement).

Rising prices were in evidence within a few months of the start of the war and by early 1941 the Ministry of Labour's cost of living index had risen by 40 points (about 26 per cent). The Local Government Staff (War Service) Act (1939) empowered LEAs to supplement the service pay of teachers, but any payments made were purely permissive. The AMA's attempts to make such payments mandatory were unsuccessful - requests from the Association to the Board in 1940, and again in 1941, a joint AMA/IAHM request, to introduce amending legislation were rejected. In fairness most LEAs acted upon the government's initiative and supplemented the pay of enlisted teachers in full. A few authorities, however, refused to pay a supplement and some adopted an intermediary position (for example, a supplement might be paid to a married man, but not to a single man). Particular hardship and injustice occurred when a partial supplement was paid since under the terms of the Teachers' Superannuation (War Service) Act (1939) superannuation contributions were payable in full by the teacher if any supplement at all was made. The AMA used the branch network to organize local action against those LEAs who refused to pay a full supplement, The Joint Four made representations to the Board and the AEC on the matter, and supported deputations to the authorities concerned. The case against the obdurate LEAs was strengthened by the House of Lords' ruling in the Bolton Corporation Test Case (1941-2). Bolton had refused to pay a supplement to any officer of the Corporation who undertook war service, and had refused arbitration in that the matter was not considered a 'trade dispute'. In 1942 the Lords ruled that the matter of a supplement could be considered by the National Arbitration Tribunal. Bolton Corporation, in the light of the ruling, offered a partial scheme of

supplementation, thereby encouraging continued resistance to recalcitrant LEAs elsewhere in the country.

Many teachers were affected by the government's evacuation schemes, and the enforced move to another part of the country often meant financial hardship. The government scheme provided the teacher with a billet for which the householder was paid five shillings. The teacher obviously retained financial commitments in his home area while taking on new ones (for example, board, rents, mortgages and rates) in the evacuation area. Teachers, too, with evacuation lost their established channels to earn extra income (evening class teaching to quote a popular example). A survey amongst evacuated AMA members in the London branch revealed that 47 per cent had given up extra work which on average had yielded a supplement of £67 to their annual income. (189)

The AMA Executive acted decisively on behalf of evacuated members. Representations were made to the Government's Advisory Committee upon Evacuation Problems. A Joint Four deputation to the President of the Board, Lord De la Warr, on 31 October 1939, urged that the Board's influence be used with the Ministry of Health to secure the payment of an adequate subsistence allowance. On 23 November 1939 a Joint Four deputation was received at the Ministry of Health when the need for increased billeting allowances was stressed. Up to that point, it was emphasized, evacuated teachers had received no financial assistance to offset additional expenditure (a period of three months in many cases) and no facilities had been granted for free or subsidized travel home. The Ministry gave an undertaking that it would consider the whole question of subsistence and billeting allowance, and, as a gesture of goodwill, granted free travel vouchers for the Christmas holidays.

In January 1940 Andrew Hutchings, the general secretary, gave a full report of the problem of the evacuated teacher to Council, meeting at Oxford, and the Executive

was instructed 'to press HM Government to take immediate steps to alleviate the financial hardships suffered by teachers evacuated with their schools'. (190) A conference of teacher delegates was held at the Ministry of Health on 19 January and, after further discussion, the government announced a scheme on 12 March (retrospective to 29 January 1940, and not to the first day of evacuation). With an improved scheme being published in June 1940 the unions, though dissatisfied with the level of payments, could claim a degree of success.

The Burnham agreement made in 1937 ran to April 1942. The AMA, along with the other teachers' associations, knew that the agreed level of salaries could not be sustained over such a period without supplement in the light of the rising cost of living index. The AMA was conscious of raising demands for salary increase in wartime conditions, and was disinclined to give notice to terminate the Burnham agreement. The issue of the 'war bonus' - as in the First World War - was therefore explored. Early in 1940 a joint approach by the teachers' representatives on Burnham was made to the Authorities' Panel to discuss the whole position 'without prejudice to the existing agreement'. It was agreed on 1 March 1940 to set up a Special Joint Standing Sub-Committee of the Authorities' and Teachers' Panels to consider matters, consequent upon wartime conditions, which affected the salaries of teachers. The normal pattern of claim and counter-claim occurred within the Joint Standing Sub-Committee, the teachers demanding more than the authorities were willing/able to agree to. The initial claim of the teachers' side - influenced by the National Whitley Council bonus scheme for local government officers - was for a bonus of six per cent on the first £300 of all salaries, plus three per cent on the next £200. The Board was sympathetic to the justness of a claim to bonus payment for teachers and *Memorandum 222* (191) recognized for grant any expenditure of the LEAs after 1 April 1940 in respect of bonus payments, provided such bonus did not better that paid to civil servants and was limited to full time teachers earning less than £260 per annum.

The memorandum determined the level and the extent of the first bonus payments - the authorities offered a bonus of six per cent of salaries of £260 or less from 1 April 1940. The Teachers' Panel accepted the offer, albeit with reluctance. The AMA representatives on Burnham and the AMA Executive made it plain that the bonus offered little to the secondary teacher and was seen as a temporary measure. Four LEAs refused to pay the bonus, four adopted a different scheme, and three deferred payment. A number of LEAs paid no bonus to enlisted teachers.

The AMA's campaign now centred upon securing a bonus for *all* teachers. Agreement was reached within Burnham on an improved bonus payment in September 1941 based upon a sliding scale which benefited most secondary school masters. (192) Percival Sharp, editor of *Education*, summed up the disappointment within the AMA ranks at the level of the bonus: 'The Association of Assistant Masters have accepted the bonus scheme without any feeling of thankfulness but with a deep feeling of resentment, and with the expressed determination to press forward at once for a new bonus award'. (193) The Teachers' Panel thereafter rejected the principle of a sliding scale and called for a flat rate bonus scheme. Impasse was reached within Burnham on that score and the arbitration of Lord Soulbury, the newly-appointed chairman of Burnham, sought. (194) The case was heard on 21 July 1942, Alderman Byng Kenrick speaking for the Authorities and Sir Frederick Mander, general secretary of the NUT, for the Teachers' Panel. A flat rate scheme was rejected but an improved sliding scale agreed. (195) Most teachers received substantial bonus payments, and every LEA honoured the award in full.

The final bonus award was made in 1943, again as the result of Lord Soulbury's arbitration. The principle of a flat rate bonus was accepted (196), and by order of the Board of Education the bonus (from 31 March 1944) was reckoned a part of salary for pension purposes and superannuation contributions became payable upon it.

1945-51: THE AMA'S REACTION TO RECONSTITUTED BURNHAM; THE ASSOCIATION'S CASE FOR 'DIFFERENTIALS'

The egalitarian ethic had dominated official government pronouncement on education in the war years and the Education Act of 1944 had given reality to such sentiment. Translated into salary structure for the assistant master in the secondary grammar school egalitarianism predicted a return to demands for a common scale and a loss of privileged salary status he had enjoyed under the Burnham secondary award. One basic scale for all teachers had been the platform of the NFCT since 1929 and had been embraced as official NUT policy since 1939. The Spens Report (1938) had recommended a salary structure that reflected the equal worth of grammar and modern schools. (197) The Board of Education paper, *Education after the War* (1941), had come out firmly against the continuance of differentiated scales:

It is clear that, if a policy is to be adopted to secure a greater unification of the educational system and to break down the old distinctions too often redolent of social prejudice, it will be desirable to unify, as far as may be, the teaching profession and to find some alternative to a series of differentiated scales which are based on distinctions it is desired to remove.
(198)

The McNair Report (1944) had made a strong recommendation for one basic scale for all teachers classed as 'qualified': 'The Board of Education should recognize only one grade of teacher namely the grade of 'qualified teacher'.' (199) The Education Act of 1944 by its organization of public education 'in three progressive stages...primary education, secondary education, and further education' had necessitated a reconsideration of the position of the separate elementary, secondary, and technical committees. All schools educating children beyond the age of 11, under the Act, had been deemed 'secondary' schools. Burnham pay awards had been made enforceable by statutory order.

The AMA welcomed statutory enforcement for Burnham; the long-fought campaigns to force the intractable authorities to honour the Burnham awards would be a thing of the past. The Association viewed with apprehension, however, the prospect of a reconstituted Burnham. Early in 1944 Butler, the President of the Board, had proposed that the Elementary, Secondary and Technical Committees be replaced by one Committee charged with the duty of recommending scales of salaries for all teachers in all types of schools. (200) This proposal had led the Joint Four to express to the Board the opinion that it would be impossible for one committee, composed of an Authorities' and a Teachers' Panel, each panel having its own leader and only the two leaders being permitted 'under existing practice' to speak at meetings of the full Committee, to function effectively. Butler's announcement of the new Burnham structure in the House of Commons revealed that he had chosen to ignore the representations of the Joint Four. (201) The three Burnham Committees were to be replaced by a single committee dominated on the teachers' side by the NUT (the NUT with the associated ATTI held 20 out of the 26 seats on the Teachers' Panel). (202)

The four secondary associations were invited to appoint six representatives. The Joint Four, with the utmost reluctance, accepted the invitation aware that refusal would professionally isolate their constituent associations. Butler saw the reconstitution of Burnham as an essential part of the reform outlined in the Education Act and would undoubtedly have moved ahead without the co-operation of the Joint Four. Conscious of their emasculated position under the new Burnham machinery the Joint Four informed the minister in writing of their displeasure and intent: 'Since the proposed reconstitution and suggested procedure apparently afford no opportunity for the expression of minority views through the machinery of the Burnham Committee, our constituent Associations will undoubtedly feel that they must reserve the right to use other means of making their opinions known.'

W.H.Carhart and A.W.S. Hutchings were appointed as AMA representatives to Burnham. The Joint Four realized that the majority of the Teachers' Panel of the reconstituted Burnham Committee had long been committed to the policy of the so-called 'basic scale' and would now press for its implementation. All four secondary associations had no animosity towards those teachers who would benefit from a basic scale, principally the thousands of primary teachers who formed the base of the NUT's membership. Agreement was soon reached by the two Panels on proposed scales for the non-graduate assistant teacher : £300 - £15 - £525 for men; £270 - £12 - £420 for women. Hutchings later said: 'We (the AMA) warmly welcome those improvements and affirm that they are long overdue'. (203)

Division and bitter dissent, however, split the Teachers' Panel on the issues of the graduate scales (seen as insufficient to attract highly qualified staff to the profession), the 'graduate addition' and the 'scheme for special allowances'. (204) The Joint Four had refused to ratify the proposals for the 'graduate addition' - a symbolic protest in that the majority vote prevailed.

To the acute annoyance of the NUT the Joint Four wrote to the *Times Educational Supplement* in November 1944, condemning the proposals in advance of publication (205):

The six representatives of our secondary associations are...so convinced that the implementing of these proposals would militate against the present and future efficiency of the existing secondary schools that they are unable to commend these proposals to their constituents...the maintenance and improvement of the standard of the existing maintained and aided secondary schools depend on their power to attract to their service suitable men and women of the highest qualifications. The proposals of the Burnham Committee have increased our misgivings for the future development of these schools. (206)

In a circular to all branches (23 November 1944) the AMA Executive urged active protest on the graduate issue: letters to MPs, deputations to LEAs, correspondence in the letter columns of local newspapers. The NUT responded by accusing the AMA of

'(edging) forward on its own narrow front whilst sheltering behind the main proposals'. (207) Ratification of the provisional agreement by the special salaries conference of the NUT (5 December 1944) ensured its implementation for the three year period from 1 April 1945 (the duration of the Burnham agreement).

Embittered at the prospect for the graduate teacher the AMA/Joint Four waged an unremitting campaign to secure amendments to Burnham before its implementation on 1 April 1945. A strongly-worded statement from the Joint Four, highly critical of the smallness of the graduate addition and the paucity of provision for posts of special responsibility, appeared in the *Times Educational Supplement* in February 1945. (208) The tenacity of union pressure and, as will be seen, market forces in the post-1945 period, ultimately secured the realization of all three aims.

The first major debate on teachers' salaries since the debate on the Education Bill took place on 20 February 1945. This was the last opportunity - though belated - for the Joint Four to influence the government and secure amendment to the Burnham proposals. Kenneth Lindsay, National Independent MP for Kilmarnock and soon to be elected MP for the Combined English Universities had agreed to represent the Joint Four policy in the debate. Lindsay, a former president of the Oxford Union and later Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, was sympathetic to the graduate cause and spoke forcibly as follows:

In order to adjust salaries to the new and if I may say so...misleading nomenclature, because the word 'secondary' at the moment is misleading, there has been worked out a common scale for all teachers, primary and secondary, which in my opinion degrades the graduate degree and thereby will discourage recruitment. It is the minimum which matters and which will matter to the young Service men and women coming back from the war...the scale slows down the rate of accretion of salaries...it does irreparable injury to secondary education, as it has been known in the past. (209)

In the same debate Sir Arthur Salter, a former academic at Oxford and Independent member for the university since 1937, equally supported, after briefing, the Joint Four

stance. Salter argued for higher graduate additions and more posts of special responsibility, and against the merger clause (the merger of the 'graduate addition' with 'special posts of responsibility'). He stressed the nation's need of the highly qualified graduate in teaching. Salter concluded: 'If it is possible to give greater inducements to better qualified people to go into the secondary schools by the scales adopted, a very real contribution to that important purpose will be made'. (210)

Despite the protestations of Lindsay, Salter, and other MPs on behalf of the graduate teacher, Butler was unyielding. The minister, albeit no cipher, was the spokesman of a government committed to egalitarian reform in education. Though within a matter of years differentials had been re-established - vindication of the Joint Four policy - preferential salary scales for the graduate assistant were not in vogue in 1945. The Burnham Scales became statutory on 1 April 1945. Lord Soulbury, chairman of Burnham since 1942, in an address to a private meeting of the executive committees of the Joint Four in October 1947, expressed his personal opinion that the 1945 Burnham agreement - though disadvantageous to the graduate - was a just one. (211)

Post-1945 Burnham Agreement: the AMA's intensified campaign for the graduate cause.

The AMA membership in 1945 stood at 11,594, the vast majority of whom were graduates teaching in grammar schools. (212) The Association was committed to amend the 1945 Burnham agreement and thereby reverse what was seen as a betrayal of the graduate cause. As intimated earlier, market forces in the immediate post-war years aided the Joint Four campaign for a return to differential scales. The government after 1945 saw educational reconstruction as a priority and it was immediately apparent that teacher shortages were an obstacle to such reconstruction. Emergency training programmes and a concern to attract the highly qualified graduate to the profession became integral to government policy. Gosden referred thus to the interconnection between market forces and graduate recruitment in the

post-1945 period: 'Market forces worked in favour of the more highly qualified graduate teachers, and the need for differentials which favoured them came to be increasingly widely recognised by those concerned with the supply of teachers for the schools'. (213)

In January 1946 the AMA Council reaffirmed the Association's opinion that the new scales were unsatisfactory, the more so in view of the far superior scales that had been offered to teachers in Scotland and Northern Ireland (the so-called Teviot and Black scales). Council reiterated its demands for:

1. a higher assured maximum for graduate assistant masters
2. a substantial increase in the 'graduate addition'
3. the abolition of the 'merger' clause
4. an improved scheme of additional payments directly related to the age of the pupils, the scholarship of the teacher and the nature of the work in different types of school (214)

The Executive, consequent upon Council decision in 1946, set up a Salaries Ad Hoc Committee to consider Association policy for the negotiations for a new award in 1948. Andrew Hutchings launched an appeal to the branches to maximize publicity for improved scales. An AMA pamphlet *Publicity and Propaganda* (1946) advocated: 'Publicity by means of personal contact, publicity by means of public meetings, publicity through the medium of the Local Press'. (215) 10,000 copies of the AMA pamphlet *The Assistant Masters' Salary* (1947) were printed for circulation to branch secretaries, press and school correspondents, LEAs, MPs and the Press. (216) The *Times Educational Supplement* referred to the pamphlet as 'factual in content...restrained in tone...yet presents convincingly the case for a thorough overhaul of the existing salary scales for teachers'. (217) The text of the *Assistant Masters' Salary* developed the theme of the McNair Report that the case for improved salaries should be based upon four 'tests' - the personal, the market, the professional and the educational. On all counts the pamphlet pointed out the need to improve salary scales for the highly qualified graduate: 'It is our sincere conviction that

educational progress and national efficiency alike will be greatly handicapped by any failure on the part of the Burnham Committee to formulate without further delay scales of salary which will enable the schools both to recruit and to retain the highly qualified teachers whose services are so urgently required'. (218)

Persistent AMA/Joint Four pressure for a widening of differentials, plus an overt need to attract the highly qualified graduate to teaching, was reflected in the award of additional differential payments in the Burnham reports of 1948, 1951, and 1954. (219) A leader in the *Times Educational Supplement* in January 1950 referred to the inevitability of a widening of differentials:

Few sections of the population have more reason to complain of their present salaries than teachers...In the six years since the Education Act there has been a sharp relative decline in teachers' salaries, and the decline has been especially marked in the incomes of graduates....The National Union of Teachers tends naturally to think mainly in terms of the same salary increase for all teachers...but the crucial point now is that a man or woman fit to teach a good sixth form or to direct a large grammar school's scientific side has a scarcity value for which no basic scale devised for well over 200,000 teachers can possibly provide. (220)

The post-war mood for egalitarianism reflected in a levelling of teachers' salaries had proved short-lived. (221) The AMA's defiant stance for differentials had been recognized within Burnham. Sir William Alexander, secretary of the Authorities' Panel, in an article in *Education* in December 1955, acknowledged that there had been 'increasing recognition of the wide range of responsibilities within the teaching profession which necessarily require schemes of differentials'. (222)

CONCLUSION

The AMA has been seen to have been instrumental in determining the structure and levels of the pay awards made to the secondary schoolmaster in the period covered by this thesis. In the first phase of the union's history, data provided by the AMA on salaries in the secondary sector had been welcomed by government and LEAs alike,

and used in the formulation of policies and salary scales. The AMA's early commitment to the principle of a national scale was later proved to be akin to that of government thinking as reflected in the establishment of the Burnham Committees. Burnham generally functioned in accord with the AMA's own philosophy - controlling salaries by a recognized standard in a spirit of co-operation between representatives of the LEAs and the teaching profession. During both world wars the government had readily acceded, as far as budgets permitted, to the principles of the AMA's request that its members should not be disadvantaged by the endemic wartime problems of inflation and disruptive conditions of employment. The AMA's strong stance for differentials in salary, while anathema to many, was acknowledged in the post-war Burnham settlements as apposite to the needs of that age.

CHAPTER 3 : NOTES

1. First issue 5 February 1898; discontinued 30 June 1928.
2. *Outlook*, 27 January 1900, p.841-2.
3. *Ibid.*, 3 February 1900, p.13.
4. *Ibid.*, 17 February 1900, p.76.
5. *Ibid.*, 24 February 1900.
6. *Ibid.*, 3 March 1900, p.139.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.* See issues of 3 March 1900, pp.139-40; 17 March 1900, p.207; 24 March 1900, p.243; 19 May 1900, p.499.
9. *Ibid.*, 28 July 1900, p.807.
10. The analysis of AMA membership figures given in Appendix 3 shows a steady influx of members from the so-called Clarendon 'nine' in the formative years of the Association.
11. Articles on schoolmasters' salaries frequently appeared in the *Morning Post*, the *Speaker*, *inter alia*.
A useful article on the scale of salaries purported to be being paid in secondary boys' schools at the start of the century was written by W.H.D.Rouse, a schoolmaster and an AMA member, in the *Contemporary Review*, Vol.LXXVIII, August 1900, pp.275-80. The article originally appeared as an AMA publication.
The *Yorkshire Post*, throughout March 1904, carried a lively correspondence on schoolmasters' salaries, with one letter being penned by Cyril Norwood, then secretary, West Riding Branch, AMA. Norwood, using information gained in a recent AMA survey of 32 secondary schools in the West Riding, claimed the average salary of an assistant master - 'after excluding "top notch" schools such as Giggleswick, Sedburgh and the grammar schools at Leeds and Bradford' - to be 'a disheartening total of £116 0s. 6d., to the possessor of which even the odd sixpence will have its value'. Norwood graphically outlined the financial pitfalls that frequently beset the assistant master. The *Journal of Education*, which since 1884 had been the medium of communication among members of the Teachers' Guild, made editorial comment on the *Yorkshire Post* correspondence - see *Journal of Education*, June 1904, p.396.
12. Bryce Commission, Vol.IV, Appendix 3, pp.533-61.

13. Ibid., Vol.IV, Appendix 2, pp.530-2. Amy Lumby, president of the AAM and principal of St Hilda's College, Cheltenham, and Marion Withiel, second mistress of Notting Hill High School, London, were the representatives of the AAM. The AAM submission on salaries is of importance to the present analysis as it corroborates the evidence given by the AMA that the salaries paid to secondary teachers lacked uniformity and were generally low, in most cases denying teachers an acceptable living standard. Interestingly, Withiel revealed the difficulty of ascertaining with any certainty what salaries were being paid to teachers: 'All my experience comes entirely from schools under our own association, either endowed or proprietary...and this is a matter in which very great jealousy is observed.' The secrecy in secondary schools surrounding salaries paid to individual teachers continued until the 1960s. The author of this thesis - to substantiate the point - when an assistant master at Chorley Grammar School, Lancashire, in the early 1960s, attended a meeting of the school's AMA membership called to voice concern at the secrecy surrounding the payment of special allowances within the school. The AMA Lancashire Branch Secretary advised members that if the headmaster would not adopt an open-access policy to salaries paid within the school then that information could legally be obtained from the County Authority. It is worth noting that added weight was given to both the AMA and AAM submissions by the close liaison of the associations with the IAHM and AHM respectively.
14. Roscoe, a brilliant chemist by background - he was appointed to the chair of chemistry at Owen's College, Manchester, at 24 years of age - had become a distinguished educator. Some years prior to his membership of the Bryce Commission he had served on the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1881-4.
15. Bryce Commission, Vol.IV., p.70, Q.13,134.
16. Form No.105 issued by the Charity Commission.
17. Bryce Commission, Vol.IV, pp.69-70.
18. Ibid., pp.70-6.
19. The statistics are published in Appendix 3, *ibid.*
20. Ibid., p.71, Q.13,156.
21. Ibid., p.72, Q.13,170.
22. Ibid., p.72, Q.13,177.
23. Ibid., pp.72-3, Q.13,178/9.
24. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.317-8.

25. Ibid.
26. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1902, p.31.
27. Ibid., 1899, p.9.
28. Stevenson has already been referred to in Chapter 2, Note 60. A former parliamentary Charity Commissioner and an advanced Liberal he raised a number of questions on tenure, endowments and salaries in the Commons on behalf of the AMA.
29. At the end of February 1904 G.F. Daniell, chairman of the AMA, wrote to the Board of Education asking that statistics relative to the salaries paid to assistant masters be made available: the figures were refused but the Association informed that 'the matter was under consideration'.
30. 1902 Education Act, Part II, 2.
31. Sadler was commissioned to write reports for the following LEAs: Sheffield (1903), Birkenhead (1904), Hampshire (1904), Huddersfield (1904), Liverpool (1904), Derbyshire (1905), Exeter (1905), Newcastle-on-Tyne (1905), Essex (1906). See Grier, L. (1952) *Achievement in Education: The Work of Michael Ernest Sadler, 1885-1935*.
32. Report on Secondary and Higher Education - to the City of Sheffield Education Committee. (1903), p.27.
33. There were 95 assistant masters in the survey; only six of those received £200 a year.
34. Report on Secondary and Higher Education in Essex, (1906), p.49.
35. Special Report on Higher Education in the County of Kent, (1906), p.149, quoted in Baron, *ibid.*, p.287.
36. Morant who had played a major part in the framing and implementation of the 1902 Education Act saw many advantages to the multi-purpose role of the LEAs. In Morant's view the LEA would have to weigh the demands of education against other public needs 'if all education is part of the ordinary municipal purse'. (PRO Ed. 24/14, *Points against Ad Hoc*, by R.L.Morant.)
37. Tropp, A. (1957) *The School Teachers*, p.204 *et seq.*
38. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1903, pp.28-9.
39. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1904, p.56.
40. *Vide*, Note 11.

41. *Journal of Education*, April 1905, p.253.
42. Full details of the scheme are given in the *IAAM Annual Report*, 1906, pp.26-8.
43. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1906, p.9. The Joint Conference on London Salaries was organized by the AMA in January 1905, consisting of three elected representatives of the following associations: AMA (London Branch), AAM, Teachers' Guild of Great Britain and Ireland (Central Guild), Association of University Women Teachers, Federation of London Teachers. For full details, see AMA publication, (1905), *Salaries of Assistant Teachers in London Secondary Schools*.
44. *Journal of Education*, August 1906, p.523.
45. *AMA*, 15 November 1906, p.106.
46. For details of the memorial and subsequent developments, see the *AMA*, June 1907, p.56 *et seq.*
47. For details see the *IAAM Annual Report*, 1908, p.4.
48. See the *AMA*, October 1909, p.77.
49. *South Wales Daily Press*, 19 July 1910.
50. Baron, loc.cit., p.300.
51. For further discussion of this issue see Corlett, J. (1929) *A Survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education*, P.S.King & Son.
52. A provision of the 1902 Education Act.
53. *Times Educational Supplement*, 4 March 1913, p.45.
54. Cholmeley, R.F. (1913) *Secondary Education in England*, p.86.
55. The paper is reproduced in the *AMA*, 15 February 1908, pp.4-7.
56. See Sadler's paper 'The Higher Schools of the Grand Duchy of Baden: their development and organisation' in the Education Department's *Special Reports on Educational Subjects, 1897-8*, Vol.3, pp.360-2.
57. *AMA*, January 1909.
58. Baron, loc.cit., p.307.

59. In 1911 the Board of Education instituted its first official survey of salaries published as Cmd.5951, 9 November 1911. The AMA fully involved the AAM in the planning of its inquiry, and invited the professional comment of many specialist contributors, many of whom were interviewed in their own countries by AMA delegates.
60. *Educational Times*, 1 February 1910.
61. *School Government Chronicle*, 5 February 1910.
62. *AMA*, 15 June 1910, pp.44-5.
63. *Educational Times*, 1 August 1910.
64. *Morning Post*, 1 July 1910; *Yorkshire Post*, 1 July 1910.
65. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1910, Supplement 2, pp.13-14.
66. *AMA*, 15 October 1910, p.72. Figures taken from the *AMA's Inquiry into Conditions of Service*, (1910).
67. See, for example, *Educational Times*, 1 December 1910, p.477.
68. *Times Educational Supplement*, 4 October 1910.
69. *Times Educational Supplement*, 1 November 1910.
70. Board of Education, 1905-6 (1906), Cmd.3270, p.59.
71. The delegation led by the current chairman of the AMA, A.A.Somerville (Eton), included three former chairmen: T.E.Page (Charterhouse), R.F.Cholmeley (formerly assistant master, St Paul's, currently headmaster Owen's School, Islington), and F.Charles (Strand School, London). Cholmeley was later to lead the Teachers' Panel of the Secondary Burnham Committee, 1920-8 - see *AMA*, May 1928, p.104.
72. See the *AMA*, May 1911, pp.54-6, for details of the deputation.
73. Philip Magnus, MP, a member of the Senate and Fellow of London University, had been a member of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1881-4, and of the London School Board, 1890-1. A Unionist, he was elected as MP for London University (1906) a seat that he held until his retirement in October 1922.
74. *Board of Education Survey, 9 November 1911, statistics relating to Annual Income and Expenditure, especially in relation to salaries of Teaching Staff, in certain Secondary Schools in England (excluding Wales and Monmouthshire)*, Cmd. 5951.

75. National Insurance Bill (1911).
76. Baron (1952) op.cit., p.313.
77. Report of the Eightieth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1911), quoted in Baron, op. cit., pp.170-99.
78. Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales (1911-12-13), Part II (Finance), Table 163(B), p.171). For example, Average Salary: Civil Service, £95; Local Government, £93; University Lecturer, under £150.
79. Details of the memorandum are given in the *IAAM Annual Report*, 1911, Supplement II, pp.21-3.
80. *AMA*, February 1912, p.26.
81. *AMA*, May 1913, p.52. For earlier examples see the *AMA*, March 1912, pp.35-6.
82. For details of the conference see the *AMA*, May 1913, pp.56-60.
83. Haldane, a barrister by background, had entered parliament as a Liberal MP in 1885 reaching cabinet rank as Secretary of State, War, 1905-12. He served as Lord Chancellor, 1912-15. Haldane was increasingly drawn towards socialist doctrine, befriending the Webbs, and joining the Labour Party in 1924. He was an avid supporter of higher education, and a staunch advocate of adult education.
84. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1913, pp.4-5.
85. *AMA*, October 1914, pp.151-2.
86. *AMA*, October 1914. p.152.
87. *Statistics of Salaries of Assistant Masters in the aided and maintained Secondary Schools of England and Wales*, December 1914.
88. Two quotes from *AMA* publications are pertinent in this context:
 - (a) 'Men are beginning to realize that the great majority of assistant masters in these days must remain assistant masters all their lives' (*Salaries of Assistant Teachers in London Secondary Schools - being a report of the conference on the above subject*, (January 1905), p.8.)
 - (b) 'Owing to the fact that the number of headships is nothing like sufficient to translate all the good teachers, not one assistant in ten can hope for such preferment...hence the career of an assistant must be rendered self-contained...it must be a profession actually as well as theoretically, and salaries will have to conform to the standards in vogue in the other

professions' (Blades, A. and Dunkerley, G.D. in an article reprinted from the *School World*, the *AMA*, September 1915, p.146.)

89. Many of the endowed schools were very small, often with a staff consisting of a clerical headmaster and 2/3 assistants. In such circumstances the assistant's job was akin to that of a curate, biding his time in the hope of early preferment.
90. *NUT Annual Report*, 1914, p.lxxi.
91. Gosden, P.H.J.H. (1972) *The Evolution of a Profession*, p.35, quotes figures from the Ministry of Education publication *Education*, 1900-1950, Cmd.8244 (1951), p.25, to show how government grants had failed to expand in proportion to the growth of total educational expenditure: 'Financial year, 1905-6, Exchequer grants met 53.9% of total cost but by 1911-12 grants met only 48.2% of total expenditure'.
92. Fisher, H.A.L. (1940) *An Unfinished Autobiography*, p.104.
93. Baron (1952) *op. cit.*, p.328.
94. 'Salaries and Conditions of Service in Secondary Schools' in the *AMA*, September 1915, pp.144-7.
95. Fisher acknowledged that linkage. Speaking on the Education Estimates (1917) he remarked: 'If anybody had doubted the value of our elementary schools, that doubt must have been dispelled by the experience of the War...it is an Army...mostly recruited from the elementary schools, and I venture to assert that this sudden and brilliant military improvisation could never have been achieved if we had been working upon the basis of a population entirely uneducated'. (*Hansard*, H.of C., 19 April 1917, col.1893)
96. *Ibid.*
97. Prices by 1916 were some 40% more than at the start of the war.
98. *AMA*, October 1916, pp.106-7.
99. *AMA*, December 1916, p.142.
100. *Hansard*, H.of C., 19 April 1917, cols.1896-7.
101. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1917, p.47.
102. Details given in Tilney-Bassett's Unpublished MS, (1950), IAAM Archive, Section A/2.
103. *Hansard*, H.of C., 23 January 1918, col.1010.

104. *AMA*, February 1918, p.30.
105. *AMA*, May 1918, pp.66-7.
106. *Report of the Departmental Committee for Enquiry into the Principles which should determine the fixing of Salaries for Teachers in Secondary and Technical Schools, Schools of Art, Training Colleges and other Institutions for Higher Education (other than University institutions)*, Cmd.9140, 1918.
At the same time (June 1917) the Board appointed a departmental committee to enquire 'into the principles which should determine the construction of scales of salary for teachers in elementary schools'. This committee also reported in 1918: see *Report of Departmental Committee (Elementary School Salaries)*, Cmd.8939, 1918.
107. Birks was an assistant master at the County School, Sutton, Surrey; Adkins taught at the Whitechapel Foundation School in London; Cooper was senior science master at the County School Wrexham; and Lucas was on the staff of King Edward VII School, Sheffield.
108. See the *Schoolmaster*, 24 May 1919, p.807, for a clearly argued statement against the view in vogue that a national scale was necessarily in the best interests of teachers. Many NUT members favoured a national scale but, as this article shows, a substantial number did not.
109. Dunkerley's phrase at the *AMA* Council Meeting, January 1918 - see the *AMA*, January 1918, p.13.
110. *AMA*, January 1918, p.15.
111. Report of Departmental Committee (Secondary), Cmd.9140, 1918, Vol.1, p.72.
112. *Ibid.*, p.68.
113. *Ibid.*, p.70.
114. For the AAM's submission see the *Report of the Departmental Committee, Summaries of Evidence*, Cmd.9168, 1918, pp.73-4.
115. *Ibid.*, p.11.
116. Report of Departmental Committee, (Elementary), Cmd.8939, 1918, Vol.I., p.7.
117. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1918, p.5.
118. *AMA*, October 1918, pp.104-5.

119. *Journal of Education*, November 1918, pp.677-8.
120. For details see the *AMA*, October 1919, p.88.
121. Fisher in a House of Commons speech, August 1919, referred to the number of elementary teachers lost in action: 'During the war 21,000 teachers from our elementary schools have served at the front. Two thousand have lost their lives. It is yet too early to discover how many of these returned teachers will elect to take up their old work in the schools'. (*Hansard*, H.of C., 12 August 1919, col.123)
122. Fisher made comment upon the expansion of secondary school provision in the same Commons speech: 'The number of children going into our secondary schools has increased very largely...it is a very remarkable indication of the way in which the working classes are taking advantage of their improved remuneration to give their children better educational opportunities. All over the country I find the cry goes up: More secondary schools! We cannot build them fast enough to hold the pupils who want to go into them'. (*Ibid.*, Cols.123-4)
123. In June 1919 the AMA sent a letter to all LEAs and to the chairman of every Higher Education Sub-Committee in the country, urging AMA representation on any committee discussing a common scale. Claiming to represent 80 per cent of assistant masters in aided or maintained schools the letter stated that 'no Whitley Council or Advisory Committee could adequately voice the views of secondary teachers unless the AMA was officially represented upon it'. The lack of consultation was also commented upon by the AMA deputation to the Board, July 1919. See the *AMA*, October 1919, p.88.
124. Gosden, *op.cit.*, p.39, quotes Sharpe, P., 'The Burnham Committee', *Education*, 16 June 1944, pp 725-6. The article gives details of the AEC resolution.
125. Strikes of elementary teachers had occurred in over 30 areas, including Wales, Bristol, Essex and London, usually instigated by concern over alleged misapplication of government grants to LEAs. The belief was that the grants were not being used to enhance teachers' salaries. The NUT took up the strikers' concerns with LEAs and government.
126. *Hansard*, H.of C., 12 August 1919, col.1232.
127. Viscount Burnham, a former Liberal MP and Mayor of Stepney, had been managing proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph* since 1902. He had a reputation as an excellent chair of public committees, having served on the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments (1889-94), the Speaker's conference on electoral reform (1916), and the joint conference on the reform of the House of Lords (1918).

128. The NUT jealously guarded its sole representation on the Burnham Committee; its membership gave the union a position of implacable strength in relation to the smaller teachers' associations. Fisher repeatedly pointed out in replies to Questions in the House that the Burnham Committee was not a committee appointed by the Board of Education but was formed by agreement between the Associations of Local Education Committees and the NUT, and as such he could not alter its composition - see *Hansard*, H.of C., 15 December 1919, 17 February 1920, 23 February 1920. An identical stance was taken by Fisher's successor, Charles Trevelyan: 'The Committee (Burnham) is not a Committee appointed by the Board of Education and I have no power to modify its composition'. (*Hansard*, H.of C., 10 June 1924) Memos filed at the Public Record Office, Kew, (PRO Ed.108/3), however, reveal that there were attempts by the Board to persuade the NUT to make some concession to the other associations. Selby-Bigge (Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge, Secretary at the Board of Education, 1911-25) suggested in a memo to Fisher, 20 October 1922, that the Board should enlist the personal assistance of Lord Burnham in an approach to the NUT: 'He has acquired a position of such influence with the teachers that he is better able than anyone else to persuade the NUT to accept a *modus vivendi* which involves some concession to the other associations'. Burnham was duly contacted, 29 March 1923, and replied to Selby-Bigge in a revealing letter, 30 March 1923, from the *Daily Telegraph* Office, Fleet Street, London: 'All I can say is that I will try, as the French say to *Tater le terrain* and find what can be done...so far, I have found the NUT obdurate on the matter...and I believe that they will continue in that course of action, whether or not it be justified by the facts'.
129. Standard Scale I (the lowest) was abolished in 1936 on the recommendation of the Burnham Elementary Committee.
130. *AMA*, February 1920.
131. See *Journal of Education*, July 1920, p.437, for comment on the delay in calling the first meeting of the Burnham Committee (Secondary).
132. They were appointed as follows:
- | | |
|--|---|
| County Councils Association (CCA) | 9 |
| MUNICIPAL Corporation Association (MCA) | 7 |
| Association of Education Committees (AEC) | 7 |
| London County Council (LCC) | 3 |
| Incorporated Association of Headmasters (IAHM) | 5 |
| Association of Headmistresses (AHM) | 5 |
| Incorporated Association of Assistant
Masters in Secondary Schools (IAAM) | 6 |
| Association of Assistant Mistresses
in Public Secondary Schools (AAMI) | 5 |
| National Union of Teachers (NUT) | 5 |
133. Board of Education, Report for the Year 1919-20, 1921.

134. *AMA*, December 1920, pp.151-3.
135. *AMA*, op.cit. It was estimated that since 1911 the cost of living had risen by 162 per cent, but the average salary increase represented by the Burnham scale was no more than 127 per cent.
136. See, for example, the *AMA*, November 1920, p.133.
137. The Teachers' Panel chose, and the Authorities' Panel agreed to, a permanent scale with no adjustment for a fall in the cost of living, rather than a higher scale with provision for reduction as the cost of living fell. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see *AMA* publication (1931), *Salaries of Secondary School Masters and the Burnham Reports*, IAAM Archive, Section M3/26.
138. *AMA*, February 1921, p.9.
139. Dunkerley G.A. and Kingham W.R. (1923) *The Assistant Master*, p.59.
140. For a discussion of how the elementary teacher gained in real terms from the post-1921 fall in prices, see Tropp, A. (1957) *The School Teachers*, p.212.
141. As quoted in the *AMA*, November 1920, p.138.
142. Cmd.443.
143. *Times Educational Supplement*, 31 January 1931, p.41.
144. *AMA*, January 1932.
145. Selby-Bigge, Permanent Secretary, 1911-25 (see Note 128), outlined the basis of salary negotiation under Burnham in his book, *The Board of Education: (The Board of Education took the view that) the settlement of the basis and details of the remuneration of teachers is primarily within the province of the Local Authorities, and should in the first instance be the subject of agreement between them and the teachers for whose employment they are responsible*. (Selby-Bigge, L.A. (1927) *The Board of Education*, p.265)
146. Both the teachers' and the local authority representatives valued Lord Burnham's abilities and impartiality in presiding over the Committees. The three panels, as a mark of their respect, gave a complimentary dinner to the chairman on 15 May 1930. Lord Burnham's death in 1933 was regretted by teachers and authorities alike.
147. The role of Burnham was radically altered in 1944: the Education Act of 1944 made the Burnham Committees part of the statutory machinery.
148. *AMA*, March 1921, p.30.

149. *AMA*, May, June, July 1921.
150. *AMA*, May 1921, p.43. See also, July 1921, p.81.
151. *AMA*, March 1922, p.56.
152. First Interim Report of the Committee on National Expenditure, Cmd.1581, 1922. The Committee was of the opinion that teachers like most other classes of the community must face the possibility of salary cuts on the ground of the falling cost of living. The Report pointed out that the cost of living index had fallen from 161 in September 1920 when the Burnham scales had been introduced to 103, whereas teachers' salaries were 2½ times higher than the pre-war figure. The *AMA* was determined to resist any cuts: see *AMA* publication (1922) *Notes on the Proposals on Education in the Geddes Report*, IAAM Archive, Section M3/7.
153. *AMA*, May 1922, pp.61, 63; June 1922, pp.91, 93.
154. *AMA*, February 1923, p.41.
155. *AMA*, June 1922, p.93; September 1923, pp.104-9; September 1924, pp. 196-202.
156. The total number of teachers involved was: headmasters 5; assistant masters 23; assistant mistresses 20. Membership by individual associations was:
- | <u>Association</u> | <u>Number of Members</u> |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| AMA | 1 |
| AMA + NUT (DUAL) | 17 |
| AAM | 2 |
| AAM + NUT (DUAL) | 1 |
| NUT (MASTERS) | 5 |
| NUT (MISTRESSES) | 17 |
| NUT (HEADMASTERS) | 3 |
| IAHM | 1 |
- One involved headmaster did not belong to an association.
157. The *AMA* obtained a complete list of the 347 applicants for the posts at Aberystwyth, 217 of whom withdrew when the Association informed them of the position.
158. The report of the dual inspection in 1923 by inspectors of the Central Welsh Board and HMI on the Cardigan and Llandyssul schools is not available at the Public Record Office, Kew. However, the following PRO Files, including full inspection reports on the five affected schools, are of importance in relation to the Cardiganshire dispute:
 PRO Ed.93/7:
 (i) The Summary of Replies, April 1921, to Questionnaire (Form 9866F), Question (c), reveals that Cardigan County Council was the sole area within

the Welsh Department's jurisdiction 'with no schools for which the LEA accepts responsibility for the scales'.

(ii) A minute of February 1922 records for Cardigan: 'Burnham scale not adopted. Salaries below Burnham'.

PRO Ed.93/8:

A minute refers to the removal of the Cardigan and Llandyssul schools from the Board of Education's list of grant earning, efficient schools: 'Two schools (Cardigan and Llandyssul County Schools) were regarded as inefficient as from the beginning of the Summer Term 1923'. Cardigan County School was reinstated on the Grant List as from 1 August 1924.

PRO Ed.109/7740:

The following excerpts from a Full Inspection Report (1923) of Aberayron County School give valuable insight into the effects of the dispute:

(i) It is unfortunate that the present visit should have been paid at a time when the work was partly disorganized through shortage of staff...the staff though at present numerically weak, is composed of able and well-qualified teachers. If they are supported by adequate help and encouraged by stability of conditions to remain at the School the prospects....will be very bright'.

(ii) 'Owing to unforeseen changes in the staff, the formal Physical Exercises have been abandoned this term'.

PRO Ed.109/7750:

A full inspection at Aberystwyth County School, 5-7 February 1923 drew attention to staffing problems in the English department: 'From Form IVR downwards, the organization is somewhat confused. The subject is entrusted to a multiplicity of teachers - an arrangement which appears to be unavoidable for the moment, but which should be remedied as soon as circumstances permit'.

PRO Ed.109/7785:

A full inspection of the 150 pupil Tregaron County School, 22-23 March 1923, once again highlighted instability in staffing in the English department: 'In the Lower School...(English) has been much hampered by constant changes of staff'.

PRO Ed.109/7775:

A *special* full inspection was carried out at the Llandyssul County School, 21-22 May 1925, by the Central Welsh Board, utilizing five inspectors, as opposed to the normal two. The inspection team was: Mr W.Hammond Robinson, Miss S.Price, Dr Gibson Smith, Professor G.Norwood, Dr D.G.Taylor. The report was damning. The headmaster was described as having 'neither the power to stimulate nor the directing and organizing ability that are required in the Headmaster of a Secondary School'. The inspectors reported that the governors were placed in a position of 'unexampled difficulty'.

PRO Ed.109/7760:

A follow-up visit, 25-26 November 1924, to the *special* visit of 27 March 1924 to the Cardigan County School reported that 'there has been no change in the personnel of the staff' and that it had been 'a very trying year for the teachers in many ways'.

159. *Welsh Gazette*, 4 February 1926. The correspondent took the opportunity to draw attention to the unflinching support the teachers had received from the newspaper: 'The Committee's (Cardiganshire LEA) acceptance of the national scale, tardy and reluctant though it may be, is a devastating vindication of the teachers' case...it justifies the unfearing championship they have received, week in, week out, in the columns of the *Welsh Gazette*. See also the editorials of 29 March 1923 and 4 February 1926.
160. *AMA*, June 1926, p.141.
161. *Times Educational Supplement*, 4 November 1920, p.587.
162. Sir Robert Home, Member for the Hillhouse division of Glasgow and Chancellor of the Exchequer, April 1921 - Oct. 1922, in the Coalition Government. See *Hansard*, H.of C., 1 March 1922, col.432.
163. Brian Simon (1974) *The Politics of Educational Reform*, p.55, draws attention to the the vehemence of the NUT to 'cuts' expressed at the NUT Annual Conference in April 1922. He mentions the thunderous applause that greeted the president's (W.G.Cove) condemnation of the Geddes Report as revealing 'a spirit of callous indifference towards the needs of a young life'. Simon recalls Cove's background in the Rhondda Valley, working as a miner to the age of 17 years.
164. *Daily Mail*, 25 September 1924.
165. Rowland, S., 'The Schoolmasters' Position' in *Contemporary Review*, November 1924, p.601.
166. *Observer*, 8 April 1923.
167. For example, the successful handling of the 68 cases referred to AMA headquarters in 1927 resulted in aggregate gains to members of £2,048.
168. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1926, p.45.
169. Report of the Committee on National Expenditure, Cmd.3920, 1931, (The May Committee).
170. *AMA*, September 1931, pp.225-6.
171. *Ibid.*
172. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-8.
173. The AEC had instructed its members to 'take no part in varying the incidence of the salaries deduction imposed by the Government'.

174. *Hansard*, H.of C., 21 September 1931, col. 1271.
175. *AMA*, October 1931, p.254.
176. *Ibid.*
177. *AMA*, January 1932, p.12.
178. Quoted in the *AMA*, October 1933, p.237.
179. For details see the *AMA*, November 1933, p.271.
180. Percival Sharp, editor of *Education*, makes reference to the frequency of change in the Presidency of the Board of Education: "The rapid changes in the Presidency of the Board of Education are described by one of my correspondents as a 'Merry-Go-Round' in which the riders change their seats with a bewildering frequency". (*Education*, 29 August 1941, p.165)
181. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1933, pp.102-3.
182. Tilney-Bassett, J.G. (1950) Unpublished MS, History of the *AMA*, p.145.
183. *AMA*, February 1937, p.58.
184. *Ibid.*
185. *AMA*, January 1938.
186. Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, (Spens Report), (1938), p.xxxv.
187. The challenge to government is to balance the desirability for educational initiative with the feasibility of such initiative on cost grounds; in practice this has often led to the introduction of widely-welcomed, yet grossly underfunded, reforms. This same dichotomy faced Chamberlain's National Government in relation to the Spens Report as revealed in PRO File Ed.16/131. The file documents Sir Maurice Holmes' remarks as Permanent Secretary to the Board to an LEA Advisory Committee on Spens in June 1939: 'It was necessary in examining the recommendations of the Report to bear in mind the present financial situation and the Treasury attitude to new educational developments'. Holmes, in making this statement, was conscious of the Treasury circular of October 1938 advocating 'economy' in the framing of estimates for the financial year 1938-9: 'My Lords must emphasize the need for the strictest control of all expenditure. The continuing cost of rearmament renders it imperative that the estimates for the coming year should be framed with the closest regard for economy...refrain from putting forward proposals for expenditure on new services unless they are of a

character which could not be abandoned or postponed without the gravest detriment to the public good'.

The same PRO file contains Butler's handwritten notes summarizing his first meeting as minister with Sir Will Spens in March 1942. Butler refers to the 'interesting talk' with Spens. Spens was alarmed at the activities of the Norwood Committee, expressed great personal distrust of Dr Norwood, and inquired of Butler whether the Norwood Committee would replough the ground of the Consultative Committee. Butler's reply was that he wished 'to get as much out of Norwood as I could'.

188. *NUT Annual Report*, 1939, p.cvii.
189. *AMA*, February 1940, p.46.
190. *AMA*, January 1940, pp.21-2.
191. Board of Education *Memorandum* 222, (1940).
192. From 1 April-31 August 1941 the bonus for men was to be £26 per annum on salaries up to £262.10s., and £13 per annum on salaries between £262.10s. and £370; from 1 September 1941 the bonus would be £26 per annum on salaries up to £262.10s. and £13 per annum on salaries between £262.10s. and £525.
193. *Education*, 10 October 1941, p.304.
194. Lord Onslow had resigned as chairman of Burnham in June 1942, a position he had held since 1934. See *AMA*, June/July 1942, p.119.
195. For teachers under 21 years of age, Men: £26 per annum, Women: £19.10s. per annum. For teachers of 21 years of age and over in receipt of salaries up to £262.10s. per annum, Men: £45 per annum, Women: £36 per annum. For teachers in receipt of salaries exceeding £262.10s. but not exceeding £525 per annum, Men: £35 per annum, Women: £28 per annum.
196. From 1 January 1944 a flat rate bonus of £52 per annum was awarded to men over 21 and £42 for women; for teachers under 21 the bonus was £32 and £26 respectively.
197. Spens Report (1938).
198. Butler was to receive a Joint Four deputation in July 1942 to discuss the secondary associations' memorandum on *Education after the War*. He was unsympathetic to any pressure to retain the traditional secondary administrative system, and told the delegates: 'The population of this country would always be so irregularly distributed that we should need schools of different sizes and with different organizations to meet local conditions. What

must be avoided at all costs was the complete segregation of different types of pupils in separate schools'. (PRO Ed.136/261)

A Secondary School Delegation to the Board in December 1942 was firmly told by Butler that he would not condone a 'dual system': 'We believe that the artificial distinction between elementary and higher education is indefensible. Our conception of education is that it should be child-centred and should fall into categories corresponding with the stages in the child's development and not with a traditional administrative system: unless this is realized it seems to us that progress will be impeded and dogged by unreal distinctions between one type of school and another'. (PRO Ed.136/224) The Joint Four response was a memorandum to the Board on the 'dual system', submitted in April 1943. The memorandum warned of the danger of government policies that might lead to an erosion of standards in secondary education: 'The Joint Committee would...wish to emphasize the importance of ensuring that achievement of parity within the post-primary stage does not lead to a 'levelling down' of the standards attained in existing secondary schools. In particular they would emphasize that the general public of this country has come to realize that the secondary school normally provides for pupils who wish to stay up to and beyond the age of sixteen years and that it would be a retrogressive step to undo the work of years by introducing a new and alternative connotation of the term 'secondary school'. (Ibid.) Butler had the Joint Four memorandum vetted with great care prior to his receiving a Joint Four deputation in May 1943 to discuss its content. Butler remained unmoved by the Joint Four representations, bluntly informing the delegation: 'There could be no question of differentiating in the Statute between the different types of Secondary School'. (Ibid.)

199. Board of Education, Report of the Committee appointed to consider the supply, recruitment and training of teachers and youth leaders, (McNair Report), 1944, p.45.
200. For a résumé of the AMA's position *re* Burnham see general secretary A.W.S. Hutchings' address to the AMA Council (1945) in the *AMA*, January-February 1945, p.38 *et seq.*
201. *Hansard*, H.of C, 4 May 1944.
202. The 26 places on the Teachers' Panel were distributed as follows:

NUT	16
ATTI	4
IAAM	2
AAMI	2
IAHM	1
AHMI	1
203. Hutchings' address to the AMA Council, January 1945 - reported in the *AMA*, January-February 1945, p.40.

204. The following table summarizes the provisional agreement ratified by the Teachers' Panel.

QUALIFIED TEACHER	SCALE
Assistant Master	
(i) Non-Graduate	£300 - £15 - £525
(ii) Graduate with 3 years' full-time study	£330 - £15 - £570
(iii) Graduate with 4 years' full-time study	£345 - £15 - £585

NOTES

- (i) There was to be a "London Area" addition of £36 to £48 per annum.
- (ii) Allowances over and above the scale salary were to be payable to 15 per cent of the number of full-time qualified assistant teachers. The gross value of those allowances ranged from £50 to £100; net value after the deduction of ordinary graduate addition was, therefore, £20 to £70 at the maximum.
- (iii) All the above figures were subject to a 5 per cent deduction for superannuation contributions.
205. The financial details of the agreement were not given, the proposals being 'sub-judice' while being submitted to the constituent associations.
206. *Times Educational Supplement*, 11 November 1944, p.547.
207. The *Schoolmaster*, 21 December 1944, p.393.
208. *Times Educational Supplement*, 17 February 1945, p.78.
In the statement the Joint Four proposed three ways in which the lot of the graduate assistant could be bettered:
- (i) a substantial increase of the 'graduate addition'...irrespective of the type of school in which the service is given.
- (ii) a mandatory scheme of additional payments in respect of high academic attainments, service of exceptional value, and special responsibility, directly related to the nature of the work, and the age of the pupils.
- (iii) the abolition of the 'merger' clause (the merger of the 'graduate addition' with 'special posts of responsibility')
- The Joint Four had estimated that such improvements would add 'little more than one or two per cent to an estimated salary bill of approximately £80 million'.
209. *Hansard*, H.of C., 20 February 1945, cols. 666-7.
210. *Ibid.*, col.679.

211. Soulbury's address reported in the *Times Educational Supplement*, 1 November 1947, p.586: 'On the whole and in the changing circumstances of our educational system, the system was not unreasonable. We had, before 1945, a very small though a very good system of secondary education, perhaps the best in the world. The same could not, I think, be said of our elementary system and - public resources not being unlimited - it seemed good policy to use the money now available to stimulate the attractiveness of the primary and new secondary schools. The inevitable result was to make a comparison of the benefits gained by primary and secondary grammar school teachers unfavourable to the latter'.
212. AMA pamphlet (c.1947-not dated) *Secondary Education*, p.6, IAAM Archive, Section M3/31, states that 'Nearly 90 per cent of *all* the Assistant Masters in *all* the Secondary Schools existing in 1944 were in membership of the Association'.
213. Gosden, P.H.J.H. (1972) op.cit., pp.68-9.
214. AMA, January 1946.
215. *Publicity and Propaganda* (1946), an AMA publication. See IAAM Archive, Section M3/18.
216. *The Assistant Masters' Salary* (1947), an AMA publication. See IAAM Archive, Section M3/27.
217. *Times Educational Supplement*, 24 May 1947, p.253.
218. Op.cit., p.10.
219. Graduate additions (Burnham): 1948-54
- | <u>Burnham Agreement</u> | <u>Level of Award</u> |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1948 | First payment for Good Honours - limited to holders of first class degree. Responsibility allowances to be paid on 12½ - 17½% of full- time posts. Individual payments might range from £50 - £150. |
| 1951 | Graduate addition increased to £60. Number of special responsibility allowances to depend on pupil unit totals. |
| 1954 | Good honours payments widened to include second class honours degree. |
220. *Times Educational Supplement*, 24 January 1950.

221. Brian Simon makes an incisive analysis of what he terms 'The Revival of Elitist Ideology' in his work *Education and the Social Order 1940-90*, p.125 *et seq.* He refers to the propagation of an 'unashamedly elitist ideology', and a defence of the grammar school, as a counter to the move towards the idea of a common secondary or comprehensive school. He cites supporters of a 'meritocratic elite' as including John Garrett, head of Bristol Grammar School, Dr Eric James, high master of Manchester Grammar School and Sir Richard Livingstone, ex-vice-chancellor of Oxford University. That part of Livingstone's presidential address to the Conference of Educational Associations (January 1947) is quoted where he states that those teaching pupils of higher intellectual ability must be paid more than the others. Livingstone, as with the AMA, believed that secondary school salary equalization would 'deal higher secondary education a blow which will be disastrous to it and to the nation.'
222. *Education*, 30 December 1955, p.1075.
On the issue of differentials in salary, Olive Hastings, organising secretary of the AAM and joint honorary secretary of the Joint Four at this time, makes a defence of their intrinsic morality in her brief history of the AAM (1978) *AAM, In Retrospect and Reminiscence*, p.5: 'Egalitarianism, in education as in other areas of national life...only too often condemned difference of treatment as a denial of human rights'.

CHAPTER 4

Superannuation

CHAPTER 4 : SUPERANNUATION

This chapter will explore the inconsistency of government policy to pension provision: a policy which initially excluded the secondary teacher from a pension while it granted pension rights to the elementary teacher, and which, at a later stage, allowed superannuation schemes to be drawn up for Wales and Scotland when no such provision was contemplated for England. The focus of the chapter will be, first, to offer a rationale for the government's piecemeal approach to pension provision, and, second, to analyse the AMA's campaign to secure a basic superannuation entitlement for the secondary schoolmaster.

INCONSISTENCY OF PROVISION: Pensions, historically, the preserve of the elementary teacher

The procurement of benefits payable on termination of earnings through sickness, disablement, retirement and death was an integral aim of the early teachers' associations. Prior to the School Teachers' (Superannuation) Act of 1918, (1) however, which extended superannuation to the secondary teacher, state pensions were the preserve of the elementary teacher. The first pensions, the so-called 'Code' pensions limited in number and small in amount, dated back to the Code of 1846. (2) It was the anger caused amongst elementary teachers by the withdrawal of retiring pensions under the Revised Code published in August 1861 (3) that was a key factor in the events that led to the formation of the NUET (later renamed the NUT) in 1870. (4) Thereafter it was the NUT that instigated the campaign which secured the

restoration of Code pensions in 1875, and the passage of the Elementary School Teachers' (Superannuation) Act of 1898. (5) The Act acknowledged that the teacher was a public servant, and the establishment of that principle, described by Tropp as 'a great victory for the NUT', (6) overrode the fact that the provisions of the Act were limited. (7)

A union-led campaign was needed to induce the government to extend the base of superannuation benefits. The crucial role of the NUT has been mentioned; (8) that campaign, by reason of the nature of the union's membership, was directed to the benefit of the primary teacher. The contribution of the AMA to superannuation legislation and provision for the secondary sector is the subject of this chapter.

RATIONALE FOR GOVERNMENT'S OPPOSITION TO PENSION PROVISION

The term 'campaign' is appropriate to the struggle of the teacher unions to secure superannuation benefits as the employment norm of the emerging profession. There was no rationale for the government to provide as a matter of right pension benefits for the nation's teachers. The teacher was not a quasi-civil servant, and the mid-Victorian ethos promoted self-reliance and individual rather than governmental responsibility for dealing with the adversities of life, including provision for old age. The Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education of 1851 summed up the government's attitude to the increasing demands for an extension of superannuation benefits: in placing a ceiling of £6,500 on pensions, teachers were admonished against 'calculating on the minutes affording a substitution for the economy which is

incumbent upon them, in common with all other workers, while their strength lasts'. (9) The Newcastle Commission of 1861 similarly extolled the need for independent provision for old age. (10) A consideration of government, too, in a pragmatic appraisal of the cost of implementing superannuation benefits for a greater number of teachers would be that the Treasury would be faced with sizeable additional funding, a deterrent to overt co-operation with the teachers. As Baron points out, it was not until the turn of the century with the return of a Liberal Government in 1906 pledged to a programme of social reform which included provision for a non-contributory old-age pension, that the atmosphere existed which might prove conducive to advance on the superannuation front. (11) The changed social attitude brought about by the First World War was another factor that made the passage of subsequent superannuation legislation easier. At the committee stage of the School Teachers' (Superannuation) Bill (1918) Fisher made reference to the national mood which had caused 'the flinty heart of the Treasury' to melt. (12)

ANALYSIS OF AMA'S POLICY AND CAMPAIGN

To turn specifically to the AMA's contribution to superannuation provision, it has been seen in Chapter 1 how the Association, from its foundation, had forcibly and consistently drawn attention to the financial plight of the average schoolmaster, with particular concern expressed for the privations brought by old age. In subsequent sections the Association's strategy - frequently a joint strategy with other teachers' associations - in pursuance of adequate superannuation benefits for the assistant master will be analysed.

The first phase of the AMA's superannuation campaign extended from the Association's foundation in 1891 to the attainment of the first state pensions for the secondary schoolmaster by the School Teachers' (Superannuation) Act in 1918. Initially the Association aimed at private pension schemes worked out with the governing bodies of members' schools; later, from about 1900, the emphasis changed to the achievement of a national scheme of superannuation.

From its foundation the AMA listed the provision of superannuation as one of its prime objectives. At the Association's first annual general meeting in October 1892, a resolution was passed which highlighted the need for a pension scheme: 'This meeting approves of the adoption of a Pension Scheme on the lines of the Headmasters' Association Scheme'. (13) The basic aim of the so-called Headmasters' Pension Scheme was to get the governing bodies of the public secondary schools to act as joint contributors with the assistant masters. The scheme was promoted by the IAHM after detailed consultation with the AMA. In September 1893 an agreement was signed with the Imperial Life Insurance Company: Revd C.G.Gull, chairman of the pensions sub-committee of the IAHM, fellow committee member R.W.Hinton, headmaster of Haberdashers' School, Hoxton, London, and John Montgomery, honorary secretary of the AMA, serving as trustees of the scheme. (14) The terms, at face value, were generous to the schoolmaster. The retiring age was fixed at 55, and nine-tenths of the profits shown in the fund were to be apportioned to the members by way of an addition to the pensions secured by the policies. Projected benefits appeared attractive: a 23-year-old master, for example, paying an annual premium of £10, could anticipate a minimum pension of £47.17s.0d. at 55, or an alternative

endowment of £617.5s.3d. (with profits, substantially higher benefits would be realized). The scheme however met with little success. The IAHM, according to the prospectus, had confidently expected that governing bodies 'would contribute one-half or one-third of the premiums', but, in reality, few had supported the scheme. For whatever reason, the scheme had proved to be equally unattractive to the assistant master. The last policies were issued in 1903; in total only about 170 policies had been taken out. (15) Seeing the failure of the Headmasters' Pension Scheme, the AMA secured preferential terms for its membership with a number of provident and benefit societies. Some, but only a minority, of members, however, took out policies. It can be surmised that insecurity of tenure and generally low salaries conditioned the schoolmaster against committing a regular and substantial proportion of his salary to a pension scheme. (16)

In 1898 the passage of the Elementary School Teachers' (Superannuation) Act directed the attention of the AMA towards the achievement of a similar provision for the secondary teacher. In September 1900 at a general meeting of the Association in Manchester a resolution calling the attention of the government to 'the absence of a general Pension Scheme' was passed. (17) Thereafter the issue of a national pension scheme was widely debated within the AMA membership. The national chairman, G.F.Bridge, a master at Ipswich Grammar School, made his contribution to the debate in an article in the *Pilot* in February 1901. Bridge based his case for a superannuation scheme for secondary schoolmasters on the principles governing the recently initiated schemes for employees of the Board of Guardians and for teachers in elementary schools. (18) He wrote:

Keeping these principles in view, we would suggest that the basis of a pension scheme for schoolmasters should be the formation of a central fund, under the management of the Board of Education, to which governing bodies and masters would be alike compelled to contribute and, in view of the slender help at present given to secondary education from the national funds, it might not...be too much to ask for a Treasury grant. (19)

Bridge envisaged that half the proposed pension fund should be provided from public monies, the rest coming from contributions from governing bodies, and from the masters themselves as the beneficiaries. He set a limit of three per cent of salary as the masters' contribution, on the basis that the proposals were limited to a retiring pension only and did not extend to wider benefits. Under his proposals retirement would be compulsory: he suggested 60 as an approximate age. Nothing came of Bridge's proposed scheme, but he initiated discussion of an issue that was to preoccupy the AMA membership in forthcoming months.

Central Welsh Board scheme, 1901

Later in 1901 the Central Welsh Board, acting under the Welsh Intermediate Act of 1889, put forward proposals for a pension scheme. (20) The publication of the scheme further highlighted the inconsistency in the government's thinking towards pension provision; there was already the dichotomy of pensions being available to elementary teachers and not to secondary teachers, and now the government was promulgating proposals that were a blueprint for regional inconsistency - the prospect of pensions being paid to Welsh secondary teachers but denied to their colleagues in the rest of the United Kingdom. Under the scheme the joint contributors were the teachers and the county governing bodies. Contributions from teachers would be based on a sliding scale ranging from 2½ per cent on a salary of £100 to 6 per cent on salaries over £500. A pension equal to 50 per cent of average salary was forecast by retiring age. Optional retirement from the age of 55 was proposed, with compulsory retirement at 65. The scheme incorporated benefits payable in cases of premature retirement through ill-health. The Central Welsh Board's scheme was widely discussed within AMA branches and, at the general meeting in January 1902, was

welcomed by a large majority 'in the absence of a national system of pensions for teachers in secondary schools'. (21) Ultimately only three county authorities supported the scheme, leaving Scotland, as will be seen later, to be the first area of the United Kingdom to make state provision for pensions for secondary teachers.

The eagerly awaited 1902 Education Act proved to be a disappointment to the AMA in the context of superannuation. Appeals for increased Treasury grants at the committee stage of the Education Bill by both the IAHM and the AMA had been ignored, and the newly-created LEAs were in the main reluctant to antagonize their electorates by raising even a 1d rate.

In 1903-4 a series of joint AMA/IAHM conferences were held under the independent chairmanship of Sir Edward Fry, one of His Majesty's Judges. (22) The third of these conferences in February 1904 was devoted to salaries and pensions: in relation to pensions a small committee was set up to draft a Form of Agreement between assistant masters and their employers and to report back at the next meeting. The report was duly presented at the fourth conference held in July 1904 and unanimously adopted. Subsequently the report was formally adopted by the AMA Council, meeting in Leeds, in September 1904. The main recommendations of the joint conference report provided for: graduated contributions by masters; contributions of at least equal amount by governing bodies, or LEAs; a retiring age of 60, with an option of retiring at any age between 55 and 60, and of deferring retirement to 65 at the wish of the headmaster (with the permission of the governing body); and contributions returnable to a teacher retiring before the limiting age. (23)

The AMA gave maximum publicity to the Joint Conference Scheme in a memorandum to all county and county borough authorities and to governing bodies of a large number of independent schools. In the memorandum the Association put the case for a superannuation scheme forming a regular part of the conditions of

remuneration, and in default of a general scheme urged that governing bodies be permitted to assist schoolmasters to make provision for old age.

A serious set-back to the Association's superannuation campaign, however, came with the so-called Whitgift Grammar School case of 1903-4. In the summer of 1904 the Board of Education refused to allow the governors of Whitgift Grammar School, Croydon - an ancient foundation, administered under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, dated July 1881 - to give a pension to an assistant master out of the school revenues on the ground that it refused to 'create a precedent' for payment of pensions to *assistant* masters out of the funds of an endowed school. (24) The irony was that the governors, and hence the acrimony caused by the dispute, had some 18 months' earlier been permitted, after application to the Charity Commissioners, to award a pension of £400 to the retiring headmaster. (25)

The case raised serious questions and was vigorously pursued by the AMA. Robert Brodie, the retiring head, had served for 25 years; the master concerned, Revd G.H.Huddlestone, had been dismissed by the incoming headmaster after 31 years' service on the ground that 'he was too old (at 53) and not sufficiently alert'. The governors were of the opinion, however, that Huddlestone's long and unblemished service should be rewarded with a pension. The Association asked F.S. Stevenson, MP for Eye, Suffolk, as on other occasions, (26) to address questions to Sir William Anson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board. Anson's reply was evasive and non-committal, (27) and the AMA therefore asked John Percival, the Bishop of Hereford, who had earlier represented the Association's views on tenure to the Lords (*vide*, Chapter 2, pp.82-3), to question Morant, Permanent Secretary, on the Whitgift Grammar School case. In deference to the wish of the Board to be given time to consider their reply and in view of the impending summer recess, the questions were withdrawn and a personal reply sent to Percival from the Board in October 1904. The key paragraph in the response was again essentially non-committal:

The Board have no power, except in the case of Endowed Schools by Scheme, to require governors of secondary schools to establish pension funds for the benefit of assistant masters; and as regards Endowed Schools, the cases have been so rare, in which the income of the Foundation has sufficed for such a provision, that it has not been thought advisable to introduce it into Schemes. (28)

The Board did however point out in their response that they had on various occasions suggested to governors the advisability of a pension fund for assistant teachers being formed, and that governors could contribute thereto by way of deferred pay. The personal plight of Huddleston was ameliorated by the personal intervention of Randall Davidson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who presented him with a small living, but the basic issue of an assistant master's right to a retirement pension remained unresolved. Additionally, but beyond the context of this present chapter, the case had presented a further instance of 'capricious dismissal'.

Following the success of the AMA/IAHM joint conferences of 1903-4 and at the instigation of the AMA, a Federal Council - the precursor of the Joint Four - was set up in 1906 to co-ordinate the separate efforts of the various secondary teachers' associations in their common campaign to enhance conditions of service. It was hoped that the united action of the Federal Council would strengthen its bargaining position in relation to the government, LEAs and other bodies.

An underlying stratagem of the AMA since its foundation had been to gather detailed statistics to underpin its policy statements. Following this precedent, the Executive in October 1908 published a review of pension schemes in foreign countries in the *AMA* and requested the newly-formed Federal Council to 'enter into communication with the Associations concerned with a view to joint action in promoting a national scheme for the provision of a superannuation fund for secondary teachers'. (29) By the following January a draft scheme of superannuation had been drawn up by the Federal Council, and was published in the *AMA*. The scheme was far more detailed than that produced by the earlier AMA/IAHM joint conference. (30)

The AMA *Report of an Inquiry into the Conditions of Service of Teachers in English and Foreign Schools* (1910) has been referred to in the preceding chapter on salaries (*vide*, Chapter 3, p.151). The report had found pension and sick-leave provision to be virtually non-existent in England, a situation that compared very unfavourably with the position in many other countries. (31) The investigation had identified only 24 schools in England, employing 465 masters, in which pension schemes had been started; and in no case did the State make a direct contribution (except for the naval school at Osborne). In regard to absence through sickness it had been found that in all countries covered by the inquiry a substitute teacher was provided for at least three months, with no deduction from the master's salary; in some cases the salary was paid and the teacher's post protected for up to a year. In contrast, it was reported that in England in the majority of secondary schools no definite arrangements existed to cover the sick-leave of a teacher, and that in some schools it was incumbent upon the sick teacher to pay for his substitute.

The publication of the report gave renewed impetus to the pensions' campaign. In January 1911 the AMA Council declared that it was essential for the efficiency of secondary education that the Board of Education should 'forthwith set up a national scheme of pensions'. (32) Fred Charles, in his retiring address as chairman, reiterated the same message:

The only satisfactory solution of the pension problem is a national scheme....The fundamental points are that the scheme must be national, must admit to its benefits all teachers in every type of secondary school...it must be such that they can migrate from school to school, and from one authority to another, without loss of pension rights. (33)

Scottish scheme, 1911

In March 1911 the Scottish superannuation scheme was published by the government: a further instance of the government's continuous refusal to treat pensions as a national issue, opting instead for a piecemeal approach to provision. The proposed scheme was to be universal, embracing men and women teachers in

both primary and secondary schools. Under the draft proposals a superannuation fund would be established to which the teacher would contribute four per cent of salary, the LEA and the government the equivalent of two and four per cent respectively. Retirement was to be permissive at 60, and compulsory at 65. The pension was to be calculated on the average of the last five years' salary as an eightieth of salary for each year of service up to a maximum of 40 years.

The Scottish scheme was welcomed by the AMA (33) and widely reported in the educational press. The *Times Educational Supplement*, in its report on the scheme, wrote that the older teachers when their vital years were over could not be 'unceremoniously thrust aside,' and that 'a pension fund (was) an urgent need.' Praising the initiative of the Scottish Education Department in devising the scheme, the report continued:

(It) is an event of far-reaching importance. Scotland thus becomes the "most favoured nation" in respect of superannuation...the matter is one of more than superlative interest to the teachers in England. The Elementary School Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1898, is thus superseded, and that measure against which teachers have never ceased to protest, has become, so far as Scotland is concerned, a dead letter. (34)

On 30 March 1911, as has been noted in Chapter 3, an AMA deputation was received by Runciman, President of the Board. (35) Pensions were an integral part of the agenda. R.F.Cholmeley, a former AMA chairman and newly-appointed headmaster of Owen's school, Islington, put the case for superannuation on the ground of 'efficiency'. Cholmeley told the President, 'You cannot get the best work out of a man if his position is hopeless with regard to the future, and you cannot get the best work out of an establishment if one is obliged to keep on at their work men who are really past it, because the only alternative is one that is intolerable to any humane employer.' Runciman, in turn, pointed out the difficulties of a national superannuation scheme: the cost to the Treasury and the organizational problems in incorporating grant aided, unaided, state and private schools into one scheme. The

President was sympathetic to the deputation's case and promised further dialogue when the AMA had had time to refine the details of its pension proposals.

GROWING DEMAND FOR NATIONAL SCHEME

The case for a national superannuation scheme for secondary teachers was gaining wide support. As evidence of this, on 6 May 1911 an important conference on pensions was held at the Draper's Hall, London, under the presidency of Arthur Acland, chairman of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education and a former Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education. (36) Three representatives had been nominated by each of the seven associations on the Federal Council; there were six delegates representing technical teachers, six representing art teachers and three for teachers of domestic subjects. Other delegates present included representatives of the Teachers' Guild, the Conference of Catholic Colleges, the Welsh County Schools Association, and the IAHM. The Board of Education was officially represented by its Assistant Secretary, W.N. Bruce. In his opening speech Acland sided with the teachers by categorically stating that a pension scheme was essential to the success of a national system of education: he stated that he found it 'astonishing that so simple and elementary a fact had not been recognized long ago.' Having referred to the existing pension scheme for elementary teachers (albeit, in his opinion, inadequate), the newly-introduced scheme for Scotland and the grants issued to some universities and university colleges in direct aid of a pension scheme, (37) he bemoaned the fact that 'secondary education alone in this country was not provided for.' The conference unanimously endorsed the need for a fully-comprehensive, national pension scheme for secondary teachers (38)

At the conclusion of the conference, Acland, commented on the 'extraordinary growth of the feeling of solidarity, in the teaching profession'. Certainly the teachers' associations were in common agreement on the basic aims of the profession: security

of tenure, fair and adequate salaries, and, in this context, superannuation. However, the associations represented sectionalized interests within the profession: the AMA, for that reason, would, for example, act jointly with the NUT when required, but would normally liaise more readily with the IAHM, the AHM, the AAM, and other kindred secondary associations.

The continuing plight of many secondary schoolmasters - the victims of inadequate salaries and the lack of pension benefits - was highlighted in the establishment of the Secondary Schoolmasters' Provident Society in June 1911. (39) The scheme was initiated by J. Whitehead, an AMA member on the staff of Berkhamsted School, Hertfordshire, and aimed to provide insurance, at a modest cost, against accident and illness. The Society's foundation was coincident with the introduction of the National Insurance Bill in May 1911 and that may have been a factor in its failure to attract many schoolmasters to membership: the Society, as will be seen, was later merged with the Secondary, Technical, and University Teachers' Insurance Society (STUTIS).

The resolutions adopted at the Draper's Hall conference in May 1911 and the earlier commitment of Runciman to further dialogue on pensions encouraged the Federal Council, in conjunction with the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (ATTI), to set up a special pensions committee. In July 1911 this committee, chaired by Annesley Somerville, a master at Eton and chairman of the AMA, submitted a draft superannuation scheme to the Board. This resulted in a joint Federal Council/ATTI deputation to the Board on 14 November 1911 and an invitation from J.A. Pease, the newly-appointed President of the Board, for further discussion. Events were overtaken, however, by the wider discussions preliminary to the National Insurance Act of 1911.

National Insurance Bill, 1911: implications for the AMA

The AMA Executive carefully assessed the implications for the secondary schoolmaster of the National Insurance Bill, introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George, into the Commons in May 1911. As proposed in the Bill all assistant masters with incomes of less than £160 per annum would be included under the sickness scheme and would be obliged to join an approved provident society. In a special statement in the October issue of the *AMA* the Executive outlined its planned course of action to members. (41) The statement referred to an amendment promised by the Chancellor in the course of the debate by which employed persons who received, as a condition of service, wages during sickness, would be excluded from part of the sickness insurance, and would pay a reduced rate of contributions for the remaining benefits (for example, disablement allowance). The Executive stated that in the light of legal opinion taken, the assistant master was assessed as having a legal right to salary without deduction during sick-leave and would therefore, in all probability, come under the terms of the proposed amendment. If such an amendment was incorporated in the Bill, the Executive gave the opinion that the limited insurance offered would be 'neither, acceptable nor valuable to the majority of members'.

The AMA's opposition to the compulsory nature of the Bill was taken up within the Commons, at the request of the Association, by Sir Philip Magnus, Unionist Member for London University, and J.F.P. Rawlinson, Conservative Member for Cambridge University. (42) Magnus spoke emphatically against the compulsory clauses of the Bill: 'Thousands of men and women (in the teaching profession) are quite capable of looking after their own interests and...do not desire the benefits which this Bill confers, and...believe they will be in a worse condition under the Bill than at present.' (43) Rawlinson pleaded with equal determination for the exemption of the secondary teacher:

I submit that it is likely that educated people of that kind (secondary teachers), when they are practically unanimous in asking for exemption, know what they are about....The enactments of the Bill are absolutely unsuited for secondary school teachers...there is no call at present for the benefits that it is proposed should be given to them under the Bill. They do not ask for them and do not want them. If the Government do wish to assist them at all what they want is a Superannuation scheme. That would be for their good, and the good generally of the teaching profession. (44)

The AMA and the Association of University Women Teachers (AUWT) joined the mounting opposition to the enforced inclusion of teachers in secondary and higher education in the provisions of the Bill. Pease, who had shown his basic sympathy to the teachers' cause at the time of the Federal Council/ATTI deputation to the Board, reacted by securing the insertion of words to a government amendment to the Bill whereby secondary teachers should be excluded from its provisions if, and when, a superannuation scheme with disablement allowances should be enacted. (45) In effect, Pease's action was tantamount to the Board's official backing for a national superannuation scheme. The AMA lost no time in making essential preparation for the anticipated superannuation scheme. The following motion was unanimously adopted by the AMA Council in January 1912:

The application of the National Insurance Bill to assistant masters in secondary schools, and the probability of a superannuation scheme including a disablement allowance for such masters at no distant date, make it desirable that the scheme adopted for the establishment of a Provident Society in connection with the Association be further proceeded with. (46)

It was agreed by Council that the Secondary Schoolmasters' Provident Society be merged with any new body that should be established. In February 1912 the AMA called a joint conference of the various associations of teachers engaged in secondary schools to approve a scheme for a secondary teachers' provident society. The following bodies sent delegates to the conference: the AMA, the AUWT, the ATTI and the Teachers' Guild, representing together the interests of about 12,000 teachers in secondary schools. The outcome was the foundation of the Secondary, Technical and University Teachers' Insurance Society (STUTIS) which received the approval of the National Health Insurance Commission in July 1912. Ultimately the Preparatory

Schools Association, the Private Schools Association and the College of Preceptors became constituent associations, making STUTIS fully representative of all secondary teachers.

The AMA had played the pivotal role in the Society's foundation, finding the greater proportion of the funds for its initial expenses. AMA members G.T. Hankin, King's College School, Wimbledon, and E. Tidswell, Tottenham Grammar School, served as chairman and honorary secretary of STUTIS in its formative years. (47) S.E. Winbolt, of Christ's Hospital and chairman of the AMA, spoke in glowing terms of the Association's role in the foundation of STUTIS:

Never has our Association taken the bull by the horns (not even in the Grantham and Richmond cases) with more Milonian strength and decision, than when, owing to the warning cries of one or two, late last year it set about organizing an approved society under the National Insurance Act. Our apostles have stumped the country, and the names of Tidswell and Hankin are known wherever the Insurance Act is known about....The fact that we found seven other associations of teachers willing to join us in this venture speaks volumes for the steady prestige of the AMA. (48)

STUTIS was divided into two sections: the State section which applied solely to compulsory insurance under the Act, that is for teachers whose salary was less than £160 per annum, and the Dividend section which provided sickness insurance, regardless of income level, to contributors. STUTIS attracted widespread support amongst member associations: according to the *IAAM Annual Report* for 1912, 9,000 had joined the State section and 'many hundreds' the Dividend section.

With the passage of the National Insurance Act the movement towards a national superannuation scheme for secondary teachers gained momentum. On 9 May 1912 Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, received a deputation from the Joint Secondary and Technical Teachers' Pension Committee. (49) The deputation was introduced by Arthur Acland and accompanied by J.F.P. Rawlinson. Acland, already convinced of the need for a superannuation scheme, had had prior consultation with

the Chancellor and had stressed the advisability of concession. Revd Edward Lyttelton, headmaster of Eton, put a strong case for providing pensions. He spoke of the decreasing supply of capable men for secondary schools, owing to the unsatisfactory conditions of service. From his long experience in teaching, dating back to his time as an assistant master at Wellington in the early 1880s, he referred to the 'pressure of anxiety upon a man with the prospect of an impecunious old age looming nearer and nearer'. He then pointed to the benefits obtained by Germany in consequence of the improvements of service in secondary education. Taking up Lyttelton's reference to Germany, the Chancellor acknowledged that he was ashamed when he learnt of the superior provision for secondary teachers in that country. He stated that he had consulted with his colleagues and announced that the Treasury was prepared to fund the necessary money for a pensions scheme at least as far as teachers in grant-earning schools were concerned. The Treasury would provide a pension of £1 for every year of recorded service. The teacher would contribute an annual sum of £7 for an annuity which, with the Treasury's contribution, would provide a pension of at least £100 per annum after 35 years' service. Lloyd George's promise of a pension scheme produced a predictable euphoric comment in the columns of the *AMA*: 'It is no exaggeration to say that the prospect of state pensions...cause a wave of excitement to sweep through the secondary schools of this country'. (50) The prospect of a pension assured, the Association immediately busied itself with the minutiae of its implementation.

After each major legislative advance, a trade union experiences much casework specifically related to an interpretation of the provisions of the new Act: 'grey' areas inevitably exist until resolved. (51) It is at such a time that an employer not infrequently resorts to unfair or sharp practices, often, but not always, through ignorance. Of particular concern to the *AMA* Executive in relation to the newly-introduced National Insurance Act was the fact that in some schools, admittedly a minority, the governors were cutting down sick-pay, giving as their reason the cost of

the new insurances (3d. per week for each employee covered). It was particularly gratifying, therefore, to the Executive to receive news of a resolution passed at a meeting on 26 June 1912 of the Secondary Schools Association, the association of governors of secondary schools. The Association recommended that governing bodies should advise teachers in secondary schools to join STUTIS or some other provident society offering similar benefits, and that they 'should continue the practice that has hitherto existed in their schools as regards notice to teachers in case of sickness, and that subject thereto during the period that the governing body are paying full salary they should deduct the sum of 10s.0d. (for men) or 7s.6d. (for women) a week, which insured persons receive under the Act'. (52)

In July 1912 Pease set up a Departmental Committee to consider possible improvements to the system of superannuation of teachers in elementary schools, and later in the same month asked the Committee, as a second reference, to consider the establishment of a superannuation scheme for teachers in 'schools and institutions in receipt of grants other than elementary schools, universities and university colleges'. (53) The establishment of the Departmental Committee was the direct result of sustained pressure from the teachers' associations: the NUT had registered constant complaints against the inadequacy of the Elementary School Teachers (Superannuation) Act of 1898, and the secondary associations, led by the AMA, had persistently campaigned for a pensions scheme for secondary teachers. Working on the assumption that the secondary teacher might be offered a more favourable scheme than the elementary teacher, a potential source of friction between the NUT and the secondary associations arising out of the second reference, was the phrase 'the basis of the system should be the payment of suitable contributions by the teachers themselves, supplemented by State assistance approximately equivalent to, though not necessarily the same as, that given to elementary school teachers.' In effect the contrary was the case: the NUT Executive announced that they would not object to a

better scheme for secondary teachers but that if such were established they would demand equal provision for elementary teachers. (54)

Arthur Acland gave evidence to the Departmental Committee as chairman of the Joint Secondary and Technical Pensions Committee. The scheme, drawn up by the the Joint Pensions Committee, and Acland's brief, included the following points:

- 1.The scheme to be available to all teachers in secondary schools on the grant list, the efficient list, and in institutions for technical or art instruction in receipt of grants.
- 2.The scheme should be compulsory for all future teachers and for existing ones under the age of 25. It should be optional for all existing teachers over 25.
- 3.The contributory parties should be the teacher and the State; the teachers' contributions, as in the Scottish scheme, should not exceed four-tenths of the total contributions.
- 4.The retiring age should be 65 and 60 for men and women respectively. A man's contributions should cease at 60 when he would be eligible for a pension and a woman's at 55.
- 5.Breakdown pensions to be provided on a graded scale related to length of service. (55)

Fred Charles and Annesley Somerville, both former chairmen and currently honorary secretaries of the AMA, gave evidence for the Association. The AMA's submission, together with that of the AAM (represented by Miss Lees), stressed the need of a national pensions scheme no less favourable than that recently given to Scotland.

Report of the Departmental Committee on the Superannuation of Teachers (Second Reference), 1914

The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Superannuation of Teachers (Second Reference) was issued in April 1914. It proposed that the federated superannuation scheme recently established for the universities be adopted, with modifications, to suit the purposes of secondary and technical schools. (56) The principal recommendations of the report were:

- 1.The compulsory adoption in all State-aided schools of a system of insurance policies to mature at the age of 60, the premiums to be paid jointly by the teachers and their employers. Premiums to be at the rate of

5 per cent of the teacher's salary; the employer's contribution to equate with that paid by the teacher.

2. Teachers could opt for an endowment policy, deferred annuity with return of premiums, or deferred annuity without return of premiums. All policies to be fully transferable from one school to another.

3. Superannuation allowances to be paid by the State from the age of 65, at the rate of £1 for each year of recorded service.

4. Disablement allowances to be paid by the State at a suggested rate of £1 for each complete year of service, with a minimum service of ten years.

5. Provision to be made for existing pension schemes, such as those established under statutory powers by a number of LEAs, to be incorporated, if so desired, into the national scheme. (57)

6. The administration of the scheme to be in the hands of a Central Committee consisting of representatives of governors, LEAs and teachers' associations. (58)

The AMA Executive generally welcomed the report, despite some reservations over the terms for existing teachers and provision for disablement. A similar response came from other secondary teachers' associations: the Departmental Committee was seen to have devised a scheme that was elastic - it presented many options - and truly national, permitting unrestricted movement from school to school. The report was officially endorsed by the AMA Council in June 1914. (59)

School Teachers (Superannuation) Bill, 1918. (60)

The outbreak of war in August 1914 led to the Departmental Committee's report being shelved: the nation's greater needs took precedence. H.A.L. Fisher, President of the Board, in moving the order for the second reading of the School Teachers (Superannuation) Bill in October 1918, expressed it this way: 'The Report of (the) Committee was published, and although widely commented upon at the time, has never been given effect to. The War supervened, and the hopes that had been created by the publication of the Report have not yet been realized'. (61) Fisher was intent on raising the status of the profession to meet the challenge set by his Education Act to widen both the scope and standard of public education. He had a genuine concern for the conditions of service but his motivation was also pragmatic: there had been fewer young recruits for teaching and he saw improved salaries and an adequate pension scheme as essential to attract the right calibre of person to the profession. He

accordingly prefaced the second reading of the Superannuation Bill with a strong argument for a generous pensions scheme. (62) Fisher reminded the House that no pensions whatever existed for teachers in secondary schools, apart from a few local pension schemes. He suggested that if the State accepted the principle of providing pensions to teachers it should grant adequate pensions 'to give teachers that sense of elasticity and freedom from care which is essential to the proper discharge of their duties'. In presenting the Bill he stressed that the government, for the reasons stated, was committed to the urgent introduction of one State pension scheme for qualified teachers in all aided schools below those of university rank. Aware of the non-contributory nature of the proposed pension, Fisher delighted in telling the House that the pension plan was 'no niggardly scheme'. He stated that its generosity had been 'widely and freely acknowledged by all who had studied the White Paper and who (were) interested in the welfare of the teaching profession'. (63) Sir Philip Magnus, responding to Fisher in the debate, expressed what was to be the common reaction of the secondary teachers' associations to the proposals, a reaction of incredulity at the generosity of the Scheme and an impatience to get the legislation on the Statute book. Magnus retorted: 'I do not wish to do anything that might delay, even by a day or an hour, the passage of this Bill through the House'. (64)

In the autumn of 1918, prior to the Bill's second reading in the Commons, the AMA had called a conference of teachers' associations to adopt a joint strategy towards its passage. (65) The IAHM, AHM, AAM, AUWT, ATTI, and the NUT all sent representatives and, by common agreement, it was resolved not to risk wrecking the Bill by any attempt to improve it by amendment. According to a later editorial comment in the *AMA*, 'the choice appeared to be between the "Bill unamended" and "nothing"'. (66) One amendment which many teachers would have supported, but for the resolution of conference, would have been for the admittance of private schools to the scheme. Assured of the full support of the teachers' associations the Bill made rapid progress through the Commons, becoming law in December 1918.

The Schoolteachers (Superannuation) Act of 1918 provided for a comprehensive scheme of State pensions on a non-contributory basis applicable to all teachers in grant-aided schools, elementary and secondary, inclusive of the 70,000 uncertificated elementary teachers. Benefits consisted of annuities, together with a lump sum, for those retiring at 60, or later, after 30 years' recognized or qualifying service, of which at least 10 must be recognized, and for those who retired disabled after 10 years' service. (67) The administration of the Act rested with the Board of Education.

During the second reading of the Bill, Fisher had expressed his hopes for the Act in the following terms:

I am confident that the passage of this Bill will achieve three objects of great educational reform. It will promote the unity of the teaching profession. It will improve the quality of the instruction given in the school, and it will secure for the great educational developments which are bound to ensue under the operations of the Education Act an army of men and women teachers who will be attracted to that calling not only by the additional material benefit which the Bill will give them, but still more by the sense that for the first time the State has been giving adequate recognition to the teaching profession. (68)

The Act undoubtedly showed the government's recognition, under an enlightened President of the Board, of the needs of the teaching profession. The unions were at one in welcoming the legislation. The AMA Executive referred to the Act as 'a measure so advantageous to the teaching profession and the cause of education, and so generous in its provisions, compared with all previous schemes...the great feature of the Act is that the scheme established is non-contributory, and the provision of funds falls wholly upon the State'. (69) The altruism and *bonhomie* of 1918 was soon to be shattered by the recommendation of the Geddes Committee, in its First Interim Report on National Expenditure in February 1922, which proposed that Fisher's non-contributory scheme be abandoned and replaced by a fully contributory one.

The School Teachers (Superannuation) Act of 1918 represented the culmination of a 27-year campaign by the AMA. The AMA Executive in its annual report for 1918

commented: 'To members of the AMA it can only be a matter of congratulation that the efforts, which began in the early days of the Association, to establish a system of pensions for teachers in secondary schools have at last succeeded'. (70) It has been seen that the Association had been the driving force of the secondary teachers' associations in achieving the goal of a state pension for the majority of their members. The NUT had been peripheral to the AMA's campaign, involved only sporadically when the mutual interests of the associations had dictated a common allegiance. The basic aspirations of the NUT had been satisfied in the earlier Superannuation Act of 1898, which had given pension rights to elementary teachers. The 1918 Superannuation Act, however, had superseded the Act of 1898: thereafter all teachers in schools included under the Act whether elementary or secondary had the same pension entitlements. The coalescence of elementary and secondary interests within the same superannuation scheme had an effect upon teacher union relations. In the post-1918 period the pension policies of the Joint Four and the NUT, as will be seen, were to have many common elements: vigorous resistance to the coalition government's proposal in 1922 to make pensions contributory; pressure to extend benefits to widows and dependants (achieved in 1937); and, after the outbreak of war in 1939, concern to safeguard pension rights for teachers on war service.

EDUCATION 'CUTS' AND THE PRESSURE FOR CONTRIBUTORY PENSIONS: AMA'S RESPONSE

In December 1920 the Select Committee on National Expenditure had been critical of 'the atmosphere of financial laxity in which questions involving education are apt to be considered'. Fisher was taken to task by the Treasury for the cost of his reforms, and LEAs were instructed by the Board not to incur expenditure. To many, education appeared to be being made the scapegoat for the nation's financial crisis. (71) In February 1922, amidst growing concern for the national economy, the First Interim Report of the Committee on National Expenditure (the Geddes Committee)

challenged overspending in education, and as one of a number of proposed cuts, suggested a five per cent deduction from teachers' salaries to help meet the cost of pensions. The recommendation was taken up by the government and incorporated in the School Teachers (Superannuation) Bill of May 1922. The reaction of the teachers' associations was vociferous and aggressive. The AMA in a pamphlet *Notes on the Proposals on Education in the Geddes Report* published in late February 1922 had condemned the report as 'an attack on Education: not simply an attempt to reduce expenditure....The treatment of Education is utterly different from that of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Ministry of Pensions etc.' The proposed five per cent levy, now incorporated in the Bill, was roundly condemned:

Another breach of faith. If all Government pensions from the Prime Minister's downward were treated alike, something might be said for it. The Superannuation Act is a statutory measure which has been in operation only three years, and which has proved to be workable. Its provisions were taken into account when the Burnham Scales were fixed and duly allowed for when the teachers accepted the scales. It is little less than unconstitutional to amend it so as to destroy its main feature. (72)

The NUT's immediate response to the imposition of the levy was seen in a lead article in *The Schoolmaster*. 'The bill amounts to an income-tax of 6d. per £ of salary on teachers, and on teachers only...it amounts to that breach of faith with the salary scales (based on a non-contributory system of pensions) which the government in March announced that they would not, could not, commit'. (73) The NUT bought considerable advertising space in the leading London newspapers over the period 14-15 May to publicize a statement of its General Secretary, J.H. Yoxall. Yoxall put the union's case against the levy directly before the public:

I certify that the existence of a non-contributory Superannuation System for Teachers was basic to the debate of the Burnham Committee on Teachers' Salaries, and part of the consideration which led the Teachers' Panel of the Committee, of which I was spokesman, to agree to the figures of the salary scales. Repeatedly, and recently, Ministers have said that not to honour payments according to those scales would be a breach of faith. By Bill 113, which is to levy 5 per cent of salary from teachers and from teachers only, the Government is asking Parliament to enact a breach of public faith, for salaries and pensions must necessarily be construed together as remuneration and to tax one of them is to reduce the whole.

Yoxall's press statement finished with reference to the AEC memorandum of 1922, much quoted by teachers' unions in support of their case: 'As regards the teachers...it is only fair to recall statements by the Burnham Committees, that the existence of the non-contributory pension scheme was borne in mind when the new Salary Scales were fixed'. (74)

In their fight to halt the Bill the teacher unions called public meetings, lobbied MPs, and activated their memberships through special branch meetings. The basic argument the unions presented against the levy was that the profession had been callously betrayed by the government. The opposition of the teachers' associations only temporarily delayed the Bill: the support of a select committee, by the narrowest of majorities, for the government's stance - that no breach of undertaking was involved - secured the Bill's passage in July 1922 with only minor amendments. (75) *The Schoolmaster* summed up the teachers' anger in one phrase: 'A shameful bill to legalize a forced benevolence'. (76) In the eyes of the teachers' associations the government had broken its contract and weakened its credibility.

The imposition of the five per cent levy on teachers' salaries by the Superannuation Act of 1922 was intended as an interim arrangement pending a full inquiry. The eventual inquiry was entrusted to a Treasury departmental committee under Lord Emmott's chairmanship (77) with the brief 'To enquire what modifications are desirable in the system of superannuation established by the School Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1918, regard being had to both the economy of public funds and to the provision of adequate and suitable benefits for members of the teaching profession'. (78) The overall conclusion of the Committee, after consultation with a large number of witnesses, including those of the Joint Four, was that it was no longer necessary for the government to use a generous scheme as a way of compensation for inadequate salaries: Burnham had rectified that anomaly. (79) The Report pointed out that the teacher could not be equated to the civil servant - they

were not government employees - and should therefore have a pension scheme akin to that of other LEA employees based upon contributions from the employer and the beneficiary (in this case, the teacher). Such a scheme was thus recommended. (80)

J.H. Arnold, known affectionately as 'Jimmy' Arnold to AMA members, a master at St Dunstan's College, Catford and honorary secretary of the AMA Pensions Sub-Committee, had been AMA witness to the Emmott Committee. (81) Arnold gave his appraisal of the Committee's proposals in the November 1923 issue of the *AMA*. In general terms he believed the proposals to be 'just and equitable' and endeavoured in his article to assuage feeling on the issue of a contributory pension:

The contributory principle will, I think, stand. The battle over contribution was fought last year - and lost. We did not withdraw our opposition to the second reading of the 1922 Bill until after the elementary schoolteachers had given up the struggle, a fact which made further opposition on our part practically useless. I am not concerned, now, with the wisdom or otherwise of their decision...it is *now* too late to oppose the principle of contribution...we shall be worse than foolish if we spend our energy on opposing contribution *per se*....This is not to say that we shall contribute because we like it; we shall do so simply because we cannot prevent it. (82)

Later in the article Arnold explained the importance of 'contractual rights' recommended by the Committee. He pointed out that although under the 1918 Act no legal rights whatever existed, by reason of paying a contribution to the scheme the teacher was entering into an agreement by which other parties to that agreement would to a certain extent be bound. He stressed, too, the importance of the proposed Advisory Council for which the witnesses for the Joint Four had so strongly argued. If such a Council were established, Arnold believed it would be the most important single achievement of the Committee. He was firmly of the opinion that he 'who pays (or partly pays) the piper calls the tune': a contributor had the basic right to such a consultative body. Arnold fully endorsed the recommendations on full-time service and broken service; he could not do otherwise since they were the proposals of the Joint Four which had been adopted *in toto* by the Committee. His only serious concern in relation to the recommendations was the proposal that a man must have

given five years of pensionable service after the age of 50 if he was to be able to claim pension at 60. Arnold wrote that the Committee in making such a recommendation obviously did not understand the conditions that obtained in the profession:

They (the Committee) want to prevent a man from putting in just enough service to be able to claim a pension, and then taking up some other better paid work - and to stop this they make a proposal that takes no account whatever of the insecurity of tenure which is little short of a nightmare to some of our older men. There is no need to tell our members that as a man approaches fifty he may be, and sometimes is, dismissed to make way for a younger man. (83)

Arnold therefore gave an almost unqualified backing to the Emmott Report. The other teachers' associations, despite an innate hostility to the five per cent levy, similarly believed that the Committee had been fair to the teacher. The *Times Educational Supplement* gave its approval to the recommendations: '(The proposals are) extremely generous to the teachers, and not unfair to the local authorities'. (84)

Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1925 (85)

The Superannuation Bill, based upon the Emmott Report, was presented to the Commons in March 1925 and had received full assent by early August. Its smooth and remarkably quick passage was due to the fullest possible consultation between the Board and the teachers' associations on the details of the Bill. (86) Arnold, a key negotiator for the AMA, referred to the 'greatest possible consideration, formally and informally' that he had always received at the Board. (87) The Joint Four had been consulted prior to the Bill's introduction on matters of detail that emanated from the weaknesses of the earlier Superannuation Act of 1918. When the Bill was introduced, despite some improvements on initial drafts, amendments were seen to be needed. The AMA Executive pressed the branches to exert pressure upon local MPs and LEAs on the following points: the recognition of war service for superannuation in all cases; better treatment of service in non-grant earning schools; the necessity of a

Statutory Advisory Council; and protection of registered teachers dismissed from pensionable service.

The dialogue between the secondary associations and the Board prior to the committee stage of the Bill led Arnold to state that 'it was practically certain that half-a-dozen of the specifically Joint Four amendments would be accepted'. The AMA had the advantage of Annesley Somerville's support in the Commons. Somerville, a former housemaster at Eton and three times chairman of the AMA, was Conservative Member for Windsor and the recognized spokesman for secondary teachers in the House.

When the Bill reached the committee stage, Lord Eustace Percy, President of the Board, (88) moved the key amendment, awaited by all the teachers' associations, that substituted the word 'shall' for 'may' in the clause that would give the profession a legal right to pension benefits. A further amendment enabled teachers who had been excluded from the 1918 Act to elect to be included under the terms of the 1925 Act. The Joint Four were particularly pleased that another amendment, tabled by the President, removed the '30 years total' limit of pensionable service. The main beneficiaries of this amendment were teachers in non-grant earning, non-profit making schools, many of whom were AMA members. Prior to 1919 service in such schools up to 10 years could count for pension purposes provided that total service did not exceed 30 years: now 10 years were to be recognized in full, regardless of the total years of service. Further amendments were passed to the satisfaction of the AMA, but not on every occasion was a desired amendment successful, in particular the amendment to set up an Advisory Council. Somerville had moved an amendment to provide for such a Council: 'It seems essential that such a committee should be established and made statutory'. (89) The amendment was subsequently withdrawn by Somerville because of the lack of NUT support. An amendment to establish a

Central Superannuation Fund was also rejected, much to the disappointment of the AMA.

The passage of the Teachers' (Superannuation) Bill through the House in the summer of 1925 is a prime example of what a co-ordinated teacher-union campaign can achieve when a government is prepared to listen to carefully reasoned, professional argument. The unions had greatly contributed to the initiation of significant educational legislation. Somerville's comment during the third reading of the Bill is pertinent in this context:

I should like to say that the teachers have reason to be and they are grateful to the Noble Lord for the immense pains he has taken with this Bill, and his evident desire to do justice to all classes of teachers. When this Act comes into operation, in conjunction with the Burnham Award, we may look forward...to contentment in the schools, and educational progress. (90)

The Teachers' (Superannuation) Act of 1925 largely repeated the provisions of the Act of 1918, the main exception being that contributions were to be obligatory for teachers and employers: a levy of 5 per cent of salary for the teacher, with an equal contribution required of the employer. The teachers' associations were generally well satisfied with the Act. *The Schoolmaster* commented: 'At last we have got on the Statute book a scheme which grants superannuation as the absolute right of a teacher who has fulfilled the conditions'. (91) J.H. Arnold, the AMA witness to the Emmott Committee, gave a guarded welcome to the provisions of the Act in his retiring address as chairman of the Association in January 1926:

The passing of a new School Teachers' Superannuation Act has been an event of importance during the past year. The Act makes permanent the principle of contribution and that fact has resulted in the inclusion of various provisions, such as those for the repayment of contributions, which in equity could have hardly have been omitted. A number of very real injustices suffered by certain of our members since the coming into force of the 1918 Act have been remedied mainly in consequence of pressure brought to bear by the four secondary Associations and by ours in particular. But, with no provision for a formally constituted Advisory Council, teachers will still have no legal right of approach to the Board despite the fact that they will themselves pay half the cost of future benefits. It will be, therefore, the more necessary for our Association to continue to watch jealously over the rights of our members. (92)

After the passage of the Superannuation Act of 1925 the Board called a conference of LEA and teacher union representatives in January 1926 to consider the Draft Rules drawn up for the implementation of the Act. The only rule to which the unions took strong exception was that relating to war service. The Joint Four, along with the other unions, argued that war service should count fully for pension purposes, an argument rejected by the Board. (93) The Act came into force on 1 April 1926: thereafter, the work of the AMA was largely concerned with resolving difficulties related to its interpretation: over 300 such cases were dealt with during 1926. By 1927 the Act was clearly working smoothly, with Association casework proportionately reduced. (94) During 1928 representations were unsuccessfully made by the Joint Four to the Board to amend the rule whereby pensions under the scheme for independent schools were calculated on the basis of average salary for the whole of a teacher's service, as opposed to the last five years under the Act. The difference in the method of calculation worked greatly to the disadvantage of most teachers in those schools, the majority of whom were members of the secondary associations. (95)

PENSIONS FOR WIDOWS AND DEPENDANTS

In 1927 the AMA Council instructed the Association's parliamentary sub-committee to examine the implications of an extension of the provisions of the Superannuation Act of 1925 to widows and dependants. (96) At that stage, after initial inquiries, the sub-committee reported that it could not recommend further action owing to the prohibitive cost of the necessary actuarial investigation. So matters rested until March 1935 when the Joint Four approached the Board on the question of whether the teacher could be allowed to allocate a part of his pension for the benefit of his wife or dependants. (97) The NUT and the ATTI had talks with the Joint Four on the issue, and in November 1936 a Joint Four deputation attended the Board for formal discussions. (98) The Board was convinced of the rightness of the teachers' cause, and appropriate legislation followed.

Two Acts were passed during 1937 which made it possible for assistant masters to make provision for their widows and dependants. The more important of the two, since it applied to all masters in schools under the Superannuation Acts, was the Teachers' (Superannuation) Act of 1937. (99) The other measure was the Widows, Orphans and Old Age Contributory Pensions (Voluntary Contributors) Act of 1937, which applied only to teachers whose income was below £400 and whose age was under 55 on 3 January 1938. (100) The Teachers (Superannuation) Act of 1937 enabled teachers on retirement to allocate part of their pension for the benefit of their wives or dependants. Under the Act a teacher could voluntarily surrender not more than a third of his pension. In return, the following benefits were payable: either (a) a pension for life to his widow or to a dependant surviving him, payable from the date of his death, or (b) an annuity payable to him while his wife was living which was continued to her for life at double the rate if he died before her. (101) The Voluntary Contributors' Act was part of the State scheme applicable to the general body of citizens.

Protection for War Service

With the outbreak of war in 1939 the concern of the AMA, along with the other teachers' associations, was to safeguard the pension rights of teachers on war service. The Teachers' Superannuation (War Service) Act of 1939 met the teachers' demands: war service was classed as contributory service, the teacher only being liable for contributions where an LEA supplemented his income to its normal level (a rarity - *vide*, Chapter 3, p.189-90) or where his war service pay exceeded it (again, a rarity).

The teacher unions had shared concern for the effects of wartime inflation upon pensions. (102) The government acknowledged the problem but stated that subsidies and price controls had prevented extreme hardship. Sustained pressure from the unions eventually led the government to pass the Pensions Increase Act of 1944, but

benefits were limited to hardship categories. (103) Subsequent Pension (Increases) Acts were passed in 1947 and 1952.

CONCLUSION

It has been seen that the AMA, from its foundation, had consistently presented the case for pension entitlement on the grounds of fairness, humanity and efficiency, despite government policies which had first rejected the necessity for superannuation provision, and then, later, proved divisive by their very inconsistencies. The AMA had vigorously contested the government's piecemeal approach, attacking bureaucratic policies which had excluded the secondary teacher from a pension while granting pension rights to the elementary teacher, and which had allowed superannuation schemes to be drawn up for Wales and Scotland when no such provision had been contemplated for England. The AMA had persistently argued for a national scheme, had been instrumental in the foundation of STUTIS, and had been the driving force of the secondary teachers' associations in achieving the School Teachers (Superannuation) Acts of 1918 and 1925, and subsequent legislation for widows and dependants. The Association's unremitting campaign, based on carefully reasoned, professional argument, had played a significant part in securing superannuation benefits as an absolute right for the secondary schoolmaster.

CHAPTER 4 : NOTES

1. School Teachers' (Superannuation) Act, 1918, 8 & 9 Geo 5, c.55.
2. Committee of Council on Education, Minutes of August 1846. The Minutes stated: '(It was) expedient to make provision in certain cases, by a retiring pension, for schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who, after a certain length of service, may appear entitled to such provision.'
3. Committee of Council on Education, Minutes of August 1861.
4. See Tropp, A. (1957) *The School Teachers*, pp.76-92. and pp.108-13 for detailed coverage of the revised code controversy and the factors leading to the foundation of the NUET.
5. Elementary School Teachers' (Superannuation) Act, 1898, 61 & 62 Vict, c.57.
6. *Ibid.*, p.126.
7. The Act provided for deferred annuities, superannuation and disablement allowances; the teacher was required to contribute an annual sum to the Deferred Annuity Fund. The Act was practically limited in its application to certificated teachers in public elementary schools.
8. The NUT campaign is well documented in Asher Tropp's *The School Teachers* (1957) and in Peter Gosden's *The Evolution of a Profession* (1972).
9. Committee of Council on Education, Minutes of August 1851.
10. Newcastle Commission, (1861), Cmd.2794, Vol.1, pp.163-4.
11. Baron, G. (1952) unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London), 'The Secondary Schoolmaster, 1895-1914', pp.335-6.
12. *Hansard*, H.of C., 28 October 1918, col.1225.
13. A report of the AMA's first annual general meeting is given in *Journal of Education*, 1 February 1892, p.97.
14. Hull had read a paper on a proposed pension scheme for assistant masters to an AMA meeting in October 1891; see Chapter 1, p.38.
15. See *IAAM Annual Report*, 1902, p.43, for details of the Headmasters' Pension Scheme.
16. Tilney-Bassett took too simplistic a view in attributing the failure of the Headmasters' Pension Scheme to 'apathy'. (*ibid.*, p.160)

Admittedly the scheme attracted little support from either governing bodies or assistant masters: the reason in both cases was undoubtedly the financial commitment involved.

17. *AMA, Annual Report*, 1900, p.20.
18. Elementary School Teachers' (Superannuation) Act, 1898, 61 & 62 Vict, c.57. For discussion of superannuation scheme for employees of the Board of Guardians see *Pilot*, 16 & 23 February 1901.
19. *Pilot*, loc.cit.
20. For details see *IAAM Annual Report*, 1902, p.36.
21. *Ibid*.
22. See Chapter 2, pp.40-1, for details of the joint AMA/IAHM conference on tenure in October 1903, held under Fry's chairmanship.
23. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1904, pp.7-13.
24. The powers exercised by the Charity Commissioners over endowed schools had been transferred to the Board of Education by an Order in Council, which had come into force on 1 October 1902.
25. For details of the Whitgift Grammar School case, see *IAAM Annual Report*, 1904, pp.23-6. Also, AMA Legal Sub-Committee casebook, 1899-1904, IAAM Archive, Section D8/3, pp.296-9.
26. For biographical detail, see Chapter 3, Note 28.
27. *Hansard*, H.of C., 21 June 1904, col.685.
28. Letter reproduced in *IAAM Annual Report*, 1904, p.25.
29. *AMA*, October 1908, pp.83-4.
30. *AMA*, January 1909, p.9. The scheme provided for:
 - (i) A Superannuation Fund to be established by the Board.
 - (ii) Teachers should contribute 5 per cent of their annual salaries with equal contributions from governing bodies.
 - (iii) Two funds should be established - one for men, one for women.
 - (iv) At the age of 60 every teacher should be entitled to an annuity, the amount of which should depend on (a) the annual contributions made by him or on his behalf, (b) his age when the contributions were made. Alternatively the teacher might have a cash payment of the capital value of the annuity to which he was entitled.

- (v) If death occurred before 60 all contributions should be returned to his personal representatives, together with compound interest at the rate of 3 per cent.
- (vi) In no case should contributions be returned to governing bodies.
- (vii) Any teacher who became permanently incapable of efficient teaching and who had made ten or more contributions to the Fund should be entitled, out of monies provided by Parliament, to an annual allowance, depending on the number of annual contributions, but in no case less than £40.
- (viii) All administrative expenses should be borne by the Treasury.
- (ix) The governing body or proprietors of any recognised secondary school should be allowed to adopt the scheme on behalf of their teaching staff.
- (x) After due notice the Board should require all grant-earning schools to adopt the scheme; unless in the Board's opinion any particular school had already adopted an adequate pension scheme.
- (xi) At the time of adoption by a school, teachers should have the option of joining the scheme or not; but all appointed after the adoption should be compelled to contribute.
- (xii) Teachers who were too old, at the time of adoption, to benefit materially, should receive a special grant of an annuity in proportion to the length of their service.

- 31. *AMA Report of an Inquiry into Conditions of Service of Teachers*, 1910, pp.160-1. In summarizing its findings, the report stated: 'France, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries all provide pensions for teachers. In the United States teachers do not receive pensions out of the public funds except in three States; but in some States the legislatures have framed laws for the establishment of pension funds, to which teachers are free to contribute or not as they please. In France all teachers, as civil servants, are entitled to a pension on retirement....The pensions provided in the German States are the most liberal, often amounting to over 75 per cent of the final salary. In thirteen States no contribution whatever towards the pension fund is required from the master....In Denmark and Holland the maximum pension is two-thirds of the retiring salary. In both countries the State makes a contribution towards the pensions of teachers employed in private schools.'
- 32. *Ibid.*, January 1911, p.6.
- 33. *AMA*, January 1911, p.10.
- 34. For *AMA* reaction to the scheme, see the *AMA*, March 1911, p.32.
- 35. *Times Educational Supplement*, 7 March 1911, p.65.
- 36. A report on the deputation is given in the *AMA*, May 1911, pp.54-6.
- 37. See *AMA*, May 1911, p.61, for a report on the conference.

38. The following resolutions were carried unanimously by the conference:
- (i) A system of superannuation should be established in England and Wales for teachers in schools other than elementary and in technical institutions.
 - (ii) The system should be national (i.e. should permit beneficiaries on passing from the service of one authority to that of another authority to carry with them the benefits of their former service).
 - (iii) The system should be contributory on the part of the State, governing bodies, local education authorities, and the teachers (beneficiaries).
 - (iv) The system should operate in all schools other than elementary and in technical institutions receiving grants either from the Board of Education or from the local education authorities: also in secondary schools not receiving grants of which the governing bodies agree thereto.
 - (v) The system should be managed at the cost of the State by a council to consist of representatives (a) of the State, (b) of local education authorities, (c) of governing bodies (as above), (d) of teachers in the schools and institutions concerned.

The McCormack Committee, sitting under the Board of Education, set aside for pensions £10,000 out of the grant of £50,000 to the universities.

39. *AMA*, May 1911, loc.cit.
40. For details of the scheme, see *AMA*. June 1911, p.69.
41. *AMA*, October 1911, p.117.
42. Both men had a deep interest in education. Magnus was chairman of the Secondary Schools Association and president of the Council of the College of Preceptors: he had earlier shown sympathy for the Association's policies (*vide*, Chapter 3, p. , and Note 80). See Frank Foden's biography, (1970) *Philip Magnus, Victorian Educational Pioneer*. Rawlinson, a QC, was a member of the governing bodies of Eton, Malvern, *inter alia*. See obituary to Rawlinson in *AMA*, February 1926, p.52.
43. *Hansard*, H.of C., 20 November 1911, col.951. See also *Hansard*, H.of C., 15 November, 1911, col. 352.
44. *Hansard*, H.of C., 20 November 1911, col.957. See also *Hansard*, H.of C., 20 November 1911, cols.968-70.
45. *Ibid.*, H.of C., 20 November 1911, cols.955, 963.
46. *AMA*, January 1912.
47. Tidswell was a member of the Advisory Committee to the Insurance Commissioners; Hankin served as honorary secretary of the *AMA* in 1913 prior to joining HMI.

48. *AMA*, September 1912, pp.108-9.
49. See *AMA*, May 1912, pp.60-1 for details of the deputation. The deputation is also referred to in the *Journal of Education*, June 1912, p.369.
50. *AMA*, June 1912, p.77.
51. In this context it is pertinent to quote the following in reference to the Provident Society and the enactment of National Insurance Act:
The Provident Society has started work...with Miss Elspeth Carr, B.Litt., (Dunhelm), as its secretary. Miss Carr's knowledge of economics and insurance is, we understand, peculiar and extensive: but neither she nor any one else is at present able to solve all the intricacies of the Act. Therefore it is particularly requested that correspondents should not put posers to the office until they have first read the printed information that can be obtained gratis on request. The Insurance Act comes into force on July 15th; the coming month will be extraordinarily busy for all who have anything to do with the working of the Act and the Committee of Management (of STUTIS) will have to labour, in season and out of season, if it is to get through all the work now pouring into the office'. (*AMA*, June 1912, p.77)
52. Details of the meeting are given in *AMA*, July 1912. p.93.
53. Report of the Departmental Committee on the Superannuation of Teachers on the First Reference, Cmd.7364; and Report of the Departmental Committee on the Superannuation of Teachers on the Second Reference, Cmd.7365.
54. See *Schoolmasters' Year Book*, 1913, Review of the Year, p. lxxvii.
55. Report of the Departmental Committee on the Superannuation of Teachers on the Second Reference, Cmd.7365, 1914.
56. The Federated Universities Superannuation Scheme (FSSU) came into operation on 1 October 1913.
57. The following LEAs had gained statutory powers to set up pension schemes: London, Birmingham, Bradford, Liverpool, Newcastle upon Tyne, Halifax, Croydon, Manchester and Bootle.
58. *Ibid.*, p.5 *et seq.*
59. For *AMA* reaction to the report see *AMA*, June 1914, p.96.
60. School Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1918, 8 & 9 Geo 5, c.55.
61. *Hansard*, H.of C., 21 October 1918, col.473.

62. *Hansard*, H.of C., 21 October 1918, col.472. Fisher's argument was substantially as follows: 'Everyone who has the interests of national education at heart will welcome the determination of the Government to provide a generous scheme of pensions in Grant-aided schools. We have, of course, a system of superannuation allowances for teachers in our elementary schools, supplemented in their case by an annuity formed out of their own contributions; but this provision of pensions for elementary teachers is altogether too meagre...if the Education Act...is to be effectively worked, it is clear that something must be done, and done promptly, to render the position of the teacher in an elementary school...more attractive than it has hitherto been.'
63. In a wry comment upon the generosity of the pension scheme, Vaizey, J. in an article 'Teachers' Superannuation in England and Wales', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol.6, No.1, November 1957 - May 1958, p.15, wrote: 'It is true that the usual state of financial euphoria that accompanies a major war prevailed, and that cost considerations were, in a sense, secondary to the main purpose.' Vaizey looked ahead to the 'Geddes Axe' of 1922 and added: 'By 1921, however, the mood had changed. The beneficent Fisher still reigned at the Board, and the Welsh wizard (Lloyd George) still stayed in Downing Street, but Bonar Law's was the power and Sir Eric Geddes' was the voice.'
64. *Hansard*, H.of C., 21 October 1918, col. 483.
65. See the *AMA*, December 1918, p.123.
66. *AMA*, December 1918, p.124.
67. 'Recognized' service was service in schools (elementary or secondary) receiving grants from the Board of Education. The term 'qualifying' service referred to teaching service which was not 'recognized' for the purpose of the Act, but had been rendered in schools regarded by the Board as efficient as grant-earning schools. While this service helped to qualify for pensions, no allowance was made in respect of such service.
68. *Hansard*, H.of C., 21 October 1918, col.483.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1918.
71. This was the tone of the presidential address to the NUT general meeting in 1921. G.H.Powell was installed at the NUT's Easter conference at Bridlington - see *Schoolmaster* 2 April 1921, pp.630-4.
72. *AMA* pamphlet *Notes on the proposals on Education in the Geddes Report*, February 1922, p.11 - IAAM Archive, Section M3/7.

73. *The Schoolmaster*, 13 May 1922, p.823.
74. See Chapter 3, pp.175-6, for cross-reference to the same AEC memorandum used by the teacher unions in the Burnham debate.
75. See Tropp A, (1957) *The School Teachers*. pp. 219-20, for an analysis of the select committee's report.
76. *The Schoolmaster*, 7 July 1922, p.7.
77. Alfred Emmott, a Liberal and a former mayor of Oldham, represented that constituency for 12 years until created Baron Emmott in 1911.
78. Report of the Departmental Committee on the Superannuation of School Teachers, Cmd.1962, 1923, p.5.
79. *Ibid.*, para., 48.
80. The main recommendations of the Emmott Report were:
- (i) A new Act is to be passed, if possible, by 1 April 1924, the new Act to supersede the Acts of 1918 and 1922.
 - (ii) There is to be no change in the present superannuation allowances for existing teachers.
 - (iii) The new Act will introduce 'the element of contract.'
 - (iv) The new scheme will be contributory. Teachers are to pay 5 per cent of salary, authorities and Governing Bodies 2½ per cent. A Central fund, administered by the National Debt Commissioners, will be established.
 - (v) (a) Teachers who give no pensionable service after the date on which the new Act comes into operation will have to put in 30 years of pensionable and/or qualifying service, as if they were still under the 1918 Act; (b) Teachers who do give pensionable service after the coming into operation of the new Act (and who, therefore, contribute under the new Act, and so establish contractual rights) will be eligible for pension if, or when, they have given 10 years of pensionable service.
 - (vi) Only teachers who have given at least five years of pensionable service between the ages of 50 and 60 can claim their pensions at 60: others must complete this period of five years, given after the age of 50, before they can claim their pensions. If they cannot give these five years before the age of 65, they can claim pension at 65, but not till then.
 - (vii) Non-State-aided-non-profit-making schools may come under the Act, if their Governors pay 5 per cent., and the masters 5 per cent (a dividend of not more than 5 per cent. on shares is not 'profit'). No other conditions whatever will be exacted from these schools. Private schools cannot come under it.
 - (viii) It is recommended that a Superannuation Advisory Council be set up to consist of officials of the Board and of local education authorities and Governing Bodies, and of representatives of the teachers.
 - (ix) Medical examination for entrance to the profession and for death gratuity will be done away with. The regulation will be retrospective.

- (x) There will be no break in service when a teacher leaves one school at the end of the term and joins another school at the beginning of the next.
- (xi) The Committee accept the Joint Four's definition of full time service.

A full time teacher is one who, in return for a fixed annual salary rate is 'bound, if required, to give service (not necessarily actual teaching) during the whole of the period during which the school (or schools) in which he may be employed in open'. 'This,' to quote the Report, 'rather than a nicely calculated less or more of hours, is the real test'.

- 81. For a useful summary of Arnold's career see his obituary in *AMA*, July 1937, p.219.
- 82. *AMA*, November 1923, p.23.
- 83. *Ibid.*, pp.215-16.
- 84.. *Times Educational Supplement*, 17 January 1925, p.33.
- 85. Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1925, 15 & 16 Geo 5, c.59.
- 86. The NUT was consulted by the Board during the framing and passage of the Bill. W.G. Cove, a former president of the NUT and Labour Member for Wellingborough, and C.W.Crook, likewise a former president of the NUT and Conservative Member for East Ham N., succeeded in getting all the NUT amendments accepted by the House.
- 87. *AMA*, November 1923, p.215.
- 88. After an early career in the diplomatic service, Percy entered parliament as Conservative Member for Hastings in 1921 and within three years had been appointed President of the Board of Education.
- 89. *Hansard*, H.of C., 12 May 1925, col.1809.
- 90. *Hansard*, H.of C., 9 July 1925, col.756.
- 91. *The Schoolmaster*, 7 August 1925, p.175.
- 92. *AMA*, January 1926, pp.5-6.
- 93. See *AMA*, March 1926, pp.80, 82.
- 94. 146 *AMA* members asked headquarters for advice during 1927; seven of those cases were further referred to the Secretary of the Pensions Department at the Board.
- 95. *AMA*, November 1928, p.267.

96. Ibid., January 1927, p.44.
97. Ibid., March 1935, p.80.
98. Ibid., March 1937, p.80.
99. Teachers' (Superannuation) Act, 1937, 1 Edw 8, & 1 Geo 6, c.47.
100. Widows, Orphans & Old Age Contributory Pensions (Voluntary Contributors) Act, 1937, 1 Edw 8, & 1 Geo 6, c.39.
101. For details see the *AMA*, October 1937, p.302.
102. *AMA*, September-October 1941, p.159; also *NUT Annual Report*, 1943.
103. Pension Increase Act, 1944, 7 & 8, Geo 6, c.21.

CHAPTER 5

Registration and Training

CHAPTER 5 : REGISTRATION AND TRAINING

The final chapter is different in emphasis from the three preceding chapters where the AMA's unrelenting campaign for first basic and then improved provision in the areas of tenure, salaries and pensions had been analogous with the members' wishes. The registration issue, by contrast, evocative of such bitter debate and controversy in the pre-First World War period, had never greatly interested the average member, so preoccupied had he been in first finding, and then holding, a post that offered reasonable remuneration and prospects of advancement. To such members the absence of recognized secondary school training schemes would have made nonsensical the very idea of a professional register. With specific regard to training, a large number of AMA members, possibly the majority, remained unconvinced of the necessity of formal teacher-training, even when such training became readily available. The early AMA members would, of course, have received no training and would have perceived academic qualification - meaning the degree which most AMA members possessed - and their social standing in relation to the type of post they wished to apply for, as the essential prerequisites for a teaching career. Even as late as the early 1960s, the writer, in his personal experience, found that some grammar school headmasters and a significant number of young graduate aspirants to the teaching profession still shunned the concept of formal training, preferring to debunk the one-year PGCE courses as a 'waste of time'.

To the AMA's leadership, however, registration was seen as crucial to the advancement of the profession, and training as an expedient, if not an immediately

attainable, goal. The extent to which the Association was able to influence official policy and provision in these areas is the focus of the chapter. For convenience and clarity of treatment, while acknowledging that there is a direct and obvious interrelation between the two issues, registration will be considered first and training second.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE TO THE REGISTRATION DEBATE

There was a disaffection towards the registration issue among rank and file members of the teachers' associations. The issue was not high profile and did not incite a sense of urgency alongside such issues as tenure, salaries and pensions. In May 1909, an anonymous correspondent to the *AMA*, using the pseudonym 'Unconvinced' - anonymity being the usual ploy of a teacher shunning exposure for fear of job loss - epitomized this viewpoint: 'Why should we dissipate our energies by chasing a Will-of-the-wisp, when so many other issues of vital moment await a settlement'. (1) Two issues identified by the correspondent as requiring urgent attention were, first, the need to provide adequate pensions, and, second, the absolute necessity to introduce incremental pay scales.

To the leaders of the teachers' associations, however, registration was a key issue. Registration, to their perception, was inextricably linked to standards and control, to status and dignity within the profession; not to have been represented on any teaching council that might have been set up would have been tantamount to a loss of face for the unrepresented association. Baron states that registration was

an issue which no professional association could afford to ignore. Even though its leaders might feel that the needs of its members could be met by other means, it was essential, for prestige reasons, that publicity should be secured during the debate between 1901 and 1913 and representation demanded on any Council to be set up. (2)

Willis in his recent thesis on the College of Preceptors, covering the period 1846-1917, states that registration had been embraced by the College from its inception: 'By far the most important feature of the College's work related to the registration issue. It permeated throughout the College's interests from its foundation'. (3) Willis recounts the occasion when Weston Eve, Dean of the College, had reminded his audience at the well-publicised Federal Council's London conference on registration in 1909 of the College's early role in campaigning for registration. To laughter, the Dean had pointed out that 'this subject was taken up by them before many of you were born'. (4)

The AMA, founded in 1891, was a latecomer to the registration debate, but owed its origins, ironically in the context of this chapter, to a realization that the secondary schoolmasters' interests had not been represented to the Select Committee appointed in 1891 (5) to adjudge the merits of the two rival registration bills. (6) The controversy attendant upon the early registration movement is well-documented (7) and indicative of the passions to be aroused, in the immediate pre-1914 period, by what was a fundamentally divisive issue; registration had much to do with attitudes towards training, qualification, certification and social placement, and that within a profession manifestly lacking in homogeneity.

The basis of much contention had been the College of Preceptors' consistently expressed view that elementary teachers should be excluded from registration. The College had defended its stance on two principal scores: first, by its assertion that the elementary teacher was already technically 'registered' by inclusion in the lists of the Privy Council, and second, by its concern to prevent the NUT - the body representing

the elementary teachers - from securing a monopoly on any Educational Council at the expense of other teachers' groups. The report of the Select Committee on the Teachers' Organisation and Training Bill, presented to the Commons in July 1891, failed to resolve the issue as to who should be included in any future register; by omitting reference to the elementary teacher the membership or not of that group of teacher was left undecided. The *Educational Times*, the journal of the College of Preceptors, was scathing in its editorial comment on the indecisiveness of the report: 'The Special Report...is a curiously halting, weak, and inconsistent series of statements and suggestions for the guidance of the legislature'. (8)

AMA POLICY: REGISTRATION - an overview

Registration was a declared aim of the AMA from its foundation. The Association's official policy on registration was clearly stated in the evidence presented by John Montgomery, honorary secretary, and Charles Martin, honorary treasurer, to the Bryce Commission in October 1894. (9) Martin based the AMA's commitment to registration on two considerations: first, the assumption that registration must be linked to training, and thus endorse the Association's goal of adequate training for all secondary teachers, thereby raising the standards of the profession; and second, the hope that registration would make the creation of a truly united profession, with its own code of conduct, capable of realization. Martin expressed the latter sentiment thus:

At present teachers are divided into classes as it were; there is the elementary teacher, and there is the teacher, in secondary schools, and there are different classes of teachers in secondary schools. We feel that on the establishment of a register we should all belong to one family as it were, and we should then have common aims; our work would shape itself better, and there would arise immediately after the establishment of a register, a code of professional manners, which I think would work only for the good of the public, and therefore for the good of education. (10)

Quite clearly the AMA was opposed to the exclusion of the elementary teacher from any eventual register and in this shared an identical view to the AAM. (11) Both secondary associations wished to see one register for all teachers, a stance diametrically opposed to the sectionalized perspective of the College of Preceptors and the Private Schools' Association who argued in their submissions for the exclusion of the elementary teacher. The AMA and AAM on the issue of registration genuinely thought in terms of one profession; a profession perhaps disparate in the differing needs of the primary/secondary and public/private sectors but certainly one in spirit. Willis, in expressing surprise that the associations of both assistant masters and assistant mistresses declared their support for the inclusion of elementary teachers in one register, obviously does not appreciate that certain categories of teachers - perhaps identified by the category of their union membership - can rise above sectionalized interests in their support of what they perceive as the common good of the profession. (12) Ultimately, the commissioners in their report upheld the AMA/AAM plea that there should be one register, a register that the commissioners recommended should be open to 'all teachers in whatever class or kind of school they may be engaged or seeking engagement'. (13) In making its recommendation, the commissioners had quite clearly wanted to end what they termed as the 'almost traditional dispute' over whether or not to include teachers other than secondary in the register. Their conclusion was that 'it would be inexpedient to set up any barrier to hinder the free passage of able teachers from one class of school to another'. (14)

Post-Bryce, a study of the AMA literature, shows the significant role - 'key' role, if the adulatory tone of the literature were to be believed - the Association played in the the registration movement. A conviction amongst the AMA leadership that a professional register was essential to raise the status of the profession and to give unity to teachers as an occupational group accounts for the vigour of the AMA's campaign. As will be seen, the abortive First Register and the later intransigence of Morant only appear to give renewed impetus to the intensity of the Association's

efforts. How far the Executive's lead, however, translates to support from the ordinary membership is debatable; the majority of members probably saw their leaders' linkage of registration to professional status, and thence to improved public image and hopefully to improved pay and pension entitlements, as somewhat idealistic. A modern parallel might be the indifference of the average teacher-union member to the well-intentioned efforts of the leaders of some 30 major associations currently to establish a General Teaching Council for England and Wales. (15)

Historically there was an altruism to the AMA's early registration campaign which could not be sustained in the harsh politico-economic climate of the post-1918 period.

The First Register (1902-8)

The long-awaited registration authority, the Teachers' Registration Council - sanctioned by the Board of Education Act (1899) - was eventually set up by Order in Council in March 1902. The AMA in its *Annual Report*, 1902, saw in its establishment a propitious beginning: 'To obtain for Teachers in Secondary Schools the status and authority of a learned profession for many years stood first among the objects of the Association, and in the Registration Order we see the beginning of the fulfilment of this object'. (16)

In reality the Council's beginning was far from propitious; whilst conforming to the 1899 Act's requirement that there be a single alphabetical register, the Council contravened the spirit of the Act, and the Bryce recommendations on which the Act was based, by instituting the two column ('A' and 'B') Register which provoked the instant hostility of the NUT. (17.) The relegation of the elementary teacher to the 'A' column was a social anathema to the NUT, and proved to be the undoing of the Council. Ousey in her book *McClure of Mill Hill* quotes her father's response to the

failure of the first Register: 'The Old Register was buried in the gulf that lay between Column A and Column B; a funeral with few tears'. (18)

The AMA could have no underlying objection to a two-column register that gave immediate access to Column B, albeit by fee, to the majority of its members, even if the Association's aim of a single register to include all categories of teacher had not been realized. The AMA's main concern was that no provision had been made for the direct representation of assistant teachers in the secondary schools (masters or mistresses) on the Registration Council when it was apparent that such teachers must of necessity form the majority of those whose names would be entered in Column B of the Register. (19) The AMA's concern was communicated in a petition to Spencer Cavendish, President of the Board, informing him that the Association had upwards of 1,200 members, with representatives in almost every important secondary school in England, and therefore should be entitled to representation. (20) The response to the petition was that J.L.Holland, the chairman of the Association, was appointed by the President as a member of the Registration Council.

The AMA also secured a valuable amendment to the original Order in Council by presenting statistical information to the Registration Council to show that a significant number of teachers of long and efficient service - though accounting for only a 'very small proportion' of members of the AMA - would be barred from registration in column B in the four-year interim period before the permanent regulations came into force in 1906. (21) The amendment (Regulation 5(2)) stated that

the Registration Authority may...at any time within four years from the establishment of the Registration Authority, place on Column B...the name of any person who does not fulfil all the conditions of registration, but who has either (a)...proved himself to be an exceptionally qualified teacher; or (b) has had experience, extending over a period of not less than ten years of teaching (other than teaching in an Elementary School or teaching of a purely elementary character), and has, in their opinion, shown the ability to teach. (22)

The kudos that accompanied the attainment of this amendment was duly recorded in the *Annual Report* for 1902 (quoting 'the leading educational magazine'):

Assistant teachers owe a debt to the Assistant Masters' Association for persistently urging this amendment. Had there been no such Association, with a machinery that enabled it to collect evidence as to the unjust pressure of the previous regulations and an organization that made it possible to influence opinion, the isolated assistant would have been powerless to bring an equitable change. Now there need be no further grumbling, and no one need hold back out of sympathy. Doubtless names will pour in rapidly, and the Registrar's staff will be kept busy. (23)

The Register, despite the AMA's welcome for the inherent merits and potential of the registration scheme, was condemned to failure, as indicated earlier, by the outright hostility of the NUT to the two-column listing. NUT hostility apart, however, the whole infrastructure of the scheme was intrinsically flawed, ensuring its demise. Automatic registration in Column A for certificated teachers was a meaningless gesture towards the granting of a viable professional status. The requirement by the Treasury that the Register should be self-supporting was a farcical expectation out of a one guinea Column B registration fee. Column B registration was slow in its initial phase and ultimately failed to attract many of the better qualified graduates: the prediction in the columns of the IAAM *Annual Report* of a rush of applications was never realized. (24) Registration data revealed that only a very small percentage of Column B listed teachers - fewer than 300 - fulfilled the criteria of what were seen as the essential long-term requirements of a registration scheme, that is, a degree plus training. The Registration Council was the first to admit that the cost of training, additional to the funding of a degree course, was beyond the financial means of the average prospective schoolmaster. (25).

By 1906, financial restraints meant that the printing of the Register could not be continued, and, as will be outlined, by March 1908 the registration scheme had been abolished.

BOARD OF EDUCATION: ABANDONMENT OF REGISTRATION CAUSE,
POST-1905

Following the Liberal Government's victory in the December 1905 election, a dichotomy of interests developed between the Board of Education and the teacher unions: the Board was intent on maintaining its control and initiative in the developing secondary education sector while the unions were determined to realize the aspiration, presented by registration, of a self-governing profession. The announcement in the Commons on 5 April 1906 by Birrell, President of the Board, that it was his intention to abolish the Teachers' Register was the catalyst to many years of dissension between the Board and the teachers' leaders. (26) In making his statement Birrell questioned the legality of the two-column Register and said that widespread teacher dissatisfaction with such a system was fully justifiable. The President was also cognizant of the opposition of his permanent officials at the Board to what they saw as an encroachment upon their role as institutional providers of every facet of the national system of education: to their perception, the Consultative Council and the teachers' associations, in pursuing a much fuller control of the teaching profession, presented a threat to the authority of the Board. (27) A clause was duly incorporated in the Education (Administrative Provisions) Bill, 1906, which relieved the Board of any obligation to keep or maintain a register of teachers. The Board's action was defended by Morant, the Permanent Secretary, in his memorandum of 8 June 1906. (28) Morant stated that the existing regulations for registration did not fulfil the intentions of the original advocates of a register in the parliament of 1899. The Board, therefore, he pointed out, was determined to remedy the situation by changes to the existing Regulations for Secondary Schools. For instance, it was to be a priority of the Board to ensure that a proportion of all new teachers be trained. Morant was, in effect, stating that his department could better care for the needs of the teaching profession than any registration authority.

The response to Birrell's announcement of 5 April, and to Morant's explanatory memorandum, was one of predictable hostility from the teachers' associations. Even the NUT, so opposed to the 'exclusiveness and invidiousness' of the 1902 Register (29) and intent on its abolition, remained a firm advocate of 'a truly comprehensive register'. (30) The AMA's Executive Committee despatched a resolution of protest the day after Birrell's pronouncement, and a lengthier memorandum, some days later, setting out in detail the Association's concerns. The AMA was critical of the Board's precipitous rashness in deciding to abolish the Register:

If the Register is abandoned instead of being made the basis of a new and amended scheme, not only will all the advantages already won be thrown away, but it will become practically impossible to renew in any form an experiment on which the teaching profession had based so many hopes of reform. (31)

The abolition of the Register would, according to the AMA leadership, 'leave secondary teachers the only men and women in the country whose qualifications no public authority certifies, and for whose competence the state does not vouch'. (32) C.H.Greene, the AMA chairman, in his address to the 1906 General Meeting, spoke contemptuously of the offensive clause 16 of the Education Bill:

That clause has been received with almost universal reprobation by all those who have anything to do with secondary education. It does indeed do far more than abolish the existing register. It frees the Board from all obligation to frame or keep a register at all as imposed by the Act of 1899. The interests of over 11,000 secondary school teachers who had registered are passed over with almost cynical indifference. (33)

Similar protestations to the Board came from the AHM, the IAHM, the Teachers' Guild, the College of Preceptors, the Federal Council and from a conference convened by the University of Oxford, representing the universities and the leading educational associations. The Teachers' Registration Council published a letter regretting the abolition, and the Consultative Council publicly disclaimed responsibility for a step about which they had not been consulted. Within the Commons, the AMA received promises of aid, as on other occasions, (34) from

Professor S.H. Butcher, Conservative MP for London University, and Sir Philip Magnus, the Unionist MP for London University. In the Lords, John Percival, Bishop of Hereford, the former headmaster at Rugby, who had so often championed the rights of the teacher on behalf of the AMA, (35) spoke of the 'almost universal alarm among teachers throughout secondary and higher schools at the proposed abolition of the register'. (36) Ultimately, the operation of the guillotine allowed the clause which had excited such concerted opposition from the profession to pass without discussion or amendment.

Opposition to the Board's stance, and, in particular, to the hard line being adopted by Morant, produced an unexpected degree of inter-union solidarity. In October 1906, the NUT joined forces with the HMC, the IAHM, the AHM and a number of sympathetic peers to secure a Lords' amendment to the Education Bill to provide that, while the Board should be relieved of all responsibility to 'frame, form, or keep a register', it should 'be lawful for His Majesty by Order in Council to constitute a Registration Council representative of the teaching profession' to frame and keep a register of one column only. (37) The AMA took renewed hope in the Lord's amendment: 'Lord Monkswell's clause...seemed to provide an opportunity for bringing into the world a new Registration Council, and perhaps thereafter a new Register to replace that which was slain to content the Elementary teachers whom it offended'. (38) The Association had worked unceasingly behind the scenes negotiating for the attainment of a register, and the amendment was seen as 'an excellent opportunity for constructive statesmanship'. (39)

The attitude of Morant, one of outward hostility to the very concept of a register, in a sense defies analysis but certainly put paid to any hopes of the AMA, and of the other teachers' associations, of an early realization of a statutory registration scheme. Morant showed no intention of implementing the amended clause, despite the fact that he was under pressure to do so once the Education (Administrative Provisions)

Act became law in August 1907. The dilatoriness of the Board prompted Sir William Anson, the Unionist MP for Oxford University, to ask McKenna, the President of the Board, in March 1908, to explain the delay. McKenna's response was that he had been awaiting feed-back from as many sections as possible of the teaching profession to see whether the proposals commanded general support. (40) In truth, the delay lay entirely with Morant. Baron explores at length the reasons for Morant's attitude. (41) Morant did not appear to be able to grasp that the teachers were wanting professional status (akin to doctors and lawyers) in desiring to have a Registration Council; in his terms, a Registration Council constituted a potential threat to the hegemony of the Board.

The Permanent Secretary professed no animosity to the teaching profession as such but expressed an inability to see any 'practical utility' in the existence of a registration authority. In May 1908, as a gesture to the registration lobby, and no doubt as a response to mounting criticism of his inaction, Morant asked Dr Gow, headmaster of Westminster School, to lead a deputation to the Board to discuss the registration issue,. For several months Gow had been liaising with the various teachers' associations - the HMC, the IAHM, the AHM, the AMA, the AAM, the NUT, the Teachers' Guild and the College of Preceptors among others - to produce an agreed registration scheme, and had sent Morant the proposals. Annesley Somerville, the AMA chairman, was a member of the deputation. Somerville, a devotee of the registration movement, had some months earlier told the AMA General Meeting that registration was essential to resist 'the bureaucratic tyranny' of the LEAs. (42) To its surprise, the Gow deputation's widely-supported scheme for a representative Registration Council (43) was dismissed with almost cynical contempt by Morant as being unrepresentative of the teaching profession. (44) To his discredit in the eyes of the major teachers' associations, Morant invited comment from innumerable minor associations on the merits of the Gow scheme - an open invitation for them to request separate representation, and just the ammunition Morant required to scupper the

scheme. In the event, Gow stood firm by the original scheme and rejected all pressure to compromise, Morant, when requested, refused to arbitrate on the issue of membership of the proposed Council, and, as a final insult to the dedicated work of the Gow Committee, in a circular from the Board referred to the 'ineffectual nature of the proceedings of your Conference'. (45)

Gow's Committee had singularly failed to induce the Board of Education to issue an Order in Council to re-constitute a Registration Council, but in its failure had done much to strengthen the resolve of the teachers' associations to achieve success. As a consequence, the ensuing months manifested an unusually high degree of inter-union co-operation, even extending to an invitation from the HMC for James Yoxall, Liberal MP for Nottingham West and General Secretary of the NUT, to address their 1909 conference. Yoxall, making pointed comment to the hostile attitude of Morant, said:

It is not a matter of registration alone...at the bottom of all this, at the top of all this, is the great struggle...between the existence of teachers and teaching as a profession...and the demand for administrators in this country to reduce teaching to a State function and teachers to State functionaries. (46)

Gow's Committee at this juncture was adjourned *sine die*, and the initiative was taken up by the Federal Council. In January 1909 the AMA Council instructed its Executive to enlist the support of the Federal Council - the precursor of the Joint Four - to carry forward the registration campaign. A small committee of three was duly appointed by the Federal Council 'to make all preliminary arrangements for calling together a large and representative conference'. The three committee members chosen were James Easterbrook, headmaster of Owen's School, Islington and chairman of the Federal Council, Annesley Somerville, an Eton housemaster and past chairman of the AMA, and Miss Gadesden, headmistress of the Blackheath High School. The committee showed remarkable tact and organizing abilities in inducing the representatives of 37 educational associations to attend a conference on 13 November

1909 at the Clothworkers' Hall, under the presidency of Sir H. Cozens-Hardy, Master of the Rolls. The fact that Morant and his assistant, W.N.Bruce, chose to attend must have raised hopes among the assembled delegates of a mollification of the Board's stance. No effort had been spared to avoid the omission of any association which had a right to representation, to the extent of placing advertisements in the daily newspapers soliciting representation. A remarkable spirit of compromise prevailed at the conference, and a common scheme for a Registration Council was agreed, amicably, and in record time (the meeting was closed an hour earlier than expected). The scheme adopted gave nine representatives each to the elementary, secondary and technical (including schools of art) sectors; provision was also made for the representation of other associations, for Crown nominees and for co-option. (47). The AMA was delighted at the outcome - 'the whole scheme is...on the lines advocated by the Association. (48) The AMA congratulated itself that the policy consistently upheld by the Association had succeeded 'in uniting all the various educational associations of every grade and type'. (49)

The conference resolutions proved the depth and unanimity of the desire on the part of the teaching profession for a representative Registration Council and an effective Register, and yet the Board showed no immediate desire to implement those resolutions. The Federal Council saw in the Clothworkers' Hall meeting a mandate to urge the Board 'to give effect to the wishes of the profession'. Easterbrook at meetings with Morant on 30 March and 14 June 1910 pressed for action, but, on both occasions, received assurance that it was pressure of other business that prevented the Permanent Secretary from dealing with the Registration Council. On 5 July, Colonel Lockwood, the Unionist MP for West Essex, in a question to Runciman, President of the Board of Education, asked 'what progress, if any, had been made with regard to giving effect to the resolutions passed at a conference of educational bodies in November last'. (50) Runciman, in reply, attributed the delay to the Board's concern to consider the reservations expressed by several educational bodies; in essence,

Runciman was making oblique reference to the memorandum submitted by the ATTI which asked for increased representation on the proposed Registration Council. (51) A week later, the President of the Board, in the debate on the Board of Education estimates, made further reference to the Conference scheme, on this occasion referring specifically to the dissatisfaction of the ATTI. (52) At the end of the speech, Runciman indicated a willingness to break the impasse if he could be satisfied that an agreement had been made that was acceptable to all parties. He stated that, with such an assurance, he would be prepared to 'to test the nature or basis' (of the agreement) and, in the light of a satisfactory outcome, to 'recommend the issue of the Order in Council'. In November 1910, the Federal Council, exasperated by the Board's continued failure to implement the scheme, appointed a deputation to meet Runciman 'to urge the necessity for action'. The government's frenzied preoccupation with the December general election, sparked by the Lords' dogged refusal to pass the Parliament Bill, put paid, however, to further dialogue until the New Year.

Political calm had been restored by early 1911 and the Government's future appeared secure; there was no possible reason for the Board to delay further on the issue of registration. During March 1911, Morant received three deputations: the secondary associations were invited to all three meetings, the NUT to the second and third, and the technical associations to the third. (53) Morant was a changed man, anxious to accommodate the delegates' wishes and willing to press ahead with legislation. The question of registration was raised by Annesley Somerville on 30 March when an AMA deputation was received by Runciman, with Morant present; both the President and his Permanent Secretary appeared compliant and positive in attitude. (54) Baron speculates upon the factors behind the volte-face on the part of the Permanent Secretary. (55) The political backlash that stemmed from the Holmes-Morant circular would undoubtedly have preyed upon Morant's mind, and would have been a factor enforcing his more conciliatory attitude. The matter of the confidential memorandum from E.G.A.Holmes, Chief Inspector for Elementary Schools, to some 100 inspectors

(of all types of school), countersigned by Morant and highly critical, in its inflammatory language, of the ex-elementary teacher inspectors, had been raised in the Commons on 14 March. (56)

The Holmes circular meant the effective end of Morant's political career; his credibility as Permanent Secretary had been irretrievably undermined. In NUT terminology he was the embodiment of reaction and bureaucracy. One of his last acts before his departure from office in October 1911 was to issue, in June, the long-awaited proposals for the establishment of a Teachers' Registration Council. The White Paper (57) provided for a Registration Council as per the Clothworkers' Hall scheme but, at the insistence of Morant, amended to provide representation for each of the universities (then eleven in number). Morant who for so long had professed that the Board could take no part in the formulation of a registration council had now taken a personal initiative - according to Allen to thwart any possible dominance by the NUT of the proceedings of the Council. (58) In conceding to the demand for a new Order in Council, Morant said that he had taken note of the 'changed situation' (59) In drafting the Order in Council, Morant stated that he wished 'to do whatever is possible to give practical expression to so important a wish, exhibited so strongly and unanimously, by such large numbers of teachers and Teachers' Associations'. (60) Morant wrote of 'the natural aspirations of the teaching profession' and 'the general conception of the *unification of the teaching profession* - parlance so foreign to him some months earlier.

The White Paper was rapturously received by the teachers' associations. To read the columns of the *AMA* it would have appeared that utopia had been reached for the teaching profession:

The Council will be the first step towards the acquisition by the teacher of a legalised professional status....We are deeply grateful to the President and Secretary of the Board of Education for the opportunity they afford us of showing that we are capable of becoming to some extent, a self-governing profession....The White Paper is a historic document...it was issued in

Coronation week, and may well be regarded as a Coronation Honour awarded to the teaching profession at large. (61)

The AMA took understandable pride in the considerable role it had taken in the sustained campaign that had led to the White Paper. In October 1911, Runciman, - just prior to his resignation - in announcing that the Order in Council had been drafted referred to the leading part taken by the AMA in bringing the question of the Teachers' Council to such an advanced stage. (62) Yoxall took equal delight at the attainment of a registration council. In an interview in the *Daily News* he welcomed the inclusion of the university representatives to the Council and hoped that the mistrust of the intentions of the elementary lobby had been laid to rest:

The proposal put forward at the Clothworkers' Hall in 1909...has been strengthened by the inclusion of a University eleven. I think some excellent cricket will be the result. The various branches will meet and co-operate in friendly fashion, now that old suspicions and antagonisms have largely passed away. The secondary teacher no longer scents evil in the political influence and financial resources of the elementary teacher. (63)

Second Teachers' Register, 1912

Concern for the proper financing of the new Register delayed its implementation, but an assurance of Treasury support to the extent of £3,000 a year for three years (64) permitted the requisite Order in Council to be issued on 29 February 1912. The AMA looked to the new Council 'as a powerful means of promoting the unification of the profession'. (65) The teacher unions - unaware of the ineffectual and marginalized role the Council was to hold in future years, and of its all but unnoticed demise in 1949 - generally rejoiced in the prospect of a new register. (66)

The Order provided for the formation of a Teachers' Registration Council, fully representative of the teaching profession, and consisting of 44 members; eleven members representing each of the four main groups of teachers, viz., the universities, the elementary, secondary and specialist teachers. Annesley Somerville filled the one seat allocated to the AMA, and Miss E.S. Lees, a science mistress at the Clapham

High School, the single seat similarly allocated to the AAM. The AMA's dissatisfaction at the single-seat allocation was deliberately muted to avoid 'putting in jeopardy the coming existence of that Council'. (67) The Association looked forward on the basis of its numerical strength and its active track-record to increased representation:

There is no secondary association as strong numerically as ours, and, we say it with pardonable pride, there are few as active. We have every reason to believe that when this first Council comes to an end (after three years) we shall have had such a vast accession to our strength that a larger representation will be ours without the asking. (68)

The AMA, as in its earlier initial reaction to the First Council, saw all the signs as propitious for its successor. The new Council was seen as being of a more representative character than the first: according to *AMA* comment the first council had not commanded the confidence of the teaching profession because 'it was merely a committee nominated by the Board of Education, and could not call its soul, if it had one, its own'. (69) The appointment of Arthur Dyke Acland to the office of chairman was singularly attractive to the Association. Acland was respected for his experience as a cabinet minister, when Vice-President of the Committee of Council of Education, for his long and intimate connection with educational matters and for his recent work as chairman of the Joint Secondary and Technical Pensions Committee. (70) The new President of the Board, J.A. Pease, appeared as helpful and accommodating, placing the conference room at the Board at the disposal of the Council, pending the acquisition of suitable premises, and eliciting the following appreciative response in the *AMA*: 'It (the Board) has made us a place, and opened wide the doors, that we may speak together, our barons and councillors, and has thereby shown its generous wish to give the new Council a fair start in its difficult task'. (71) Viewing the future, Somerville saw teachers, through the Council, as possessing 'the means of influence and national usefulness...teachers should feel that they have a direct means of expressing their collective opinion and of making their collective influence weighty and useful'. (72)

Somerville's hopes of a Council liaising with and co-ordinating the educational initiatives of government, the LEAs, governing bodies and teachers 'for the common weal' proved illusory; the second Council, and the Register it established, was no more effective than the first. The new Register, just like that of the earlier registration authority, was intrinsically flawed by the provision of a period of grace, in this instance for a five-year period from the date of its implementation in December 1913. The Register was thereby robbed of any pretence to be an inventory of truly professional practitioners by the admission, in its initial phase, and on the easiest of terms, of the unqualified, untrained, and inexperienced teacher. (73) The reason for the interim period of grace was in part utilitarian - enforced by the known lack of trained secondary teachers - and in part a concession to pressure from the secondary associations, in particular from the AMA. The AMA realized that - whether on the grounds of choice, cost or lack of training provision - the majority of its largely graduate membership was untrained. The stance of the Association, as with the first Register, had therefore been to press for the period of grace, and in this it had proved yet again successful. An editorial note in the *AMA* in October 1913 clearly stated that 'it has always been a cardinal point in our policy that for the registration of existing teachers the setting of any standard but experience is quite impossible'. The apposite phrase of the editorial, while opening the Register to many unsuited to inclusion, was undoubtedly pragmatic: 'For the future teacher, the triple qualification of attainments, training, experience; for the existing teacher, the greatest of all these, experience'. (74)

The AMA exhorted its members to seek registration, patently oblivious of the fact that registration conferred no real benefits. 'Self-government', 'self-organization' and 'the unity of the profession' were projected as reasons for joining the Register. The outbreak of war in July 1914 perforce checked the rush to register, but by 1920 the *IAAM Annual Report* was able to state that the success of the registration movement was assured:

More than 62,000 names are already on the Register...and applications continue to flow in. The Teachers' Council, the free choice of the profession, can therefore speak on all questions in which there is general agreement amongst teachers, in the name of more than half of the total number of those registerable. Of the 62,000, some 16,000 are secondary teachers...of the secondary teachers about 7,600 are men. (75)

The early euphoria which greeted the second Register was soon to dissipate, however, as the ineffectiveness of the Council was seen. Post-1918, the teachers' associations were increasingly embattled in the campaign to secure national salary scales (through Burnham) and superannuation provision. Thoughts of a 'self-governing profession' - a 'pipe-dream', it was realized by many - took second place to the needs of the day. What the teacher associations were soon to realize, as has been pointed out in earlier chapters, was that they were destined in the inter-war year period to play a pivotal role, through their interaction with the Board, the LEAs and other agencies, in all key educational advances. To some, such a role offered, as it were, indirect compensation for the profession's failure to have received self-regulation.

The Registration Council itself proved to be a mere cipher, despite the well-intentioned efforts of all who supported its existence both in principle and practice. Attempts to revivify its role by a major revision to its Constitution in 1926, (76) and by the later conferment of 'Royal Society of Teachers' membership to those registered, (77) were to no avail. The Council was consulted by the Board on many key issues - for example in its early period in regard to retrenchment in expenditure as a form of war economy, and on the question of secondary school examinations - but as a body its rulings were never to enjoy formal standing.

Long before the outbreak of war in 1939 it was apparent to all that the Council was performing no useful function. Butler's Education Act in 1944, by giving the Minister of Education power to grant qualified teacher status on the basis of either training or experience, rendered the continuance of the register utterly meaningless. The Teachers' Registration Council was formerly abolished by Order in Council

(Teachers' Registration Council Revoking Order) in 1949. The revoking Order passed unmentioned in the columns of the *AMA*, and a similar disregard of the Council's demise was apparent in the journals of the other teachers' associations.

REGISTRATION: CONCLUSION

The *AMA*, a latecomer to the registration debate, had played a key role in the events that had led to the formation of the first Register in 1902, and a similarly important role, through the Federal Council, in calling the Clothworkers' Hall conference in 1909 which indirectly led to the realization of the second Register in 1912. Annesley Somerville, *AMA* representative to the second Council, was for many years the leading spokesman for the secondary associations on all matters related to registration. The *AMA* had been above sectionalized interest in supporting throughout the idea of an all-inclusive register; an altruism that promoted the conception of 'the united profession' - an aspiration that proved to be akin to Morant's ultimate thinking.

The *AMA*'s campaign, however, was incapable of achieving the objectives it set itself. Self-regulation could never be granted by any government to a body so disparate as the teaching profession, providing a service so germane to the nation's needs. The best that the teachers' associations could hope for was a partnership with government, both central and local; a partnership that was, to a degree, attained in the inter-war year period.

TRAINING.

An overview of AMA's policy.

The final section of the chapter is necessarily short in that the issue of training is given scant attention in the AMA literature compared to the other issues, notably salaries, pensions and tenure, already considered. There was no statutory requirement for training for a secondary post until 1 January 1974, and thus, certainly for the period of this thesis, no urgency to train when the lack of a training qualification *per se* was no barrier, for a well-qualified graduate, to the gaining of an appointment.

In 1891, when the Association was founded, the opportunity for an assistant master to train in England on a course specifically targeted at the secondary level was limited. At Cambridge University the facility existed but the takers were few, while the college opened in Finsbury in 1882, to train men to teach in secondary schools, had closed by 1886 through lack of support and resultant financial embarrassment. (78) A 'chicken and the egg' situation existed: secondary training could hardly be provided when there was a reluctance on the part of so many male graduates to take up that training - a reluctance that was noticeably less with their female counterparts. (79) For the majority of the founder AMA members, as to the graduate fraternity in general, training was seen as unnecessary, and a provision that could be ill-afforded, involving, as it did, an inevitable extension of an already prolonged professional training at university. (80) The AMA's Executive, however, saw it as incumbent upon itself, as an expression of responsible leadership, to exhort the membership, from time to time, to consider the advisability of training, if only to protect the individual member's self interest. The Executive rightly alerted its members to the implications that a professional register would have to training: a spur to training that proved abortive on the collapse of the first and second registration schemes. Again in 1908, the issuing of the Board of Education's first regulations for the training of teachers for

secondary schools saw the Executive cajoling the membership to training to maximize employment opportunities, if appointment was, as the regulations stated, to be dependent upon training.

Training was never listed as an official objective of the early AMA movement, but the Association soon adopted its own list of preferred options and parameters in regard to training. To the AMA, training was to be postgraduate; to be undertaken, by preference, in association with the universities; to contain an integral and substantial class-based element; and to acknowledge that secondary training needs were quite distinct and separate from those long practised in the elementary sector. As early as 1895 all the above-stated objectives had been enunciated as official AMA policy in the Association's submission to the Bryce Commission, and were to remain central to the AMA's thinking *re* training. (81)

Training was to remain a seriously contentious issue within the profession until, first, the Robbins Report in 1963 heralded the B.Ed. degree (82) - thus providing for an all-graduate profession - and, second, training became compulsory for the secondary teacher from the start of 1974. Pre-Robbins there had been the continual debate as to where, how, and for how long, training should be instituted. Post-Robbins, there was a clear commitment from most parties (83) to the establishment of the recommended Schools of Education, controlling the Education Departments of Universities and the newly-named Colleges of Education, (84) and agreement that a four-year course leading to a B.Ed. degree should be conducted in Colleges of Education. By the mid-1970s the value of teacher training as such had few critics; the content of taught courses, and the balance between theory and practice, however, continued to attract debate. The preferred training option for most AMA members post-1974 was, not surprisingly, the one-year PGCE course in a University School of Education; but, with the onset of comprehensivization and the absorption of more and more grammar

schools into that system, a significant number of B.Ed. graduates were recruited into membership.

It is difficult to assess the specific contribution of the AMA to the pattern of secondary training that ultimately emerged. AMA initiatives there undoubtedly were, but AMA policy frequently fused with that of the other secondary associations and became a joint rather than an individual policy. The thinking of the secondary associations on training was polarized to the interests of the graduate, and was often at conflict with the narrower, more parochial, campaign of the NUT on behalf of the elementary teacher - a campaign directed to raising the status of that sector of the teaching force. What can be said is that the views on secondary training so long promulgated by the secondary associations were largely those adopted by government and endorsed by statute.

No analysis of the AMA's contribution to training would be complete without reference to the Association's highly acclaimed publications on teaching method across a range of subject areas. (85) These works on methodology, published at intervals from the early 1920s, with subsequent revisions when appropriate, became the standard reference texts to so many graduate assistant masters who had no formal training, and a ready-standby to countless others who doubted the value of the training that they had received. The AMA texts were to be found in every grammar school staffroom, and made an indirect contribution to 'training': whether directed to the teaching of elementary geometry, English, geography or history, the publications were considered the 'bibles' on methodology to the practising teacher.

AMA's policies and initiatives: an outline survey.

The first official pronouncement of the AMA's views on training came in the Association's submission to the Bryce Commission in October 1894. Charles Martin,

the AMA treasurer, in response to questions put by the chairman, Andrew Fairburn, principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, was fully supportive of the need for training, but stressed that secondary training should be postgraduate and divorced from elementary training. On the validity of training, Martin observed: 'The necessity for...training is pretty well admitted on all sides - that is to say, amongst teachers in secondary schools'. He went to some length to explain that there was a vital difference in the training necessary for a secondary teacher from that required for an elementary teacher after a certain point: 'I cannot conceive that a secondary school could be cast on the same model as an elementary school, and therefore the method of instruction in the subjects to be taught in a secondary school is one of the chief points to which the training of secondary teachers has reference'. Professional training, he maintained, needed the essential ground-work of a university education where the new entrant to the profession would have been brought into contact with men of the 'highest intellectual power'. (86)

In 1896 the Joint Committee on the Training of Teachers was set up, on which AMA was fully represented. (87) Mr A.Kahn, a founder member of the Association and a master at the Central Foundation Schools, Cowper Street, London, was the AMA's representative during the relatively short life of the committee to its dissolution in 1902. (88) The Committee gave consideration to the best forms of training for those who wished to become qualified to teach in secondary schools. In February 1898 the Committee sponsored a course of lectures on the organization and management of secondary schools at the College of Preceptors.

In 1901 the Education Sub-Committee of the AMA instituted an inquiry into the existing facilities for the training of teachers for secondary schools. (89) The information gathered provided useful information for members which was not easily gained from other sources; information as to established secondary training departments, course details and fees. Secondary training was reported as being

available at Oxford, under Mr M.W.Keatinge; at Owens College, under Professor Withers; at King's College, London, under Professor J.W.Adamson; at Cambridge, under Dr Fletcher; at Yorkshire College, under Professor Welton; at Bangor, under Professor Green; and at Birmingham, under Professor J.H.Muirhead. All courses were found to be grossly undersubscribed, with the secondary training department of the College of Preceptors reported as having been closed through want of students. In all the departments listed, with the exception of Birmingham, training was given specifically for secondary teachers; and all courses, again with the exception of Birmingham, were intended as postgraduate. A number of the courses provided for class-based experience in approved secondary schools. Typical fees ranged from five to seven guineas per term.

The *Regulations for the Registration of Teachers*, issued 6 March 1902, raised the profile of the training issue. Column B registration was to be dependent upon one year's training at an approved institution. (90) The inference to the teachers' associations - and certainly responded to, as a real possibility, by the AMA, - was that entry to the profession in the future might be more difficult for the untrained.

The AMA Council, meeting in January 1903, passed the following resolutions on training:

1. That the Order in Council should provide that as an alternative to a year at a Training College or a year as a Student Teacher, a person shall be allowed to spend one term of his year of training as a Student Teacher at a school recognized for that purpose, and to spend the other two terms at a Training College conducted in connection with a University or University College.
2. That training, whether at Training College or for a Student Teacher be postgraduate.
3. That no Training College should be recognized for the training of secondary teachers unless it possesses special organization for that purpose.
4. That the staff of a secondary training department of a University or Training College should include a reasonable proportion of persons who have had experience as teachers in secondary schools.
5. That masters responsible for the training be remunerated for that work.
6. That student teachers be not remunerated for their services, that they shall pay fees and be not recognized as part of the school staff.

7. That the certificate of an Inspector recognized by the Board of Education be required as part at least of the evidence of ability to teach. (91)

The Board of Education, at that stage, gave no positive encouragement to training for secondary schools, largely because such a provision could not have been funded.

Cambridge Conference on the Training of Teachers in Secondary Schools for Boys, 1902

A conference on the training of teachers in secondary schools for boys was convened at Cambridge, 14-15 November 1902, by the vice-chancellor of the University. (92)

The conference was fully representative of the profession with delegates in attendance from seven universities (including Cambridge, Durham and London), the teachers' associations (93), and the ACC. Several distinguished guests were also in attendance including Arthur Acland, chairman of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, Sir John Gorst, Conservative MP for Cambridge University and vice-president of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education and Michael Sadler, then holding the position of Director of the Office of Special Inquiries.

The focus of the conference was the form training should take and how training should be organized. A wide-ranging discussion took place, and an equally wide-ranging conflict of interests was shown. Dr Gow, headmaster of Westminster School, and a representative of HMC, was adamant that training should be exclusively the domain of the headmaster: 'If headmasters,' he maintained, 'are not competent to judge of teaching, who is?' He argued that the headmaster was the best judge of a man's quality: '(the headmaster) lives with him and his boys and not only sees him at his best but hears him at his worst'. (94) Edward Lyttelton, Master of Haileybury, and others, argued for school-based training utilizing the experience of the schools' own staff. Sadler and Gorst both saw the need for systematic training at university to give the essential theoretical base to class-based experience. Canon Glassbrook cautioned that 'the majority of masters in public schools do not seriously believe in the value of

training'. The AMA's contribution to the discussion was given by its chairman, J.F. Holland, an assistant master at St. Olaves Grammar School, and Francis Storr, an assistant at Merchant Taylors' School and editor of the book, *Life of the Revd R.H. Quick*. The AMA delegates drew forcible attention to low pay as a disincentive to training:

There is a need for improved salaries and conditions if men were expected to train. The man who contemplates the teaching profession is bound to sit down and count the cost, especially now that professional training will be required of him. If he bases his calculation on financial and economic grounds, and we must expect that he will, there is no doubt that under the present circumstances he will decide on some other calling. (95)

The issue of training had been fully aired at the Cambridge conference but neither firm resolution nor plan of action had stemmed from the meeting. That such was the case was not surprising: the Board was not able to insist on compulsory training in that such a course was not a financially viable option, and, more important, the general antipathy to training, particularly in the well-known public schools, had in no way lessened. (96)

Training continued to have little appeal, but the AMA Executive persisted in keeping its priorities for training before the Board. C.H.Greene, AMA chairman, in his address to the General Meeting in 1906, welcomed the announcement from the Board in June of that year that 'grants in aid of training specifically designed for the requirements of secondary school teaching would be given'. (97) Greene also emphasised in his speech the need for practical class-based training in secondary schools recognized for the purpose. He informed the meeting that a letter had been sent to the Board urging such a course. (98)

In the final report of the first Teachers' Registration Council, covering the period January 1907 - March 1908 it was recorded that of the 5,782 men registered only 20 had been trained. (99) One lone voice in favour of training, via the columns of the

AMA, gave his first-hand account of the summer course in the theory and practice of education at Oxford. His lectures had been given by Mr M.W.Keatinge, Reader in Education, and his lady colleague, Miss A.T.Cooper. The correspondent urged others to 'haste and see', adding that 'the amount of self-denial will prove insignificant beside the amount of encouragement and stimulus acquired'. (100)

Implications of 1902 Education Act for Training

The Board had by reason of the passage of the Education Act of 1902 a direct and statutory responsibility for the efficiency of the grant-aided secondary schools; an accountability that had to address the nature and quality of teacher training. In its *Report* for 1907-8 the Board categorically stated that 'this important branch of the national economy (that is, training) could not be left entirely to chance'. (101) The inspectorate in its reports to the Board had criticized teaching standards throughout the secondary schools that were now within its brief: in the higher grade schools, embraced from 1902 in the secondary sector, teaching was found to lack intellectual rigour, whilst, in the old established grammar schools a firm theoretical base was found to be lacking in so much class teaching.

The Board was seen to adopt an increasing commitment to secondary teaching in the period after 1902. In its first (1908) and subsequent *Regulations for the Training of Teachers for Secondary Schools* in the period before the First World War, the Board gave positive encouragement to training. The inhibiting factor to the Board in pursuing any new initiative was always finance, but, within that restraint, tangible support was offered. The 1908 *Regulations*, for example, stated that recognition would be granted to any institution where inspection showed that secondary training was effectively given. Likewise, from 1913, according to the regulations issued in that year, grants were to be made available to any secondary school prepared to offer appropriate secondary training.

The AMA Executive responded positively to the initiatives of the Board towards training and was particularly alert to the implications of *Paragraph 16* of the 1908 *Regulations*, which stated: 'After July 31st 1908, the Board may, on consideration of the teaching staff as a whole, require that a certain number of new appointments shall consist of persons who have gone through a course of training recognised by the Board for the purpose'. (102) The Executive accordingly cautioned its members that

the future promotion of the assistant master, and his chances of a headmastership, will be closely affected by the enforcement of this regulation in the future. If men specially trained are to be preferred in the future for all important appointments, the untrained master of today may reasonably look forward to a subordinate position in the scholastic world. (103)

The Executive, thereupon, took it upon itself to conduct a survey, via a questionnaire to training colleges, to ascertain what the actual available supply of trained teachers for service in secondary schools was, in that, 'no satisfactory information was available'. (104) The Association also appointed a special Sub-Committee to prepare a *Memorandum on Training*. The resultant document is an important statement on training, encapsulating much current thinking on the issue, and giving a warning to the Board of the inadvisability of putting *Paragraph 16* into force in the foreseeable future. (105) The *Memorandum* is worth quoting in a degree of detail. The merits of training were seen thus:

1. An efficient system of training would benefit alike the individual teacher, the separate school, and the teaching profession as a whole.
2. The individual teacher, if properly trained, would be justified in demanding a higher salary than those at present prevailing in Secondary Schools; he would find his work more real and interesting, because more intelligible to himself, and he would have the consciousness that he was part of a historical and wide-world movement.
3. In the school, training would lead to an interchange of ideas and the breaking down of the barrier of self-conscious reticence, at present so usual in the Common Room, in such matters, for example, as the improvement of methods, continuity in the presentation of a subject in successive classes, the treatment of exceptional boys, and the ability to estimate examination results at their true value.
4. Training would undoubtedly increase the dignity of the profession, and the gradual growth of a body of trained headmasters would be of great benefit to education generally. (106)

While listing the advantages to be expected from the 'ideal' system of training, the Committee was of the opinion that the time was inopportune for the Board to put the regulation into force. The Committee advised caution on the following grounds:

1. The number of men being trained as secondary teachers was quite small, and the Committee was strongly of the opinion that a man trained as an elementary teacher would not necessarily be an efficient teacher in a secondary school.
2. The regulation might prevent untrained teachers, who by reason of their experience were fully capable of teaching successfully, from obtaining new appointments.
3. It was very questionable whether the Training College system had worked at all well. The colleges had not afforded sufficient facilities for practice in teaching under the conditions ordinarily obtaining in a secondary school. The classes to whom the practice and criticism lessons were given generally consisted of picked boys from elementary schools, with whom there was little difficulty in maintaining order, and it was undeniable that trained teachers frequently failed in maintaining discipline when they came to teach in a secondary school.
4. There was an element of artificiality in the principle so rigidly insisted on, that lesson notes should be carefully prepared before each lesson. The trained man was helpless when he found that in actual practice, owing to the many calls on his time, it was impossible to devote careful preparation to every lesson.
5. A system of training must be regarded with suspicion, which did not ensure that the theoretical work was under the direction of men who could command the confidence of the teaching profession, as having themselves been teachers of exceptionable ability. (107)

Despite the Board's commitment to training initiatives, however, the number of men undertaking specific secondary training remained small: the Board's Report for 1908 showed 15 men to be undergoing secondary training, a figure that only marginally increased in the period to 1914. The Board in its Report for 1912-13 drew attention to the continuing indifference to training held by many headmasters and governing bodies: 'Men are doubtless deterred from training by the consideration that Head Masters and Governing Bodies do not rate College training highly'. (108) Geraldine Hodgson, Head of the Secondary Training Department at Bristol University, gave a succinct appraisal of the general perception of training to people in the immediate pre-War period in an article she contributed to the *Journal of Education*; she, in fact, saw some grounds for hope. 'The movement is young,' she wrote, and went on to state that she could recollect the time when the whole business was regarded as 'the more

or less pardonable lunacy of a few amiable enthusiasts'. Increasingly, however, she found that there was less resistance from Heads to training as such: 'the gravamen lying more now against trend than against the existence of training. This division of opinion breaks out practically over the relative importance of 'theory' and 'practice'....This is the battleground of the moment'. At student-level, however, she still detected a basic resentment to any attempt to pressurize young graduates into undertaking training: 'I detest the whole idea, but I suppose I *must*, being the gut reaction to the suggestion. (109)

The institution of the second registration scheme in 1912 resuscitated an interest in fostering a training initiative among the secondary associations, for largely pragmatic reasons: the prospect presented, yet again, of training becoming a prerequisite of registration, being the motivating factor. The Joint Committee on the Training of Teachers, dissolved in 1902, was reconstituted in 1912. All training initiatives were halted, however with the outbreak of war in 1914 and the post-War world saw the teacher-unions preoccupied with the more urgent concerns of salaries, pensions and recurring tenure disputes at the expense of training.

Training: Inter-War Years and beyond

The AMA was not a party directly involved with the majority of developments in the area of teacher-training in this period. The NUT, with its base in the elementary sector, was by its numerical strength necessarily influential in all developments. The NUT's concern to link the training colleges with the universities, to exclude the uncertificated teacher from the classroom and to make all training 'post-academic' (that is, academic education to be completed prior to college admission) were all akin to the AMA's own thinking, and all related, according to NUT policy, to the raising of the status of the elementary teacher. (110)

The number of graduates undertaking training in the period to 1939 steadily increased, but particularly on the male side, continued to reflect the innate resistance to training *per se*: by the outbreak of war some 40 per cent of male graduates remained untrained. (111) A study of AMA Branch minutes reveals the considerable hostility amongst rank and file members to the format, and hence value, of training. A Mr Cook, speaking at a meeting of the Leicestershire and Rutland Branch, on a Saturday evening in March 1935, voiced the feelings of many AMA members. The discussion topic was 'The present recruitment of the profession is unsatisfactory from the point of view of selection, training and probation,' and Cook referred derisively to his own training year at the London Day Training College: 'It was his opinion that the year was grossly overloaded with a superfluity of irrelevant matters'. (112) In 1938 the AMA Council debated the motion 'That this Council considers the present system of training of teachers is inadequate'. F.C. Moore of the West Lancashire branch spoke earnestly of the need to restrict entry to the profession to the trained teacher, but bemoaned the fact that large numbers of male graduates were alienated from training by the inadequacies of both the trainers and of the courses that they offered: 'In many cases those who were in control of the training were people who had no real experience...in practical teaching....(Students) found that a lot of the beautiful idealistic stuff that they had been taught did not fit in with the actual conditions'. (113) Twenty years later an almost identical motion was put to the AMA Council by D.G. Coupe on behalf of the Bedfordshire branch: 'That this Council deplores the inadequacy of training facilities for the teaching profession'. Concern was expressed that certain LEAs had advertised for unqualified teachers, highlighting the totally unsatisfactory conditions of service within the profession, and the teacher shortages that remained despite the well-intentioned emergency training scheme, initiated by Butler at the end of 1943, and which by 1951, its termination date, had produced 23,000 male teachers largely for the secondary modern schools. S.R. Giddy, an assistant at Luton Grammar School, in seconding the motion, spoke of the deterioration of teaching conditions since the war. To cries of 'Agreed' he told

Council that the young, inexperienced teacher was totally unprepared by his training for the conditions prevailing in schools. He cited overcrowded buildings, overlarge - and thus, frequently ill-disciplined - classes and the imposition of additional extraneous duties, including the supervision of school meals, as the lot of the grammar school master. (114)

TRAINING: CONCLUSION

Training as an issue remained unresolved by the end of time-span of this thesis. It is true that the majority of male graduates had by 1951, undertaken a training course, but training was to remain optional for a further 25 years. Baron entitles that section of his thesis devoted to training as 'The Progress of Training' (115); an apposite phrase seeing that even today concern with the current state of teacher training and 'despised educational theory' remains unabated. (116) Under such circumstances it would be ill-advised to claim too much credit for the achievements of the AMA in initiating change, apart from conceding that the direction of change in secondary training has tended to follow along lines long ago advocated by the Association.

CHAPTER 5 : NOTES

1. AMA, May 1909, p.44.
2. Baron, G. (1952) unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London), 'The Secondary Schoolmaster, 1895-1914', p.496.
3. Willis, R. (1993) unpublished M.Phil. thesis (Leeds), 'The contribution of the College of Preceptors to Education in England from 1846 to 1917', p.267.
4. The occasion recounted by Willis, *ibid.*, p.253, quoting Board of Education Statutory Rules and Orders, 1909, Shorthand Note of Conference at Clothworkers' Hall, London, 13 November 1909, p.15.
5. Select Committee on the Teachers' Registration and Organisation Bill, 1891.
6. The so-called 'Temple' and 'Acland' Bills. Sir Richard Temple, Conservative member for the Evesham division of Worcestershire and a supporter of moderate measures of social reform, had introduced the first registration bill on behalf of the College of Preceptors, a bill which would have predictably excluded the elementary teacher from registration. Arthur Acland, Liberal MP for the Rotherham district of the West Riding of Yorkshire and soon to become the Vice-President of the Council on Education, had introduced the second and more widely-based bill promoted by the Teachers' Guild, a bill which would have offered registration to all categories of teachers. See Gosden, P.H.J.H. (1972) *The Evolution of a Profession*, p.239 *et seq.*, for a detailed discussion of the proceedings of the Select Committee of 1891. Also, Chapter 1 of this thesis, pp.35-8, for details of the AMA's foundation.
7. See: Willis, R., *ibid.*, Chapter 5; Massey, F.L. (1957) unpublished MA thesis (London), 'The registration of teachers in England and Wales from 1846-1899 with special reference to the development of common interest and professional independence'; Baron G. (1953) 'The Teachers' Registration Movement', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol.2, No.2 (1953-4); *Journal of Education*, February 1891, 'The Rival Bills for the Registration of Teachers'.
8. *Educational Times*, 1 September 1891, p.397.
9. Bryce Commission, (1895), Vol.IV, pp.145-50.
10. *Ibid.*, p.145.
11. For the AAM's submission on registration to the Bryce Commission, see Bryce Commission, Vol.IV, pp.43-8.
12. Willis, R., *ibid.*, p.244. It is interesting to note that there are 'union-types' just as there are 'teacher-types'. In 1895, at the time of Bryce, an 'AMA type'

would not have had time to develop its distinctive identity, but certainly for the period of this thesis certain types of teacher would have been attracted to join either the AMA, AAM, NUT, NAS, or one of the other teachers' associations. In recent years distinctive union-type groupings have become blurred as unions have battled to maintain/increase membership rolls, often widening, as with ATL, their membership base as part of this process. Many teachers today profess to join a union solely for the 'legal cover' - the lowest membership subscription being the criterion for joining a particular union. Union loyalty has to many become fickle - switching unions at will due to dissatisfaction with a specific union policy.

13. *Ibid.*, Vol.1, p.319.
14. *Ibid.*
15. See Introduction, Note 67.
16. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1902, p.26.
17. All certificated teachers were to be automatically registered in Column A, with no requirement of a registration fee. Registration in Column B, where a one guinea fee was required, was denied to the elementary teacher, but open, in the initial four-year period of grace, to a wide-range of teachers with secondary teaching experience but who were not necessarily the possessors of a degree or training. Ultimately, it was the intention that Column B registration would be the exclusive domain of the secondary trained graduate.
18. Ousey, K.M.J. (1927) *McClure of Mill Hill*, p.170. Sir John David McClure was headmaster of Mill Hill School 1891-1922. He was the third chairman of the second Teachers' Registration Council - following Arthur Acland and Michael Sadler - set up by Order in Council, February 1912.
19. By Order in Council, 6 March 1902, it was provided that the registration authority should consist provisionally of twelve members - six to be appointed by the President of the Board, and one member to be appointed by each of the following six bodies: The Conference of Headmasters; the Incorporated Association of Headmistresses; the College of Preceptors; the Teachers' Guild; the National Union of Teachers.
20. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1902, pp.27-8. A similar representation was made by the Assistant Mistresses Association.
21. The AMA's Executive Committee, in fact, had experienced some difficulty in gathering the statistical information presented to the Registration Council. The initial survey in the London area to ascertain the number of men in efficient schools who would be adversely affected by the Order in Council had produced data relative to just '60 or 70' individuals ('Men...are naturally unwilling to see...personal details used in evidence') - insufficient for a valid

statistical return. A subsequent extension of the inquiry to provincial schools produced statistics 'which we are not at liberty to publish' which showed that 'a very large number of men' would be unable to register under the original Order. See, *IAAM, Annual Report*, 1902, pp.28-9.

22. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1903, p.24.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Registration statistics can be seen in the Annual Reports of the Teachers' Registration Council, and are conveniently summarized in Baron's article (1953) 'The Teachers' Registration Movement', in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol.2, No.2, P.137.
25. Report of the Teachers' Registration Council, 1905.
26. *Hansard*, H. of C., 5 April 1906, cols. 681-2.
27. Peter Gordon, referring in an article published in 1986 to the varying fortunes of the graduate teacher over the past hundred years, makes mention of the 'fascinating case study of the often conflicting interests between education policy-makers and the profession'. See: Gordon, P. (1986) 'Teaching as a graduate profession' in Wilkes J. (ed.) *The Professional Teacher*, History of Education Society, p.92.
28. Cmd.3017 (1906), *Memorandum on the Register of Teachers and the Abolishment of the Register*.
29. The NUT President's (T.P.Sykes) description of the Register in his speech to the Easter Conference, 1906. See: *Schoolmaster*, 21 April 1906, p.839. Sykes' full denunciation of the Register, and the circumstances of its formation, was as follows: 'The NUT welcomed the news that the existing Teachers' Register is to be abrogated. It was planned by a consultative committee acting *ultra vires*, in distinct contravention of the Act. It was built upon a foundation of exclusiveness and invidiousness. It did not obtain the support of teachers generally, and consequently has toppled down. If a register of teachers is to exist in this country it must be comprehensive, free from class prejudice, efficient and fair.'
30. *Schoolmaster*, 9 June 1906, p.1189.
31. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1906, pp.5-7.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *AMA*, October 1905, p.96.
34. See Chapter 2, pp.90-1.

35. See Chapter 2, Note 63.
36. *Hansard*, H. of L., 21 November 1906, col. 767.
37. *Ibid.*, cols.773-4.
38. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1908, p.7.
39. *Ibid.*, p.8.
40. *Hansard*, H. of C., 25 March 1908, col.1410.
41. Baron, G. (1952), *op.cit.*, pp.489-93.
42. *AMA*, October 1907, p.91.
43. It was proposed that each of the 12 teachers' associations consulted should have one representative, with the exception of the NUT which should have five; there should be 6 Crown nominees and 3 co-opted members.
44. Cmd.4185 (1908), *Scheme for a New Teachers' Registration Council, proposed to the Board of Education by the Representatives of certain Educational Associations.*
45. Cmd.4402, 1908, *Scheme for a New Teachers' Registration Council*, pp.3-4.
46. Review of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters, March 1909, p.32. The relationship between Morant and Yoxall so deteriorated in the subsequent months that Morant considered taking out a libel action against Yoxall - see Introduction, Note 79.
47. A complete listing of the resolutions passed at the conference can be found in the Report of the AMA Executive Committee, *IAAM Annual Report*, 1909, Supplement I, pp.13-14.
48. *AMA*, 15 December 1909, p.109.
49. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1909, p.13.
50. *Hansard*, H. of C., 5 July 1910, col.1504.
51. It should be noted that the ATTI's memorandum approved of the principles of the scheme, and objected only to what was considered the inadequate number of representatives allotted to them by the scheme. The ATTI soon made it clear to Runciman that they were content to waive the point of inadequacy of representation to ensure that the Conference scheme was put into effect with the least possible delay. See *IAAM Annual Report*, 1910, p.5.

52. *Hansard*, H.of C., 13 July 1910, cols.405-6.
Runciman spoke substantially as follows: 'Another very difficult topic is that of the Teachers' Register. I have been catechised over and over again from that side of the House and this on that topic...(A) Committee has been recently sitting to try and solve this knotty problem. I understand...that they succeeded in coming not to an agreement, but to something approaching an agreement. Unfortunately...one very large organisation, namely, that of the technical teachers....said that they thought that the representation of their class of teachers was quite inadequate.'
53. The three deputations were received on 1, 10 and 24 March 1911.
54. For details of the deputation see *AMA*, May 1911, p.54; also Chapter 3, Notes 78, 79.
55. Baron G., (1953) op. cit., pp.140-1.
56. A full discussion of the political implications of the Holmes circular for Morant's career can be found in Allen's biography of Morant, viz., Allen, B.M. (1934) *Sir Robert Morant, A Great Public Servant*.
57. Cmd.5726, (1911), *Further Papers relating to the Registration of Teachers and the Proposed Registration Council*.
58. Allen, B.M., op. cit., p.491.
59. *Ibid.*, Section 42.
Morant accounted for his changed stance thus: 'The fact is the real desires of those members or sections of the teaching profession who have in the last three years been pressing these matters upon the attention of the Government, have now ceased to centre, as was originally the case, upon the production of a Teachers' Register, and have taken, instead, or at all events in priority of urgency, the shape of a definite call for the establishment of a Teachers' Council, representative of the whole teaching profession, irrespective of, and apart from, all questions of the kind of Register to be produced. But this demand for a Teachers' Council seems now to be the dominating factor in the whole situation.'
60. *Ibid.*, Section 45.
61. *AMA*, July 1911, p.85.
62. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1911, p.4.
63. *Daily News*, 21 June 1911.
64. Repayable to the Board when the Registration Council, through fees, established a sound financial base.

65. *IAAM, Annual Report, 1911, p.4.*
66. See for example, the NUT response in *Schoolmaster*, 1 July 1911, p.10.
67. *AMA, July 1911, p.86.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. *AMA, September 1912, p.109.*
70. *Ibid.*, p.110. The Joint Pensions Committee was appointed by the Federal Council in 1911. For a report of its work, see *IAAM Annual Report, 1913, Supplement 2, p.15 et seq.*
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. Registration from December 1918 was to be dependent upon academic qualification (degree or its equivalent/or teaching certificate); approved training (with the exception of lecturers in higher education); and at least three years' teaching experience. In the preceding five-year period of grace, however, anyone over 25 years of age with five or more years' teaching experience could apply for inclusion in the Register.
74. *AMA, October 1913, p.141.* The editorial quotes Board of Education statistics giving the proportion of graduate to non-graduate staff in state secondary schools in England and Wales, and strongly supports the teaching ability of many non-graduate staff, the majority of whom would be outside AMA ranks: 'In the 885 State-aided secondary schools of England and Wales there are 9,126 full-time teachers, of whom 5,411 are university graduates, and the remaining 3,715 non-graduates. It is the commonest truism to say that in the latter class are many of our most successful teachers, men and women who have developed the gift of teaching which is more valuable than many degrees or much training'.
75. *IAAM Annual Report, 1920, p.6.*
76. The Constitution was changed by an Order in Council, 14 December 1926: the changes intended to reflect the changes in the teaching profession itself since the establishment of the second Register in 1912. University representation on the Council was increased to 12 members, to admit to membership the newly-chartered University of Reading. Teachers registered in the various specialist categories were now given direct representation as opposed to the previous indirect representation through nomination by their respective professional associations.

77. In 1929, after a long campaign, the title 'Royal Society of Teachers' was conferred upon the body of registered teachers. The letters MRST ('Member of the Royal Society of Teachers'), could be used by any registered member, regardless of the quality of qualification, training and experience, thus making a mockery of the professed ethic of true professional status as the basis of membership.
78. Gosden, *op.cit.*, p.218 *et seq.* outlines the training facilities as they existed at the time of the AMA's foundation.
J.B.Thomas has written extensively on the early teacher training movement. See, for example:
- (i) 'A note on masters of method in the universities of England and Wales', *History of Education Society Bulletin* 30 (Autumn) 1982.
 - (ii) 'The beginnings of teacher training at University College, Bangor', *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, 44, 1983.
 - (iii) 'The origins of teacher training at University College, Cardiff', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 16, 1, 1984.
 - (iv) 'University College, London, and the Training of Teachers', *History of Education Society Bulletin* 37 (Spring) 1986.
 - (v) 'A note on the beginnings of teacher training for men at University College, Bristol', *History of Education Society Bulletin* 41 (Spring) 1988.
- See also:
Thomas, J.B. (ed.) (1990) *British Universities and Teacher Education - A Century of Change*, Falmer Press - a book initially conceived as a centenary celebration of the opening of the first day training colleges in 1880.
79. The AHM and the AAM put considerable store by training. Training, to their perception, added status and respectability to the female armoury in the fight for professional recognition. Dorothea Beale, at Cheltenham Ladies' College, and Frances Buss, at North London Collegiate School, were tireless campaigners for the professional training of assistant mistresses.
The AAM perspective on the necessity for training is forcefully put in an AAM pamphlet published in 1932. The association condemned the continued appearance in advertisements for vacant posts of the formula 'training or experience'; training was seen as no longer an open option but as the essential premise to a professional career. (*The Professional Training of Teachers for Secondary Schools* (1932) AAM - Copy available in Joint Four Archive, Section 3/99)
Elizabeth Edwards (1993), Homerton College, Cambridge, in an article in *History of Education*, refers to the liberalizing influence of the teacher training colleges upon women's development: 'The cultural values of the liberal humanist tradition, which increasingly formed an integral part of the vocational skills provided by training colleges, permanently enriched women's capacity for personal development and individual fulfilment. Moreover the independence from family life, which living in a college necessitated, widened women's horizons and gave them a freedom to experiment which would not have been possible in the middle-class home.'

See: Edwards Elizabeth, 'The culture of femininity in women's teacher training colleges 1900-50', *History of Education*, Vol.22, No.3, 1993, p.277.

80. Gosden, op.cit., pp.214-7, makes an analysis of the opposition presented by headmasters and others to formal training.
81. Peter Gordon lists the university training departments, with the dates of their foundation, as an appendix to his article 'Teaching as a Graduate Profession 1890-1970' in Wilkes, J. (ed.) *The Professional Teacher*, History of Education Society, 1986. For convenience the appendix is reproduced below:

University Training Departments

1890

Manchester (men)
Newcastle
Cardiff
King's College, London (men)
Birmingham (women)
Nottingham

1891

Sheffield
Cambridge (men)
Liverpool (men)
Leeds (men)

1892

Bristol (women)
Aberystwyth
Oxford (men)
Bedford College, London (women): ceased 1922

1894

Bangor

1899

Reading
Southampton

1901

Exeter

1902

London Day Training College
(since 1932, London University Institute of Education)

1921

Swansea

1922

Durham

1929

Leicester

1930

Hull

See also:

(a) Gordon, P. (1990) 'The University Professor of Education' in Thomas J.B. (ed.) *British Universities and Teacher Education - A Century of Change*

(b) Chapman, J.V. (1985) *Professional Roots, The College of Preceptors In British Society*, Theydon Bois.

Chapman gives the background to the election by the College in November 1872 of Joseph Payne to the position of professor of Education - the first such appointment in England.

For the first in-depth appraisal of Payne's contribution to education, see Richard Aldrich's recently published work *School and Society in Victorian Britain; Joseph Payne and the New World of Education* (1995) Garland.

82. The AMA welcomed the proposals of the Robbins Committee on the education and training of teachers: see report of the AMA Council meeting, *AMA*, February 1964, p.66.
83. The Robbins Report's proposals for schools of education met with fierce opposition from many LEAs. 98 out of the 146 colleges of education were LEA-owned, and there was a natural reluctance on the part of the LEAs to relinquish possession and control.
84. A commitment which proved to be misplaced; the University Schools of Education suggested by the Robbins Report were never instituted owing to concern that there might be a dilution of public control in the teacher training and supply sector.

85. See IAAM Archive, Section M3, for a complete listing of such works, and the extensive and detailed correspondence related to their publication. With the contributors being practising teachers, and their chapters for the various publications written as an 'extra' to a day's work, deadlines with the publisher often became a matter of frenetic activity. The publications met with a huge response, and each new edition appeared to meet an urgent need, both in Britain and overseas. Some editions were translated; for example, into Greek, Hebrew, and Spanish. On one occasion the Spanish Education Ministry placed a priority order for several hundred copies of the *Memorandum upon the Teaching of Geography*, and, despite advice to the contrary from the publisher, insisted on receiving the current edition rather than waiting a further two weeks for the new edition to be available.

The *Memorandum upon the Teaching of Elementary Geometry* and *The Memorandum upon the Teaching of English* were the first of the *Memoranda* to be published, both in 1923. Subsequent *Memoranda* included: *History* (1925), *Modern Languages* (1929), *Geography* (1935), *Guide to School Librarians* (1936) and *Science* (1946). Revised editions were published well into the 1970s; the fourth and final edition of the memorandum on history, for instance, appeared in 1975.

The normal pattern of preparation for the memoranda was for a Central Committee of AMA members to be set up which was fully representative of the specialist secondary field on which a memorandum was to be written. For example, for the later revised editions Committee members would be drawn from comprehensive, modern and bilateral schools, as well as from the traditional grammar and independent schools. The Committee would then oversee the publication, viz., appoint the contributors (all AMA members), invite specialist input where applicable (for example from the universities, professional associations, overseas agencies and the BBC), and then, prior to publication, circulate finished chapters for the final scrutiny of the AMA's *corresponding* members (usually 60-70 in number). All contributors were distinguished in their field, and many, later became authors of standard secondary school texts or prominent educators (E.K.Millikien, R.Sellmann and H.C.Dent can be given as examples in the history field).

86. Bryce Commission, 1895, Vol.IV, pp.150-1.
87. For details of the work of the Joint Committee on the Training of Teachers, see *AMA Annual Report*, 1897, p.5.
88. The Joint Committee on the Training of Teachers was reconstituted in 1912 as a response to the training requirements of the new registration scheme.
89. See *AMA Circular to Members*, December 1901, for details of the inquiry's findings.

It is apposite to refer to the inaugural address (1902) of John Adams, principal of the London Day College and first professor of Education in the University of London. Adams outlines how the scepticism to training, as he perceived it, had been gradually eroded, even in relation to the secondary teacher: "Time

was, and that was not so far distant, when there was a certain novelty in an address on the training of teachers....The training of teachers is no longer a speculative subject, but one that must be dealt with in some practical way. The question is not now - *Shall teachers be trained?* but - *How shall teachers be trained?*. See Adams, J. (1902) *The Training of Teachers*, reproduced in Gordon, P. (1980) *The Study of Education, A Collection of Inaugural Lectures*, Vol.1, p.43.

90. Regulations for the Registration of Teachers, 6 March 1902, Appendix D, p.217.
The approved institutions were listed as follows: Oxford Secondary Teachers' Training Course; Cambridge Day Training College (Secondary Department); Durham University; Birmingham University; Owen's College, Manchester; University College, Liverpool; Yorkshire College, Leeds; University College of North Wales, Bangor; University College of South Wales, Cardiff; University College of Wales, Aberystwyth; Cambridge Training College; Maria Grey College, London; Cheltenham Ladies' College; Bedford College, University of London; Mary Datchelor College, London; St. George's College, Edinburgh; Catholic Training College, Cavendish Square, London; St. Mary's Hall, Liverpool.
Of the above, men students were not trained at the Maria Grey College, the Cheltenham Ladies' College, Birmingham University and Bedford College, London.
91. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1903, pp.45-6.
92. For full details of the conference see *Report of a Conference on the Training of Teachers in Secondary Schools for Boys*, Cambridge, 1902.
93. The teachers' associations represented included HMC, IAHM, the College of Preceptors, the Teachers' Guild and the AMA.
94. *Ibid.*, p.46.
95. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-124. See also *AMA Circular to Members*, 1 December 1902, pp.230-1 for the complete text of J.L.Holland's paper *Financial and other Economic Questions affording Candidates for Masterships*, prepared for the Conference but read only in part owing to the time limit imposed on speakers. In the paper Holland stated that the cost of a year's training in a University or College, excluding the cost of residence, had been estimated by the Joint Committee on Training to be £30 per student.
96. A subsequent conference on the training of teachers for secondary schools was held at Bishop Cosin's Library, Durham, in March 1903. The Warden of the University, who presided, put a strong case for training: 'Though the best teacher might be born, not made, certainly the average teacher might be much improved by careful training'. The purpose of the meeting was to draw out expressions of opinion, and, therefore, no resolutions were voted on. Once

again, the issue of the cost of training was raised. A Miss Moberley thought that parents of pupils, in school-based schemes, should defray the cost of training. For a report on the Durham Conference, see *AMA, Circular to Members*, May 1903, pp.46-7.

97. *AMA*, October 1906, p.96.
98. The full text of the letter is given in the *IAAM Annual Report*, 1906, pp.7-8. A key phrase of the letter is as follows: 'We are of the opinion that a method of training which should give to the beginner systematic supervision and instruction based upon actual apprenticeship in school, would be a method likely to prove both practical and effective'.
99. Final Report of the Teachers' Registration Council, 1907-8, Section 3.
100. *AMA Circular to Members*, October 1903, pp. 84-5.
For an insight into Keatinge's methodology see, Keatinge, M.W. (1916) *Studies in Education*.
101. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1907-8, p.79.
102. *Regulations for Secondary Schools*, 1908, Chapter 2, Paragraph 16.
103. *IAAM Annual Report*, 1910, p.15.
104. Ibid.
105. The *Memorandum* is printed in full in the *IAAM Annual Report*, 1908, pp.21-3.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Report of the Board of Education 1912-13, p.178.
109. *Journal of Education*, November 1910, pp.719-20.
Hodgson was subsequently dismissed from her post in 1916 after a series of disputes with the Vice-Chancellor. See Thomas, J.B., 'A note on the beginnings of teacher training for men at University College, Bristol', *History of Education Society Bulletin* 41 (Spring) 1988. Also, *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 19 May 1913.
110. Gosden, op.cit., Chapter 12, has written the best available account of the training of teachers, both elementary and secondary, in the inter-war period.
111. In the following table Gosden gives a complete breakdown for secondary schools on the grant list of full-time graduates, male and female, trained and

not trained, for the period 1927-1938, based upon the relevant Annual Reports of the Board of Education. (Gosden, op.cit., p.280, table 12.4)

Full time Graduates	1927	1930	1933	1936	1938
Men assistants					
(i) Trained	5,314	5,226	5,014	5,785	6,271
(ii) Not trained	3,433	3,720	3,929	4,036	4,071
Women assistants					
(i) Trained	3,022	3,836	4,534	5,120	5,487
(ii) Not trained	2,508	2,594	2,552	2,409	2,370

112. IAAM Archive, Section H26/1.
Branch meetings in the inter-war years were invariably held on Saturdays, the evening being the most favoured time of day.
113. *AMA*, January 1938 p.37.
Ted Wragg, in his inaugural lecture at Exeter (1979), took up the same point: 'Teacher trainers...must have credibility amongst the teaching profession. Too often there has been suspicion in the past that notions hovering in the semantic stratosphere have never been effectively field tested.' See, Wragg, E.C. (1979) *Teaching Teaching*, reproduced in Gordon, P. (ed.) (1988) *The Study of Education: A Collection of Inaugural Lectures*, Vol.3, p.153.
114. *AMA*, February 1959, p.66.
115. Baron, op. cit., Chapter 8, p.498.
116. See letter column, *TES*, 7 October 1994, p.17.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

The conclusion will be dealt with in two parts. First, prosaic though it is in form, it is essential to list the key contributions of the AMA to institutional provision that have been identified in the areas of tenure, salaries, superannuation, registration and training. The listing will be organized thematically, maintaining the format adopted throughout the thesis. Second, and more importantly, will be an attempt to set the present research on the role of the AMA in the wider context of the extent of its contribution to an understanding of conditions of service for teachers and of the nature of employer-employee relations. This will entail a re-examination of the earlier contributions of Tilney-Bassett, Baron, Tropp and Gosden, with all of whom the author has shared an affinity of approach in regard to teacher-union development. The later research of Lawn, Ozga and Grace, amongst others, has to the author presented a different, if not distorted, view of employer-employee relations which will necessitate further comment. The AMA's separate identity as a teachers' association, its relationship with other teacher unions and its allegiance to the Joint Four, all identified as key issues, will each in turn be evaluated. Factors other than teacher-union initiatives and pressure have obviously, on occasion, generated a climate for legislative advance, and these will be briefly considered: factors such as changing social attitudes, public and media perceptions, economic expediency, war, and the egalitarian ethic. Finally, conclusions will be offered about 'professional unionism', the prospects for a General Teaching Council in England, and conditions of service since 1951, especially about relations between teacher unions, and between them and the government since the emergence of Thatcherite and subsequent Tory ideologies from the late 1970s. A poignant question to consider in this final context will be whether the model of 'generational development' presented by Kerchner and Mitchell has any chance of realization in the political world of the 1990s and beyond.

KEY CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE AMA TO INSTITUTIONAL PROVISION:

1891-1951

The following can be listed as the principal contributions of the AMA to institutional provision, in the period 1891-1951, in the areas of tenure, salaries, superannuation, registration and training.

Tenure.

1. The AMA/IAHM campaign (after 1917, Joint Four) responsibly challenged the injustice of arbitrary dismissal and upheld the concepts of 'right of appeal' and 'right of hearing'.
2. The recommendations of the Bryce Commission (1895) with regard to the appointment and dismissal of teaching staff clearly reflected the substance and arguments of the AMA submission.
3. The Endowed Schools (Masters) Act (1908) was the statutory response to the AMA's victory in the Grantham Case (1898); affirming that the assistant master was employed by the governing body and not by the headmaster.
4. During the 1914-18 War the AMA fought to minimize cut-backs in staffing on the grounds of economy.
5. Economic stringencies - an in-built part of the policies of the inter-war governments - had a continuing and serious effect upon tenure and were vigorously and successfully opposed by the AMA.
6. During the 1939-45 War the AMA fought to ensure essential tenure rights. For example, the AMA successfully lobbied the Board of Education to protect the vulnerable position of so many of its members in the independent sector faced with job loss owing to wartime evacuation.
7. The AMA (through Joint Four) was largely instrumental in securing the White Paper *Principles of Government in Maintained Secondary Schools* (1944) from which came the recommendations that have generally governed

procedures adopted in cases of dismissal in county and voluntary schools in the post-war period.

8. The Joint Four played a key part in securing the national agreement on Conditions of Tenure (1947).
9. The AMA successfully lobbied to ensure that the LEAs fully consulted with the teachers' associations on the whole area of extraneous duties (including supervision of school meals).

Salaries.

1. The AMA was instrumental in determining the structure and levels of the pay awards made to the secondary schoolmaster in the period covered by the thesis.
2. In the first phase of the AMA's history, data provided by the Association was welcomed by government and LEAs alike, and used in the formulation of policies and salary scales.
3. The AMA's ready commitment to the principle of a national scale proved to be akin to that of government thinking as reflected in the establishment of the Burnham Committees.
4. Burnham generally functioned in accord with the AMA's own philosophy - controlling salaries by a recognized standard in a spirit of co-operation between representatives of the LEAs and the teaching profession.
5. During both world wars the government readily acceded, as far as budgets permitted, to the principles of the AMA's request that its members should not be disadvantaged by the endemic wartime problems of inflation and disruptive conditions of employment.
6. The AMA's strong stand for differentials in salary was acknowledged in the post-war Burnham settlements as apposite to the needs of that age.

Superannuation.

1. The AMA consistently presented, from its foundation, the case for pension entitlement on the grounds of fairness, humanity and efficiency, despite government policies which had first rejected the necessity for superannuation provision, and then, later, proved divisive by their very inconsistencies.
2. The AMA vigorously contested the government's piecemeal approach, attacking bureaucratic policies which had excluded the secondary teacher from a pension while granting pension rights to the elementary teacher, and which had allowed superannuation schemes to be drawn up for Wales and Scotland when no such provision had been contemplated for England.
3. The AMA persistently argued for a national scheme, was instrumental in the foundation of STUTIS, and was the driving force of the secondary teachers' associations in achieving the School Teachers (Superannuation) Acts of 1918 and 1925, and subsequent legislation for widows and dependants.
4. The AMA played a significant part in securing superannuation benefits as an absolute right for the secondary schoolmaster.

Registration

1. The AMA played a key role in the events that led to the formation of the first Register in 1902, and a similarly important role, through the Federal Council, in calling the Clothworkers' Hall conference in 1909 which indirectly led to the realization of the second Register in 1912.
2. The AMA remained above sectionalized interest in supporting throughout the idea of an all-inclusive register; an altruism that promoted the conception of 'the united profession' - an aspiration that proved to be akin to Morant's ultimate thinking.
3. The AMA's campaign, however, was incapable of achieving the objectives it set itself. Self-regulation could never be granted by any government to a body so disparate as the teaching profession, providing a service so germane to the

nation's needs. The best that the teachers' associations could hope for was a partnership with government, both central and local; a partnership that was, to a degree, attained in the inter-war year period.

Training

1. Training as an issue remained unresolved by the end of time-span of this thesis. It is true that the majority of male graduates had by 1951, undertaken a training course, but training was to remain optional for a further 25 years.
2. It would be ill-advised to claim too much credit for the achievements of the AMA in initiating change, apart from conceding that the direction of change in secondary training has tended to follow along lines long ago advocated by the Association. To the AMA, training was to be postgraduate; to be undertaken, by preference, in association with the universities; to contain an integral and substantial class-based element; and to acknowledge that secondary training needs were quite distinct and separate from those long practised in the elementary sector.
3. The AMA's highly-acclaimed publications on teaching method (the *Memoranda*) made a distinct contribution to training.

THE THESIS IN THE WIDER RESEARCH CONTEXT: an evaluation of the extent of its contribution to an understanding of conditions of service for teachers and of the nature of employer-employee relations

Relevance of the research to other secondary works on teachers

The present research owes much to the pioneering study of George Baron - 'The Secondary Schoolmaster, 1895-1914' - on the 'qualifications, conditions of employment, and professional associations of masters in English secondary schools' written as his Ph.D. thesis over 40 years ago. (1) The thesis was limited in scope to the 20-year period prior to 1914 but has set the standard for later studies of teacher-

union development. Prior to Baron's work only the most cursory interest had been shown in the 'professional associations'. (2) The writer would take issue with Baron on one score. Baron was of the opinion that the assistant master was not as hard up as he frequently professed, but believed himself to be underpaid because he based his salary claim on trying to maintain parity with other professions (for example, doctors and lawyers) whose members he equated with his own social and educational background. The evidence of the present research would question Baron's judgement. AMA membership lists show that in the formative years of the Association some 70-80 per cent of members taught in the first or second grade schools, but this must not be taken to imply that the assistant masters in those schools escaped much of what the average teacher experienced in regard to adverse conditions of service - notably in relation to tenure and salaries. It has been a common misconception - shared by Rhodes (1978) (3) and Perkin (1983) (4) - that the AMA, throughout its history, has been a kind of 'aristocracy of labour'; the evidence of the research would certainly undermine any preconceptions of 'elitism'.

Teacher-union histories await to be written. To date Asher Tropp's *The School Teachers* (1957), the well-known and esteemed history of the NUT, is still the only available major history of a teachers' association. It is unfortunate, as indicated in the Introduction, that Tropp's interpretation of union development - with which the writer can generally concur - has been challenged in the way that it has by Martin Lawn both in his own and in his collaborative works with Ozga and Grace. (5) Tropp stands accused of having no 'model' for the interpretation he offers, and of giving a simple, linear, almost Whig approach to the history he writes. To his critics, Tropp depicts the teaching profession as rising by steady progression from a state of abject oppression in the mid-nineteenth century to one of professional standing and acceptance in the 1950s. Lawn (1982) objects to such an interpretation which casts history in a 'Darwinian Light' and reveals 'the progression of teachers from servants to professionals'. Ozga and Lawn (1981) prefer to see the behaviour of organized

teachers in terms of employer-employee conflict, with teachers ever attempting to resist State interference. Grace (1978, 1987) offers societal and economic determinants to an interpretation of past actions, and hence takes issue with Tropp. The concern to the writer is that much of this recent research is seriously flawed; it is history seen in confrontational terms and, as such, misrepresents the development of employer-employee relations in the teaching profession. Confrontation there was, but never were teacher and State locked in continual conflict - the 'master' (the State), to use Lawn's terminology, ever hostile to the 'servant' (the teacher). This thesis has demonstrated, without being partisan, what the AMA was able to achieve by direct dialogue with government - both central and local - and that rarely in the atmosphere of bitter confrontation. As stated in the Abstract, the strike, confrontational stratagem and the coercion of its membership have ever been alien to the AMA's philosophy.

Peter Gosden, recently retired, and without doubt the most prolific and respected writer on teacher-union development in this country, has, like Tropp, been criticized by Lawn and associates on similar grounds. Again, it must be stated that the writer has drawn extensively on Gosden's work as a base for his own, and has respect, in common with other workers in this field, for the judgements presented. Gosden has grappled with the complexities of teacher-union history, and has written finely balanced, meticulously researched accounts over an impressively wide range of issues.

Finally, mention must be made of Tilney-Bassett's unpublished and largely unknown manuscript (1950) of the history of the AMA lodged in the IAAM Archive. Tilney-Bassett, in collaboration with two or three AMA colleagues but taking the main burden of the research himself and working to a very tight schedule, wrote this history to celebrate the diamond jubilee of the AMA's foundation. The undertaking was colossal, and it must have been heart-rending to the author to find that the Executive, having enthusiastically welcomed the project, should then find itself

unable to recommend publication on the grounds of cost. (6) The failings of the history, as perceived by the present writer, have been outlined in the Introduction, but, nonetheless, the manuscript has proved invaluable to the writing of this thesis. Tilney-Bassett had reduced the amassed material of 60 years of the AMA's history to some 65,000 words (from an original 100,000 plus words), and the manuscript, once discovered and identified, was a starting point for the present research - a welcome bonus when opening up an essentially untouched archive.

The AMA's separate identity as a teachers' association, its relationship with other teacher unions, and its allegiance to the Joint Four

The AMA's relationship with other teacher unions has been an essential focus of the thesis, but the union has always maintained a distinct identity. Teacher unions were formed to represent sectionalized interests within the profession and the circumstances of the AMA's foundation - allied to the assistant master being unrepresented on the Select Committee, 1890-1, into teachers' registration - have been discussed in Chapter 1. The AMA traditionally came to represent the interests of the graduate master in the grammar schools which proliferated in the wake of the 1902 Education Act, but membership within the independent sector was, and remains, strong. As the occasion has arisen, as over the right to establish and maintain differentials in salary, the AMA has fought to protect the specific interests of its members, adopting policies diametrically opposed to those of other unions. All attempts to date, and there have been several, to bring the separate teacher unions into a single, all-embracing union have failed, and the perception of Michael Barber, professor of education at Keele University, as reported in the *Times Educational Supplement* in April 1995, is that the unions are more divided today than for several years. (7)

Separatism and specific interests apart, there is a commonality to all teachers' union activity. As expressed in the Introduction, no teachers' union could ever exist in

isolation from the others, however pragmatic its differences might on occasion be. The truth is, and this has been brought out throughout the thesis, that the AMA did not, and could not play a role in the betterment of any aspect of conditions of service that was totally independent of other teachers' associations, notably the NUT. The NUT, by reason of its numerical supremacy, was the union which wielded the greatest political influence; but the NUT's dominance of so many union negotiations, at both central and local level, detracted, in no sense, from the specific contributions of the AMA and other smaller unions

The AMA, while losing none of its independence as a distinct teachers' association, benefited greatly from its liaison with the other single-sex secondary teacher associations (IAAM, AHM, AAM), which represented the majority of graduate teachers in England and Wales. The Joint Four, arising from the earlier Federal Council, was set up in 1917, and lasted until the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) ended single-sex associations and with them the purpose of the Joint Committee which was dissolved on 31 December 1978. The AMA from its foundation had always had close links with the IAHM and shared, in many ways, a similar campaign with the AAM (and, thus, indirectly with the AHM) for improved conditions of service. The advantage of Joint Four membership, as has been repeatedly seen in the thesis, was in joint consideration, and wherever possible, joint action. Four distinct unions instead of single, composite secondary teachers' union had pragmatic advantages; for instance, the Joint Four (21 representatives) - as opposed to the NUT (5 representatives) - enjoyed, from the start, a position of dominance, numerically, on the Burnham Committee (Secondary) Teachers' Panel. The Board/Ministry of Education, however, often showed displeasure at the prospect of receiving four delegations instead of one, and encouraged 'Joint' deputations. (8)

It is a pity that the Joint Four Archive, lodged at the Hartley Library, University of Southampton, is largely unused; it contains a rich source material not only on matters

pertaining to secondary education in England and Wales, but also in relation to many overseas countries.

Factors other than teacher-union initiatives that have generated a climate for legislative advance

Many factors have been seen during this study to have generated a climate for change; change that has altered either the direction or pace of legislative advance. Varying social attitudes, fluctuating public and media perceptions, economic expediency, war, and the egalitarian ethic have all been identified as contributive to change.

It is not surprising, considering the Victorian ethic that promoted self-reliance and individual rather than governmental responsibility for dealing with the adversities of life, that the schoolmaster of that era should have been subjugated. As has been outlined in Chapter 1, the assistant master at the time of the AMA's foundation was dispensable, replaceable, a mere hireling in an overcrowded profession. Public estimation of the schoolmaster's role was low; his place in society undervalued. Gradually perceptions changed, social awareness became heightened, and the experience of war occasioned a re-evaluation of standards. It was the Liberal Government which came to power in 1906 that first prioritized social care; providing an old age pension as of right, and tightening while improving working practices. The carnage of the First World War turned the national attention, as never before, to its young; educational reform became identified with progress and survival. Fisher, the enlightened administrator, to the approbation of the teacher unions, embraced the teachers' cause; for the first time the prerequisite for educational advance was declared to lie within a contented, professional teaching force. National salary scales and national negotiating machinery on salaries (Burnham) followed; pension provision became established as the employment norm (1918 and 1925

Superannuation Acts). Within a matter of years, in the aftermath of the Great War, the teachers' cause had been radically advanced.

The principal challenge to the AMA, and the other teachers' associations, in the inter-war period, as has been outlined in Chapter 3, was to protect the favourable salary position gained through Burnham in 1920 against public sector cuts as the state of the national economy worsened. As the cost of living fell, so the real value of teachers' salaries increased, leading to considerable public hostility to the teachers' enhanced, though not necessarily planned, financial status. On this issue of teachers' pay the fickleness of public and media attention is illustrated. A few years earlier the teaching profession was being hailed as the nation's saviour, but now the *Daily Mail*, to quote the most vindictive of a generally hostile press, was attacking teaching as a 'parasitic pursuit', claiming that teachers' pay had nothing to do with educational efficiency nor with their qualifications. (9) It was left to the quality Press to rally to the teachers' side and give encouragement to the embattled profession. The *Observer* informed its readers that the teacher was only just emerging from 'his long purgatory of disparagement and underpayment' and urged that the teacher be relieved of 'the misgiving that a wave of purblind "economy" may engulf himself and cripple the work of his profession'. (10)

The teacher unions accepted the inevitability of government retrenchment, adopted stances of 'damage limitation' in relation to salary cuts and enforced superannuation contributions, and awaited better times. The nation did recover only to be engulfed in further war. The Second World War begat egalitarianism. The egalitarian ethic had dominated official government pronouncements on education in the war years and the Education Act of 1944 gave reality to such sentiment. A reconstituted Burnham brought with it a common salary scale and an attack on differentials - the kingpin of the AMA's salaries' policy. Market forces - teacher shortages as an obstacle to

educational reconstruction revived the case for differentials and for the moment vindicated the AMA stance.

CONTEXTUAL ISSUES: POST-1951 - conditions of service, inter-union/union-government relations, 'professional unionism', prospects for a General Teaching Council in England

Over the 60-year period covered by this thesis distinctive features of the AMA's identity have emerged. It was a union for the assistant master, deliberately single-sex by composition, and determinedly opposed to the inclusion of the headteacher into membership (though retaining close links with IAHM via Joint Four); in those regards it had set itself aside from many other unions and had revealed an individual psyche. The AMA had never experienced a 'gender' crisis, liaising amicably with its sister association, the AAM, on all major issues. The union had become associated with the 'moderate voice' in teacher-union politics, advising rather than cajoling its membership and rarely considering the strike as a viable option. The so-called 'conscience clause' had been integral to both AMA and AAM membership, assuring members that no individual would ever be instructed to take action he or she believed to be wrong (the 'conscience clause' remains as Clause 3 of the ATL's *Code of Professional Conduct*). By 1951 the AMA membership had steadily risen to 13,656, small in number by NUT standards, but a respected force in English and Welsh teacher-union politics. The purpose of this concluding section is to relate the perceptions gained in the main research study to the post-1951 situation.

Teacher-association membership figures are notoriously difficult to interpret and guarantee of no comparative accuracy. The Certification Office for Trade Unions and Employers' Organisations release, periodically, membership totals for the various teachers' associations, and league-tables can be drawn up. Accurate interpretation, however, is dependent upon knowing whether student members, associate members, retired members and non-paid up members are included in the calculations. The

ATL's official membership total, as at September 1994, stood at 154,620, including student-members, who enjoy free membership, but who may or may not choose to become fully-fledged members of the Association when they enter full-time teaching. What is remarkable about the membership figure, interpretation of numbers apart, is the vast increase in membership in recent years. An analysis of why the ATL membership has risen at such a phenomenal rate reveals much about the appeal of ATL policies, but, perhaps, more about inter-union rivalries. The pressure of market forces on union membership numbers has increasingly driven a wedge between the main teacher unions. In general terms, the NUT has been locked in a spiral of decline since the industrial action of the mid-1980s, many of its members (mainly primary, but some secondary) fleeing from its ranks, alarmed by left-wing extremists within the union, to join either the NASUWT or the ATL. The outburst of frenzied militancy at the NUT's Easter Conference in 1995 - the vilification of David Blunkett, Labour's education spokesman, and the excoriation of Majorite education policies - would presage a continuing loss of membership. ATL's membership base is certainly far different from that of the pre-1951 AMA: the onset of comprehensivization from the late 1950s extended the membership beyond the grammar and independent schools; the enforced creation of the AMMA in 1978 out of the AMA and the AAM, pursuant upon the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975, brought men and women together into the one union, to the chagrin of many members on either side of the gender-divide; and the granting of negotiating rights to the ATL in further education colleges, alongside the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE), by the College Employers' Forum (CEF) in 1993 brought both a change of name to the Association- Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) - and increased membership. Above all, however, the point of attraction to so many newly-recruited ATL members has been the union's professional response to the plethora of educational reforms that have become the trade mark of Tory government since 1979, and which form the subject of a subsequent paragraph.

ATL has a profile of being moderate without being soft. Peter Smith, general secretary, ATL, wrote of the Association's fundamental approach to union/employer interaction in the February 1993 issue of *Report*:

The suggestion that ATL will...be a management poodle...is nonsense. ATL will represent its members' employment and professional interests vigorously, seeking to resolve problems and disputes by evidence and reasoned argument rather than with trigger happy tactics which too often backfire. One thing is certain: whenever there are sharp disagreements, ATL will not walk away from them. The Association's fundamental *raison d'être* is representing its members' interests: over that there can be no compromise. (11)

It has been the quiet, reasoned, analytical and professional approach to one educational issue after another, in the tradition of the AMA - parents' charter, national curriculum testing and recording, teachers' appraisal, contracted hours, teachers' workload, the pay-review body, OFSTED, and so forth - that has repeatedly gained for ATL the ear of government and the support of parents and governors. A 1994 recruitment poster of the ATL was headed 'Be heard without shouting'. (12) Confrontational union policies, frequently adopted by the NUT and NASUWT and involving strike action, have so often attracted government and public censure. The ATL approach presents, as the writer sees it, no dichotomy between 'professionalism' and 'unionism'.

It is important at this juncture to review union-government relations since 1979: the very nature of the teaching profession and of teacher unionism has been changed by Tory reforms under Thatcher and Major. With the loss of pay and negotiating rights (1987), replaced with only consultative rights (1991), (13) it is difficult to assess what the exact role of a teacher union is in the 1990s, a point taken up by Michael Barber (1992) in his work *Education and the Teacher Unions*. Likewise, the role of the LEA has been radically changed; their power and control having been diluted and fragmented to such an extent under various sections of government acts (14) that many consider their position to have been rendered superfluous. By far the best study

of the effect of Tory policies upon teacher union - LEA - government relations is that by Hugh Busher and Rene Saran (1992), *Teachers' Conditions of Employment, A Study in the Politics of School Management*. Busher and Saran refer to the 'new political environment' in which teachers and their unions had to work in the 1980s. Industrial relations, they state, came to be regulated much more specifically by legislative enactments: 'The climate became unfriendly to the power of unions and professional groups; it favoured consumer groups and the discipline of the market'. (15) The authors see a growth of central government power at the expense of the local authority, the LEA, and professional autonomy. According to their interpretation it was the teacher unions' bitter and protracted dispute over pay and conditions from 1982-6 which led to the dismemberment of Burnham and the consequent loss of negotiating rights for themselves and their LEA employers under the 1987 Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act. Subsequent Tory legislation has led, in many regards, to an emasculation of both the LEAs and the teacher unions, the scope of which is too broad to discuss in this context.

The conclusion must perforce end on a pessimistic note. Teachers' morale in the mid-1990s is at a disturbingly low level, a situation engendered largely by dissatisfaction over pay, workload, and a feeling of an inability to cope with the pace and demands of educational reforms. There is, also, deep concern at the alarming escalation of early retirements taken on the grounds of health, many of those being occasioned by stress-related illness. (16) In such a climate, and with a growing disaffection among the majority of teachers with the continuing tone of Tory educational policy, there is little likelihood of Kerchner and Mitchell's model of 'generational development' of teacher unionism, as discussed in the Introduction, occurring in this country. This is tragic in that within the period of research conducted in this thesis to 1951, the second generation phase of 'good faith bargaining' had all but been attained.

A similar pessimism must apply to the prospects for a General Teaching Council (GTC) being established in England. To begin with the Government is wary of such a development, wary of the duties and powers such a Council would wish to take unto itself. Again, within ATL - no doubt as a result of the preoccupation of its members with what it sees as more pressing issues - there is no rank-and-file feeling for such a Council despite strong support for one from the general secretary and the Executive: a situation analogous to the Executive's support for registration and training in the early years of the AMA; support which was so obviously out-of-step with majority feeling within the Association. Peter Smith, ATL general secretary, summed up his perception of the advantages of a GTC in the November 1994 issue of *Report*.

Setting up a GTC would bring...tangible advantages. The teaching profession, unlike its medical and legal counterparts, is not self-policing or seen to be so. There is no disciplinary body, not even a code of professional ethics. A GTC would be public acknowledgement, but a stern challenge also, not least for the unions: it would place on teachers the clear responsibility to keep their own house in order. (17)

Supporters of a GTC refer to the success of the Scottish scheme, established in 1965. However, despite protestations of the merits of the Scottish GTC, there is an overt lack of interest in the work of the Council amongst a majority of Scottish teachers, possibly as a result of the Council, to date, having no *locus* in the post-probationary phase. In the quadrennial elections in November 1994 for the Eighth Council - according to a report in *Link*, the official magazine of the Scottish GTC (18) - some 65 per cent of Scottish teachers chose not to exercise their votes.

A POSSIBLE DIRECTION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH INTO THE AMA

Teacher-union history remains a neglected research area, and it is significant that, to the writer's knowledge, no biographical study has been written of any teacher-union leader. The present thesis is the first substantive research that has been done on the AMA: as a result, some advance has been made towards a better understanding of the

history, personae, policies and achievements of the Association that represented the interests of the majority of secondary schoolmasters in England and Wales within the time-span of the study. Much, however, remains to be done. Montgomery, Blair, Martin, Page, Somerville, Dunkerley, Arnold, Hutchings, among many other AMA officials, would warrant individual research studies. The national archives of the AMA, the AAM and the Joint Four remain as largely unused resources. At a local level a most fruitful research area must be the branch minutes and proceedings of the AMA, AAM, and the local joint committees of the Joint Four. Research into other teacher-union archives *re* their relationship to the AMA - only undertaken to a limited degree in this research - would necessarily and usefully reveal alternative perspectives of the Association.

CONCLUSION : NOTES

1. Baron, G. (1952) Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London), 'The Secondary Schoolmaster, 1895-1914'.
2. Beatrice Webb's work for the Fabian Research Department constitutes the first serious research into the development and role of the professions. See her report on 'English Teachers and their Professional Organization' in a special supplement of the *New Statesman* 25 September and 2 October 1915, and the Introduction, Note 57.
3. *Vide*, Introduction pp.20-1.
4. *Vide*, Chapter 1, Note 25.
5. For details of the published writings of Lawn and associates, see Introduction, Notes 40-7.
6. The matter of the publication of the history being rejected on the grounds of cost - 2,000 copies would have cost £400 - was discussed when the writer gave a paper on his research to the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, in December 1993. There was a general consensus that such a rejection would not be uncommon conceding the slender and tightly regulated budget of a trade union of the size of the AMA. See also, Introduction, Note 34.
7. *Times Educational Supplement*, 7 April 1995, p.10.
8. An instance of the Board of Education judging four separate meetings - a meeting with each of the constituent Joint Four associations - as a 'nuisance factor' is seen in correspondence in relation to the McNair Committee on the Training of Teachers (1944). The Board promised a 'generosity of time for a Joint Four deputation (as opposed to separate deputations)...something like late morning to 5.00 p.m.' (Joint Four Archive, Section 3/99)
9. *Daily Mail*, 25 September 1924.
10. *Observer*, 8 April 1923.
11. *Report*, February 1993, p.1.
12. See, for example. *Times Educational Supplement*, 18 November 1994.
13. 1987 c.1, Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987.
1991 c.49, School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1991.

14. The following Acts have radically altered the role of the LEA:
- 1986 c.61, Education (No.2) Act 1986 - reduced LEA influence on governing bodies; LEAs lost their politically nominated majority.
 - 1987 c.1, Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987: replaced local authority power of negotiation on pay with a mere right to consultation by central government through the newly-established Interim Advisory Committee (IAC).
 - 1988 c.40, Education Reform Act 1988 - compelled LEAs to delegate schools' budgets to the control of governing bodies on a formula funding basis which is regulated by central government. ERA also permitted the setting up of grant maintained or 'opted out' schools and the city technology colleges.
 - 1991 c.49, School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1991 - provided for a pay review body; unions and the LEAs were to be consulted and could submit evidence, but had no negotiating rights.
 - 1992 c.13, Further and Higher Education Act 1992 - LEAs lost control (1993) over sixth form and further education colleges.
 - 1992 c.38, Education (Schools) Act 1992 - introduction of new schools' inspection team (OFSTED).
15. Busher, H. and Saran, R. (1992) *Teachers' Conditions of Employment. A Study in the Politics of School Management*, p.1.
16. The following figures re infirmity retirements for the period 1989-94 were given as a written answer. See *Hansard*, H.of C., 23 November 1994, col.177.

<i>Financial Year ended</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Infirmity Retirements</i>	<i>Premature Retirements</i>
31 March 1989	Male	1,241	6,313
	Female	2,182	6,034
31 March 1990	Male	1,653	6,241
	Female	2,539	6,051
31 March 1991	Male	1,821	5,669
	Female	3,117	5,952
31 March 1992	Male	1,770	5,087
	Female	2,890	5,175
31 March 1993	Male	1,960	6,364
	Female	2,937	5,843
31 March 1994	Male	2,314	6,061
	Female	3,235	6,170

Note: The table includes teachers in maintained schools sector, further and higher education and certain independent schools.

17. *Report*, November/December 1994, p.1.
18. *Link*, Issue No.20, Spring 1995.

APPENDICES

- Appendix 1 Officers of the AMA: 1891-1951
 Chairmen
 Honorary Secretaries
 Honorary Treasurers
- Appendix 2 AMA Membership: Statistical Data
 A. Growth in Membership, 1891-1951
 B. Analysis of AMA membership by type of
 school (1949)
 C. AMA membership as a percentage of
 total secondary school staffing (1944)
 D. Joint Four membership as a percentage of
 total grammar school staff (1937)
- Appendix 3 AMA membership within the 'Clarendon Nine',
 1899-1905

APPENDIX 1

OFFICERS OF THE AMA: 1891-1951

CHAIRMEN

1891	E.W.HENSMAN, MA	1922	W.R.ANDERSON, M.Sc.
1892-4	A.R.GRIDLEY, MA	1923	A.K.C.TOMS, MA
1895	J.W.LONGSDON, MA	1924	A.H.JOSLIN
1896	P.E.SWINSTEAD, BA	1925	J.H.ARNOLD, MA
1897	J.A.LONGSDON, MA	1926	J.S.DAVIES, MA
1898	Revd W.C.MASSEY, BA	1927	Revd E.D.BEWLEY, MA
1899	J.L.NORTON, MA	1927	G.R.PARKER, BA, B.Sc.
1900	A.R.GRIDLEY, MA	1928	E.HOTHAM
1901	G.F.BRIDGE, BA	1929	H.L.CONSTABLE, BA
1902	J.L.HOLLAND, BA	1930	W.H.JENKINSON, B.Sc.
1903	T.E.PAGE, MA	1931	A.G.BISHOP, MBE, MA
1904	G.F.DANIELL, B.Sc.	1932	R.METCALF, B.Sc.
1905	G.E.S.COXHEAD, MA	1933	S.MASON, BA
1906	C.H.GREENE, MA	1934	A.S.TREVES, B.Litt.
1907	A.A.SOMERVILLE, MA	1935	C.R.LEWIS, MA
1908	R.F.CHOLMELEY, MA	1936	G.R.PARKER, BA, B.Sc.
1909	W.A.NEWSOME, BA	1937	W.H.DAVIES, B.Sc.
1910	F.CHARLES, BA	1938	L.E.LITTLEWOOD, MC, BA
1911	A.A.SOMERVILLE, MA	1939	A.M.WALMSLEY, MA
1912	S.E.WINBOLT, MA	1940	W.GRIFFIN, B.Sc.
1913	J.C.ISARD, MA	1941	E.T.HEATHER, BA, B.Sc.
1914	J.V.SAUNDERS, MA	1942	A.LEA PERKINS, MA
1915	G.D.DUNKERLEY B.Sc., ARCS.	1943	T.D.CORKER, B.Sc.
1916	A.A.SOMERVILLE, MA	1944	A.H.BAKER, ARCS
1917	H.P.LUNN, B.Sc.	1945	E.L.MILLS, B.Sc.
1918	S.A.W.BIRKS	1946	G.WORSLEY, MA, B.Sc.
1919	B.LUCAS, BA	1947	C.J.COZENS, MC, B.Sc.
1920	A.FORSTER, B.Sc.	1948	R.P.TRUEBLOOD, BA
1921	A.BLADES, BA	1949	H.V.LOSEBY, MA, M.Ed.
		1950	W.H.CARHART, BA
		1951	F.W.G.RIDGEWELL, MA, B.Sc., LLB

HONORARY SECRETARIES

1891-1898	J.MONTGOMERY, BA	1920-1921	W.R.ANDERSON, M.Sc.
1898-1900	P.E.SWINSTEAD, BA	1921-1923	S.B.LUCAS, BA
1900-1902	W.H.D.ROUSE, MA	1922	S.A.W.BIRKS
1902	S.E.WINBOLT, MA	1922-1923	J.S.DAVIES, MA
1903	W.T.H.WALSH, BA	1923	Revd E.BAILEY, BA
1904	W.H.C.JEMMETT, MA	1923-1928	H.L.CONSTABLE, BA
1904	J.W.LONGSDON, MA	1924-1925	W.R.ANDERSON, M.Sc.
1905-1908	G.F.BRIDGE, BA	1926	A.C.K.TOMS, MA
1908-1910	J.WHITEHEAD, ARCS	1927-1931	R.METCALFE, B.Sc.
1911-1912	G.H.HEATH, MA, B.Sc.	1929-1935	G.R.PARKER, BA, B.Sc.
1913	G.T.HANKIN, BA	1932	S.MASON, BA
1914	G.H.HEATH, MA, B.Sc.	1933-1936	W,H.CARHART, B.Sc.
1915	F.R.G.DUCKWORTH,MA	1936-1938	C.WOODHAM, B.Sc.
1916	H.P.LUNN, B.Sc.	1938	W.H.CARHART, B.Sc.
1917	A.BLADES, BA	1938-1947	C.WOODHAM, B.Sc.
1918	G.D.DUNKERLEY, B.Sc., ARCS	1947-1951	E.L.MILLS B.Sc.
1919	G.A.BIRNAGE, B.Sc.	1951	C.WOODHAM, B.Sc.
		1951	C.J.COZENS, MC, B.Sc.

HONORARY TREASURERS

1891	R.BLAIR, MA
1892-1895	C.MARTIN, BA
1895	S.R.HART, MA
1896-1899	H.J.J.WATSON, MA
1899-1902	A.G.MUNRO, BA
1902-1905	F.CHARLES, BA
1905	W.E.PATERSON, MA, B.Sc.
1906-1907	G.H.HEATH, MA, B.Sc.
1908-1911	J.H.BRAY, BA, B.Sc.
1912-1914	G.D.DUNKERLEY, B.Sc., ARCS
1915	A.FORSTER, B.Sc.
1916-1919	J.HART-SMITH, ARCS
1920-1930	A.L.WATSON, BA, JP, CC
1931-1936	E.HOTHAM
1936-1942	J.CLAY JENKINS, B.Sc.
1943-1945	R.C.O.LEONARD
1945-	W.F.GUILBERT

APPENDIX 2

AMA MEMBERSHIP : STATISTICAL DATA

A.

GROWTH IN MEMBERSHIP, 1891-1951

1891	72
1892	148
1893	302
1894	492
1895	602
1896	784
1897	1,033
1898	1,140
1899	1,400
1900	1,509
1901	1,565
1902	1,605
1903	1,652
1904	1,748
1905	1,737
1906	1,762
1907	1,908
1908	2,138
1909	2,446
1910	2,760
1911	3,259
1912	3,730
1913	4,464
1914	5,027
1915	5,221
1916	5,223
1917	5,060
1918	5,065
1919	5,369
1920	5,607
1921	6,752
1922	7,780
1923	8,068
1924	7,793
1925	7,630
1926	7,763
1927	7,987
1928	8,045
1929	8,562

1930	9,034
1931	9,461
1932	9,909
1933	10,024
1934	10,509
1935	10,958
1936	11,226
1937	11,661

From 1891-1937 the figures represent the total of all members of the Association, from 1937 onwards it is a total number of Ordinary Members only

1938	10,798
1939	11,139
1940	11,466
1941	11,424
1942 (10 months)	11,405
1943	11,488
1944	11,455
1945	11,594

The figures for 1946-50 inclusive are not available

1951	13,656
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SOURCE: IAAM Archive, Section A10

B.. ANALYSIS OF AMA MEMBERSHIP BY TYPE OF SCHOOL (1949)

<u>BRANCH</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>
BATH	22	12	30	1	-	1	2	68
BEDFORDSHIRE	41	34	21	-	-	-	3	99
BERKSHIRE	87	13	54	-	-	7	4	165
BRISTOL	66	44	21	7	7	6	3	154
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	79	-	23	4	1	2	3	112
CAMBRIDGE	87	14	34	4	2	7	4	152
CHESHIRE EAST	73	34	21	-	-	-	4	132
CHESHIRE WEST	69	14	7	2	-	8	2	102
CORNWALL	75	10	3	-	1	-	-	89
CROYDON	36	15	35	1	-	-	2	89
CUMBERLAND	86	-	10	1	2	-	1	100
DERBYSHIRE	203	-	14	4	-	-	4	225
DEVONSHIRE	139	21	16	14	6	8	2	206
PLYMOUTH & DISTRICT	51	23	7	3	1	-	2	87
DORSET	114	-	25	3	-	-	3	145
DURHAM	188	12	5	2	-	5	4	216
ESSEX	292	47	33	20	11	3	18	424
GLOUCESTER CITY	33	-	-	2	1	-	-	36
GLOUCESTERSHIRE	112	-	34	9	3	12	8	178
HAMPSHIRE & ISLE OF WIGHT	245	21	29	14	7	3	6	325
HEREFORDSHIRE	31	30	3	1	-	-	-	65
HERTFORDSHIRE	115	28	110	1	4	10	9	277
NORTHERN IRELAND	32	312	-	4	6	9	31	394
ISLE OF MAN	30	-	-	-	1	-	-	31
KENT EAST	86	12	52	-	-	4	5	159
KENT WEST	224	20	40	17	2	-	10	313
LANCS. CENTRAL	119	45	-	10	-	1	1	176
LANCS.EAST	258	89	8	5	6	18	6	390
LANCS.FYLDE	100	33	12	1	3	3	3	155
LANCS.NORTH	66	-	4	2	1	8	2	83
LANCS.N.E.	108	2	1	13	1	-	1	126
LANCS.WEST	336	47	15	27	10	10	3	448
LEICESTERSHIRE & RUTLAND	146	22	11	7	4	8	3	201
LINCOLNSHIRE	198	-	-	1	4	-	2	205
LONDON	513	44	186	21	8	22	22	816
MIDDLESEX	482	-	71	12	3	10	18	596
MIDLAND	331	32	17	12	7	5	9	422
NORFOLK	76	10	9	5	3	7	5	115
NORTHANTS.	86	-	21	5	1	-	2	115

NORTHUMBERLAND	139	45	2	3	-	3	3	195
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	120	-	36	5	4	6	1	172
OXFORDSHIRE	45	14	13	4	2	1	1	80
PETERBOROUGH	26	-	-	-	-	4	-	30
SHROPSHIRE	76	-	22	2	1	-	5	106
SOMERSET EAST	32	-	2	-	-	-	-	34
SOMERSET WEST	65	16	47	-	-	-	7	135
STAFFORDSHIRE	110	-	2	4	-	3	2	121
SUFFOLK EAST	67	14	18	1	2	-	1	103
SUFFOLK WEST	20	17	-	-	1	-	2	40
SURREY	269	36	86	13	6	1	20	431
SUSSEX	204	-	44	5	1	5	14	273
ANGLESEY	34	-	-	-	1	-	-	35
CAERNARVONSHIRE	44	-	21	-	-	2	1	68
WALES N.E.	98	-	7	2	1	5	1	114
MERIONETHSHIRE	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
MONTGOMERYSHIRE	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
BRECON & RADNOR	26	-	-	-	1	4	1	32
CARDIGANSHIRE	29	-	-	-	-	-	3	32
WALES S.E.	265	-	-	14	3	8	2	292
MONMOUTHSHIRE	148	-	-	5	1	-	1	155
WALES S.W.	233	-	3	10	4	3	4	257
WARWICKSHIRE	63	-	97	12	-	3	1	176
WESTMORLAND	34	-	-	-	-	-	1	35
WILTSHIRE	69	5	18	3	1	2	2	100
WORCESTERSHIRE	109	7	26	5	-	8	2	157
YORK	43	8	38	-	-	6	2	97
YORKSHIRE E.R.	101	19	-	2	2	1	-	125
YORKSHIRE N.R.	101	-	6	3	1	-	4	115
Y.W.R. BRADFORD	77	27	-	2	4	-	-	110
Y.W.R. CALDER & SPEN VALLEY	107	2	14	3	3	-	-	129
Y.W.R. HUDDERSFIELD	45	-	-	3	3	1	1	53
Y.W.R. LEEDS	73	-	27	1	1	6	-	108
Y.W.R. PONTEFRACT & DISTRICT	97	22	21	2	1	-	1	144
Y.W.R. SHEFFIELD & DISTRICT	227	-	14	9	5	9	6	270
W. RIDING NORTH	113	17	11	1	1	4	3	150

8766	977	1557	354	150	253	268	12325
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Percentage of members
in various types
of schools

71%	8%	12½%	3%	1%	2%	2%
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KEY:

A = county or voluntary grammar school

B = direct grant grammar school

C = independent grammar school

D = technical school or college

E = secondary modern school

F = training college or university training department

G = other

H = total

SOURCE: IAAM Archive, Section A11

C.

AMA MEMBERSHIP AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SECONDARY SCHOOL
STAFFING (1944)

The following statement was made in the AMA publication *Secondary Education*, (undated, but undoubtedly published late 1946) (IAAM Archive, Section M3/31):

'The total membership in May 1946, was 13,500. The Association has made an invaluable contribution to the development of secondary education because, from the first, it has been an Association of Assistant Masters in all types of Secondary Schools, the Public and other Independent Schools, the "Direct Grant" schools, the Aided schools and the Maintained schools. Nearly 90 per cent of *all* the Assistant Masters in *all* the Secondary Schools existing in 1944 were in membership of the Association. Now that all schools for children over eleven years are Secondary Schools the Association has an even greater part to play in the development of Secondary Education.'

D.

JOINT FOUR MEMBERSHIP AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GRAMMAR
SCHOOL STAFF (1937)

IAHM	807
AHM	643
AMA	10,749 *
AAM	8,700

TOTAL	<u>20,899</u>

*The figure given in the official AMA statistics is 11,661 (cp. Appendix 2, Section A)

*SOURCE: Year Book of Education, (1939), as quoted in F.A. Rhodes (1978 London),
Unpublished Ph.D. thesis.*

According to Rhodes' calculations the Joint Four membership figure of 20,899 for 1937 represented 80 per cent of the total grammar school staff at that time. Rhodes based his calculation on figures given in the *DES Statistics of Education* (1972), which give a total grammar school staff of 25,039 for 1937 of whom 19,624 were graduates.

APPENDIX 3

AMA MEMBERSHIP WITHIN THE 'CLARENDON NINE', 1899-1905

<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>1899</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1905</u>
RUGBY	2	7	2
WINCHESTER	1	1	7
ETON		1	2
WESTMINSTER		1	1
HARROW			2
ST PAUL'S			15
CHARTERHOUSE			9
MERCHANT TAYLOR'S	2		6
SHREWSBURY			1
TOTAL	5	10	45

SOURCE: Membership lists given in IAAM *Annual Reports*, 1899, 1900, 1905

NOTES

1. The AMA was founded in 1891. Gradually more assistant masters at the leading public schools joined the AMA. An editorial in *Outlook* in July 1900 bore this out: '(The IAHM and the AMA) are fairly representative of teachers' associations, but their power and usefulness would be greatly increased if the chief public schools could be aroused from their drowse of self-contentment...we are glad to note that the public schools have lately begun to stir, and the Assistant Masters' Association at least is getting a firm hold upon them'. (*Outlook*, 28 July 1900, p.807)

2. In May 1906 an appeal was made in the *AMA* by a group of public schoolmasters for those similarly employed in the public schools to join the AMA: 'The Association was founded in 1891, and numbers at present about 1,650 members, but unhappily few masters from the old and larger public schools have joined it. Exactly the men whose assistance would be of most value, and whose advice would carry most weight have, for the most part held aloof from a body which might be of the greatest service, not only to assistant masters, but to the whole work of secondary education....We are aware that masters in some large schools, holding as they do an exceptional position, are at present only little affected by the many questions which concern our Association, but we respectfully claim that the exceptional advantages which they enjoy constitute a real ground for appealing to them for assistance. The Association is now maimed in all its efforts by their conspicuous absence.'

W.M.Baker	Cheltenham	T.E.Page	Charterhouse
R.F.Cholmeley	St Paul's	G.G.Pruen	Cheltenham
J.A.Fort	Winchester	A.A.Somerville	Eton

SOURCE: *AMA*, June 1906, p.66.

3.R.F.Cholmeley, AMA chairman, made comment in his address to the 1908 AMA General Meeting, of the increasing AMA membership within the conference schools: 'For the first time our numbers exceed 2,000, of whom a third come from conference schools. It is satisfactory to find the larger schools thus taking a greater interest and a more helpful part in the work of the Association'. (*AMA*, 15 February 1908, p.2.)

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This bibliography is arranged on the following plan:

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Manuscript and other collections
2. Printed

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Books
2. Articles
3. Inaugural Lectures
4. Unpublished MS
5. Theses

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