

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

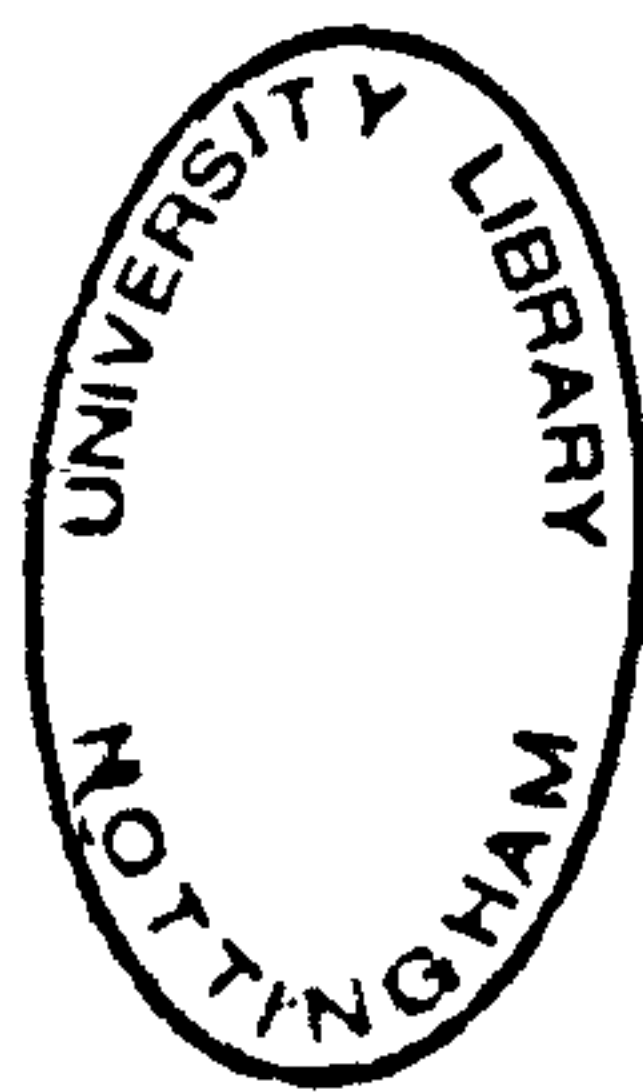
Variable print quality

POLITICAL IDEAS, VALUES AND IDEOLOGY.

A STUDY OF CONSERVATIVE PARTY VIEWS

ON EDUCATION 1944 - 1966

STEPHEN SHAW M.A.



**PAGE
NUMBERS
CUT OFF
IN
ORIGINAL**

Text cut off in original

CONTENTS

	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	P. 4
	SUMMARY OF THESIS	P. 5.
	INTRODUCTION	P. 7.
I	IDEOLOGY AND CONSERVATIVE VALUES	P. 10.
II	THE 1944 EDUCATION ACT	P. 35.
III	THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT 1945-1951	P. 118
IV	1951-1956 COMPLACENT EXPANSION	P. 138
V	REACTION TO NEW FACTS 1956-1959	P. 194
VI	A PERIOD OF CALM 1959-1962	P. 250
VII	THE COMPREHENSIVE ONSLAUGHT, 1962-1964	P. 286
VIII	THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT 1964-1966	P. 325
IX	EDUCATION AND CONSERVATIVE VALUES	P. 342
	ABBREVIATIONS	P. 370
	NOTES	P. 371
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	P. 390

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank Mr. M.J. McDougall of Nottingham University who has acted as supervisor for this research.

I should like, also, to record my thanks to the staffs of the Conservative Research Department and the Nottingham University Library.

I am particularly grateful to Lord Boyle for answering several questions, and also to Mrs. O.M. Collett-Jobey who provided much useful information.

SUMMARY OF THESIS SUBMITTED BY STEPHEN SHAW M.A. FOR
Ph.D. TO THE POLITICS DEPARTMENT OF NOTTINGHAM UNIVERSITY 1980

POLITICAL IDEAS, VALUES AND IDEOLOGY. A STUDY OF
CONSERVATIVE PARTY VIEWS ON EDUCATION 1944 - 1966

This thesis is a study of Conservative Party views on education during the period 1944-1966, and, in particular, it considers the extent to which a "conservative ideology" is implicit in Conservative attitudes and policies.

Chapter one examines some of the ways in which the term 'ideology' has been used. It suggests that it may be used to describe a body of ideas and values which, though not necessarily set down as a comprehensive system of ideas, may be seen to be implicit in the policies and statements of members of a political group. Such an ideology may then be described by theorists, not as a guide to action, but more as a reflection upon past and present actions and attitudes. As such, some ideas associated with conservatism are examined.

Chapter two considers the extent to which a conservative ideology was implicit in the structure of education in England and Wales before World War Two and suggests that Conservative acceptance of the 1944 Education Act, was in part, the result of a shift in attitudes to society and policies within the country.

Chapter three considers Conservative acceptance of the implementation of the 1944 Act, mainly by the Attlee Government.

Chapters Four to Seven examine attitudes to education during the period of Conservative Government 1951-64 and trace the emergence of the case for comprehensive education and the development of the Conservative case, which, basically opposed a fully comprehensive system. Chapter Eight summarises the Conservative position in the mid 1960's.

Chapter Nine summarises Conservative attitudes to education 1944-1966 and considers the extent to which a conservative ideology may be seen to be implicit in these attitudes and policies.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

In recent years much has been written about the ideas and values associated with political groups and the term 'ideology' has been used widely.

Most Conservatives dislike any reference to a "conservative ideology". Often, supporters of the British Conservative Party in particular, scorn the role of ideology in the activities of other political parties. These groups, they maintain, are ideological, in that, the policies they pursue; the objectives which they seek to achieve, are guided strictly by the dictates of a set of clearly expressed ideas and values to which all members of the group subscribe. Usually such ideas provide a guide towards the creation of an 'ideal society'.

Most conservatives see their approach to politics as non-ideological. They have no vision of an ideal society. They are sceptical of the ability of men to create such a thing and they deplore the political controls advocated often by 'ideological' groups in pursuit of their aims. They see themselves rather as pragmatists who accept that society as they find it, has evolved over many centuries, producing the institutions and customs which have been found, by experience, to enable men to live in harmony with each other. What is required of the governors is wise guidance to overcome the difficulties which will arise.

Opponents of conservatism often see it also, as non-ideological in that, they claim, conservatives are opportunists pursuing

whatever policies may be necessary to ensure the continued maintenance of power in society by their group or class.

This study seeks a clearer understanding of the role of political ideas and values, or, indeed, of an ideology, within the framework of British Conservatism. In this case, the Conservative Party is taken as representing political conservatism in Britain.

The particular area of study of this paper is the attitude of Conservatives to education policy between 1944 and 1966. This period was chosen because it includes two major developments, the 1944 Education Act, which most Conservatives accepted, and the development in the 1950's and 1960's of the system of comprehensive secondary education, which, generally, most Conservatives opposed. With regard to the latter development, the period of Conservative Government 1951-64 is of great importance but the period of opposition before the 1966 General Election is also significant since, being out of office for the first time in thirteen years, but facing the prospect of an early election, the Party Leaders felt a need to explain fully, Conservative policies.

Chapter one considers some of the many ways in which the term ideology has been used, and whilst another 'definition' is avoided, an attempt is made to explain, and to justify the use made of the term in this paper.

Chapter two considers the manner in which a conservative ideology was inherent in the structure of education in England and Wales before the Second World War and examines the reasons why the Conservative Party accepted the reform of 1944.

Chapter three describes the developments made in Education during the

Attlee Government and the Conservative response to these developments and the fourth Chapter considers this response during the period 1951-55 when the Conservatives were in office.

The period 1955-59 was one in which Britain's world role was recognised to be changing, when considerable social change was taking place, and when many of the assumptions upon which the system of secondary education was based, were being challenged. Chapter five examines the Conservative response to education problems at this time, and chapter six considers the developments up to 1962.

By 1962, mainly on the initiative of local authorities the number of comprehensive schemes increased rapidly. Chapter seven considers the Conservative reaction to this development. The extent to which the Party leader's desire to express clearly Party policies, between the general elections of 1964 and 1966, present a clear picture of Conservative attitudes to education in the mid 1960's is examined in chapter eight.

The ninth chapter summarises Conservative attitudes to education during the period 1944-1966 and considers the extent to which a conservative 'ideology' is implicit in the arguments put forward by Conservatives.

C H A P T E R O N E

IDEOLOGY AND CONSERVATIVE VALUES

(i) VALUES AND THE TERM 'IDEOLOGY'

This thesis is a study of the values and principles of the British Conservative Party. It is concerned with education, and, in particular, with secondary education during the period from 1944 to 1966. This chapter outlines the scope of the thesis and examines some of the ideas traditionally associated with 'conservatism'.

Studies of the ideas associated with Nineteenth Century British political groups have concentrated upon ideas about the organisation of power in society. For example, S.H. Beer, in "Modern British Politics", distinguishes four groups of ideas one of which he calls the 'Old Tory' view. This view, he claims, stresses the necessity of hierarchy and authority in society. He writes of Old Tory Politics:-

"The purpose of authority, the function of hierarchy, is to foster the good of the whole; to maintain each subordinate part working in harmony with the others.

The Old Tory cosmos was organic and hierarchic." (1)

In the twentieth century the ideas associated with political parties have included views not only about the distribution of power but about the aims of policy and the

methods and pace by which these aims are to be realised. The term 'ideology' has been used to describe the sum of the ideas and values associated with particular groups.

'Ideology' has several usages. Some writers restrict it to the ideas of totalitarian groups. For example, Louis J. Halle, in "The Ideological Imagination", writes:-

" I confine it to bodies of doctrine that present themselves as affording systems of belief so complete that whole populations may live by them alone, that are known and interpreted by leaders ostensibly possessed of special genius or by elites not unlike priesthoods, that claim exclusive authority as representing something like revealed truth, and that consequently require the suppression of whatever does not conform." (2)

He adds:-

"It will be seen that 'ideology' so defined not only excludes liberal democracy but is its opposite." (3)

Most Conservatives using the term ideology in this sense, would agree with Halle that conservatism is not an ideology.

For example, Quinton Hogg wrote in "The Case for Conservatism" :-

"Conservatives do not believe that the whole art and science of government can be summed up in some convenient phrase or catchword like "Socialism", any more than the whole art of medicine is contained in an advertising slogan like 'night starvation' ". (4)

A second usage of the term ideology is an inclusive one which describes generally, the principles and values associated with particular political groups; liberal democratic as well as totalitarian. For example, in an essay on British Conservatism, W.H. Greenleaf writes:-

"I use the term 'ideology' not at all in any sophisticated way but to refer simply to the ideas deployed by some of those who have called themselves conservatives." (5)

Used in this inclusive sense of the term, conservatism may be an ideology. Part two of this chapter makes a brief review of those ideas which are discussed in various works on conservatism.

The ideas of conservatism may be studied not only in published works on the subject but also they may be seen

as implicit in comments made about political issues.

Sir Edward Boyle, (now Lord Boyle), writes:-

"you cannot make a judgement on economics, or education, or anything else, without implying a value judgement of some kind. You can't have any argument about what is best for the nation without implying the criteria of the word 'best'."(6)

Thus, an individual M.P. speaking on a subject, for example, the development of comprehensive education, may be expressing the values and principles of conservative ideology though not necessarily conscious of it.

In this thesis, Conservative attitudes to education during the period 1944 to 1966 will be studied. This subject was chosen because the field of education was, throughout much of this period, fraught with controversy. The period was chosen to include the passing of the 1944 Education Act, the thirteen years of Conservative government between 1951 and 1964, and the response of the Conservative Party to the pro-comprehensive policy of the new Labour government.

Several points must be made regarding the scope of the thesis. Firstly, since it is concerned with general tendencies and preferences amongst those who call themselves conservatives, it need not be assumed that all conservatives subscribe to all

so-called conservative principles. Moreover, a study of conservative ideas will include a range of views on particular issues including those dissenting voices which differ from the norm of the 'party line'.

Greenleaf writes:-

We must accept and somehow embody
in our characterisation that an
ideology is not a simple thing at
all but a range of ideas and reactions."(7)

Secondly, whilst reference is made to the writings of Conservative sympathisers outside Parliament, this thesis is concerned mainly with the views of Conservative M.P.s.

Thirdly, it must be emphasised that this is neither a study of Conservative education^{policy} as such, nor of the policy making process. Rather, it is a study of Conservative attitudes towards educational problems, a study of the arguments deployed in defence of the various policies and viewpoints which collectively form the Conservative outlook on education.

Finally, this study, whilst not concerning itself directly with the various pressures upon political parties does consider "Conservative " views against the background of the development of educational ideas within the profession.

It would be impossible, given the available evidence, to monitor accurately the development of particular ideas, within the world of education. What may be stated with confidence is that in 1944 there was little support for comprehensive education within, for example, the teaching profession. Throughout the fifties and sixties support for comprehensives grew and by the late 1970's, they were strongly supported. Whilst it is not possible to chart accurately the increase in the popularity of comprehensive schools, certain landmarks may be recognised. For example, in October 1958 a spokesman for the largest teacher's union, the N.U.T. deplored the remarks of one of its area organisers who had praised the pro-comprehensive policy of a local authority and condemned the 11-plus.(8)

In January of the following year, Sir Ronald Gould, the General Secretary of the N.U.T. praised the efficiency of the 11-plus. However by 1964 the N.U.T. was recommending comprehensive education where possible. By 1979 an N.U.T. publication was asserting that:-

"The educational justification for comprehensive schooling is so conclusive that it must remain the context in which local education authorities can meet the educational needs of children.....

Today, no major body of educational

opinion supports selection
at 11 plus". (9)

Beyond recognising these landmarks it is possible to state only some of the arguments, developments and findings of research put forward at the time as examples of some of the feelings of members of the profession.

Thus, Conservative views on education will be studied against the background of the development of ideas within the world of education.

II CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES

There is no rigid system of ideas which may be called "conservatism" Greenleaf writes:-

"Are we to elicit a single set
of key concepts that must be called
the core of this doctrine and

on the recognition of which we spring up saying "C'est le conservatisme" Or should we take the other path and look instead for a range of linements linked in a more diverse resemblance and presenting, therefore, a more confused appearance. (10)

Since the French Revolution, writers who might be called conservatives have defended existing society against ideologies which have advocated fundamental social and economic and political change.

The ideas put forward by conservatives vary greatly but some common ideas may be identified. In examining these themes, particular reference will be made to Edmund Burke, perhaps the greatest Conservative thinker.

Before considering the principles expressed by Burke a note upon his method is worthwhile. He made no attempt to present a comprehensive "political philosophy", indeed, he scorned those who sought to regulate political conduct according to "abstract theory". What he did was to comment upon contemporary problems but in so doing he referred readily to basic principles. From a reading of Burke's works a fairly clear body of principle may be discerned which forms the basis of modern conservative thought.

An understanding of

Burke's view of human nature is fundamental to an understanding of his political outlook. He does not present a 'philosophy' of human nature, rather general observations are made.

In particular, Burke makes three important observations. First, he warns against a limited and stereotyped description of human nature, which, he maintains is richly diverse. It is implied strongly that these differences will exist whatever the nature of political organisation since God has given different personalities to different men and the political organisation should not seek to suppress this variety. Second, he observes that since this diversity exists, evil men will appear in any society. If this evil is unchecked the ruthless ones will dominate society. He wrote to Charles O'Hara:-

"But God has given different spirits to different men.

The profligate and inconsiderate are bold, adventurous,

and pushing. Honest men slow, backward and irresolute.'

(11)

Third, he asserts that there is, in all men, a degree of weakness, even evil. This is due to the power of irrational passion to overcome any considerations of reason. In times of stress the men of evil will appeal to the inherent weaknesses of their fellows in order to achieve their own ambitions. This conviction was at the heart of Burke's disapproval of the French Revolution in 1789 but he explained this aspect of his beliefs to his friend Richard Shackleton in 1745. He wrote about the influence of theory:-

"... Experience will inform you better than I, that in time of affliction they are but Sorry Comforters, the tide of Passion is not to be stopp'd by such feeble dams, even the Thoughts of reasoning with it adds -

new flame to the fire and gives an additional vexation 'this because most of these books are written in a reasoning and expostulatory manner, and Sorrow is a passion and a strong one and must not immediately be oppose'd by a direct contrary which is reason the product of a calm and undisturbed mind." (12)

Thus evil men may capitalise upon difficult situations with attractive sounding schemes. He warned Depont:-

"Never wholly separate in your mind the merits of any political question from the men who are concerned in it." (13)

Burke's view of the state may be understood only with reference to these claims about human nature. Since evil men exist in any society, means must be found to frustrate their plans. Furthermore, since there is an element of weakness in all men, means must be found to overcome this and to promote the good in the characters of men. The institutions of society provide these means.

Throughout history, customs and traditions develop concerning both government and life in general which promote the wellbeing of the community. These customs are the result, not of reasoning but of the shared experiences of members of the community. The utility of these customs may be understood only vaguely or not at all by most individuals but collectively they provide a social fabric in which individuals may pursue a good life. The particular institutions of government will evolve in a form capable of frustrating those who are unconcerned

about the welfare of the state as a whole.

For Burke, therefore, the state was the sum of these social institutions. Change occurs slowly as successive generations adopt the customs of society but modify them slightly to accommodate the particular problems confronting them. It is important, however, that change should not be so rapid that the fabric as a whole collapses. Should this occur traditional values will be eroded, political leaders could lose their claims to being the legitimate rulers and a political vacuum could be created during which time chaos would reign.

It is within the context of this view of human nature and the essence of the state that further principles of natural conservatism may be understood.

Conservatism requires that the role of political activity be more limited than would be required by many radical groups. Humanity is diverse in its characters and their capabilities and ambitions. The job of the state, in the main, is to uphold liberty and justice. Here, Burke may be quoted at some length since his letter to Depont of November 1789 includes the best short account of these terms by any conservative writer. He wrote:-

..."of all the loose Terms in the world Liberty is the most indefinite. Permit me then, to tell You what the freedom is that I love and that to which I think all men entitled. It is not solitary, unconnected, individual, selfish Liberty. As if every Man was to regulate the whole of his Conduct by his own will. The Liberty I mean is social freedom. It is that state of things in which Liberty is secured by the equality of Restraint; a constitution of things in which the liberty of no one Man, and no body of Men and no Number of men can find means to trespass

on the liberty of any Person or any description of Persons in the Society. This kind of liberty is indeed but another name for Justice, ascertained by wise Laws, and secured by well constructed institutions .. But whenever a separation is made between Liberty and Justice, neither is, in my opinion safe." (14)

Beyond maintaining these basic conditions, most conservatives claim the role of the state should be limited. Social and political change should occur slowly and 'organically' not rapidly by the promotion of government activity. This preference for slow change as a necessary means of the preservation of society is thus an essential element of conservatism. It is substantiated by a conservative belief that most people are naturally conservative in their attitudes. They like to resist rapid change for three reasons. First, they develop a natural affection for their surroundings. Oakeshott writes of the conservative attitude to changes:

"But he has difficulty in reconciling himself to them,.. because what he has lost was something he actually enjoyed and had learned how to enjoy and what takes its place is something to which he has acquired no attachment." (15)

Second, there is always the danger that the new system may turn out to be worse than expected. Cecil wrote:-

"Why depart from the known which is safe to the unknown which may be dangerous". (16)

Third, the conservative realises that there are limits to the extent to which the government may promote change and further limits to the extent to which this change may promote individual happiness.

Oakeshott writes of conservatism:-

"It will appeal more naturally in the old than the young, not because the old are more sensitive to the loss but because they are apt to be more fully aware of the resources of their world and therefore less likely to find them inadequate. (17)

Conservatism thus has as a prerequisite an attitude of satisfaction. R.J. White writes:-

"The political importance of this instinct of enjoyment, this largely thoughtless devotion to the life of here and now in all its richness and variety is that it puts politics in its place as something secondary and incidental." (18)

Whilst conservatism advocates limited government, it also requires that where government activity is required, that activity should be undertaken decisively. Government must be strong. Related to this preference for strong government is a belief in social hierarchy. Order in society requires that there be leadership in multifarious areas and that the decisions of leaders are readily obeyed. This is facilitated by the existence of a hierarchical society in which some are trained from birth to lead and the rest trained to obey. This hierarchical society is itself, natural in that, though the experiences of generations a governing class will emerge naturally, and it possesses certain advantages over a more egalitarian society. Where the egalitarian society exists, even with secure political institutions, the ruthless and selfish members of society will succeed to power. Where a governing

class exists its members do not need to strive to achieve high social status since they enjoy it from the outset. They are more likely to see their participation in government as a duty to be dispensed without the expectation of personal gain. Moreover those who would subvert society are thwarted by their inability to secure positions occupied only by members of the ruling class.

When Edmund Burke attacked the French Revolution one of his main fears was that abstract theory rather than experience would dictate policy. Conservatives claim that their policies are essentially practical and based upon a clear assessment of the existing possibilities. They distrust the attitude of what Oakeshott calls the rationalist who maintains that any institution which cannot be rationally justified is unworthy of continued existence. R. J. White states:-

"In so far as conservatism is a formulated doctrine it is the by-product of real living, not the fabrication of unimpeded intellect." (19)

Peter Goldman maintains that:-

"... the accumulated wisdom and experience of all the generations that have gone before him are more likely to be right and to give good guidance than the fashion or fad of the passing hour." (20)

This preference for custom against 'the fashion or fad of the passing hour' emphasises the conservative apprehension of modern democracy. What is important is that right decisions are made and

that a group of people exists who are in a position to make these right decisions. Democracy presents two problems. First the preference of the majority at any one moment in time may be an unwise one. Having majority support does not make a particular policy a good one. Second, when a democratic system is created, it may be manipulated by unworthy persons for their own benefit. Burke wrote:-

"The moment Will is set above Reason and Justice in any community, a great Question may arise in sober Minds, in what part or portion of the community that dangerous dominion of Will may be the least Mischievously placed." (21)

Most conservative groups uphold the institution of private property as an essential element of their beliefs. Private property will be established during the natural development of any society; it is the result of individual activity and to confiscate that property, or to introduce limitations upon the actions which lead to the acquisition of private property would, most conservatives believe, be a denial of liberty and justice. Burke emphasised that a man should be:-

"...in a perfect state of legal security, with regard to his life, to his property, to the uncontrolled disposal of his Person to the free use of his Industry and his faculties." (22)

The institution of private property prevents the complete power of ownership in the hands of the state, or rather, in the hands of the political leaders of the state and this diffusion of economic power weakens the possibility of an excessive concentration of political power and a consequent reduction of individual liberty. Moreover the power that property, ^{provides,} bestows beneficial qualities upon its holders.

Peter Goldman says of Conservatives:-

"They are concerned less with the form than with the substance of ownership: being anxious chiefly to preserve the values and qualities that can be and have been associated with the institution of private property - liberty, independence and steadiness of character." (23)

Conservatism posits a theory of progress albeit a negative one. Given the inherent weakness of man there is no guarantee that change will lead to actual improvement. White says of the Conservative:-

..." he sees that a theory of progress is a delusion unless it is accompanied by a proper awareness of the ever-present forces of degeneration which affect man's imperfect will." (24)

Change is, however, inevitable and conservatism has a positive role to play by taking a critical line, by slowing down the pace, so that hasty and unfortunate policies may be reversed before they have become effective. Cecil wrote:-

"Progress depends on conservatism to make it intelligent, efficient and appropriate to circumstance." (25)

In particular, conservatism seeks to separate the political and the religious spheres of life. Moral codes should be supplied by religion, not by political ideas. Once politics assumes such a responsibility a tyrannical system threatens. Burke wrote of the statesman:-

..." it is the Sole Business of his Office to make his people happy and prosperous, and not to convert them to any System of Theology." (26)

The religious basis of society and the separation of religion from politics is maintained strongly by most conservative writers.

Conservatism assumes a particular view of human nature and a view of the nature of the state. From this, nine principles of natural conservatism may be discerned. Political activity should be limited and concern itself mainly with the defence of liberty and justice allowing individuals a high degree of individual freedom. It maintains that most people are naturally conservative and do not desire rapid and extensive change. Where government activity is necessary the position of the government should be a strong one. Social order is maintained by the existence in society of a social hierarchy providing natural leaders, and an inclination amongst most people to obey those leaders. In tackling political issues conservatism requires that judgement should be practical and based upon experience, not utopian schemes. Conservatism is apprehensive of democracy. Most conservatives uphold the value to society of private property as a bulwark of individual liberty. Conservatism posits a rather negative view of progress and maintains that political activity should be separated from religious activity.

It is thus seen that certain ideas or principles are inherent in conservatism and have been expressed by conservative writers. During the last two centuries change has been rapid and extensive.

Indeed Russell Kirk writes:-

"For a century and a half, conservatives have yielded ground in a manner which, except for occasionally successful rear-guard actions, must be described as a rout." (27)

It is claimed however, that a characteristic ^{of} ideology is its acceptance of the necessity of change and its readiness to plan for it. It is necessary therefore to consider the particular case of British Conservatism and to examine the particular way in which its beliefs have been modified particularly during the present century. In this context the Conservative Party will be considered as the main vehicle of conservative thought. During the nineteenth century there were clear radical and conservative strains within both the Conservative and the Whig or Liberal Parties. The Conservatives, for example, introduced, albeit in rather curious circumstances, the 1867 Reform Bill, giving the vote to many urban workers whilst the Disraeli Government of 1874-80 introduced several notable social reforms. By contrast, there existed in the Liberal Party in the 1860's and 70's a strong conservative element typified by Robert Lowe's opposition to franchise reform. In the 1880's Joseph Chamberlain became disillusioned with his Party's refusal to take up his radical programme with any enthusiasm. With the advent of the Labour Party in the early twentieth century most of those whose attitudes to politics and society may be described as conservative, have gravitated towards the Conservative Party.

It is the collectivist nature of the Labour Party's ideology which has largely shaped the particular nature of British Conservatism in the twentieth century. In examining the outlook of the twentieth

century Conservative Party, two preliminary observations must be made. First, some of the principles of natural conservatism may be considered as principles of constitutional government as such. Since the dominant theme of twentieth century British socialism has been liberal democratic certain principles are shared by both Labour and Conservative; Labour, for example has not committed itself to revolutionary utopian politics as opposed to pragmatic politics; it has not sought to infringe to any marked degree upon what most conservatives would call individual liberty and it has not sought the destruction of the institutions of private property. Where differences do exist between Labour and Conservative, they are differences of degree rather than kind. Secondly, there have been instances in which the rising Labour Party has expressed attitudes commonly supported by a clear majority of the electorate and where, therefore, the Conservative Party has absorbed these attitudes into its own ideology.

The Conservative principle regarding the scope of government activity and individual freedom and initiative has met its greatest test in the twentieth century in the form of pressure to extend state control of the economy. The Labour Party Constitution of 1918 committed the Party to eventual widespread public ownership. This was founded upon the assumption that private ownership and the distribution of profits amongst shareholders deprived workers of the full fruits of their labours. This principle was completely opposed to the conservative view of ownership in which any person may acquire property provided that this is done lawfully and that the individual should be free to employ any person subject to a free contract of labour and any regulations which the government should consider necessary. Thus, throughout the twentieth century, the Labour Party has sought to extend public ownership and

the Conservative Party has opposed it on the grounds that the Labour programme has been based upon political dogma.

In several respects the Conservative view of public ownership has been modified. First, occasions have arisen in which a form of public control has appeared to the Party necessary and desirable. The development of air services in the inter-war years was such, for example, that in July 1939 the government decided to bring in a bill to set up a public corporation, the British Overseas Airways Corporation. In other instances, particularly in the cases of the Bank of England, the coal mines and the railways, the Conservatives decided that once these had been nationalised by Labour it would not be expedient to denationalise them. Secondly the development of economic theory and in particular the influence of Keynes has taught the Conservative Party the desirability of a level of state involvement in the economy far more extensive than they would have considered desirable in the 1920's. From within the Party, figures like Harold Macmillan pressed for state involvement in the economy as a means towards stimulating economic growth and reducing unemployment.

In matters of welfare successive Conservative governments have emphasised the importance of private schemes though following the Liberal and Labour precedents they have accepted the need for the state to ensure a minimum standard of living for all members of society.

The aspect of Conservatism which emphasises strong government and has reservations regarding democratic institutions has had to accommodate in the twentieth century, the establishment of a democratic electorate. What has emerged is a Tory view of democracy.

Samuel Beer states:-

"In particular, they have adapted older Tory ideas of authority to the conditions of mass suffrage." (28)

It may be thus argued that certain characteristics of the British form of democracy derive from the Tory tradition. The British system, for example allows considerable power to the leader, either of the political party or the Prime Minister. The Member of Parliament is considered a representative and not a delegate.

The emergence of an increasingly egalitarian society in the twentieth century has challenged the Conservative principle of hierarchy but it has survived in several forms. First, the structure of the Party itself has remained strongly hierarchical. Families of established high social status have continued to dominate the Party's membership of both Houses of Parliament. Even more do they dominate the higher eschelons of party organisation at local level though it should be emphasised that this situation is made possible by the willingness of party workers in the wards and constituencies to maintain the hierarchical structure of the Party.

Conservatives continue to defend the now limited powers of the undemocratic elements of the constitution, namely the monarchy and the House of Lords. As late as 1912 Hugh Cecil argued in favour of a more positive political role for the monarchy. (29) Conservatives also, tend to oppose those policies of the Labour Party, notably those concerning welfare and education which are, they believe, designed to foster the development of a more egalitarian society.

An extension of the Conservative principle of hierarchy has been, during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries the support of the British Empire, administered, in the main by the upper and upper-middle classes of the mother country. The withdrawal from Empire in the post Second World War era has in general, been welcomed by the Labour Party and regretted by Conservatives.

The Conservative Party's admiration of the institution of private property has taken several forms. Generally the Conservatives have opposed drastic increases in taxation upon the more wealthy members of the community particularly death duties upon property. Amongst those of average economic standing the Conservatives have placed a greater emphasis than have their opponents upon owner-occupier houses rather than property rented from local authorities. To some extent also this theme of the private ownership of property has been present in the Conservative opposition to the public ownership of industry. In the case of private property, however, the difference between Labour and Conservative policies has been one of degree rather than kind. Taxation upon property has remained far higher under mid-twentieth century Conservative governments, than those of the earlier years of the century would have considered tolerable.

From this outline of Conservative Party attitudes and policies in the twentieth century it is seen that whilst most Conservatives refute the claim that their party is 'ideological' or that their policies are influenced substantially by ideological considerations, a Conservative ideology is inherent in the body of policies of the Party.

111. CONCLUSION

This chapter has considered political ideas and values and, in particular, the term 'ideology'. It has been seen that the term has been used in various ways. Some writers have used the term to describe the ideas associated with totalitarian groups. Others have used it in an inclusive sense. 'Ideology, thus used, refers broadly, to the ideas deployed by members of a particular group. Those ideas need not present a 'total' view of the political, social, and economic beliefs of the group, nor must all members subscribe to all these ideas. Some members may have little interest in these ideas, seeing their own approach to political activity as being essentially a practical one. The ideologies of such groups may be studied in two ways.

The first way involves a study of published works about such political ideas. Individuals sometimes seek to explain the values and ideas of the group. They attempt to distil and articulate what they see as the main principles which the group claims to represent.

Secondly, a body of ideas and principles may be seen to be implicit in the arguments used by members of the group, regarding particular issues.

British conservatism is an ideology, only if the term is used in an inclusive sense.

Generally, conservative ideas assume a preference for things as they are, and a reluctance to accept change. They assume an element of weakness, of irrationality, in human nature and see the institutions of society as providing the means by which these may be controlled. The job of the state, essentially, is to uphold justice and liberty, and beyond this, its' role in the affairs of the community should be limited.

Conservatism assumes that most individuals prefer only slow change because they develop a natural affection for their environment.

A belief in a hierachical, rather than an egalitarian society is a feature of conservative thinking, and, related to this is a dislike for some democratic institutions. Conservatives often maintain that their policies are based upon experience rather than abstract reasoning.

For many conservatives, the institution of private property is an essential part of a free society.

In the twentieth century, the Conservative Party has

come to accept a democratic political system, extensive state welfare and a high degree of taxation. Its ideology has, thus, evolved, but significant differences, at least in emphasis, remain between it, and the Labour ideology.

This thesis attempts to examine Conservative ideology with reference to Conservative ideas about education. These ideas are studied against the background of the development of ideas within the world of education.

CHAPTER 2

THE 1944 EDUCATION ACT

I. THE BACKGROUND TO THE ACT

As the Second War drew to a close the coalition government set about plans for the reconstruction of the country.

It was in 1944 that the first major step was taken to instigate this reconstruction, with the passing of the Education Act. This Act had the support, though with varying degrees of enthusiasm, of the Conservative Party's supporters in both Houses of Parliament. This chapter is concerned with the question as to why the Conservative Party accepted this Act which was pioneered by one of its own members, Richard A. Butler. First the background to the Act, the progress of education in the twentieth century will be considered and secondly, the particular influence of the experiences of war upon educational thinking. Thirdly the chapter will question the extent to which the Act really was a radical reform since little purpose could be ascribed to discovering why the Conservative Party accepted a reform which was essentially cautious and moderate. It will be necessary however to consider what aspects of the Act, if any, were inherently cautious, and unlikely to arouse controversy among Conservatives. Other reasons why the Conservative Party supported the Education Bill will then be examined.

The history of state education, particularly secondary education, in the first forty years of the twentieth century, is represented, essentially by a tension between forces working in favour of reform and advancement, and forces which obstructed change. In the interaction

of these forces those which hindered changes were the most pervading.

The factor considered to be of paramount importance to most advocates of change was national efficiency. This demand had its roots in the nineteenth century. The complacent period of mid-Victorian prosperity had been marked in the 1850's and 60's by a notable rise in the living standards of the working classes, a commanding advantage held by British industry over its competitors, and a relatively peaceful situation in foreign affairs with Britain's safety guaranteed by its Navy. Such an enviable state of affairs had developed at a time when the ideal of laissez faire dominated social and economic thinking.

This confidence was shaken by the military success of the Prussians in the late 1860's and the consequent rivalry provided both in a military and economic sense, by the German Empire. Germany's success appeared to be based upon a policy of statism and few informed Englishmen doubted that, by the later years of the century, German education was superior to the British state system, though such an inferiority, it was argued, was balanced by the excellence of the education provided in the English public schools. A start was made however, in the provision of state education, and the Education Act of 1870, the year that Prussia defeated France and established her military superiority on the continent, provided for the setting up of school-boards to organise elementary education.

The greatest crisis concerning British confidence was provided at

the turn of the century by the Boer War. The inability of the British forces to overcome the Boers made a striking contrast to the manner in which the Prussians had overcome the Austrians and the French more than a quarter of a century before. The situation was exacerbated by the worsening situation in Europe and the possibility that British forces might become involved, for the first time in almost a century, in a war in Western Europe. If the focus of attention, following the wars in South Africa, was focused upon the poor quality of military leadership; the unfortunate condition of the troops, both physically, and in terms of education, could not be ignored. Many aspects of national life were examined critically both in the press, and in Parliament and the concept of 'efficiency' became the keynote for reform. Of this movement, G. R. Searle says:-

"National Efficiency was not a homogeneous political ideology. It served as a convenient label under which a complex of beliefs, assumptions and demands could be grouped." (1)

In the clamour for national efficiency, improved state education was an important demand. If, however, 'efficiency' was to be effected, what was to be the agent of reform? Many Conservatives still upheld, if not the mid-Victorian conviction regarding the validity of laissez-faire, at least the belief that the central government should play a limited role in the social sphere. Such a belief was being challenged. The success of the bureaucratic German state could not be denied. In domestic policies the depression which followed the period of mid-Victorian prosperity provided convincing

evidence that a laissez-faire economy did not necessarily operate in the best interests of workers as well as owners as early nineteenth century advocates had believed with sincerity. The social reforms of the later nineteenth century owed much to the realisation of this by government departments. Indeed, the growth of the interest of the government in social problems was to some extent parallel with the development of the departmental bureaucracies themselves. A background to these developments was the changing ideas of political theorists. At Oxford, the Idealist school, led by T. H. Green, whilst upholding the traditional English liberal idea of the value of individual freedom, maintained that this freedom could only be secured by the realisation of certain social conditions the creation of which was the responsibility of the state.

By 1902, therefore, the extension of the role of the state as a possible promoter of 'efficiency' in many areas of national life was becoming acceptable to many politicians of both major parties. Searle writes:-

"Almost overnight unreasonable economising gave way to gross extravagance and uncontrolled expenditure." (2)

A Royal Commission (The Bryce Commission) had been set up in 1894 to examine the state of the education system. The legislation of 1870, and succeeding Acts had produced inconsistent results. School boards had been empowered but not enforced to provide adequate provision and in many areas little had been done. The voluntary schools still dominated and in this sphere also, provision varied greatly from place to place. Inertia at local level, shortage of funds and

sectarian disputes had had the effect, not only of hindering the development of education in the country, but also of deterring politicians from attempting at national level, drastic reform. In 1902, however, the new Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour, a Conservative of aristocratic stock but a man with a considerable scholastic reputation, believed that, in spite of all the difficulties, reform must be introduced. In supporting the Education Bill of 1902, Balfour claimed that its chief justification was 'national efficiency'. He said in the House of Commons:-

"It is only because we feel that the necessity with which this Bill is intended to deal is a pressing necessity it is only because we are of opinion that it cannot with national credit be much longer delayed, that we have resolved to lay before the House our solution of the great problem which, for so many years past, has embarrassed the Legislature and the reformer." (3)

In particular, Balfour drew the parallel which showed the inefficiency of the British system of education when compared with those of other countries. He said of the British educationalist:-

"He has long seen a vast expenditure of public money, which has yet left this country behind all its Continental and American rivals in education." (4)

The 1902 Act created local education authorities which, it was hoped, would be sufficiently large and command such financial resources as to be capable of setting up an adequate system of elementary education. The Act also provided for the setting up of secondary schools

Though fees were charged, the schools were maintained by the local authorities and a number of free places were provided for able working class children. Thus, a precedent was set for subsidising the education, beyond elementary level, of working class children.

Recruitment into the armed services during the First World War shed further light upon the limited educational attainment of many citizens but during the interwar years the demand for educational efficiency was not taken up with any great enthusiasm.

An increasing amount of research was being done on the subject of educability and consequent recommendations were made both within the education department and from the education professions.

The Consultative Committee produced the Hadow Report in 1926 which recommended an improvement in the educational standards of pupils not selected for secondary education. It asserted that education should be concerned with a general process of maturation. The adolescent, it was claimed required, irrespective of his scholastic abilities, a form of education different from that offered in the elementary school. The Report stated:-

" The word "elementary" has now become misleading... We propose to substitute the term "primary", but to restrict the use of that term to the period of education

which ends at the age of eleven or twelve. To the period of education which follows upon it we would give the name secondary; and we would make this name embrace all forms of post primary education,...

(5)

The Report added that the new type of secondary school which would thus be brought into existence should be called a 'modern' school and that the term 'grammar school' should be used to describe the traditional secondary school.

There was considerable interest in the inter-wars in the possible existence of a general intelligence quotient. By 1911 the French psychologist Alfred Binet had devised a number of tests designed to illustrate general intelligence, this being an amalgam of mental abilities including the command of vocabulary and numeracy and powers of memory. He had produced a scale of results which ought to be attained by children of a particular age, thus the children of both above and below average intelligence could be located. If means could thus be found to measure with a considerable degree of accuracy, general intelligence then it would be possible to select with confidence, children suited for a 'modern' education. Throughout most of the inter-war period however, the role of intelligence testing was not widely agreed upon by the education world though the Hadow Report advocated such tests for borderline cases.

A third factor favouring the advancement of state education was the rise of the Labour Party. In the General Election of 1905, Labour won 29 seats and by the early 1920's it had become established as a major party in its own right. In January 1924, supported by 191 M.P.s Ramsey MacDonald led the first Labour Government.

Although the Government's life was shortlived, Labour had demonstrated its ability to hold office. The Labour Party, committed to social change, saw educational reform as a crucial aspect of its policy. The Party had produced "Secondary Education for All" in 1922. This demanded some form of secondary education for all children but, in common with most educationalists, a varied system was envisaged with different types of schools for children of supposed different abilities. For the Labour Party, educational reform was demanded upon essentially social grounds. Rodney Barker writes:-

"Secondary Education for All had two qualities which rendered it an almost perfect illustration of the character of the Labour Party which produced it. It drew on the concepts of citizenship, commonwealth, equality, and social justice, and set the educational system in the midst of the struggle to replace a divided materialist society with one properly attuned to intellectual and spiritual values." (6)

When Labour formed its second government in 1929, this time as the largest single party, but not with an overall majority, the immediate hope for educational reform was the raising of the minimum school leaving age to fifteen years. Ramsay MacDonald was not prepared, however, to make this reform an immediate priority and the reform had not been effected when the National Government assumed power in 1931. The ensuing electoral defeat of Labour which reduced the Party to only 46 seats proved to be a temporary setback. In 1935 some eight million votes went to Labour giving the Party 154 seats. Though not enough to return Labour to office it was

enough to re-establish Labour as a viable opposition. The possibility of the return of a Labour Government provided a further stimulus to hopes for a general system of secondary education.

Two further factors which aided educational advance were deflation and the falling birth rate. Money spent on education in the 1920's and 30's did not rise dramatically. The increase from Sixty-five million pounds in 1920 to One hundred and four millions in 1938 represented an increase of little more than fifty per cent over a period of eighteen years. However, in *The Economics of Education*, J. Vaizey explained that:-

"Before the Second World War the main reasons for increases in real expenditure on education were falls in the price level. Money voted by public authorities became worth more; and consequently the education service was able to expand." (7)

Following the horrific slaughter of young men during the First World War there was a fall in the birth rate in the early 1920's. Between 1927 and 1930 there was a drop of around twenty per cent in the pupil population of the country's elementary schools, (8) Consequently there was a corresponding increase in the sum of money per pupil available and this allowed for some improvement in standards.

Throughout the inter-war period, therefore, several factors were working in favour of educational reform. The belief had been popular before the First World War that national efficiency depended

to some extent, upon the quality of educational provision and that sentiment was not entirely lost during the 1920's and 1930's. More research and consequently greater knowledge about the way in which the children learn advanced whilst both the Education department and the education system as a whole expended of its own volition. The growing strength of a Labour Party committed to educational reform aided the cause whilst deflation and a falling birthrate provided a steadily rising material level in school facilities.

Despite this, many people concerned with education during the inter-war years, believed that successive governments were doing insufficient for the advancement of state education. A wide variety of forces operated to restrict and to limit the advance of state education. Most of these derived directly or indirectly from the weakness of the country's economy. A slump followed the First World War before the Wall Street crash triggered off a depression throughout the western world from which a complete recovery was not effected before the Second World War.

Financial orthodoxy recommended the strict control of government expenditure. Education expenditure had risen markedly in the three years following immediately after the war whilst a degree of optimism prevailed, but Circular 1190 of January 1921 informed local authorities that funds would not be available for any but essential building.

In August 1921 the Geddes Committee was appointed to examine estimates and recommend cuts. Not only did the Committee recommend severe cuts in education generally it specified the areas in which these cuts ought to be made, advising, for example, the raising

of the school starting age from five to six, reduced teacher's wages and a higher pupil to teacher ratio. These cuts were designed to save £18 million per year. The cuts actually made were less severe, Austen Chamberlain reporting to the Cabinet in February 1922 that £6.5 millions should be saved from educational expenditure. (9)

Financial restrictions provided a gloomy backcloth to education advance during the inter-war period. The May Report which followed the crisis of 1931 called for savings of £96½ million with more than £13.5 millions coming from education. (10) The Report criticised the belief which, it maintained, had become popular since the war, that all spending on education was innately desirable irrespective of the results that were achieved. Successive governments could do little to control economic forces and investment by the state in social services was a luxury which in times of economic depression the country could not afford. Thus, the predominant view on the benches of the Conservative Party which dominated the government of the country between 1918 and 1939 was that depression should be met with cuts in government expenditure, and, that education should not be exempt from these cuts.

To many radicals, some on the Conservative benches, the education of working class children was desirable, in part, because it would promote greater social mobility. That this view was not upheld by a majority of Conservative M.P.'s, or, at least, upheld with much conviction, was a further limiting factor upon educational expansion during the inter-war period. The existing class structure was seen either as natural and unavoidable, or desirable as a stabilising device.

The recommendations of the Hadow Committee, particularly those relating to the need for secondary education for all pupils inhibited the development of educational services in that they implied that an all-or-nothing situation existed. The elementary schools, generally, embodied limited aims and objectives. Most children had, at the age of fourteen, taken their education to the usual limits imposed by the elementary school situation. What, it would be asked, was the value of keeping children in elementary school for a further year. Writing in 1936, in a study of the Education Act of that year, the barrister Henry Hope said:-

..." there was probably a widespread doubt as to whether the type of education then available in the ordinary 'all age' elementary schools was such that children over fourteen were likely to derive any substantial benefit from it." (11)

Educationalists were insisting that a total restructuring of the education of adolescents was necessary if further notable improvements were to be made. If, for various reasons, the government was not prepared to instigate reconstruction on so vast a scale, then piecemeal reform seemed pointless.

Government opinion, especially Conservative opinion, strongly upheld the view that responsibility for the education of children lay partly with individual parents and with local authorities, and that excessive interference by the central government was undesirable. In 1902, Arthur Balfour had viewed the extension of the powers of local authorities as a progressive move. He said:-

"Let me add that one great advantage which I foresee from the local government point of view is that education will now be largely decentralised, and that it will be for each district to determine what is the species of education most needed by the children in it to fit them for their work, which, after all, no central department could so well judge of as those whom their parents elect and who are acquainted with the circumstances in which they live." (12)

In fact, many local authorities lapsed into lethargy, yet the government remained prepared to leave extensive powers in the hands of the local authorities. Circular 1397 of May 1928, encouraged local authorities to take action which would encourage the voluntary staying on at school beyond the statutory minimum leaving age of fourteen.

A further deterrent to the raising of the school leaving age was the fear that compulsion against the wishes of parents was an intolerable move. Little evidence was available to suggest that parents, in any significant number, wished their children to remain at school for a further year. In most working class homes, the

extra wage brought home by the adolescent was, however small, a welcome addition to family funds. Few working-class parents, it seemed, were convinced that an extra year spent at elementary school would improve the career prospects of their children or help them in any other way. Such a view was likely to remain as long as the depressed state of the economy prevailed.

Generally, the Churches did not encourage the expansion of state education. They had, in the 'nineteenth' century, played a leading role in the development of education. When the state began to take an active interest in education, several problems emerged. First, could adherents to one sect be expected to pay rates or taxes which would go towards the teaching of the beliefs of another sect? Secondly, if a Church school received aid, what would be the nature of religious teaching in those schools and what provisions would be available for children whose parents belonged to a different sect? Thirdly, since religious instruction had become an established aspect of the curriculum, what type of religious education would be given in schools run by the local authority?

As pressure increased for a re-organised system of secondary education a further problem emerged. Large scale reconstruction would require a considerable capital outlay and greatly increased running costs. It seemed unlikely that the Churches would be able to afford to finance a major reform. The role of the state would obviously grow and the sectarian disputes would again come to the fore, for, although the number of controlled schools decreased after the First World War, there were, in 1927, nearly 10,000 Church of England Schools. In 1902, Mr. Haldane expressed the

view that if only a really efficient system of education could be provided, religious problems could be overcome. He stated:-

"What we want above all is efficiency in our education and the raising of the standard. If that end were attained I think a great deal of the controversy which ranges around national education would be got rid of." (13)

Such a belief became no more than of forlorn hope.

Henry Hope wrote :

..." the whisper of any change threatened to reopen the whole question of the Church Schools, as such and to rekindle old fires of controversy." (14)

Two conflicting forces affected the development of education during the inter-war years. Demands for improved education were countered by the restraints imposed by religious and economic difficulties. In such a climate the 1936 Education Act was passed. The country appeared to be recovering from the worst aspects of the depression and the Government was prepared to raise the school leaving age to fifteen but there were no immediate plans to introduce the type and scale of reform recommended by the Hadow Committee ten years earlier. Furthermore, there was an exclusion aspect in the act. Whilst the school leaving age was to be raised to fifteen, pupils could leave at fourteen if they could furnish evidence that they had a worthwhile job which they could commence upon leaving school.

In effect, the minimum school leaving age was left unchanged.

Sir Percy Harris, Conservative MP for Bethnal Green, South-West, said of the 1936 Act:-

"There is this to be said for it, that it is better than no Bill, but it is a timid Bill produced by a timid Government." (15)

Although statements in Parliament do not indicate massive support for the raising of the school leaving age among Conservative MP's, Sir Percy's words are evidence of some disappointment within the party.

The Act planned for the raising of the school leaving age in September 1939, but the coming of the Second World War forced the government to abandon the plan.

The battering taken by the nation's industrial cities and ports made large scale post-war reconstruction essential. For the first time, widespread wartime damage had been done in the country itself. Equally important, as far as post-war reconstruction was concerned, the war had a profound effect upon the attitudes of the public.

II. THE 1944 EDUCATION ACT

The young Conservative M.P. R.A. Butler was selected by Churchill as President of the Board of Education. Churchill did not envisage an early Education Bill but, encouraged by the Hadow Report, another report by the Consultative Committee (The Spens Report of 1938) and the "Green Book" drawn up by officials of the Board in 1941, Butler embarked upon the new Bill.

It has been noted that one of the main factors working against extensive educational reform during the inter-war years had been the all or nothing aspect; the argument that little worthwhile could be done unless a large scale reorganisation of the whole system was introduced. Whilst inter-war governments had refused to make so bold a step the wartime coalition was faced with the necessity of making bold steps. Once it was decided, therefore, that a new Education Bill was to be drawn up, R.A. Butler, given a free hand politically, was able to use as guidelines the findings of several reports. Board of Education reports submitted by the Hadow Committee in 1926, the Spens Committee in 1938 and the Norwood Committee in 1943, advocated substantial reform which would provide secondary education for all. In June 1941, the "Green Book" was produced by the Board outlining its proposals, and in 1943 a white paper, "Educational Reconstruction" was issued. The Education Bill itself, planning for a massive reorganisation of the country's system of education was introduced in 1944. Perhaps the most important reform was the creation of secondary education for all children. Section seven of the Act stated:-

"The statutory system of public education shall be organised in three progressive stages to be known as primary education, secondary education, and further education; and it shall be the duty of the local education authority for every area so far as their powers extend, to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education throughout those stages shall

be available to meet the needs of the population of their area." (16)

Whilst, therefore, education was seen as a continuous process, the threefold division recommended by the Hadow Report, was established. Moreover, not only were the local education authorities empowered to create secondary as well as primary schools, they were required to do so. The Act was to insist that,-

"... the schools available for an area shall not be deemed to be sufficient unless they are sufficient in number, character, and equipment to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their different ages, abilities, and aptitudes, and of the different periods for which they may be expected to remain at school, including practical instruction and training appropriate to their respective needs." (17)

Section 11 of the Act demanded that within a year of the commencement of that part of the Act, every education authority must prepare a development plan for submission to the Minister showing its proposals for primary and secondary provision in the area. After this plan had received the approval of the Minister an order would be made specifying; stated section twelve:-

"... the county schools and voluntary schools which it is the duty of the authority to maintain, and the order shall, to such extent as the Minister considers desirable,

define the duties of the authority with respect to the measures to be taken by the authority for securing that there shall be sufficient primary and secondary schools available for their area,.. " (18)

Secondary education was to be made possible by the break at eleven from primary education, and the progressive raising of the minimum school leaving age, first to fifteen, and later to sixteen. This would provide a four year, later a five year, course for post-primary pupils, though in fact, the provision for those reaching the age of fifteen before either Christmas or Easter, to leave at the end of the term in which they became fifteen meant that, initially, some pupils would have a secondary education extending over three years and one term.

The Act, whilst requiring that pupils be educated according to their abilities did not make strict requirements as to how the structure of secondary education was to make this provision. What was generally assumed was that the existing secondary schools would continue to provide an 'academic' education and would become known as "grammar" schools whilst secondary modern schools would evolve a type of education suitable for those children considered to be unsuited to 'academic' work. Clearly, a considerable degree of improvisation would be required in the early years since most secondary modern education would, of necessity, have to be undertaken in the buildings of the old elementary schools. Such a situation was far from satisfactory since it was hoped that 'parity of esteem' would exist between grammar and modern schools. Clearly also, a considerable financial outlay would be needed for something like a quarter of a

century to provide satisfactory new secondary modern schools. Considerable resources would be required also for the provision of technical schools which were to provide a third type of secondary education.

The Act did nothing to deter local authorities from introducing multi-lateral schools, in which all forms of secondary education would be provided in the same school. Whilst the term "tripartite system" was used to describe the division of primary, secondary and further education, increasingly it became used to describe the three types of secondary schools, the grammar schools, and the modern schools, and the technical schools.

The religious problem which had for so long obstructed the advancement of state education had to be tackled. Assistance was to be given to voluntary schools in order that their buildings and facilities might be brought up to the standard required by the ministry. Compulsory religious education was to be given in all maintained schools and the day was to begin with an act of collective worship. Pupils could be withdrawn from these should their parents wish.

The Act provided for a comprehensive approach to the administration of state education. The department of education was to be headed by the minister, instead of, as formerly, the President of the Board. His duty was:-

"... to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions

devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area." (19)

Each authority was to appoint a chief education officer who would supervise educational provision for the authority and would advise the authority upon the type of provision most desirable for the area. This chief officer would have to be approved by the minister himself.

The Act sought to provide a comprehensive system for the training of youth. As well as planning for the foundation of a national system of education, and its administration, it covered a variety of topics such as the provision of meals and medical inspection, enforcement of attendance and general inspection. Working conditions of teachers were covered as was part-time employment of minors.

The 1944 Education Act thus represented massive reform of the system of educational provision in England and Wales. This Act, it was hoped, would provide the blueprint for the advance of education over many years. It sought to provide a framework but whilst a satisfactory standard of education was required by the ministry, considerable scope was left both to local authorities, and to individual head teachers to develop their own plans so that a national system would evolve which would be uniformly good but varied in type.

An enquiry into why a conservative group should accept a piece of radical legislation should be accompanied by an assessment of the

extent to which the Act was really radical. Clearly, little may be gained from asking why a conservative group accepted a particular piece of legislation, in the hope of discovering a reformist trait, if that legislation is in fact cautious, and does not, in real terms alter considerably the existing situation. In asking why, therefore, the Conservative Party accepted the 1944 Education Act, it is necessary to establish whether in fact the Act really was a radical one, or at least, included several radical elements. In this case the term 'radical' is not used in any precise sense but refers to any aspect of the Act which represented a decisive change from the existing order. In assessing first, the radical aspects of the 1944 Act two elements must be considered; first, the actual parts of the Act which affected directly, the state of education in England and Wales, and second, the likely consequences which would be expected to effect long-term changes in society as a whole.

One of the most striking aspects of the 1944 Education Act was its sheer size. The history of education during the previous century had been highlighted by notable acts particularly in 1870 and 1902 which had aimed at specific improvements and others which sought piecemeal improvements. Most of these earlier Acts were restricted in their scope by qualifications which were the result of bitter argument and controversy. What the 1944 Act sought to do, however, was recast the whole education structure from five to fifteen and beyond and provide for the finance and administrative machinery necessary to make the new system work. Compared with earlier education Acts, therefore, the Act of 1944 marked a radical step in its sheer magnitude.

A remarkable feature of the 1944 Education Act was its ability to overcome the religious problems which had obstructed reform

throughout the twentieth century and before. Indeed, Winston Churchill did not intend that a drastic educational reform would be introduced during the war, and apprehension regarding the religious issue was his chief reason for taking this position. On the 12th September 1941, Churchill wrote to Butler saying:-

"It would be the greatest mistake to raise the 1902 controversy during the war, and I certainly cannot contemplate a new Education Bill." (20)

When Butler proceeded with his plans Catholics raised objections indeed the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, the Most Reverend Bernard Griffin wrote to "The Times" stating:-

"While others were satisfied with the Bill, Catholics were not satisfied." (21)

Throughout the discussions in both Houses of Parliament, the misgivings of Roman Catholics were registered. However the desirability of a reform as massive as that proposed was conceded.

A notable feature of the Act was the change in emphasis regarding the responsibility for the education of children, from parents and local authorities to the state. Balfour's belief that the initiative for educational provision should come from the local authorities has been noted. By 1939 it was clear that this policy had resulted in an uneven level of provision and a wide range of educational standards in various parts of the country. The local authorities, aware, no doubt, of the general public opinion and the need to keep

down the rates, had not, in the main, be able or willing to set up a system of provision which satisfied the requirements of the 1944 Act. Thus the Act insisted that the provisions made by the local authorities were to be subject to the requirements of the central government.

An obstacle to educational reform during the inter-war years was the absence of any convincing evidence that a majority of parents favoured educational reconstruction especially the extension of the compulsory period of schooling. The rights of parents had indeed been emphasised by opponents of extensive educational reform. Some, whilst supporting the main principles of the Act of 1944 believed that compulsion was taken too far. Regarding the limitations placed upon part-time work, which, it had been argued was detrimental to the performance of children in school. Commander Bower, M.P. for Cleveland, said :

"I suggest to the Committee that this is one of those intolerable interferences with the liberty of the subject which many of us are determined to fight to the death, both now and after the war." (22)

Captain Cobb, a frequent speaker on the Conservative side on educational matters remarked:-

"It seems to me that the power, given to local authorities, would be a gross abuse of the rights of parents." (23)

A further radical feature of the 1944 Education Act was its abolition of the payment of fees. Section 61 stated that:

"No fees shall be charged in respect of admission to any school maintained by a local education authority, or to any county college, or in respect of the education provided in any school or college." (24)

This meant in fact that merit was to be the sole criteria for the place in grammar schools and that all secondary education was to be given as a right to all children.

The view that secondary education should be available to all as a right represented a considerable change from the main themes of Conservative thinking during the inter-war period. However, one commentator, G.A.N. Lowndes, believed that attitudes were changing before the outbreak of World War Two. In "The Silent Social Revolution," published in 1937, he wrote of Britain and the education system:-

" Her conservative habits of thought and the equally conservative financial traditions of her central and local government, accentuated by the financial strain of the war, have been brought at least to accept the theory.... that there must eventually be equality of educational opportunity where there is equality

of capacity to profit by it ..."(25)

This changing attitude was thus represented by R.A. Butler's comment when, referring to a moral necessity to implement secondary education for all; he remarked:-

"It would be an immoral thing in my view, if a parent were to purchase a place in a school to the exclusion of someone who would make a better citizen."(26)

Such a principle clearly was not embodied in the system of state education before 1939.

Whilst the Act contained numerous radical features it was notable also in that such a considerable reform would affect, inevitably, the development of British society. Conservatives had long maintained that the division of society into different classes was either desirable, or at least inevitable. It was one of the chief lines of attack upon the Party by its political enemies that it represented the interests of the 'privileged' classes. Simon Haxey's 'Tory M.P.', published by the Left Book Club in 1940 asserted that:-

"The Conservative Party is not dominated by the small local employer, but by the section of society from which big bankers, industrialists, and merchants are drawn."(27)

Haxey also remarked:-

"There is plenty of evidence from Conservatives themselves

that wealth is almost always the first thing
required of a Tory candidate." (28)

After the Second World War, the Conservative Party, aware of this criticism took steps to limit the contribution made by a candidate to his constituency party's funds. Yet Conservatives, including those like Harold Macmillan, who, before the War advocated radical economic policies, rejected the notion that the living standards of poorer groups could, or should, be alleviated by massive taxation upon the wealthy classes. Such a scheme claimed Macmillan would only scratch the surface of the problem. The long term objective should be a vast increase of production so that all of the people would be able to secure a decent living standard without any marked alteration of social grouping. In "The Middle Way", published in 1938 Harold Macmillan wrote:-

"The object of economic effort must be to increase the production of wealth and, as a result of rising prosperity, to enable society to increase the leisure and cultural opportunities of all the people." (29)

The social divisions in Great Britain were reflected, with considerable accuracy by the system of education. The sons of the aristocracy and those of the greatest wealth were educated, in the main, either privately, or at the great public schools whilst the middle classes sent their offspring to the lesser public schools, most of which were of Victorian origin. Sub-divisions within this group were represented by the considerable differences both in terms

of prestige, and fees charged, between the public schools. The children of the lower middle classes tended to dominate the state secondary schools in which small fees were charged whilst an overwhelming majority of working class children attended elementary school before taking up full-time employment at the age of fourteen years, just one year after the secondary education of public school children had begun.

The likelihood was that the 1944 Education Act would alter this framework, and, perhaps, be a cause of social change. One possibility was that the ending of fees in maintained secondary schools would create a sharper division between the private and the public sector. Another was that considerable upward social mobility would be encouraged by making all "grammar" schools open to free competition.

Thus the Conservative Party which, traditionally, was unhappy about rapid social change, was supporting an Act which was likely to encourage this.

?

One argument deployed in opposition to a radical education act during the inter-war years was the belief that more educated people were not required, given the rather stagnant state of the economy. The existing system could provide the necessary technologists, managers and professionals. The expected expansion of the economy after World War Two would demand more such highly trained people. This would also encourage upward mobility.

A criticism often aimed by the left at the Conservative Party was, that it emphasised social differences, perhaps attempted to exaggerate them. America, it was claimed, possessed a wide variety of income levels, indeed, in 1937 Max Eastman suggested that the pay differentials between labourers and senior executives were wider in the Soviet Union than in the U.S.A. (30) Still, it was claimed, these countries did not place the same emphasis upon social divisions as did British Conservatives. The likelihood was, however, that greater social mobility would undermine the reverence with which class differences were viewed in Britain. When upward social movement takes place on a small scale the new members of a class tend to adopt the values and customs of that class. For example, the aim of England's first industrial plutocrats was to purchase estates, like the Elder Sir Robert Peel's property at Drayton, and become accepted in the social circles of the aristocracy. When upward mobility takes place on a large scale a new class, like the industrial and commercial class of mid-Victorian England, tends to establish its own social identity. Thus, the sort of social mobility that the 1944 Education Act was likely to encourage could change

the social structure of the country.

Such social change would create, probably, a more meritocratic society. In the past some Conservatives had attacked radical demands for such a society. For example, in 1912, Lord Hugh Cecil wrote,

"All property is seen to be on the same moral level, as something acquired without injustice, that is to say, without fraud or violence, but not meritoriously, so that the owner's title may rest on his virtues."⁽³¹⁾

Whilst many Conservatives would still support this view, and certainly few would claim that all wealth should be related to an individual's contribution towards the economic well-being of society, a class whose own position was achieved on merit was likely to look less favourably upon the holders of great inherited fortunes than a class in which social status and inherited wealth played some considerable part in its own future well-being.

Another consequence of the extension of state education which was likely to have a far reaching effect upon British social life involved the money which would be required to increase vastly the amount of revenue collected by the central government. Since both parties were committed to helping to raise the standards of living of the lower paid classes, the main

burden for social services would fall on the companies and the wealthiest individuals. Thus, the 1944 Act required a more steeply graded taxation system. This involved a considerable change of opinion from that voiced by Lord Hugh Cecil in 1912.

He wrote:-

"To tax a class specially is to punish them; to punish except for crime is unjust; and to commit injustice in order to profit by it is dishonest." (32)

He added:-

To punish the innocents, in the interest of the community is immoral and cannot be justified." (33)

Some Conservatives at least were not prepared to disguise this aspect of social reform. Speaking at the Corn Exchange, Leicester on 14th April 1944, the Minister of Reconstruction, Lord Woolton told a gathering of business and professional men:-

"I do not want to see Britain return to all its old ways. For those of us who were fortunately circumstanced the ways of the past were good beyond our deserts - but what of the other people? Did chance not play too great a part in their lives?" (34)

Moreover, he told a meeting at the Newport Technical College on 7th October of that year:-

"Whatever may be the level of taxation after the war, it is certain that the great financial rewards of the past will not be repeated in the future: business men will no longer be able to depend only on the stimulus of making and keeping great wealth." (35)

This opinion may not have been shared by the majority of Conservative M.P.'s but Lord Woolton's views were important since he held a prominent position in the Party.

Chairman 7 P May 1946

Almost inevitably the expansion of the system of state education would encourage the growth of the number of people employed by the state. The education service itself would make considerable demands upon the available intellectual talent. The number of teachers employed by the local education authorities was bound to grow and the expected expansion of the grammar schools would place a particular demand upon the products of the nation's universities. A high calibre of administrators would also be required to maintain the expanded system of state education. A considerable increase would also be required in the number of non-teaching, non-administrative personnel in the schools.

More generally, those emerging from the grammar schools and universities without the backing of family capital were more likely to seek highly paid posts in established organisations, rather than attempt to set up their own businesses. Clearly, the growing agencies of the state would absorb a notable proportion of these people. Thus, a process was likely to develop encouraged by an expanded

system of education, in which more people, particularly highly educated people, were likely to be employed by the state.

A further radical aspect of the Act was the impetus it gave to the belief that the state should take greater responsibility for the provision of welfare services. There was, at last, it seemed, some agreement with the sentiments of the statement made by the Liberal M.P. Mr. MacNamara during the debate on the 1902 Education Act. He had asserted that:-

"It is a dangerous anachronism to have any portion of the education of the working class maintained out of charitable contributions... I submit that the time has come when we should no longer maintain in operation the educational work of working class children out of money collected at jumble sales and ping-pong tournaments". (36)

It may be added that some Conservatives expected this expansion of state activity to extend to industry. During the War, state involvement in industry had increased. Labour intended that this involvement would increase still more after the War. Lord Woolton,^{on} the Conservative side, believed that the relationship between industry and the state would not be able to return to that of the pre-war era. Speaking to the Federation of British Industry at the Caxton Hall, London, on the 28th March 1944, he said:-

"I suggest to you that once a government undertake responsibility for the complete organisation of industry, as they have done in this country during the last few years, that Government cannot get rid of the responsibility for seeing that industry gets back to ordered and reasonable status, to the position in which it can look after itself. The process of rehabilitation of industry must be controlled, it need not be slow. Industry after the war must continue to serve the State, and in the immediate future I think the State must be allowed to determine how it shall be used and what it is the State will want." (37)

Thus, an increased role for the state in education would probably be part of a general strengthening of the power of the state.

The 1944 Education Act was thus, in many ways radical. Not only did it change drastically the system of state education, but it was likely also to play a part in the process by which far-reaching social changes would take place. Why, therefore, did the Conservative Party, which, throughout the inter-war period had shown little appetite for educational reform, support so radical a scheme?

Whilst the Act had many radical features it was, in some ways rather conservative. Certainly some radical educationalists were dissatisfied. For example A. Pinsent wrote:-

" there is a danger that the proposed changes in our post-primary system may be the old system re-labelled (38) with new names."

The Norwood Committee had been set up to examine secondary education and its Report, published in 1943, was couched in language with which few Conservatives could disapprove. The theme of the Report was that change in education should be slow and evolutionary. It stated:-

"We do not believe in change for the sake of change or in the destruction of something which, though in need of reform, yet contains elements of value." (39)

The new system of secondary education should not be seen, insisted the Norwood Report, as a new creation based upon the ideas and findings of educational researchers. It sought to build upon the existing structure. It claimed:-

"... education is necessarily slow in growth if it is to grown aright,... it would be an unforgivable wrong to those who come after not to conserve what is good from the labours of the past." (40)

The proposed reform was radical in intention but the language of the Report was reminiscent of a page from Burke or Cecil, or a speech of Peel or Disraeli.

The extent to which the educational system was a mirror of the social stratification of the country has been noted. There was considerable opposition from many Labour sympathisers to public

schools and a demand in some quarters that all state secondary education, like primary education, should be conducted in one type of school. The destruction of public schools and the setting up of common state secondary schools, would, it was hoped, begin a process by which class differences would be broken down. The 1944 Education Act gave very little encouragement to this outlook. Whilst there was to be a massive expansion in education generally, the basic structure was to remain largely unchanged.

In his letter of September 1941, Winston Churchill said to R. A. Butler:-

" I think it would be a great mistake to stir up the public schools question at the present time." (41)

The problem, if indeed problem there was, was removed from the concern of the 1944 Act, and a separate Report was commissioned from the Fleming Committee regarding the public schools issue. There were some murmurings from the Labour benches, Mr. Parker, for example, the member for Romford complained that the Act did not go far enough in tackling the public schools. (42)

The 1944 Act did little to encourage the common schools of which there were two types, the multi-lateral which aimed to provide grammar, technical and modern accommodation on the same site, and the comprehensive school which sought to overcome the strict division along tripartite lines. Such schools were not ruled out as suitable schemes for experiment. The White Paper "Educational Reconstruction" of 1943 stated:-

"It would be wrong to suppose that they will necessarily remain separate or apart. Different types may be combined in one building or on one site as considerations of convenience and efficiency may suggest. In any case the free interchange of pupils from one type of education to another must be facilitated." (43)

The Norwood Report did not oppose common schools in principle but it did suggest that they might be too large to be desirable. During the Third Reading of the Education Bill of 1944, Mr. Chuter Ede remarked:-

"The keynote of this Bill is unity, not uniformity. We desire that the education service of this country shall be a unity, and we recognise that in this great free and tolerant country, there will have to be a wide diversity if unity is to be possible." (44)

Acceptance of the belief that social unity could be secured by diversity in education demanded 'parity of esteem' between the various types of secondary schools. The grammar schools would take, or so it was assumed, all of the outstanding pupils operating in the state system hence, on purely academic grounds it would be impossible for other schools to compete with them. The hope was that secondary modern schools would develop reputations in non-academic fields and thus attain a parity with the grammar schools, not within academic terms, but within the terms of general public regard. Indeed the possibility was that in the common schools the achievements of the academically able would overshadow the achievements of less able

pupils. Thus although there was some support within the Labour movement for common schools, indeed a T.U.C. Pamphlet "Education and Democracy" published in 1937 emphasised the virtues of the multi-lateral school, the grammar school it was assumed would not only allow working class children of ability to attain equality of opportunity with public school children, but it also satisfied the needs of the state. In 1943, F. C. Happold Head of Bishop Wordsworth's school, wrote,

"The most important immediate task may be to ensure that the superior minority, who are not confined to any one particular class, should be given an education of the highest quality it is capable of receiving, so that it may make its maximum contribution to the common good." (45)

A majority of Labour leaders including Mr. Chuter Ede preferred the tripartite division. Many radicals outside parliament also, saw the grammar school as providing the means by which able working class children could best obtain a good education. Bertrand Russell criticised the comprehensive principle when in 1932 he wrote:-

" A great deal of needless pain and friction would be saved to clever children if they were not compelled to associate intimately with stupid contemporaries. There is an idea that rubbing against all and sundry in youth is a good preparation for life. This appears to me to be rubbish." (46)

The grammar schools, even without fee payers were generally expected to continue to promote not only high academic standards but also the ethos of the public schools. There were some fears that this would change though it was unlikely that the attitudes of many grammar school teachers would change markedly. On February 17th 1944 "The Times" published a letter from Mr. W. A. Clayton of Maidstone School who wrote:-

"... there is a fear, less often expressed in public, ... that abolition of fees will endanger the traditional connections and clientele of many schools and change their whole ethos." (47)

Certainly few politicians advocated any change in the type of education provided by the grammar schools. The Norwood Report asserted that:-

"The distinguishing feature of the Grammar School for our present purpose lies in the intellectual ideal which it upholds as best suited to a particular group of pupils

In short, the Grammar School upholds an ideal of disciplined thought promoted by an introduction to the main fields of systematic knowledge, which is valued first for its own sake and later invoked to meet the needs of life." (48)

The Norwood Report claimed that the three types of school associated with the development of secondary education corresponded with three types of mind. It did not attempt a sophisticated

analysis of these 'types' or describe in any great detail the evidence put forward to suggest their existence. It stated:-

" The evolution of education has in fact thrown up certain groups, each of which can and must be treated in a way appropriate to itself. Whether such groupings are distinct on strictly psychological grounds, whether they represent types of mind, whether the differences are differences in kind or in degree, these are questions which it is not necessary to pursue. Our point is that rough groupings, whatever may be their ground, have in fact established themselves in educational experience and the recognition of such groupings in educational practice has been justified both during the period of education and in the after-careers of the pupils." (49)

The report outlined three types of pupil. Of the type expected to be educated in the grammar schools it said:-

"... English education has in practice recognised the pupil who is interested in learning for its own sake, who can grasp an argument or follow a piece of connected reasoning, who is interested in causes whether on the level of human volition or in the material world, who cares to know how things came to be as well as how they are,... He can take a long view and hold his mind in suspense: this may be revealed in his work or in his attitude to a career." (50)

The Report described the type of careers for which a grammar school education was suited and added:-

"... the assumption is now made, and with confidence, that for such callings a certain make-up of aptitudes and capacities is necessary, and such make-up may for educational purposes constitute a particular type of mind." (51)

Of the boy for whom the technical schools were intended the Report stated:-

"He often has an uncanny insight into the intricacies of mechanism whereas the subtleties of language construction are too delicate for him." (52)

Finally, the secondary modern pupil was described.

"He is interested in things as they are; he finds little attraction in the past or in the slow disentanglement of causes or movements. His mind must turn its knowledge or its curiosity to immediate test; and his test is essentially practical." (53)

The psychologist Cyril Burt in an article entitled, "The Education of the Young Adolescent: The Psychological Implications of the Norwood Report", criticised the implication that there were different types of mind. He insisted that:-

"The one thing which the analysis of mental measurements has demonstrated beyond all doubt is the supreme importance during childhood of a general factor of intelligence." (54)

There was considerable disagreement as to how children might be ascribed to one of the three groups. The White Paper "Educational Recon-

"Struction" was clear on one point: that a single test was unfair.

It stated:-

"There is nothing to be said in favour of a system which subjects children at the age of 11 to the strain of a competitive examination on which, not only their future schooling, but their future careers may depend. Apart from the effect on the children, there is the effect on the curriculum of the schools themselves." (55)

The paper added:-

..." in the future, children at the age of about 11 should be classified, not as the results of a competitive test, but on an assessment of their individual aptitudes largely by such means as school records, supplemented, if necessary, by intelligence tests, due regard being had to their parents' wishes and the careers they have in mind." (56)

Many psychologists were convinced, however, that the intelligence test was the best method of placing children indeed Cyril Burt was convinced that the general level of intelligence to which he referred could be measured by careful testing. In his article on the Norwood Report he criticised teacher' assessments for five main reasons. First, he claimed, there was a tendency for teachers grading their own pupils to mark too highly and secondly, teachers tended to understate the difference in ability between the most able and the weaker pupils. There was insufficient "stretch" in the marks. Thirdly, Burt argued, individual teachers marked differently, and fourthly, differences would exist between one school and another. Finally, he claimed that teachers tended

(57)

to assess present attainment rather than innate ability.

One of the chief hopes associated with intelligence tests was that they would prevent the obscuring of basic ability by other factors particularly social and cultural ones. Douglas M. McIntosh, however, argued that tests revealed not a precise I.Q. but suggested only an area or range between two extreme points. He also showed that children's scores improved with practice. Reporting an experiment in an article entitled, "The Effect of Practice in Intelligence Test Results", he wrote:-

"A child's range of I.Q. over the six tests averaged about twelve points in each case, and the maximum
(58)
for any child was twenty-five."

Despite the disagreement regarding the methods by which children were to be placed there was general agreement as to the desirability of the tripartite system. It was left to the local authorities to decide upon the type of assessment to be used. Sir Percy Harris, M.P. for Bethnall Green, South, remarked:-

"If we are to justify secondary education for all, a popular phrase, but very often misinterpreted, we must have variety of schools and opportunities. We must have the modern school on the one hand, the grammar school on the other, the academic system of education for those who have a literary bent, and those on the other hand opportunities for technical education." (59)

It would be misleading to assume that Conservative M.P.'s supported the 1944 Act, only because of its essential conservatism. The Act did embody several radical features yet most Conservative M.P.'s supported it.

It is the view, both of R.A. Butler, and of Harold Macmillan, that the experiences of war had fostered a more radical spirit in Parliament. Later, Butler wrote:-

"Amid the suffering and sacrifice the weaknesses of society are revealed and there begins a period of self-examination, self-criticism and movement for reform." (60)

From 1944, Butler believed, it was possible to look back upon the inter-war period as one of gloom. Regarding home affairs, the hopes and aspirations which followed victory in World War One had evaporated into the harsh reality of the depression of the 1930's. Successive governments had been unable to alleviate greatly, the problems of falling production and rising unemployment.

In the field of foreign affairs the policy of appeasement clearly, had been a mistaken one. Since the Conservative Party had dominated government during the inter-war period it was impossible for the Party to escape blame for the lack of achievement during these years. Thus, whereas in 1914, the country had, generally speaking, gone to war with enthusiasm, the situation in 1939 was different. Harold Macmillan later wrote:-

"We few survivors of the First War seemed to have failed in our duty and to have betrayed our fallen friends." (61)

This situation allowed for a realistic appraisal of the country's institutions. Conservatives were made aware of the state of the nation's educational system. R.A. Butler told the House of Commons:-

"... the fact is that the standards of many schools - ... are extremely bad. It is no good mincing words and saying that they are not. We would not have taken the trouble to come forward with these reforms unless we knew that there was need for placing the whole dual system on a new basis." (62)

On the specific point of technical education one Conservative Member, Mr. Colgate, M.P. for the Wrekin, remarked:-

"One of the facts that has to be faced very frankly about technical education in this country is that, taking it by and large, it is not of a very high grade,..." (63)

There was some feeling in Parliament that a new age was dawning. Harold Macmillan wrote of 1939:-

"Although much was hidden from us, we already sensed, amidst the uncertainty and darkness of those days of war, that we were approaching the end of an epoch." (64)

After an ominous beginning the War seemed, by 1944, to be reaching a successful conclusion. A mood of optimism was struck by the White Paper "Educational Reconstruction" which asserted that:-

"The war has revealed afresh the resources and character of the British people ..." (65)

Some senior Conservatives voiced this optimism. Opening the Second Reading of the Education Bill in the House of Lords, Lord Woolton claimed:-

"During the last few years we have given up so much, we have made so many sacrifices, so many of our old cherished convictions and privileges have been abandoned in the new unity that has bound us in a struggle for life and freedom, that we cannot be content to see the planning of the future after the war shackled and fettered by conceptions of government that have become worn out. New times give

birth to new ideas and this Bill is a fitting measure for the new world into which we are moving, even although in the characteristic British way we move so quietly as to be scarcely conscious of the boldness of our adventure." (66)

R.A. Butler later wrote:-

"The challenge of the times provided a stimulus for rethinking the purposes of society and planning the reconstruction of the social system of which education formed an integral part." (67)

The optimism regarding post war construction was stimulated by the success of British industry and technology during the war. The crisis led to developments in aviation, military equipment and shipping which were unparalleled in peacetime. Could not this rate of progress, given a determined effort, be made in other areas after the war? Viscountess Astor remarked during the Second Reading of the Education Bill:-

" I know it is going to be difficult. It was difficult at the beginning of the war to start building aeroplanes and making tanks, yet we did it. Education is going to be as vital in the peace as aeroplanes and tanks are in the war. We are going to be up against a mechanised world, a new kind of world, and the young people have to be educated." (68)

Optimism was matched with a sense of idealism and demands were made for more far-reaching reforms than those envisaged by the Bill. There were, for example,

demands for the statutory provision of playing fields, audio-visual apparatus and equal pay for women teachers; the latter in particular being discussed. For example, Mr Colgate demanded that the school leaving age be raised to sixteen as quickly as possible. (69) There was some criticism expressed with the Government's unwillingness to state a date for the raising to only fifteen of the minimum school leaving age and on several occasions, Mr. R. A. Butler reminded the House that circumstances demanded a practical approach. Referring to the idealism of the time Mr. Butler stated:-

"There is no doubt that there is something brewing in this country, something of which we are not fully aware, something great and noble and worthy of our history. It seems to me vital that those of us who are in responsible positions should use these great times to the advantage of our country, and not misinterpret them or misuse them." (70)

The idealistic approach towards reconstruction was echoed by Mr. Chuter Ede during the Third Reading. He remarked:-

"We have been part of a band of pilgrims who have been pursuing this journey. We have had with us our spiritual advisors,..." (71)

One of the most notable features of this wartime idealism was a spirit of egalitarianism. Apart from the Jacobite risings of the early eighteenth century warfare had not taken place on British soil since the seventeenth century. The extensive use of bombs had involved the whole community directly in the war even though the enemy never landed on the mainland. The war was a shared experience in which all classes made sacrifices. Barriers between the classes were to some

extent disregarded in the air-raid shelter in a way that was not really possible in the army where rank was, of necessity, strictly adhered to. The remarks of Macmillan and Butler suggest that there was a growing demand among the public for greater social equality and that an improved education service would help promote this. Indeed of the late 1920's, the period during which he was President of the Board of Education, Eustace Percy wrote:-

"The demand for real "equality of opportunity" in education was becoming nothing less than the main motive for political action".(72)

In 1937, G.A.N. Lowndes wrote:-

"Another important feature of the period has been the final acceptance by conservative thought (as embodied in a National Government) of the theory that ultimately the secondary schools must be thrown open completely, and on no other basis than talent, to those most fitted to receive a secondary education in whatever stratum of the population they may be found." (73)

Perhaps this egalitarian theme owed much to wartime experience, R.A. Butler's comment that it would be morally wrong for a pupil of ordinary ability to occupy a place in a grammar school at the exclusion of a more able pupil for no other

reason than parental wealth was not widely opposed. Several Conservatives spoke of the need to reduce the difference in the provision provided by state schools and by public schools. Mr. Lipson M.P. for Cheltenham remarked with reference to public schools:-

"If we are going to have anything like equality of educational opportunity, it is necessary that the classes in the schools under the local authority should be of comparable size."⁽⁷⁴⁾

The clear implication of Mr. Lipson's speech was that this "equality of opportunity" was desirable. Mrs. Cazalet Keir, MP for Islington East told the House that all parents who could afford it kept their children in school at least until they reached the age of sixteen and therefore the State should take it upon itself to set a date for the raising of the minimum school leaving age to sixteen.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Speaking more generally, Mr. Lipson stated with regard to the Bill as a whole:-

"I support it because I believe in what I understand to be one of the principles of this Bill, that no child shall on account of the financial position of his parents be deprived of his right to secondary education."⁽⁷⁶⁾

It does seem that the experiences of wartime helped to provide a fuller understanding of the circumstances in which the various groups lived.

Expecting an immediate invasion attempt, and almost certainly bombing, perhaps with poisonous gas, the government decided to evacuate

children from the cities to the country districts. Poor children were often taken into middle-class homes, an experience which often proved to be as great a shock for the foster parents as for the children. The government and voluntary organisations that operated evacuation were made aware of the problems which emerged. In 1944, M. C. Dent produced "Education in Transition. A Sociological Study of the Impact of War on English Education 1939-43". He reported:-

"There existed - unknown to the vast majority of respectable English citizens - in the slums and near-slums of our cities and congested ways of life, a squalor and sordidness almost beyond the belief of anyone who had not had personal experience of them." (77)

He went on to give numerous examples. One of these quoted a study reported to the National Federation of Women's Institutes'. Part of this examined a random 26 mothers of evacuated children, It stated:-

" One mother out of the 26 was clean and industrious, four others took some pride in their appearance, but were otherwise unconcerned. The remaining 21 mothers ... were dirty, lazy, and insanitary, and observed no decency, even when it was easy to do so." (78)

Many people were not only shocked by what they found but also insistent that the government should have a long-term policy to improve the situation. Dent quoted from a Derbyshire Women's Institute correspondent who said:-

" I had no conception such awful people existed, but we are to blame that we allow the Government to have such housing conditions. These children should have a chance to be brought

up to be decent citizens. Under present conditions they are not." (79)

This knowledge did not go unnoticed by some Conservative M.P.'s. R.A. Butler stated:-

"But, unfortunately, the experience of evacuation which I met when I first went to the Board, and which we have all experienced in different ways, and other war experiences have shown us that many homes need help." (80)

Also on the theme of evacuation Professor Savory commented:-

"When the war broke out in 1939 and numbers were evacuated from our great towns, we had a disagreeable eye-opener with regard to existing conditions." (81)

Induction into the forces produced a similar effect. Captain Crowder declared:-

"Those in charge of the intake into the Services, especially the women's Services, are horrified at the lack of understanding and the low moral standard of a good many of the entrants." (82)

As well as affecting the outlook upon society of some Conservative

M.P.'s and their supporters, the war awakened again the desire for "national efficiency" which had been, apparently, somewhat dormant during the depression of the inter-war years. It was known that British industry had been disrupted considerably by the war, both by the effects of German bombing and by the need to run down industries not concerned with the war effort. A massive programme of reconstruction would be necessary after the war. The industrial world generally would be faced with this problem and it was fairly obvious that the most efficiently organised ones would prosper. It was generally recognised also that education would play a vital role in reconstruction. Able brains would have to be trained and utilised by the community. Other nations were certain to recognise this and Britain would have to do so as well. Yet the demand for education as a means towards national efficiency was taken up, in general, not with resignation but with enthusiasm. Lord Woolton stated:-

" Whatever may be the wealth or the material resources of this country, our greatest national asset lies in our children." (83)

Implicit in this drive for efficiency was an awareness that in the inter-war years, British education, and in particular, technical education had fallen beneath the standard set by other countries. Such a situation, it was generally accepted, could not exist during the post-war years. Sir Harold Webbe, M.P. for Westminster asked:-

" What has been the response of our educational system to these new circumstances and these changed demands? The response has been almost non-existent. As a result, the technical education of this country is by common consent

today far below that of any other industrial nation, ... " (84)

Assessing the real purpose behind the Bill, Lord Quickswood remarked:-

"Therefore I do not believe that what we are all so enthusiastically engaged upon is not the pursuit of either virtue or of happiness. But it is, I think, the pursuit of efficiency." (85)

Against one point of criticism of the relationship between education of the running of the country's industry after the war, R. A. Butler said:-

" To the question 'Who will do the work if everyone is educated?' we reply that education itself will oil the wheels of industry and bring a new efficiency, the fruit of modern knowledge, to aid the ancient skill of the farm and field." (86)

Indeed, R. M. Hutchings later wrote:-

" In fact, the most important single cause for the new interest in education after World War II was the belief that a new scientific and technological age had opened in which nations and individuals, if they were to flourish or even to survive, would have to have much more education and particularly much more of a scientific and technical kind." (87)

When the general outlook or 'ideology' of a political group changes or develops over a period of several years, it does so for two main reasons. First, the attitudes of individuals often change as circumstances change also. Secondly the composition of the party changes as some individuals, usually older ones are removed from the scene, and others, often younger ones, take their place. At a time of rapid social change the attitudes of the new men are likely to differ considerably from those of the older ones. Thus the balance of views and attitudes within a political party are likely to be subject to a progressive shift. One of the factors therefore in the growing radicalism of the Conservative Party during the war years was ^{probably,} the coming to positions of prominence, of new men.

Winston Churchill was determined to have, in important positions, men of outstanding ability irrespective of their previous political records. Lord Woolton, for example, had shown no desire to enter Parliament though Stanley Baldwin had tried to persuade him to do so. (88) With an outstanding record as an industrialist, both Chamberlain and Churchill wanted him in their governments and despite his insistence that he would rather be a 'back-room boy', he became first, Minister of Food, and later Minister of Reconstruction. Lord Woolton was also known as a philanthropist. After graduating from Liverpool University he continued to work in the city making a study of poverty. Later he was determined to prove in his own concern that profits could be high without sacrificing good wages, working conditions and sound industrial relations. He later wrote:-

"Amidst a number of different fields in which I have worked, one idea has persisted in my mind - it is a

conception of poverty as a social disease, challenging at once the scientific and legislative capacity of the country and its Christian code of life." (89)

Lord Woolton had a particular interest in education and this was derived from first-hand experience. He taught for some time at Burnley Grammar School. Of his experiences teaching workers in the area, he claimed that they:-

"filled me with high hopes that there was, in the British people, a stratum of considerable intellectual capacity which was being by-passed by the limited educational provision of that time." (90)

Another man of business who was asked, in this instance, by Churchill to take a seat in the House of Commons as a means to becoming a Minister was Oliver Lyttleton, later Lord Chandos. An old Etonian he was known for his progressive views on social policy. Recounting his experiences during the First World War when he served as an officer, he wrote:-

" I saw some of the recruits when they enlisted: they were often weedy and narrow-chested, but after only a few weeks of plentiful food, hard exercise and drill, they were unrecognisable. They were new men." (91)

He added:-

" I have never forgotten this, have never criticised the 'dole' for being too generous: for a long time it was

barely enough to sustain life." (92)

As well as new men brought into the Conservative Party, those already in Parliament who had been critical of the pre-war Government's record and had, hence, been unable to progress, were no longer held back. Harold Macmillan who had served as M.P. for Stockton, a town stricken with poverty and unemployment, had written extensively about the responsibilities of the government in the fight against poverty. In 1933, for example, he had written:-

" If ... war or civil disturbance intervenes, the present will be seen in retrospect as a period in which the helpless futility of moderate men prepared the ground for catastrophe, and their lethergy or incompetence created the situation in which the violent and ruthless could appeal successfully to the passions of a disillusioned and despairing people." (93)

An admirer of Winston Churchill, Macmillan was given considerable responsibility during the war and he was able to establish himself as a potential leading figure in the Party for the post-war era.

The younger men entering the Party in the immediate pre-war had grown up in a period marked by war and depression; and radicalism had been widespread in most English Universities during those years. R.A. Butler, for example, who was responsible for steering the Education Bill, was in his mid-thirties when

the Second World War began. Thus, in the composition of its personnel the Conservative Party seemed to have a more radical tone than in the inter-war years and this, probably, X? facilitated the acceptance of the Education Bill.

It was to be expected that, in entering a coalition with the Labour Party, the Conservatives would have to accept some degree of reform, particularly social reform. Due to the overriding need to concentrate upon the one great objective of winning the war, the relations within the coalition were remarkably affable. When Churchill was unable to attend Cabinet meetings, which was quite often, the Labour leader Clement Attlee took the chair and soon won the respect of most of his Conservative colleagues as a competent Chairman of the Cabinet. The working within a coalition with a radical party perhaps played some part in the fostering of a reforming spirit in the Conservative Party. A letter from Stephen King-Hall, the Conservative M.P. was published in "The Times" on February 23rd 1944 stating:-

" Let the Conservative, Labour, and Liberal party machines produce post-war policies on the big issues and make them so unlike each other that a fundamental difference is apparent. They cannot do it. This is disturbing to vested-interest party men but a tribute to the social sense of the British people who know we are in a crisis which will last for a long time and wish to remain united until the crisis is resolved." (94)

The personal experiences of Labour M.P.'s were, generally listened to with a greater degree of understanding by Conservatives

than had been the case before the war. Mr. Cove, the Labour M.P. for Aberavon told the House of Commons:-

" I say quite deliberately, as a result of my experience in the pit, and not from theory ... that the pit, the factory and the workshop are no places for growing adolescents." (95)

Such a statement met with little expressed opposition from Conservatives, indeed Major Nield, M.P. for Chester remarked:-

" Those who have listened to the speeches made on the Bill, in this House and outside, must have been struck by the fact that the basic principles contained in this Measure have attracted almost universal approval." (96)

Looking back on the period Lord Woolton wrote:-

"We were, in fact, getting what I subsequently, and many years later, called a "shandy-gaff" of political views, a mixture of Conservatism and Socialism. I have no doubt that it was what the public wanted at the time." (97)

One of the key points of the Labour Party's programme was the imposition of state controls as a means towards the promotion of the interests of the working class. The experience of war demanded controls. There was a need to reduce imports, both to save money and to restrict shipping activities to essential goods. Rationing was introduced to allow all people to receive adequate food and clothes and to prevent a shortage of goods on a free market creating a price rise which would put many

essential goods beyond the purchasing power of many people. Industry and commerce were controlled to secure one great objective; the creation of the conditions which would make survival and then victory possible. Such controls would have been, in most circumstances, highly objectionable to most Conservatives. The hope was that controls would be short lived after the war. Sir Joseph Lamb, M.P. for Stone complained:-

" Most people will be aware that there is a widespread feeling of apprehension among the public that those powers which have been granted to various Departments during the War, for war purposes, may be retained after the war. That would be very undemocratic." (98)

What did seem clear, however, was, that wartime controls had been accepted without a marked diminution of the real freedom of the people. F.C. Happold wrote:-

"... it is a brilliant commentary on the essential genius of the English people - that within the highly complicated pattern of controls which the war has forced on us we have been able to maintain a wide measure of essential freedom." (99)

That most Conservatives found some controls tolerable helps explain why the greater central authority envisaged by the 1944 Education Act was generally acceptable, indeed some Conservatives, for example, Harold Macmillan, had, before the war, emphasised the need for the government to play a positive role in stimulating economic growth and providing welfare benefits.

Possibly another factor facilitating the acceptance by Conservatives, of a greater degree of government control than existed before the war was the hope that the coalition would continue for several years after the war so that a united Parliament could agree upon, and plan for, the immediate tasks of post war reconstruction. Clearly, the Labour Party would not be persuaded to serve in a coalition after the war unless a degree of central planning was envisaged. A return to the pre-war situation would be unacceptable to Labour.

The ideas of John Maynard Keynes were making an impact upon economic thought. Keynes had put forward his ideas in two books, 'Treatise on Money', published in 1930, and 'General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money,' published in 1936. Keynes taught that the extremes of depression could be lessened by a positive government policy. Thus on economic grounds, he suggested that a more equal distribution of income would provide for a more prosperous economy, whilst a considerable level of government investment, notably in public works should be encouraged. By 1944 it could be seen that the investment in armaments in the later 1930's in Britain, but in more spectacular fashion, in Germany had played a major part in stimulating economic recovery. There was also the example of the U.S.A. where the package of economic and social policies collectively known as "The New Deal" had been successful in tackling the worst effects of the depression. There was also great interest, not only from the 'left' in the success of the planned economy of the Soviet Union.

The belief therefore, that economic depression should be met with retrenchment was losing popularity by 1944. Some Conservatives had been convinced that a higher level of government investment would be essential to stimulate post-war recovery and prevent the sort of slump that often followed a major war. An important aspect of Keynes' teaching was the assertion that investment need not be in highly profitable concerns. Thus, an expanded system of state education could play a vital role in post-war economic recovery.

Much work was done during the inter-war years in the relatively new fields of sociology and psychology. This helped to clarify for the layman, the fact that environment plays a considerable part in the shaping of the personality. Increasingly the school was being envisaged as having a wider role as a means towards creating an environment conducive to the good moral and intellectual development of children. Crime was being seen more clearly as, at least, in part, a social phenomena, rather than the result of a streak of evil or weakness in particular individuals. Sir Geoffrey Shakesppeare, the Liberal National member for Norwich told the House of Commons:-

"... the colleges enable the State to maintain contact with the adolescent. The tragedy of youth is having to leave school and be thrown into the world ... with nobody to look after him or care what happens to him. This is how juvenile crime begins." (100)

Conservatives had long stressed the role of the family as the vital factor in the development of the characters of young people. However, H.C. Dent observed:-

"...the home is a healthy influence only if the parents are sufficiently educated to make it so; otherwise it is a stronghold of superstition and the most potent maker of bad and anti-social habits. One of the benefits which should emerge from this war - largely the result of evacuation - is a better realisation of the function of the home in society, and of its dependence upon publicly provided educational and welfare services for carrying out that function." (101)

Thus, education had a two-fold social role; first, to help improve the environment of individual children so that they may grow up as well-adjusted adults, and secondly, by making them more responsible adults, to make them also better parents, so that they in turn might provide a better home environment for the next generation. Mr. Henry Brooke, Conservative M.P. for Lewisham, West, told the House of Commons:-

"... it is one of the first duties of this Parliament to raise the quality of that population to the highest". (102)

The extent to which the conditions of the less privileged sections of society could be helped was viewed optimistically, a part, no doubt, of the general optimism with which reconstruction was viewed. Earl Winterdon, M.P. for Horsham and Worthing remarked:-

" As any Member who belongs to the medical profession will agree, almost every month now, and certainly every year, during the war new means are found of restoring the abnormal

child, whether physically or mentally abnormal, nearly to normality, though we are a long way from reaching finality. In the next three to four years, probably before the Bill comes into operation, science will unquestionably find new methods for creating and restoring normality." (103)

As well as these findings, there also were, of course, many new ideas about education, most of which were reflected in the reports published both before and during the War. It seemed likely that most educationalists would be unhappy with any reform whose provisions fell short of those envisaged by the Bill. Also the support of the professional bodies was expected. These had been consulted not only in the planning of the Bill but in the planning also of all of the major reports of the previous two decades. In June 1941, for example, the "Green Book" was drawn up by the Board of Education outlining its proposals and inviting discussion from interested groups. Sir Maurice Holmes, the Permanent Secretary assured R.A. Butler:-

"It seems to me axiomatic that a major measure of educational reform will be demanded in quarters which will make the demand irresistible, and the question then is not whether, but when such reform will be brought about." (104)

It has been noted that fear of religious controversy was one

of the key factors in resisting reform during the inter-war years, and that that was one of the chief reasons why Winston Churchill wanted R.A. Butler to refrain from planning a comprehensive educational reform. However, Butler wrote:-

"I knew that if I spared him the religious controversies and party political struggles of 1902... I could win him over." (105)

He was able to state in the House of Commons:-

"I claim that we are today considering educational problems and the problems of religious instruction in a more favourable atmosphere and a calm mood. That, at any rate, is one of the achievements we have managed in our generation." (106)

This 'more favourable atmosphere' was due to several factors. Perhaps of the greatest importance was the realisation of church leaders that educational reform was so vital, both on humanitarian grounds, and in the cause of post-war national survival, that religious differences should not obstruct it and, indeed, R. A. Butler was encouraged by a letter to "The Times" signed by several notable church leaders, demanding an improvement in educational provision. (107) Religious objections were raised frequently during the debates in both Houses of Parliament but the feeling remained paramount that educational reform must be affected. Colonel Arthur Evens, M.P. for Cardiff South stated:-

" I am not for one moment decrying the educational benefits which the Catholic and non-Catholic child will get under this bill. We are all agreed that so far as that side is concerned it is an immense step forward." (108)

Mr. Chuter Ede declared:-

"While principles have been fought over vehemently, and with full presentation of the case, there has been recognition that the interests of the child and the nation must prevail over any sectional interests."

(109)

A further reason for the lessening of religious difficulties was satisfaction with the religious provisions of the Bill. Of particular importance was the success of "The Agreed Syllabus". This had been drawn up in Cambridgeshire by a panel of Anglicans, Free Churchman and teachers and by 1922 some hundred local authorities were using it.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Churchill referred to "The Agreed Syllabus" as "The County Council Creed", but it provided a means by which the Christian religion could be taught without enraging denominational sensitivities.

Economic factors played a part in lessening the tension caused by religious dispute. Even before the war, the Church of England found great difficulty in providing finance for its schools and a steady rate of transfer took place as, year by year, Anglican schools were handed over to the local authorities. Given that better facilities could be combined with adequate religious instruction in state schools, the case for spending Church money on education was clearly becoming a tenuous one. In any case, the introduction of secondary education for all pupils, particularly secondary education which envisaged three different types of school being accessible to all pupils according to ability, was far beyond the resources of the Church. The denominations were thus, themselves coming increasingly

to accept that the secular education of children must be the responsibility of the state.

Although the role of the state in education was to be increased, considerable powers would remain with the local authorities. They could decide upon the distribution of grammar, technical and modern schools and could also decide upon the methods employed to place the children in these various schools. This separation of power probably pleased those who feared the creation of a "monolithic" state.

Provision was to be made for the protection of parent's rights. In particular this concerned the parents' right to choose which school their children attended. How this was to be reconciled with the desire to send children to schools suited to their ability was not fully resolved. R.A. Butler had asserted that it would be wrong for a child from a wealthy or influential family to occupy a grammar school place in favour of a more able child from a poorer family. Clearly, problems could arise if a parent demanded for his child, a grammar school place for which the local authority had decided he was not suited and for which pupils considered more able had been allotted. However, the White Paper 'Educational Reconstruction' had promised that due regard would be given when deciding upon secondary school placings 'to their parents' wishes and the careers they have in mind.' (111)

Conservatives were also assured that the Bill envisaged a building up of what already existed rather than the extensive

changing of valued parts of the existing structure.

R. A. Butler stated:-

"... traditions and standards which have been a feature of our British education should, so far as possible, be preserved. There is no desire to "level down"; there is only a desire to bring everyone, ever upward." (112)

Although some Conservatives were apprehensive of the growing state involvement in education several factors encouraged them to accept the view that the proposals were, in fact, in accordance with the Conservative tradition of thought. The need to bring together the 'two nations' as expressed by Benjamin Disraeli was invoked by Butler. (113) It seemed right for the times. Several Conservatives, both of the 'left' and the 'right' feared that in the war situation the Party was losing its identity and that this ought to be re-established. Lord William Scott sent a note to the Chief Whip, James Stuart stating:-

"Throughout the country the Conservative Party has become a cheap joke: the press and the B.B.C. treat us with the contempt that we have earned and deserve." (114)

He added:-

"You must agree with the fact that as an effective body of opinion either in the House or the Country, the Conservative Party have ceased to exist." (115)

Stuart replied:-

"... but I think this is due largely to the existence of an All-Party Government in which, as the largest partner and the most loyal, we have had to give the most." (116)

The argument that the policies of the coalition were in accordance with traditional Conservative thought made some contribution towards reassuring those members of the Party whose instinct was to oppose the measures whilst those who welcomed the proposals irrespective of their assured theoretical pedigree found something of a common factor with their more cautious colleagues.

Winston Churchill supported the Education Bill and this may ? have aided its acceptance by the Conservative Party. Although his reputation amongst Conservatives had been mixed before the war, his standing by 1944 was that of a hero, indeed, in their leader, most Conservatives saw their greatest electoral asset. Education was not one of the subjects most likely to engage Churchill's enthusiasm. R.A. Butler later wrote:-

"It certainly was difficult to conduct a conversation with Churchill on a subject which did not engage his interest, and his interest in education was slight, intermittent, and decidedly idiosyncratic." (117)

The opposition of industry during the inter-war years had been one reason why the Party had resisted educational reform. It had been maintained that money spent on education for other than outstanding children beyond the age of fourteen was a waste of money. In any case, the raising of the school leaving age deprived industry of cheap labour. The indications were, however, that industrialists recognised the need for raised educational standards. On January 19th 1944 a letter was published in "The Times" signed by ten prominent industrialists stating:-

"We as industrialists desire to support the Government's proposals for educational reform...

These reforms may be said to involve a financial burden on industry; we should accept that burden gladly, because we believe that industry will thereby gain in efficiency and the country in well-being."(118)

It is equally true, however, that had industry opposed reform it would not carry the weight it had done before the war. After the First World War, Stanley Baldwin had referred to some in the Party who looked as if they had done well out of the war.

Some senior Conservatives realised that a radical approach to domestic problems would be required after the War if the Conservatives were to avoid defeat at the polls by Labour. Lord Blake writes:-

"The Conservatives did not neglect the problems of the peace. Various committees investigated them and their reports were to form the basis of an election programme in 1945, in many ways as forward-looking as that of Labour." (119)

Just how serious the Labour threat was considered to be by most Conservatives is difficult to judge. Certainly the party machine was, in Blake's words "More rusty than that of Labour" (120) and in any case Churchill hoped that the coalition would continue until the defeat of Japan.

Fear of a Labour election victory was intensified by worries in some quarters that a Labour Government would pursue extreme left wing policies.

Despite the close cooperation between Labour and Conservative during the war years, some senior Conservatives genuinely feared the consequences of a Labour government. Shortly after the war Quinton Hogg wrote of the Conservative:-

"... he considers that the real implications of modern Socialist theory are not really very far removed from Fascism." (121)

During the 1945 election campaign, Churchill was to refer to the need for an extremist Labour Party to use a "gestapo". Churchill certainly feared the consequences of a Labour victory. Lord Woolton wrote of a conversation with Churchill:-

"He told me of the danger he saw in the development of the power of Socialism, which in his view would bring economic ruin to the country: he spoke with deep and compelling sincerity and I found myself in agreement with all he said." (122)

There were some indications during the war that public opinion was running against the Conservative Party; for example in March 1942, an Independent candidate who had the unofficial support of the local Labour Party won the by-election at Grantham which was considered to be a safe Conservative seat. There was some evidence also that socialist sympathies were particularly significant in the Army. Mr. Howard Marshall, who had been working with the forces Public Relations Service wrote to Lord Woolton:-

"... one thing I'm sure about ... the movement of men's minds out here is unquestionably left.

There is, in fact, a quite general and very moving desire to build something worthwhile out of the ruins of war - a selflessness which could be led creatively, provided the leadership had its own basic integrity." (123)

There was also some feeling that the work of the Army Education Corps had something to do with this.

Lord Chandos wrote:-

"... the education Corps was supposed to have penetrated the Army and Air Force with socialist doctrine." (124)

Socialism was to be resisted by social reforms approved by the Conservative Party. Lord Woolton told a meeting at Newport in October 1944:-

"... we shall no longer have smouldering in our midst that sense of injustice that comes to men who realise that they have been kept down throughout life because the poverty of their parents prevented them from having an equal chance in life with others more fortunately circumstanced." (125)

Thus most Conservatives accepted, with varying degrees of enthusiasm an education act more radical than anything previously put before Parliament. Summarising the attitudes of Conservative M.P.'s to the Act, R.A. Butler writes:-

"The challenge of the times provided a stimulus for re-thinking the purposes of society and planning the reconstruction of the social system of which education formed an integral part." (126)

Of the Bill, he claims:-

"Its provisions were broadly acceptable to moderate and progressive conservative opinion.... (127)

Although the religious issue had not been fought in Parliament as bitterly as some including Churchill had feared, the possibility remained that the issue might cause friction outside Parliament especially if it were to be raised when the immediate problems caused by fighting the war were over. R.A. Butler believes that most M.P.'s wished to settle the education issue before the end of hostilities. He writes:-

"But despite the anxiety raised by this opposition, indeed largely because of it, there was a desire on the part both of Government and back-benches to get this matter well out of the way before an election." (128)

Butler believes that there was general enthusiasm to do something by way of domestic reform and education was the only area possible at the time. Regarding other issues there was, remarks Butler, "not even a keel laid." (129)

Education was an area particularly suitable for reform in war time because re-structuring the state education system required the expenditure of a relatively small amount of cash. Butler writes:-

"It may seem strange that the enormous capital and current commitments which the full implementation of the Education Bill would entail were not considered an insuperable barrier to progress." (130)

Most Conservatives, therefore, accepted, with varying degrees of interest and enthusiasm, the social reforms, including educational reform, which were planned for the post-war years. It must be pointed out, however, that this support was not unanimous. Lord Woolton stated that only a small minority took a "cautious view". (131)

However, Lord Beveridge, who planned the structure for the setting up of a health service after the war found the attitude towards his work of several government figures, markedly cool, suggesting that the enthusiasm for reform was limited. He wrote:-

"While the British people and the free world outside Britain were applauding the Beveridge Report, the Government of Britain, other than the Minister of Information, showed to.... its author an attitude which developed from ignoring him into boycott." (132)

One aspect of the Bill which met with some opposition was the abolition of the smaller education authorities known as the 'part three' authorities. M.P.s for these areas defended the right of these authorities to continue their work, and as such, this criticism came from members of both major parties. The

M.P. for Accrington, Major Proctor claimed - that the Bill was striking a blow against local patriotism. Accrington, he maintained, had an excellent record in educational achievement. (133) Mr. Loftus the M.P. for Lowestoft remarked:-

"This Bill is the first step towards the centralisation of authority. That is an issue which will arise in all our post-war policies and I want to say, quite frankly, that I shall oppose centralisation, the removal from local authorities of their power, unless it is proved to be absolutely essential." (134)

The abolition of fees was regretted in some sections of the Party, the feeling being that this would reduce the academic freedom of the schools and also limit the free choice of parents. Captain Cobb, Conservative M.P. for Preston remarked:-

"Some of us are rather afraid that the abolition of fees in secondary schools will mean that the local education authority will determine whether a child shall go to a modern, technical or grammar school and that the parent's wishes will receive little consideration." (135)

Mr Pickthorn, M.P. for Cambridge University, expressed unease with some of the principles upon which the Bill was founded. He remarked:-

"It seems to be rather a dismal reflection upon our educational progress, and the situation we have now reached, that one of our favourite ways of making things better is by baptising them with the name of something which is supposed to be superior and at the same time laying hands upon our hearts and saying, "Of course, the evil is snobbery." (136)

Criticism of the Bill was, in the main, concerned with particular aspects. There was little evidence of outright condemnation of the Bill. The speech by Sir Herbert Williams, M.P. for Croydon South, was probably the most critical one given in the House of Commons, He said:-

"Anyone who is a truthful realist knows that the raising of the compulsory school leaving age above 14 will be the most incredible waste of time of great masses of children." (137)

He added:-

"... unless there is a measure of sacrifice on the part of parents there is no reality in education. The idea that it can be handed out as a free gift has no relation to true education." (138)

By implication this speech rejected the primary aims of the Bill. In opposing the raising of the school leaving age beyond fourteen, it, in effect, rejected secondary education for all since no one had suggested that a secondary system could be developed with anything less than a course of four years. especially since pupils could leave before the end of the fourth year if their birthdays came either in the Christmas term or the Easter term. The speech also rejected the idea implicit both in Educational reform and social welfare, that essential services should be supplied by the state. Ideas that the community was investing in its own future well-being, that all, including the wealthy would benefit from a well educated, healthy society were not accepted by Sir Herbert.

The most critical speech in the House of Lords was that of Lord Monkswell and it is worth quoting in some length since it illustrated just how fierce was the opposition to the Bill in some quarters. He stated:-

"There would appear to be a danger that the whole business is another step in the direction of plundering thrift for the immediate advantage of the majority of voters, a movement which drove us off the gold standard, reduced our foreign investments, sent up the figures of unemployment by leaps and bounds, and left us unprepared for the present war.

...This business of education is only one of the items of enormously increased national expenditure that our politicians appear to be contemplating. Its finance cannot be considered without reference to the finances of a whole row of other projects, many of which can by no possibility pay for themselves.....

In all trades there is, in the same way, a pretty steady demand for a large proportion of men to do the manual work and a small proportion of men to exercise control."...

.... it will bring about an enormous increase in the number of people qualified to become candidates for the good jobs, who in the circumstances, are likely to form a hotbed of political unrest

This Bill has given the cranks and faddists the

chance of their lives. The whole of what has been is now to be swept away, and a completely new start is to be made on the basis of that hoary fraud, equality." (1139)

It is a reflection of the time that so critical a speech was untypical of most given in both Houses. It is not unfair to suggest that it would have been fairly representative of the views of many Conservative M.P.s of little more than a decade earlier.

As the technological advancement of the nineteenth century extended into the twentieth the need for trained manpower grew and this was complemented by a growth in the popularity of the view that the state should provide an education for its youth.

CONCLUSIONS

During the period 1918 to 1939 pressure increased to improve the system of education and as early as 1926 the Hadow Report recommended a system by which all children should receive a full secondary education.

Several factors inhibited reform, some of them connected with the depressed state of the economy during these years. As the scale of commercial and industrial undertakings shrank, so did the demand for highly skilled workers, whilst the Government, faced with a need to reduce its own expenditure, was not prepared to finance educational reform. The Government also hoped to avoid the religious issue which had disrupted earlier attempts to make

real improvements in educational facilities, whilst the public schools provided also a delicate debating point. Since educationalists were demanding widespread reform, cautious governments, faced with an apparent choice between a massive reform or hardly any reform at all, opted for the latter.

Whilst the 1944 Education Act was in some ways a cautious reform, building upon an already existing structure and retaining most of the features favoured by Conservatives, it was, in many respects a revolutionary reform. The acceptance by the Conservative Party of the Act was due, in part, to changing circumstances.

7. Perhaps the most important of these were concerned with a changing outlook brought about by the experiences of war. There was a chance for a fresh start, a realisation that little had been achieved since the end of the previous war, and a determination to build a better world when peace returned. A sentiment of egalitarianism, springing from shared experiences and greater mutual knowledge between different groups, pervaded this outlook.

Related to the new outlook brought about by the war was a renewal of the demands for a more educated work force. The industries of the country, slack for many years, were faced with the need, not merely to step up the production of essential goods, but also to produce, at rapid speed, new developments. This demand, it was assumed would be carried on into peace time.

A third factor concerned the actual membership of the Parliamentary Party and its leadership. Following the massive loss of seats in 1945, many new Conservative M.P.s were elected in 1950 and 1951. The acceptance by Conservative governments during the 1950's and 1960's, of statist social policies, probably owed something to the changes in the composition of the Parliamentary Party.

evidence?

Finally, there were what may be viewed as negative factors. The Conservatives, even those who were not really interested in education nor enthusiastic about the Butler Act, realised that if their Party was to survive after the war, and given another depression, if fascism and communism were to be resisted, a measure of social reform would be necessary.

Widened

A change in outlook or ideology has been considered as one of the reasons why some Conservative M.P.s accepted the 1944 Education Act. Perhaps this is misleading. The 'political outlook' of any individual is the result of his interpretation of a wide range of experiences and reflections. The events of war provided new knowledge, changing requirements and new experiences for most people in the country. These inevitably affected the outlook of most people involved in the war. Thus whilst changing ideology may, in a sense, be seen as one of the factors working in favour of reform, it may also be considered to be the overall result of the new situation created by the war.

The passing of the 1944 Education Act suggested that the Conservative Party could adjust to the needs

of the post war situation. This adjustment, and the part played by the Party in the conduct of wartime government assured some Tory M.P.s that the Party's post-war electoral prospects were bright.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT 1945-51

BACKGROUND

During the period of twenty eight years from 1936, when a reformist education act was passed, to 1964 when Harold Wilson's Labour Party came to power, the government of Britain was dominated by the Conservative Party for all but six years. This chapter considers the importance of the years of opposition from 1945 to 1951 in the development of Conservative thinking on education.

Education as an area of policy concerned the Conservatives only a little during this period. Beset with the problems of opposition against a clear majority for the first time since 1906 and faced with the prospect of Labour measures to socialise the economy few Conservatives showed much interest in education. In any case, the Conservatives had supported the 1944 Education Act, upon which, it was assumed, Labour policy would be based.

It may be claimed fairly, however, that the years 1945 to 1951 were important as far as Conservative education policy was concerned because they had the effect of consolidating Conservative support for the basic principles of the Butler Act.

The 1944 Act was part of a new orientation on social matters which embraced the acceptance of the development of the Welfare State according to the guidelines set down by the Beveridge Report. In 1945, however, some doubt existed as to whether a future Conservative Government, operating in peacetime, and released from a coalition with Labour, would uphold this new orientation. Much of Labour's campaigns in 1945, 1950, and 1951 was concerned with the threat that

a Conservative victory would result in the decline of the Welfare state. Several reasons were given for maintaining this view.

First, the Conservative Party had promised a better society for all following the sacrifices of the War. Similar promises had been made after the First World War but during the following 21 years, years in which time the Conservatives had dominated Government, little progress had been made. Would not a similar situation develop again? The size of the Labour majority in 1945 indicated that a majority of the electorate feared that this might indeed be the case.

Second, a section of the Conservative Party remained opposed adamantly to the extension of the Welfare State. Harold Macmillan wrote of the immediate post-election era:-

"In the House of Commons a number of Conservative Members were critical and alarmed. The leader of this school was Sir Waldron Smithers, who fondly believed himself to be a good Tory, but in fact held opinions on economic and social matters indistinguishable from those of the Manchester laissez-faire school in the middle of the nineteenth century". (1)

This section of the Party might appear to be in a small minority but some doubt might exist as to how influential it might become should the Party be returned to government. The election had, moreover, robbed the Conservatives of most of their seats which had been considered marginal. Most of these were urban or semi-urban seats occupied by the more radical Conservative M.P.s. The seats retained

were, in the main, rural seats with M.P.s with more traditional views. This, some opponents claimed gave the Party more of a right-wing flavour than it had possessed before the War.

Third, the Beaverbrook Press took the line that when the public realised just how calamitous were the likely consequences of socialism, they would revert to the support of the Conservative Party. Such a change would not be facilitated by the adoption of a mild form of socialism. The Conservative Party must offer, it was argued, a clear alternative to socialism. Whilst the position taken by the Beaverbrook press was concerned essentially with tactics, it does illustrate that pressure was being applied to revert to a more right-wing political stance.

Should a future Conservative Government follow a right-wing line, the possibility existed that several features of the 1944 Act could be abandoned. Whether or not a Conservative Government elected in 1945 would have reversed aspects of the Act is a matter of conjecture. What is important is that the defeat, and in particular, the size of the defeat, made a considerable impact upon the future development of the Party.

There was general agreement within the Party that two things must be done. First organisation must be improved, second policy must be reconsidered and stated clearly.

Regarding organisation, many Conservative M.P.s had believed, during the War, that the Party was paying insufficient attention to its needs. The Labour Party, it was believed was maintaining its party organisation whereas the Conservatives were concerning themselves almost entirely with the requirements of the coalition

government. The size of Labour's majority in 1945 emphasised the need to improve organisation. It is not the aim of this chapter to consider these reforms in detail but two aspects of the reform of Party organisation must be considered since they were likely to influence the political orientation of the Party.

Firstly, the Conservatives were aware of criticism that a disproportionate number of their M.P.s represented the upper and upper-middle social classes. One critic wrote:-

"P.W. Donner (Basingstoke) was reported by the Morning Post, 28.6.35, to have said that he "had been forced to leave Islington, his present constituency on the grounds of health and economy." The Hampshire Executive (of the Tory Party) had asked him for a subscription less than half what he was paying in Islington." (2)

Such criticism was considered to be damaging to the Party's electoral hopes and expectations, in particular because opponents claimed that the social structure of the Parliamentary Party, coloured its political attitudes, especially with regard to the needs of ordinary people. Reforms advocated by a Committee chaired by Sir David Maxwell Fyffe were adopted. An upper limit upon a candidate's contributions to his constituency party was set. the aim of this being to broaden the social base of the Parliamentary Party. Local associations were actively encouraged to seek candidates from the middle and working classes and, in particular, Sir Winston Churchill expressed his desire to see as parliamentary candidates, young men with good war records. To a great extent this was reflected in the social backgrounds of many of the new Conservative M.P.s after the 1950 election.

Secondly, the Conservative Party sought to increase its membership at local level. The aim of this was to build up Party support in the constituencies but it was hoped that the views of this increased membership would be made known to the Party leadership. By 1948, therefore, membership of Conservative Associations exceeded two millions and this had the effect of broadening the social base of the Party.

Whilst there was considerable enthusiasm for the administrative reforms as a whole, it was absurd to assume that weak organisation alone could be responsible for so large an electoral defeat as that of 1945. To most Conservatives, it seemed clear that, whatever misunderstandings there might be regarding the "true" nature of socialism, the country was most definite in its support of reformist social policies. Assessing the reasons for the 1945 defeat, Conservative M.P. C.M. Woodhouse wrote:-

"The underlying nature was perhaps an instinctive feeling that since Britain was committed by common consent to a new kind of society - the Welfare State - in which the scope of government action must be substantially extended at the expense of private initiative, it was preferable that such a society should be inaugurated under the aegis of a party which was known to believe in it rather than one which was still doubtful about it." (3)

There is some evidence that the enthusiasm with which the Party had tackled the problems of future reconstruction during the war, was waning. The lack of emphasis placed upon this by the election campaign was taken by some critics as indicative of this.

R. A. Butler wrote:-

"It was sad that the work done by the Post-War Problems Committee played so little part in the formulation of our Conservative campaign, and that the conduct of the election swept away much of the idealism which we wanted to instil..." (4)

The electoral defeat left little room for doubt, therefore, that, if it was to survive, the Party would have to state boldly a Party policy which emphatically accepted the Beveridge and Butler policies, and the principles upon which they were made. If there were any doubts that the Party might not commit itself to the Butler Act, these were being removed. What was particularly important was the fact that, as economic problems multiplied and the Government appeared to be powerless to remedy many problems, the electorate did not, as many Conservatives assumed it would, show a marked swing to the right. The Conservatives failed to make any convincing headway in by-elections and in June 1949, to the surprise and disappointment of most of their Party, the Hammersmith South by-election was lost.

The General Election of 1950 provided a further reminder to the Conservative Party, that the social policies planned during the war, and, to a great extent, implemented by the Attlee Government remained extremely popular, and to refuse to accept them would be disastrous. Despite the sluggishness of the economy, the continued existence of queues and rationing, and the apparent stagnation as far as any rise in living standards were concerned, Labour was returned to office though with a reduced majority. The Conservative Party despite its many reforms was unable to win a majority. Faced with internal strife

and a small majority in the House of Commons, the government lasted only a year before the General Election of 1951 returned Winston Churchill to Downing Street. For this, the Conservative Party had to thank the constituency boundaries since Labour's popular vote was higher than that of the Conservatives. Thus, the results of the 1945 election, and subsequent events, right up to the election of 1951, reminded the Conservative Party that a new body of principles and policies would have to be expounded and that these would have to be in accord with the plans outlined by the wartime coalition government.

The job of rethinking Party policy was given to R.A. Butler who was made Chairman of the Research department. He outlined the main task of the Party. It was, he later wrote:-

"... to convince a broad spectrum of the electorate, whose minds were scarred by inter-war memories and myths, that we had an alternative policy to Socialism which was viable, efficient and humane, which would release and reward enterprise and initiative but without abandoning social justice or reverting to mass unemployment."(5)

Winston Churchill was reluctant to spell out in any detail future Conservative policy, feeling that the Party should not overstate its case. He told the Party Conference at Blackpool in October 1946:-

"I do not believe in looking about for some panacea or cure-all on which we should stake our credit and fortunes trying to sell it like a patent medicine to all and sundry."(6)

Even when challenged at the Party Conference at Blackpool, in 1946, to restate party policy, Churchill expounded only vague generalities which, apart from an expressed preference as a general rule, for free enterprise rather than nationalisation, could have suited any political group in Britain not committed to immediate and revolutionary change. Whilst their leader concerned himself mainly with foreign affairs, other Conservatives set about the task of reformulating party policy. An Industrial Policy committee was appointed consisting of five members of the shadow cabinet including Butler, and four back benchers. The Post War Problems Committee was reconstituted as the "Advisory Committee on Policy and Political Education" whilst the Conservative Political Centre was set up to provide a means by which individual ideas about Conservative policies and principles could be expressed.

The Industrial Policy Committee produced "The Industrial Charter" which was introduced at a press conference for free enterprise but also, in accordance with the principles embodied in the plans of the coalition it emphasised the need for increased government activity in the economy following the ideas of Keynes, and also placed a particular emphasis upon social security and full employment. Other Charters followed and the main directions of policy were outlined in a general policy document entitled "The Right Road for Britain", which appeared in 1949. The election manifesto of 1950, "This is the Road", was largely based upon "The Right Road for Britain."

Of the Conservative approach C. M. Woodhouse wrote:-

"... the Conservative Party did not refuse to accept a considerable extension of the power of the state; but they wished to draw the line of demarcation in a different place, and their criterion was respect for the rights and

liberties of the individual. .. Such at least
was the impression which they wished to create." (7)

The acceptance by the Conservative Party of a more statist economic and social policy was made, for those not really liking the new outlook, more palatable by the overriding need to return to power. Political parties exist to attain power, and to the Conservative Party, opposition was a strange and distasteful experience. James Stuart, the Tory Chief Whip wrote to R.A. Butler in August 1945 saying:-

"My present feeling is not so much one of depression
as of waking up bewildered in a world completely
strange to me. (8)

The Conservative Party had dominated British government for some thirty years. Its M.P.s considered a speedy return to power essential especially in view of fears regarding the 'extremism' of Labour's programme. The Labour Party was committed in principle to the public ownership of the means of production distribution and exchange and the Attlee Government was determined to carry through an immediate programme of nationalisation. Opposition to this was the main Conservative rallying cry concerning domestic affairs during the 1945 election campaign. In fact, Conservative opposition to some of Labour's plans was sporadic and lacking in conviction, but plans to nationalise productive industries were fiercely opposed. Labour's plans to bring the steel industry into the public sector horrified most Conservatives. It was known also that many Labour M.P.s would not be satisfied with a limited diet of nationalisation. Other industries would probably follow steel if

Labour held power for a sufficient length of time. Winning back power, therefore, became an absolute necessity in the eyes of the supporters of the Conservative Party. When, at the 1950 General Election, Labour affirmed its intention to introduce more nationalisation a massive campaign against was set in motion. There were some 400 anti-nationalisation committees set up and in particular the sugar company Tate and Lyle spent a considerable sum in promoting their cause.

The Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, whilst playing no active part in the formulation of these policies, gave them his full support. Pains were taken to convince waverers that the new ideas were in accordance with traditional Conservative thought, indeed, R. A. Butler stated that one of the requirements of the new policies must be that they were in harmony with the Conservative tradition and were acceptable, or could be rendered acceptable to the Party. Reflecting upon the principles embodied in the new policies, he wrote:-

" I had derived from Bolingbroke an assurance that the majesty of the State might be used in the interests of the many, from Burke, a belief in seeking patterns of improvement by balancing diverse interests, and from Disraeli an insistence that the two nations must become one. If my broad Conservatism was unorthodox, I was committing heresy in remarkably good company." (9)

This chapter has sought to show that during the period 1945-51, the ideas put forward by the wartime coalition government; ideas which many opponents of the Conservatives believed that the Party

would reject when released from its ties with Labour, were definitely accepted as Conservative Party policy. It became clear, both immediately after the defeat of 1945, and during the subsequent years during which the Attlee Government remained in power, that, from an electoral point of view, the Conservatives could not retreat from this position.

The 1945 defeat deprived the Conservative Party of many of its urban or semi-urban seats where the M.P.'s were often of a moderate or reformist outlook. The safe seats which remained were overwhelmingly rural ones where social position often played a considerable part in candidate selection and where more cautious political views were expressed. This led numerous critics to restate that the Party was, still a landed, property owning class. However, the leadership of the Party remained in the hands of men who had impressed Churchill during the War. Lord Woolton and Oliver Lyttleton were still there, Macmillan had risen to a post in the shadow cabinet as had R. A. Butler. The nature of the Party's leadership was one bulwark against a possible reaction against the new policies.

Having lost so many seats in 1945 the Party leadership was determined that when these seats were won back a large number of able young people whose ideas were in tune with modern Conservative thinking, would be returned to Parliament. This aim was achieved in 1950. Young men who had worked with Butler in the Party's research department entered Parliament for the first time. The new M.P.s were, in comparison with the intakes of previous elections, socially heterogeneous. The preference among constituency selection committees for people of a high social strata and or, considerable financial resources made very difficult the problem of being selected, for a person of meagre

means, however outstanding his abilities. In 1950 another factor was important and that was War record. The Conservative Party long had been proud of the connections of many of its M.P.s and candidates, with the armed forces. High rank had, before the War, been associated with high social status. The war gave men of humble background a chance to rise rapidly in a sphere much valued by Conservatives, and Churchill made it known to the constituency organisations that he wished to see candidates with good war records. Enoch Powell, for example, had acquired a reputation in the academic world and had been a Professor of Classics at the age of twenty five. He had little personal wealth, was the grammar school-educated son of a teacher and hence, may have stood little chance of nomination before the war. In 1950 he offered himself for election, not only as a respected member of Butler's research team but also as a former brigadier. Edward Heath, the son of a carpenter and a domestic maid had become a colonel. Many of the new M.P.'s of 1950 were therefore, young people whose ideas were similar to those of Butler and Woolton. They represented the new Toryism. So depleted had been the Conservative ranks in 1945 that the new intake altered considerably the predominant outlook of the Party. It is in these circumstances that the Conservative Party's education policy must be judged.

THE CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDE TO EDUCATION IN THE POST WAR WORLD

Education played little part in the reformulation of Party policy. The 1944 Act had set out the blueprint for the future development of state education. The Government had done its job. It had created the conditions in which a state system could evolve. R. A. Butler later wrote:-

"I always referred to the Act of 1944 as a huge temple into which any person could come, and its roof would cover any idea."(10)

Had the Conservatives won the election in 1945, many of their opponents would have expected a delay in the implementation of what was probably the most important part of the Act, namely, the provision of secondary education for all by the raising of the minimum school leaving age to fifteen. In 1947, however, Labour enacted this and few considered that a future Conservative government would reverse it.

Few Conservatives could expect that Education might become an area of Party controversy.

One controversial subject did emerge. Although the tripartite division of secondary education into grammar, technical and modern schools was expected to be the norm, the Act of 1944, the White paper "Educational Reconstruction," and the Norwood Report had allowed for experiments in multi-lateral and comprehensive schools. Such experiments, however, were expected to be exceptional.

In 1937 the T.U.C. had recommended multi-lateral schools and in 1945 the Labour Party Executive accepted a Conference resolution that, wherever possible, newly-built secondary schools should be of the multi-lateral type.-(11)

Had the Government pursued such a policy there would have been considerable opposition from the Conservative Party. Labour did not do this despite pressures from some M.P.s who feared that a tripartite division would be socially divisive; and a considerable lobby of teacher-M.P.s who favoured comprehensive schools for educational

reasons. Both the permanent officials at the Ministry and both Labour ministers, first Ellen Wilkinson and later George Tomlinson, favoured a tripartite division. Both "The Nations Schools", issued by the Ministry in May 1945, and "The Organisation of Secondary Education" issued in December of that year, recommended the tripartite system. The predominant feeling in the Labour Party was that the education provided by the grammar schools provided the best means by which able-working class children would be able to compete on equal terms with middle class children. There was also a feeling that grammar schools could become socially diverse with middle-class parents being attracted by the high academic standards of the grammar schools. The fear was that if grammar schools were discouraged, middle class parents would send their children to public schools rather than to comprehensives. Indeed in "The English Middle Classes" published in 1949, Ray Lewis and Angus Maude maintained that, due to the abolition of fees in grammar schools, this was already happening.⁽¹²⁾ Thus grammar, and hence other schools which composed the tripartite system were to be encouraged by the Labour Government. Mr. Tomlinson told the House of Commons:-

"I am looking for equal opportunity for all to develop the faculties with which all are endowed, and I would emphasise, as I have said on more than one occasion, that we seek no reduction in the status or standing of the grammar schools."⁽¹³⁾

When asked by Mr. Linsay if he had considered a resolution sent to him from a Committee of some 600 parents in South.- West Middlesex protesting against the introduction of comprehensive schools in that area. Mr. Tomlinson replied:-

"I have considered the resolution, and I have informed the Middlesex authority that I welcome their proposal to set

up a small number of comprehensive schools as an experiment. I have suggested that the experiment should be limited this year to two such schools."(14)

Whilst limited scope was to be given to authorities to develop comprehensive schemes, most local authorities preferred the tripartite system and this provided a further restriction to the growth of comprehensives. In March 1947 the London County Council accepted a plan to develop such schools but in February 1949 Mr. Tomlinson told the House of Commons that seven local education authorities had submitted plans for comprehensives and that only three of this type of school were functioning at the time.(15)

With this preference by the Ministry for a tripartite system, there was little inter-party disagreement about education during the period 1945-51. The decision to raise the school leaving age in accordance with the provisions of the 1944 Act was well received by the Conservative Party. Lieutenant-Colonel Amary remarked:-

" I do not suppose there has been an education Debate which has shown so few differences of principle between us, and I hope that they will long continue."(16)

The lack of disagreement on education was partly the result of the emphasis which, of necessity, had to be given to the provision of extra places in schools. The lack of places was due to four main causes. First, the process of replacing obsolete schools had been slowed down by the depression and later by the war. Secondly, wartime damage had reduced drastically the number of available places in schools, particularly in the industrial cities. Thirdly, the raising of the school leaving age increased the demand for the existing places. The fourth factor was the sharp rise in the birth rate immediately

after the war. The 'bulge' as it was known would enter school in the early 1950's and progress through the system throughout the decade. In July 1947 Mr. Tomlinson told the House of Commons that by 1952 a further 860,000 places would be required in the nations schools to accommodate the increasing numbers.⁽¹⁷⁾ This increase inevitably led to pressure on the existing schools. Mr. Hardman, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education told the House that classes over forty had risen from 3,950 in 1938 to 5,101 in 1946. Grossly overcrowded classes of over-fifty had risen from 2,100 in 1938 to 3,823 in 1946.⁽¹⁸⁾ To alleviate this problem was the dominant task of the Ministry. Two emergency schemes were put into operation, 'Huts Operation Raising School Age' (H.O.R.S.A.) and 'School Furniture Operation Raising School Age', (S.F.O.R.S.A.) Mr. Tomlinson told the House in July 1947 that 3,440 temporary huts would be required by the following September.⁽¹⁹⁾ In tackling this problem, the Government received the support and co-operation of the Conservative Party.

Although the leadership of the Labour Party showed little determination to pursue a policy of comprehensive education, there was considerable evidence to suggest that, should they do so, the Conservative Party would oppose it. Mr. Keeling, for example asked for an assurance that no more comprehensive schools would be set up in Middlesex until the results of the limited experiment, already begun, could be judged.⁽²⁰⁾ Clearly Mr. Butler did not like the prospect of these schools, and his main argument against them was their size. He stated:-

"I sincerely hope that experiments in the idea of combining a variety of secondary education will be made, but I also hope that these experiments will not be made in such a way

that we shall be landed with the form of school, which is so prevalent on the American continent, of immense size, in which it seems to me to be impossible to retain the relationship of teachers to the taught."(21)

He criticised comprehensive schools on the grounds of size when referring to his own borough of Saffron Walden where "an immense school for 900 children" had been suggested. In fact, if comprehensive schools were to operate successful sixth forms the likelihood was that they would be considerably larger than the 900 one mentioned by Mr. Butler. Mr. Kenneth Lindsay was insistent that, because of size, the schools could not work successfully. He stated:-

"It is perfectly well known that these schools are of such a size that it is impossible to have a proper sixth form."(22)

He maintained that, since an effective sixth form could not be provided, children would be deprived of a chance to take a full academic course. The grammar school was seen as the only means by which such an education could be provided. He asked:-

"Does the Minister realise that this means that children in areas where there are some comprehensive schools, are debarred from going to a grammar school: that this is not equality of opportunity, but prevents the child of poor parents from having the chance to get to a University? They cannot get to the University."(23)

Mr. Linstead criticised plans for comprehensive schools on

practicality as well as size. He remarked, with reference to the plan announced by the London County Council:-

"First, it is entirely unreal. It is unreal because the sites are not there, and are unlikely to be there, and it is extremely unlikely that in the next 20 years it will be possible to put up those giant places. The Education is bad because a school of that kind can never be a community of its own with an organic relationship to the area in which it exists." (24)

The manifesto "Britain Strong and Free" took an apprehensive view of comprehensive schools. It was claimed that they would be too big, probably, to work well. Since there was little support for comprehensives among the local authorities, educationalists, and within the Labour Party it should not be assumed that many Conservatives believed the tripartite system to be under threat. In particular, there was very little evidence as to how successful comprehensive schools might be in practice. A further problem was that, so sensitive were politicians of all parties to the need to provide equal opportunities for all pupils, that there was a reluctance to pursue experiments which might prove to be detrimental to the education of the pupils involved. In an article entitled "Thoughts on Multilateralism", in the Times Educational Supplement, L.J. Drew wrote:-

"The transition from administrative blueprints to bricks and mortar will be disastrous unless, in the interval, there is a pooling of knowledge,

..... Multilateral schools are experiments
but the material for the experiment-the welfare of
children - is so precious that it must not fail."(25)

The writer also criticised common schools on grounds which most
Conservatives would have echoed, claiming that the prime motives of
the supporters of the movement were social rather than educational.

Little information also, could be available about the achievements
of the newly styled "Secondary Modern Schools."

By the late 1940's they had been given very little time to establish
themselves for good or ill.

CONCLUSION

So small was the Labour Party's majority in 1950 that most
Conservatives were convinced that another election would soon follow,
and that they could win. In 1951 they were returned to office and
any fears that there would be a growth in comprehensive education
encouraged by the government disappeared.

After 1945 there was some doubt as to whether the Conservative
Party really would pursue the social policies outlined during the war,
especially since many Conservatives representing urban constituencies
had lost their seats. However, several factors ensured that a future
Conservative Government would accept the orientation embodied in these
policies. First, the size of Labour's majority suggested clearly that
there had been a shift in the thinking of the electorate in general
and that no party could oppose the principle tenets of the Welfare

Evidence | state and expected to gain a majority in Parliament. Secondly, the Party leadership, including the former Liberal Winston Churchill favoured a progressive social policy despite the reluctance of the leader to state in any detail what this policy was to be. Fourthly, the coming into the Parliamentary ranks of 1950 of a group of young, moderate M.P.s changed, probably, the general outlook of the Party in favour of a more statist direction. Thus, there was little possibility that the Conservatives would not continue to see the state system of education develop along the lines set down by the 1944 Act.

Since most Labour M.P.s saw the 1944 Act as the blueprint for the development of the education service there was little argument in Parliament on the subject. The pro-comprehensive lobby in the Labour Party was a small one and it made little impact upon the policy of a government faced with the daunting prospect of a chronic shortage of school places. Whilst the Conservatives did not specifically dispute the possibility of experiment in comprehensive education as recommended in the 1944 Act, the White Paper "Educational Reconstruction", and the 'Norwood Report', it was clear that there was a very decisive dislike for comprehensive schools in the Party.

When the Conservative Party returned to office in 1951 it appeared that comprehensive education would make little progress. Since most Labour M.P.s also were in favour of the tripartite system there seemed little possibility in 1951, that education would become a controversial subject as long as a Conservative Government remained in office.

CHAPTER FOUR

1951-1956 COMPLACENT EXPANSION

When the Conservatives returned to office in 1951, many of their opponents feared that the new government would obstruct the development of the system of state education as part of a general attack upon the provision of social services. Such an attack, it was felt was made more likely by the harsh realities of the economic crisis. This chapter is concerned with the policy of the new government with regard to the state system of education. First the extent to which education was affected by the economic crisis must be considered since this may be seen as indicative of the Conservative attitude to education. Severe cuts in the building programme would for example suggest that the Party was not prepared to implement with enthusiasm, the 1944 Education Act. Conversely, a willingness to protect education from possible cuts might suggest the reverse of this. Secondly, the chapter will trace the development of the case for comprehensive education, and the Conservative Party's response to this.

Sir Winston Churchill was already something of a legend when he became Prime Minister for a second time but his record in domestic politics, particularly during the inter-war years, had aroused considerable criticism. He was clearly unlikely to be set for a long term of office and opponents doubted both his ability, and, despite his early career in the Liberal Party, his desire, to head a government that could, at the same time, handle the economic crisis and promote the development of the Welfare State. His political friends might doubt his dedication to conservatism,

and in fact the Labour Party had made electoral use of Sir Winston's criticisms of the Conservative Party, made during his Liberal phase.

How well suited was the government, as a whole, to the task of governing Britain in the new conditions of the post-war age? Donald Johnson, who won Carlisle for the Conservatives in 1955 but became an outspoken critic of the party, later wrote:-

..."neither the Woolton, nor the Butler dispensations were of anything more than marginal importance when the Conservative Party regained power in 1951, for, already safely ensconced in the places of power, were the occupants of the 188 safe parliamentary seats, mainly country seats, who had survived the 1945 election".⁽¹⁾

Inevitably, the cabinet was chiefly composed of the established figures in the party, but in addition to Woolton and Butler, it is fair to state that Harold Macmillan, who took over the Ministry of Housing, and Oliver Lytton who assumed responsibility at the Colonial Office, both had records of supporting reformist policies. The Lord Privy Seal, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Cherwell, the Paymaster General were, in particular, upholders of traditional Conservative opinions indeed, Lord Cherwell's biographer R.F. Harrod claimed that 'reactionary' might be a fair word to describe his politics.⁽²⁾ However, Lord Cherwell added great intellectual strength to the cabinet, for he had long been considered a brilliant scientist and had become a close friend of the Prime Minister.

If the new cabinet was not one which could be described as

completely dedicated to the principles of reform, it was fair to assume that the policies of Butler, in particular, would not be obstructed by the cabinet. One notable omission however, concerned the Ministry of Education, Miss Florence Horsbrugh not being accorded the cabinet rank of her predecessor. / ?

Undoubtedly, the new government's opponents felt that the Conservatives were not suited to handle the crisis of 1951. Since the party's popular vote was less than that for the Labour Party, it appeared that the country, as a whole, had its reservations.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND THE SCHOOLS

When the Conservative Party returned to office, the economic problems eclipsed in magnitude, all others and the likelihood of the Ministry of Education's becoming the centre of controversy seemed remote. The aging Prime Minister was content to play the part of a figurehead, leaving much scope to his colleagues. Despite Sir Winston's age and occasional bouts of ill-health the party, as a whole seemed to approve of the situation, and the Chairman of the 1922 Committee, Philip Goodhart, claims that until only a short time before his resignation, Sir Winston's leadership satisfied the parliamentary party.⁽³⁾ The Prime Minister's expected successor, Anthony Eden was again at the Foreign Office where he was considered to be essentially a one subject man. This meant that R.A. Butler, the Chancellor of the Exchequer occupied a dominant position in the sphere of domestic politics. As the main architect of the Party's programme, and as the architect of the 1944 Education Act, it seemed reasonable to suppose that Butler would now encourage progressive policies and would, in particular, look favourably on the growth of state education, along the lines set out in the Act. Nor were

the accepted methods of secondary school selection, or the status of the grammar schools widely challenged in principle, whilst the raising of the school leaving age and the development of a tripartite system of grammar, technical and modern schools, had already been set in motion by the previous government. The main problem facing the department, and the one that created the greatest anxiety in the educational world, was the threat posed by the desperate nature of the economic situation, to the availability of cash for education, particularly for new school building.

The pressing need for a massive building programme was due to four main factors. Firstly, many schools, particularly in the Urban areas had been damaged or completely destroyed by the German airforce. It was in these very areas that the problem had already been acute before the war. Secondly, the natural decay of the remaining buildings which had now advanced more than a decade since the commencement of hostilities, required that many dilapidated schools be replaced. War and depression had advanced the lives of these schools much beyond what the Ministry considered to be desirable. Thirdly, the plans to develop a full secondary education for all non-grammar school pupils demanded the construction of new, purpose-built, secondary modern schools. This was particularly important since the Act had committed the Ministry to the pursuit of the ideal of parity of esteem between all types of secondary education. Such a prospect would be most difficult to achieve if the secondary modern schools were housed in obsolete structures that had been designed to provide an elementary education for those not deemed to be worthy of a secondary education. Inadequate buildings, it could be assumed, would not attract well-qualified teachers. Thus, a poorly staffed badly housed school with a history of mediocre achievement reaching back to the Victorian

genesis of the institution, could hardly hope to rival the status of the established grammar schools with their highly qualified mainly graduate teaching staff and their proud and lengthy records of scholastic success and university scholarships. Moreover, an established building gave to the school an established reputation in its surrounding area, a reputation that could prove difficult to redeem. Writing in the 1960's a teacher who had been employed in this type of school remarked:-

"These cul-de-sacs of the City's education system contain the most tired and often the most disillusioned members of the teaching profession, and perhaps also the least successful, if we exclude the Headmaster and their deputies." (4)

Clearly, a new, attractively designed, well-lit building was a very necessary first step required in the drive to establish 'parity of esteem.'

The fourth factor which created the great need for new building, was the effect of what had become known as the 'bulge'. Young men returning from active service were anxious to begin, or add to, their families. In addition, it is highly probable that many couples who had not been parted by the war, had refrained from extending their families. Such couples, no doubt, were reluctant to bring in children to a world fraught with uncertainty and ever-present danger. With the removal of these restraints there came about, a rapid rise in the birth rate in the years immediately following the surrender of Germany. This rapid increase would put more severe strain on the nation's schools for it would be necessary to create far more

school places, simply to keep pace with the greater intake of pupils. At least, however, the 'bulge' could be immediately recognised and plans made accordingly. By 1951, the first year of the new government, the 'bulge' was entering infant school but it would be 1957 before the first wave would strike the secondary schools.

In view of the difficult economic position, however, a really effective building programme could not be immediately embarked upon, and it is reasonable to assume that the Conservative's political opponents would not have expected or even advised a massive increase in the school building programme. Moreover, fears that the recovery of the nation prior to the 1951 crisis might only be a prelude to a slump on the lines of that which followed the First World War, had not been completely removed.

The Conservative Government faced a difficult political problem. It was widely believed that the erosion of Labour's massive parliamentary majority of 1945, was due to its failure to deliver quickly, the fruits of victory. It was impossible for Conservatives to justifiably assume that their slender majority heralded a fundamental change in the feeling of the country about the Welfare State, of which the Labour Party appeared to be champions. A failure, to improve the economic situation, or a material sign of a lack of enthusiasm for the Welfare State, of which the Education Act of 1944 was generally considered to be part, would probably lead to the decline of Conservative support and the speedy return of a Labour government.

In this difficult situation the government proceeded with caution. It was determined upon a policy of the reduction of its own expenditure. Several possible areas in which reductions

could be made, were examined. One result of this was a request to local authorities, that they make cuts in their educational spending of around five per cent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was convinced that a reduction in the import bill was essential as part of his overall policy. He explained:-

"The first move was to cut imports and cut them good and hard." (5)

The construction of school buildings would inevitably require the importation of building materials. It was also hoped that a reduction in government spending would lead, in time, to a reduction in taxation and higher real incomes which in turn, it was hoped, would stimulate investment and economic growth.

In view of the particular demands that would be made upon the education system during the following dozen years, the reductions were open to criticism. In the House of Commons, Mr. Michael Stewart claimed that an old Tory maxim was:-

"when in doubt, economise on education". (6)

The minister admitted that she had received about 420 letters of protest on this matter but she claimed that most of these were of a political nature. (7) Three quarters of the protests argued Miss Horsbrugh, came from local Labour Party organisations, trades councils, individual trade unions and their branches and local co-operative associations.

In fact, the cuts faced only limited opposition even from the

Labour Party and there are several possible reasons for this. In the first instance, it had to be admitted that the cuts were part of a wider scheme to curb government spending and restrict imports. It was doubtful whether a Labour government would have been able to avoid making similar cuts had one been returned again to office. Indeed, Conservatives accused the opposition of refusing to make cuts earlier because of the inevitable effect on the party's election prospects. Moreover, the Times Educational Supplement decided that Labour's criticisms were wholly unjustified since the previous Labour government had made similar cuts in educational spending in 1949.⁽⁸⁾ In any event, the crisis which had led to the cuts could not be blamed on the Conservative Party since it had so recently returned to office.

Perhaps also, the Labour Party, in view of the recent political crisis caused by the resignations of Bevan, Wilson and Freeman over the re-introduction of prescription charges, was rather sensitive to matters relating to government spending on the social services generally. It had to be admitted also, that, pressing as were educational requirements, other demands, notably housing and the health service were also of great importance.

There can be little doubt also, that the limited level of required reductions surprised many Labour M.P.s. At the two recent general elections the Labour Party had attacked the Conservatives as people whose aggressive imperialism and anti-communism would threaten world peace and whose avid support of free enterprise would lead to a running down of the social services. If, for electoral reasons the accusations were dramatised, the belief was held in principle by many socialists. Since the situation provided a possible excuse for widespread reductions in government spending, it is quite probable that many Labour M.P.s were genuinely surprised by the cuts.

Also of some importance was the fact that the cuts were to be made under the direction of Mr. R.A. Butler. As the architect of the 1944 Act, Butler was a trusted figure by those who looked favourably on the extension of the state school system. Mr. Clement Davies, the leader of the Liberals claimed that any reduction in the educational services was uneconomic in the long term, wasteful and disastrous for the country. , he added, referring to the slightness of the effect of the cuts:-

"...I was glad to get the Chancellor's assurance on this matter. I did not expect anything else from him, knowing the great part that he played when he was Minister of Education,..." (9)

On January 29th 1952, Mr. Butler again assured the House of Commons that the cuts would not make serious restrictions upon the growth of the state school system. Mr. Butler said:

"The Minister of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland will maintain the essential fabric of education."

He re-asserted his approval of Disraeli's belief that:

"Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of the country depends." (10)

Mr. Butler admitted that a minimal cut back in the school building programme would be inevitable but he expressed his hope that most of the cuts would be made in other areas and he mentioned in particular, the administrative side. Speaking to the London University Institute of Education of 5th February 1952, Mr. Butler explained the matter

in very practical terms, observing that the first duty that every generation owed to its children was to make the country solvent. Kenneth Pickthorn, speaking on a motion proposed by Mr. George Thomas, made use of a phrase spoken by Mr. Butler, He remarked:-

"It is a fallacy to suppose that because something is part of the essential fabric of education that, therefore, there is no room in that for some economy." (11)

In fact, the possible effects of the cuts remained vague and there was nothing really specific for critics to isolate. Little was to be gained by speculative squabbling as, to what did, and did not, constitute the "essential fabric" of education.

Since, therefore, the criticisms directed at the education cuts from outside the Conservative Party were distinctly limited it was virtually inevitable that little, if any, criticism would be voiced from within the Party, Conservatives who might be expected to approve of the development of state education; those who had welcomed the 1944 Act, and the implementation of the Beveridge Report; and those reformers amongst the party's newcomers, found the cuts necessary and tolerable. Lord Woolton was able to describe the cuts as 'comparatively modest', and he expressed sympathy for Miss Horsbrugh, who, he claimed was being widely criticised for actions which had been required by the cabinet; these being instructions over which she had no control and about which she could do nothing other than tender her resignation. (12)

The Conservatives were, indeed, able to argue that, despite the cuts, educational estimates were higher than had been submitted by Mr. Attlee's government. However, when Mr. Christopher Hollis

made this claim in the House of Commons, some Labour M.P.'s refused to accept its validity.⁽¹³⁾ On January 22nd 1953, Miss Horsbrugh was able to announce to the House that money actually spent on school building, as opposed to that given in prior estimates was, in fact, rising. The value of work done, claimed Miss Horsbrugh, was £34.5 millions in 1951 and £37.5 millions in 1952. She added that the estimate for work approved for 1953 was £40.3 millions.⁽¹⁴⁾

It may be fairly claimed, however, that the Conservative Party's acceptance of the government education cuts was due to other factors in addition to unfortunate necessity. The attitude of many Conservative M.P.'s towards state education generally, may be described as lukewarm or uninterested. To these people, a public school education was the norm; they had attended public schools themselves, they had sent, were sending, or would send their children to these schools. For the person striving to raise his social status, acts of self sacrifice to enable his children to become first-generation public school pupils, were seen as noble aspirations.

Whilst little had been said during the passing of the 1944 Education Act about the future public schools, it was known that the Labour Party was hostile and that, in time a Labour government might take action against them. The return of a Conservative government had removed what was seen as a spectre of socialism hanging over the public schools. This was a cue for a sigh of relief in Conservative ranks. State schools were there as a service and would be developed subject to the ability of the state to finance them but the responsibility should be believed most Conservatives, rest with the parents if they could possibly afford to shoulder it. Viscount Caldecote announced in the

House of Lords;-

"If we take away parental responsibility, and the incentive to parents to work hard and save for the benefit of their children, we may lose all, and certainly more than we gain by the improvements which have been made in education in our schools."(15)

Angus Maude had expressed what he considered to be the Conservative outlook when he wrote in 1953:-

"Broadly the Tory view is based on the proposition that so long as the clever child of poor parents is given a free place in a school which will develop his aptitudes to the full, the parent who is prepared to make sacrifices to provide his child with better-than-average schooling has as much right to spend his money on that as on a better television set."(16)

It is not unfair to infer from this, a belief that the private sector, is, in general, superior to the public sector and that a private education should indeed be the norm for those who could afford it.

A lukewarm attitude to state education could be detected in the Conservative party, beyond the narrow confines of the party in parliament. The Times Educational Supplement depicted the atmosphere of the 1953 Conservative Party Conference when education was being discussed. The Report stated:-

"They lacked Labour's enthusiasm; their instinctive impulse was to support the ungenerous sentiments of the

gentleman from Dorset who "didn't object to money being spent on education," but did feel strongly about "extravagant luxury and needless frills:" but in spite of this, the subject came high on their agenda because, like it or not, no political party today can escape it."⁽¹⁷⁾

Nor was any greater enthusiasm shown at Blackpool in 1954. Little more than half an hour was spent discussing education before the subject was curtailed in order to pass on to local government. A resolution was put forward by Commander P.W.T. Kime of South West Hertfordshire which proposed that the conference, whilst supporting the Government's policy of providing equal educational opportunities for all, should recommend constant attention to both local and national expenditure on education. The motion, which, it should be observed, also approved of higher salaries for teachers, was carried. Unnecessary luxuries were again criticised.⁽¹⁸⁾ An interesting feature of the motion was the suggestion that teachers' salaries should be raised at the possible expense of educational 'luxuries'. This view was often expressed by Conservatives and represents a belief that the formal teaching methods usually employed in the public and grammar schools were adequate for all children. The emphasis was upon the quality of the teacher rather than the equipment at his disposal. Raising teachers' salaries was seen as the obvious means of increasing the quantity and quality of teachers. What does not appear in this argument is the desire of the teachers themselves for 'luxurious' equipment and it could be added that the better quality public schools prided themselves in the high standard of their facilities particularly for science and physical education. The concern of the Conservative Party in the country, for the well being of the public schools is reflected in the fact that more than half the resolutions on education, submitted to the Conservative conference at Bournemouth

in 1955, involved requests for the government to help the parent who wished to send his child to public school.⁽¹⁹⁾

Whilst, therefore, sections of the Conservative Party demonstrated little interest in state education, there were those in the party who feared that the main features of the welfare state posed a threat to the well-being of the nation and were, therefore, to be viewed with hostility. The extensive state involvement in education was not to be desired. Such opinions found their expression in the writing of Sir Ernest Benn. In his book "The State the Enemy", published in 1953, Sir Ernest argued that the ever-increasing power and provision of the state was undermining the self-reliance of the individual. He claimed:-

"The individual citizen is lost in a jungle of benefits, doles, subsidies and pensions from which he can do no other than grab what he can; and of rules, restraints and charges from which he strives to escape."⁽²⁰⁾

In a rather more sinister vein, Sir Ernest warned:-

"It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to establish by argument any direct connection between the serious change of mind towards moral laxity and the silver-spooning of a Welfare State, but few will fail to feel that the two things have a definite relationship one to the other."⁽²¹⁾

A further factor explaining the Conservative's attitude towards education was the fact that there was no great controversy that threatened any established educational institutions. The Party might rally behind a socialist threat to the public schools or grammar

schools but such a threat, if it existed, seemed minute.

In understanding the Conservative attitude to education in the early 1950's it is essential to understand the fact, that as far as the party was concerned, the subject was superceded both in interest and importance by another area requiring considerable government activity, namely, housing. At the Party conference at Blackpool in 1950, a rank and file revolt persuaded the leaders to accept an amendment to a motion on housing, requiring a future Conservative government to aim at a target of 300,000 houses to be built per year. Against the judgement of Butler who felt that the later housing drive was straining the economy, the party took up the cause with relish. Harold Macmillan, author of 'The Middle Way' and clearly a man of considerable ministerial ability was sent to the Ministry of Housing, a job which would normally have been considered a humble position for a man of Macmillan's aspirations and abilities.

Churchill admitted that he knew little about the housing set up but he gave his backing to a policy which had such wide support within the Conservative Party.⁽²²⁾ The fact that the Labour party condemned the 300,000 target as an election gimmick, gave the programme the air of a crusade. It is impossible to ascertain exactly the extent to which the housing programme was directly responsible for corresponding reductions in educational spending. New school buildings made a greater use of steel and prefabricated parts whereas pre-war schools had, to some extent competed with houses for bricks and wood. Clearly, however, local authority housing projects competed with schools for money, whilst there was bound to be some competition for materials. The requirements of the housing programme on labour supply would also affect the school building plans, so it is certain that the housing drive did have an adverse effect on the school building programme. This was generally

considered acceptable to the Conservative Party. Lord Stamp claimed that refusal to support cuts in education was unrealistic and added:-

"Nor is it justifiable if it is done at the expense of the housing programme, which surely must still be the No.1 priority so far as social services are concerned." (23)

The arguments in favour of the housing programme were most appealing to the Conservative Party. The post-war shortage of houses was alarming and the Labour government's achievements, including the setting up of temporary "pre-fab" estates had only just begun to make an impression on the problem. Some commentators argued that a decent home was a higher priority than a new school. It also affected much more directly the voting adult population. Since the programme was so obviously popular among the party membership throughout the country, it would be sensible to assume that it would be popular with the non-conservative and non-committed voters as well. Hence the scheme was seen as a potential vote winner. How many of the new home owners could be persuaded that their new house was the result of the Conservative Party's housing priority? Moreover, to the electorate as a whole, the programme offered some tangible means of judging the government's performance. To succeed in such a bold aim would surely indicate a vigorous, efficient and forward looking, confident government. It was particularly important to make a notable achievement in an area which affected the welfare of the people since opponents rebuked Conservatives with the accusation that they were not really interested in the well-being of 'ordinary' people.

In the long term, the Conservative Party required to firmly establish itself as the party which, not only would attract middle

class votes, but also the votes of those aspiring towards the middle class. In 1954, the American political scientist, Leon Epstein wrote:-

"Whether Conservatism enjoys a long tenure of office, may depend on the extent to which essentially middle-class attitudes thrive at the edges of the working class." (24)

He added: -

"No doubt social climbing serves similar political purposes elsewhere, but the British Conservative party has thoroughly systematised the process." (25)

Home ownership had long been a characteristic feature of the middle-class way of life and one of the factors traditionally used to distinguish the middle class from the wealthier sections of the working class. The larger the number of home owners became, the larger, it was hoped would become the Conservative Party's middle class electoral base. Significantly, the government pressed not only for more houses to be built, but also a higher proportion of home owners.

It was inevitable that new housing estates would require new schools. This would reduce still further, the number of extra places that could be provided in the old urban areas where the problem of inadequate schools was most desperate.

The reduction in educational spending was reflected in the number of new school places provided during the first few years of the decade. In the summer of 1954, Sir David Eccles became Minister of Education and on 21st October he replied to a request to provide information to

the House of Commons regarding developments in school building.

Sir David explained that on June 1st 1951, there were 1204 schools under construction. These schools were designed to provide 405,175 new places. Of these, more than two thirds of the places were to be in primary schools. It was around this time that the bulge was entering the infant schools. The figures given were 911 new primary schools providing 270,425 places and 293 new secondary schools providing 134,750 new places. There was a notable fall during the following twelve months. On June 1st 1952 only 1061 schools were under construction providing for 350,640 new places. This represented a fall in new places of more than twelve per cent.⁽²⁶⁾

In January 1953, Miss Horbrugh had admitted that the number of schools under construction was falling but she explained that the purpose of this was to complete buildings already under construction, before beginning new projects.⁽²⁷⁾ The fall was, however, less keenly felt in the secondary sector. There were 276 secondary schools under construction on June 1st 1952 and these were designed to provide for 123,505 pupils. This represented a fall of only 11,245 on the previous year. The effect upon the building programme for junior schools was more severe. Only 785 schools of this type were under construction and these were to provide 227,135 new places. This represented a reduction of 43,290 places from the previous year.

The continuance of this trend is reflected in the figures for 1953 and 1954. By 1953 secondary school provision had notably surpassed the figures for 1951. 377 new secondary schools were under construction on June 1st of that year and the 180,214 places to be provided exceeded the 1951 level by 45,464. A greater improvement had been made by 1954 when, again on June 1st, 227,585 new places

were envisaged in the 456 new secondary schools being built.

These figures were balanced by a spectacular fall in the provision for new places in primary schools. The 1953 figures showed 197,185 new places in 665 new schools, a fall, in places, of 29,950 from the previous year. Twelve months later only 165,745 places were planned in the 537 schools under construction. The totals for primary and secondary schools showed a steady increase from 1952 to 1954, but the figures for 1954, 393,330 places in 993 new schools, still showed an overall drop from the level of 195 when 405,175 places were provided in the 1204 schools under construction on June 1st of that year. (28)

The priority given to secondary education by the government represented an attempt to realise the goal of secondary education for all. It was here that the problem was most acute, both because of the extra numbers due to the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen, which had increased the time spent in school by most pupils outside the grammar schools, by around a third and also another factor which had been somewhat overlooked in 1944, a possible growth in the numbers of secondary modern pupils who would wish to remain in school for an extra year beyond the statutory minimum leaving age, in order to attempt the G.C.E. examinations. Whilst numbers were small in the early 1950's the government was aware of the development. Sir David Eccles revealed that the number of pupils staying on in secondary modern schools, after the age of fifteen, had risen from 22461 in January 1953 to 24,682 in November 1954. (29)

As the government attempted to find the right priorities for new school building, primary schools inevitably suffered. The government believed that in the primary sector, existing buildings would be more

serviceable, even the inadequate ones, than was the case with secondary schools where there was a greater need for modern provisions such as science labs, and gymnasiums. Official targets for class sizes envisaged no classes of more than thirty in secondary schools, whereas, forty was considered a reasonable maximum for junior schools. In fact, in 1950, 636 junior schools were on the Ministry's blacklist of severely inadequate buildings. By March 1956, the figure still stood at 564, a reduction of only 72.⁽³⁰⁾

In terms of actual cash spent, the government attempted to maintain a level of spending of over fifty million pounds per annum on secondary school building. The figures for 1950-51 had been 51.6 million pounds. The estimates which Sir David Eccles gave to the House of Commons on 16th December 1954 planned for expenditure over the year 1954-5 of 54.5 million pounds, a rise of almost three million pounds on the previous year. This, however, still fell below the figures for 1949 when the Labour Government spent 59.1 million pounds on secondary school building.⁽³¹⁾

The government was able to claim, however, that it was possible to provide more places per million pounds spent, by the employment of modern building methods. The greater use of pre-fabricated parts and more simple designs, which represented the trend in the construction industry generally, enabled a comparative reduction in the cost of new buildings.

The government had no grandiose schemes for an ideal level of educational provision to meet the requirements of the bulge. Sir David Eccles hoped that the provision of new places would simply keep up with the increasing numbers. If this could be achieved, it was hoped that as the peak years moved through the system, and out into employment, the

government, by maintaining, if not indeed increasing the level of spending, would find the amount of money spent per child noticeably increasing. This, in turn, it was hoped, would lead to a considerable raising of the quality of education offered.

In fact, provision did not, in the early 1950's keep pace with the increasing numbers. On 7th July 1955, Sir David Eccles admitted that in January of the previous year, 43,751 classes in the nation's schools contained more than forty pupils. This compared with only 35,103 such classes in January 1951. Sir David also revealed that the number of pupils exceeded fifty in 1,189 classes in January 1954 compared with 1,123 in January 1950.⁽³²⁾ The government could, thus claim that whilst the increasing number of classes of over forty was disturbing, there had only been a very slight increase in the number of drastically overcrowded classes of fifty plus. In fact, Sir David maintained that the figures were not really alarming in view of the fact that the 'bulge' was, at this time, passing through school. He pointed out that during the four years covered by these figures, the school population had risen by 638,000.

In view of the various difficulties being faced: the difficult economic situation that existed when the government began its office, the effects of the raising of the school leaving age, and the pressure applied to the education system by the bulge, the Conservative Party as a whole, looked upon its school building record with satisfaction.

THE STRUCTURE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

The Conservative Party, having accepted the 1944 Education Act, did not anticipate a demand for major structural changes in the secondary school system. Indeed, it was expected that it would be several decades,

and certainly a generation, before the plans of 1944 would come to fruition. The problem of the bulge would haunt the educational world well into the 1960's. The new secondary modern schools were seen as being suitable for multifarious experimentation. It would take years for sufficient new schools to be built, and more years still, would pass before these schools could develop traditions of their own. Only then could the achievements of the secondary modern schools be assessed on a national level, strengths and weaknesses identified and, perhaps, guidelines established as to what constituted the most successful modern schools. Time would also be needed to provide a grammar school place for every child who could convince the local authority that he was worthy of such a place. Throughout the country, the level of attainment required to justify grammar school places varied. It was necessary to provide a more uniform possibility of a grammar school place, and a level that was related to the assumptions as to what proportion of children were, on average, considered suitable.

The actual placing of pupils was left to the local authorities who employed a variety of different combinations of selection methods. Testing methods were still seen as experimental and whilst great faith was placed in the "intelligence" tests, which, it was considered, could reveal a fundamental I.Q. not affected by the advantages of home and school environment, and not subject to the possible prejudices of teachers; other methods were considered helpful. Time would be required to make effective conclusions as to the best types of tests to use.

If greater equality of educational opportunity was to be provided at the highest levels there would need to be a substantial increase in the number of available university places.

Thus, the Conservative government could be reasonably convinced

that the blueprint had been made and that no major structural change was necessary. The secondary moderns were new and experimental whilst the grammar schools were, in Conservative eyes, the pride of the state system. To most Labour M.P.s also, an equal chance for all children, from whatever background, to gain a grammar school place, was still the goal to be reached, the finest manifestation of equality of educational opportunity. This belief was not, however, unanimously held in the Labour party. There were those who believed that segregation at the age of eleven, was iniquitous both on the grounds of wasted talent due to inaccurate placing, and on the grounds that the act of choosing some children as able and others as not, was morally wrong. To such critics the education of the post war age was founded on the legacy of a system which had evolved in an age highly conscious of social distinctions. To tolerate such a system was not feasible to those who wished to reduce class distinctions, it was claimed. On 30th July, 1953, Miss Alice Bacon, an early critic of the existing secondary school system and advocate of comprehensive education, asked Miss Florence Horsbrugh:-

"Is the right Hon. Lady aware that the selection of children of 11 years of age for different types of school causes greater dissatisfaction among parents than any other educational problem? What is she doing to speed up the building of schools that will obviate this difficulty?"(33)

Miss Horsbrugh's reply firmly underlined her opinions about the common secondary schools. With the permission of the Ministry of Education some local authorities were, on their own initiative making experiments in comprehensive education. Whilst Miss Horsbrugh had not withheld her approval from several of these projects, it was clear that she

did not, in principle, like the comprehensive school. She replied to Miss Bacon:-

"From what I have heard of the opinions of parents what they dislike more is the idea of their children going into comprehensive schools." (34)

The following month, Miss Horsbrugh, speaking at London's Caxton Hall, spoke out against comprehensive schools. The speech was variously interpreted for whilst the Prime Minister maintained that the minister's criticism concerned the practical problem of the size of the London comprehensive schools, Mr. Stephen Swingle, another of Labour's early advocates of comprehensive education, denoted a basic criticism of the comprehensive school in principle. Indeed, he asked Mr. Churchill if he considered it part of the function of the Minister of Education to go around organising opposition to the plans of local education authorities when these plans had already received ministerial approval for which she took the ultimate responsibility. The Prime Minister refused to develop the point further but he had agreed that Miss Horsbrugh's speech did reflect the policy of the government. (35)

The arguments in favour of the comprehensive system were not well developed or, it must be stated, widely supported in the early 1950's. The rather wild speculations of either Miss Bacon or Miss Horsbrugh, regarding the fears, anxieties and preferences of parents, were hardly evidence enough, in themselves to justify or condemn the existing system.

Some evidence was, however, emerging, to suggest that some doubts regarding the existing system ought to be considered. Professor

P.E. Vernon, who was himself one of the leading figures involved with the study of selection methods, later claimed that public anxiety over secondary school selection reached a peak around 1954-5.⁽³⁶⁾ Particular questions were being widely asked in the educational world, and in the press. Were the best pupils getting grammar school places, or were there many who, for various reasons, such as examination nerves, or slight illness, underperformed in the examination? Were other able children who did perform well in the examination, deprived of a grammar school place because of the lack of such places available in the area? Most important, did subsequent results vindicate the system? To some extent, the system was self justifying. Having gained selection to a grammar school a pupil would enter an established academic institution, where he would be instructed by highly qualified teachers along lines designed to take him up to G.C.E. 'O' level standard at the end of the fifth, or even the fourth year. The able pupil, in such circumstances, ought to do well. By contrast a pupil of, perhaps, similar ability would enter a school which assumed that he would leave at the end of the fourth year to take up a manual job. He would be educated accordingly with a greater bias towards practical subjects. Could such a pupil hope to rival the achievements of a grammar school pupil? Limited, but significant evidence was being produced to suggest that, despite this self-justifying element, the system was the subject of striking inadequacies. Individual schools were finding their own examples of weaknesses in the system.

In October 1952, the Times Educational Supplement published a table of statistics drawn up by a grammar school headmaster, comparing the examination results in the first year French examination of one of his classes, with the pupils 11 plus intelligence ratings.⁽³⁷⁾ The choice of subject was significant since French was widely considered to be

an 'academic' subject. Such a subject was not thought to be suitable for most secondary modern pupils and it was seldom taught there below the top streams. In many secondary modern schools, French was not taught at all. The highest French examination mark was 89 per cent. It was attained by a boy whose entrance intelligence rating was 111. According to the overall order of merit on entering the school, the boy was bottom of the class of twenty nine. Thus he narrowly escaped going to a modern school where he may not have had the opportunity of studying French. Two other boys, rated on entrance as twenty first and twenty fifth respectively, in the group came fourth and eighth in the French examination. Conversely, the boy who, on entering the school was rated first in the group, and had been given an intelligence rating of 140, came only ninth, below the three near failures. The boy rated third in order and 131 intelligence came bottom of the class in the French examination. Throughout the whole group there was little correlation between entrance ratings and attainment in French. Moreover, the school had a high eleven plus pass rate so clearly, several boys who had done well in the French examination would have probably gone to modern schools had they lived in other areas. Referring to the three boys in the table with low entrance ratings and high French marks as A,D, and H, the headmaster concluded;-

"...whatever the reason, A,D, and H are in this grammar school by the merest fluke, and I should not be surprised if one day they gain a modern language scholarship." (38)

Not only was such evidence appearing in the nation's schools, but also the more concrete evidence of 'O' level passes in secondary modern schools was beginning to cast doubts upon the working of the

tripartite system. First, it cast inevitable doubts on the effectiveness of many of the methods of selection being employed, and second, it raised the whole question of the viability of the principle of separation at eleven. Secondary modern schools were to be developed on the assumption that they would not receive children who would be suited to a grammar school type of education.

On the subject of the actual methods of selection, Dr. J.J.B. Dempster, the deputy chief education officer for Southampton, presented findings relating to secondary modern pupils from the town, to the London University Institute of Education in November 1953.⁽³⁹⁾ The crux of his argument was, that, even if 'intelligence' could be measured there was little correlation between it, and potential ability to take the G.C.E. examination. He referred to four pupils whose tested intelligence ratings at the age of eleven had ranged from 102 which was only fractionally above "average" to 111. All four were eleven plus failures but they each succeeded, five years later, in passing six subjects in the G.C.E. 'O' level examinations.

In Bournemouth a plan was introduced to give a particular bias to the curricula of the towns various secondary modern schools. This was designed to accommodate various vocational needs. However, each of the schools was encouraged to develop an academic stream, further evidence of the growing feeling that the eleven plus could not, and should not, be able to make a final decision on the type of education to be made available to each pupil.⁽⁴⁰⁾

If the role of the secondary modern schools, was, in some respects, beginning to change, so too was that of the grammar schools. The view of these schools, held by most Conservatives was widely supported by most grammar school teachers themselves. The view was expressed by Mr.

Kenneth Pickthorn in August 1952 when addressing a meeting at the London University Institute of Education. Mr. Pickthorn asserted that:-

An essential loyalty for teachers in them was towards a firm belief in intellectual standards. He went on to say that the grammar schools should concentrate on the enduring values and what was classic, and avoid that which was fashionable. (41)

However, the changes introduced by the 1944 Education Act, particularly the abolition of fees in the maintained schools, were altering the social structure of the school, and to some extent, its educational role as well. The conference was particularly concerned about the issues arising from the increasing predominance of working class children in many grammar schools. Traditional teaching methods in the grammar schools had evolved to educate potential undergraduates. Was the curriculum still well suited to the majority of pupils who had little hope or intention of going to university? Also to be considered was the fact that whilst the new entrants to grammar schools possessed high intelligence quotients, they arrived from overcrowded junior schools with levels of literary skills and general knowledge which were not of the same average standard as the pre-war predominantly middle-class scholars. As, therefore, the traditional role of the grammar school, and the planned role of the secondary modern schools, began to change, the differences between them became more and more blurred and ill-defined.

Despite the increase in the doubts that were being expressed about the fundamental assumptions upon which the tripartite system was based, the overwhelming feeling, not only in the Conservative Party, but also in the education world generally, was against the extensive development of comprehensive education.

Whilst doubts were being raised against the accuracy of various selection methods, the chief reaction was that more experimentation was required and that selection methods must be refined and improved, rather than the whole tripartite system abandoned. The National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales published its research into the various problems involved in secondary school selection methods. Problems it did indeed accept but its conclusion was a fair reflection on current opinion. It stated:-

"Whilst there is room for much further research on the examination as a whole, investigations extending over the last quarter of a century have established the fact that the type of examination at present used is the soundest which has yet been devised." (42)

The debate was centred upon the soundness of the various tests and their possible refinements, but neither the fairness of the selection system compared with other possibilities, or the complete abandoning of eleven plus selection in principle, were widely supported. The emphasis was on experiment.

Even when considering plans to develop bilateral schools in the county areas, something which Miss Horsbrugh, and later, Sir David Eccles were prepared to tolerate in moderation, there were educationalists who were somewhat sceptical. It was in the countryside where, on grounds of administration and economy, a comprehensive school was an attractive proposition. However, when describing plans to develop such schools in Dorset, the county's psychologist, Mr. R.J.M. Taylor urged the value of the examination at eleven plus, for the selection of children for the different streams within the comprehensive schools." (43)

Throughout the period 1951 -1955 the doubts that were emerging regarding the effectiveness of selection in secondary education did not lead to any significant change in the Party's attitude to the structure of secondary education. Comprehensive schools were regarded with apprehension. The Party's manifesto for the 1951 General Election, "Britain Strong and Free", stated:-

"We must safeguard the independence, the high standards and the traditions of the Grammar Schools. We dispute the value of the over-large comprehensive school." (44)

The manifesto for the 1955 General Election, "United for Peace and Progress" stated:-

"To prepare for the increasing opportunities of the modern world we need all three kinds of secondary school, Grammar, Modern and Technical, we must see that each provides a full and distinctive education. We shall not permit the grammar schools to be swallowed up in comprehensive schools." (45)

Despite this apparently hostile attitude to comprehensive

schools, the Conservative government remained prepared to allow local authorities the right, generally, to decide upon the type of secondary education operated and upon the selection procedures used. In December 1954 Sir David Eccles stated:-

"Methods of selection are the responsibility of local authorities. The time has not yet been very long since the 11-plus was brought in, and I think it is well to let the various authorities see how they can get on." (46)

When asked a year later if he would set up a Departmental Committee to investigate the problem, Sir David replied:-

"I agree that this matter needs careful study but I doubt whether this could be best undertaken by a Departmental Committee." (47)

The policy of allowing local authorities considerable powers in developing secondary education meant that some comprehensives were proposed and the Government was prepared to accept some of these as experiments. However, Miss Horsbrugh told the Party's annual conference at Scarborough in 1952:-

" I have not, and should not approve any proposal that the secondary

provision of an area should take the form of comprehensive schools and nothing else." (48)

Such a policy could have created obvious difficulties had a large number of authorities demanded comprehensive schools but this was not the case. Miss Horsbrugh told the Party's Conference of 1953 that of 146 local authorities only 23 had any provision at all for comprehensives and only half a dozen had wanted all of their secondary education to be organised on comprehensive lines. (49)

Whatever evidence there might be to suggest inadequacies in the tripartite system of secondary education there was no widespread shift in support towards comprehensives among Conservative M.P.s To those Conservatives who believed that their attitudes to educational problems were guided by experience and not the speculations of theorists, was added, in a sense, the great weight of the opinion of R.A. Butler. Speaking to the London University of Education in 1952 he said that whilst the system of selection was supposed to be in conflict with the known facts of psychology, the evidence in experience for the broad classifications implied in the tripartite system, was compelling. To the politician, he maintained, the findings of experience were the weightier. (50) Writing in the Year Book of Education of 1952 Mr. Butler stated:

"I am happy to call in aid the wise words of an educational authority, who points out that "the existing set-up seems to have come to be what it is because of the different types of children are what they are..." (51)

Thus, there were those in the Conservative Party who accepted the validity of the criticisms aimed at selection methods but felt that evidence suggested that selection was advisable and that the existing system was better than any other. It remained only to improve the accuracy of the existing system. Other Conservatives were not interested in the criticisms or did not consider them valid.

What was widely believed in the Conservative Party was that the system as a whole, was basically fair. The development of G.C.E. work in secondary modern schools has been mentioned above. The attitude of 1944, that the secondary moderns should not compete with grammar schools since this would not be conducive to the establishment of parity of esteem was still an influence upon government thinking in the early 1950's. In June 1956, Mr. Dennis Vosper the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education stated that he welcomed the experiments made by many secondary modern schools, along the lines of G.C.E. streams. However, he remarked:-

"... it would be a great mistake for the interest of the rest of the children to be subordinated to what is always likely to be a small majority. The job of the modern school is to develop its own personality and not to ape the grammar school." (52)

It is important to realise that, whilst early G.C.E. successes in secondary modern schools were significant, they were very limited in number, and as far as the Conservative Party was concerned insufficient to constitute a rethinking of the organisation of the system.

It is probable that immediately after the War few Secondary Modern headmasters recognised any value for their children in taking external examinations. For example, one headmaster, Mr. N.W. Carter, related a conversation

between himself and one of his governors who obviously believed that since the school was now a "secondary" school, it would be developing along the lines of a grammar school. The governor commented:-

"I suppose you will teach Latin now in your school ..."

Mr. Carter replied in a sarcastic vien:-

"Oh yes, and we shall of course take School Certificate - the intellectual quality of the children has also changed overnight."(53)

In fact, this headmaster soon became convinced that his pupils were capable of examination work. When he began to develop G.C.E. work in the school he found that the local authority was suspicious for they regarded the tripartite system, with its existing selection methods, as providing clear cut divisions of ability which also happened to be administratively tidy. The setting up of these G.C.E. streams, was, however, in the main, a result of the personal experiences of senior teachers, rather than the development of a national trend.

In 1955, Mrs. A.M. Collett Jobey became deputy-headmistress of the Wilsthorpe Secondary Modern school in Long Eaton, Derbyshire where the headmaster, Mr. T. Maxwell was determined to develop G.C.E. work in the school which had only been open for one year. Mrs. Collett Jobey's enthusiasm for the task was inspired by her attempts to develop similar work in her previous school where the most able girls were transferred, at thirteen to a grammar school. The pupil considered to be the most able of her year, by Mrs. Collett Jobey was refused the chance to transfer to a grammar school on the grounds

that she was some weeks too old. Mrs. Collett Jobey was determined to instruct the girl herself with the intention of entering her for several subjects at 'O' level. The authority refused to grant permission for this maintaining that the girl could, on leaving school at fifteen, enrol at a college of further education. The authority refused to concede that for financial reasons, the girl would be unable to remain in full time education until she was almost eighteen years of age. The authority also refused to accept Mrs. Collett Jobey's opinion that for the last two years of her education, the girl would be attempting work well below that which was suited to her ability. In no circumstance was external examination work to be tolerated in their secondary modern schools. Mrs. Collett Jobey was embittered by this experience and was delighted to move to a school where the staff and pupils were enthusiastic about examination work, and where the local authority gave their full backing. She comments, however, that whilst most of the staff considered the eleven plus examination to be an inaccurate guide to a child's academic potential, they were completely dedicated to the success of their own school and were not really interested in the achievements of similar schools, or the issue at a national level.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Thus, whilst, in retrospect, the early G.C.E. results of secondary modern schools appear significant, the scale of these experiments was, in the early 1950's, very limited. When education was discussed in the House of Lords in february 1955, Lord Woolton stated his belief that the number of secondary modern pupils who ought to be in grammar schools was somewhere between one and three per cent.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The main feeling among educationalists was that more time was needed for experiment. The Joint Matriculation Board published a pamphlet entitled "Secondary Modern Schools and the General Certificate of Education" and they warned

their readers:-

"It is hoped that the summary here given will serve as material generally useful for discussion, not as combustible matter for any particular flame of controversy." (56)

If the evidence of examination success in secondary modern schools was limited, so too was that concerning work done in the comprehensive schools. In January 1956, Sir David Eccles told the House of Commons that on September 30th, 1955, there were, in existence, 26 comprehensive schools, twelve of which were in London, whilst there were a further sixteen under construction including eleven in London.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Such a limited number of schools could not be expected to supply conclusive evidence to suggest whether or not the new system should be extended across the nation.

Whatever the difficulties involved with the actual selection of children for various secondary schools, one factor was considered by the Conservative Party and the education world more generally, to be self evident. That was the unquestionable value of the grammar school within the state system. The actual type of education offered in the grammar and public school was still widely respected. In 1952, Lord Silkin, the Labour Party's foremost education spokesman in the House of Lords said:-

"Equality of educational opportunity ... is as far off as ever. I am not in any sense attacking the public schools; I have a great admiration for it. I believe the education it gives is the best in the country." (58)

Speaking to the annual meeting of the Central Council of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations in London

in March 1955, Sir David Eccles asserted that Education was the soil out of which national prosperity grew. (59) This argument was to be widely used to argue both the case for the tripartite system and the case for the comprehensives. Whilst supporters of the latter could go on to highlight the supposed wastage of talent inevitable in the tripartite system, it was the usual Conservative response to emphasise the need to give the very finest education to the most able minds. This education would, it was claimed, be diluted by the presence of average and dull pupils for whom less academic work would be required, and teachers with lesser academic qualifications. Perhaps more sinister, if the grammar schools were under attack, would not arguments similar to those used against the grammar schools also be deployed against the public schools.?

The Labour Party's increasingly enthusiastic support for comprehensive education, was seen by some Conservatives as being influenced by political dogmas. Such phrases as "today the grammar school cap is a more potent emblem of privilege than the old school tie", which appeared in the "Spectator" in March 21st 1953, were unlikely to win approval within the Conservative Party. Some Conservatives feared an ulterior motive, In Intelligence Testing and the Comprehensive School, published in 1953, Brian Simon wrote "To make a unified educational system, with all its advantages for the mass of the people, a practical possibility, the public schools will have to go." (60) Suspicion of the Labour Party's motives was not limited to the Conservative Party as the Joint Matriculation Board pamphlet, mentioned above illustrates. Referring to Labour's policy, the Times Educational Supplement commented:-

"To resent, and to legislate against, the special natural endowments of ability which some children possess is carrying doctrinaire enthusiasm too far." (61)

It is not unfair to say that at this time the Teaching profession was concerned, in the main, about the policy of the Labour Party and this gave further weight to the Conservative Party's case against the extension of comprehensive schools. Grammar school teachers in particular, whilst obviously concerned about their own futures in comprehensive schools where they would be required to teach children with whom they had little experience and, in some cases, even less interest, were genuinely convinced that the academic standards reached in the grammar schools, could not be maintained in the comprehensive schools. Mr. H.T. Evans, the retiring Chairman of the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools, stated at the Association's annual conference at Buxton, in December, 1953,

"The one thing that concerns us today more than any other is the threat to our grammar schools." (62)

It was a widely accepted sentiment. What amazed many grammar school masters, about the Labour Party's policy, was that the progress being made towards providing a first class education for an increasing number of working-class pupils, should fail to persuade the party to defend the grammar schools. Mr. R.R. Pedley, Headmaster of the City Boys' School in Leicester, wrote, in May 1953:-

"It is indeed fantastic that a great political party, associated in so many of our minds with the highest ideals of social justice, should evince such uncompromising hostility to the

very schools whose primary function is to help the able child from whatever home to the highest position its ability can earn." (63)

Some grammar school teachers took their opinions further. Grammar school masters in London, where much pioneering work into comprehensive education was being done, held a meeting at the County Hall on October 1st 1953 and resolved that:-

"This meeting of teachers in secondary (grammar) schools maintained by the London County Council is alarmed by the rapid development by the Council of the comprehensive secondary schools and requests:- (1) that adequate time for experiment be allowed so that it may be possible to judge the results in those schools already started; (2) that in this experimental period of at least ten years no steps be taken towards building any more such schools; (3) that, instead, measures be taken to improve or replace the existing modern schools so that their amenities should at least equal those of the grammar schools; and (4) that prefabricated buildings, rather than the buildings planned, be provided to accommodate the "bulge" since they would prove capable of adaption". (64)

The resolution could not be described as anything but hostile to the comprehensive experiment, at least insofar as the speed with which it was being developed was concerned.

Nor was there impressive evidence to suggest that there was any great enthusiasm for comprehensive education from among the ranks of the non-grammar school teachers. Many were deeply involved in the

pioneering work being done in their own schools. For the able and enthusiastic non-graduate teacher moreover, the secondary moderns offered promotion chances to the highest levels in teaching, including that of headmaster in very large schools. The possibility was that in the comprehensive school, the best jobs would go to graduates, especially in the early experimental stages when headmasters were determined to attract the type of staff who could provide the school with an academic potential to rival grammar schools. It is fair to assume also, that in secondary modern schools, as in grammar schools, the teachers were more concerned with problems caused by inadequate finance rather than with the theoretical problems of secondary re-organisation.

Most local authorities harried by restrictions on spending and, in some cases facing a problem of overcrowding that was reaching, or had already reached crisis point, were determined to secure what they could and not face the delays which the passing of comprehensive plans might involve. An authority which had spent some years in getting through the planning stages of a new grammar or secondary school, was not going to scrap the whole project because of limited evidence that the system might be unfair. To begin again with plans for a completely new type of school would set back further the time when much needed, extra school accommodation was provided. By that time, the economic climate might be such that still further delays would be necessary. A report by Mr. L. Dowsland, Chief Education Officer for West Hartlepool was presented to the town's finance and general purposes committee. It surveyed the strong and weak points regarding comprehensive education but it came to no definite conclusions. It did, however, warn that delay, due to alterations would mean that badly needed secondary school places would be lacking for several years. (65)

The threat also existed that a Conservative Minister of Education might veto plans for comprehensive school projects. In November 1952, Miss Horsbrugh was asked about the extent to which the cuts had affected comprehensive projects. She revealed that ten such projects were affected by the revisions of 1951-2 and 1952-53.⁽⁶⁶⁾ To what extent this figure may be considered disproportionate to the number of projects of other types affected by the cuts is problematical, but Miss Horsbrugh's lack of enthusiasm for comprehensives was well known. Thus, even local authorities where comprehensive education was looked upon with favour would probably consider themselves to be best advised remaining with the tripartite system.

Mr. Angus Maude, M.P. for Ealing South, believed that the tripartite system was the one most likely to lead to higher standards of education. Speaking at the Party Conference in 1953 he moved:-

That this conference welcomes the progress made by the Minister of education in carrying out the reforms of the Butler Act and expresses its conviction that Socialist proposals for destroying Grammar Schools and undermining the Independent Schools would result in a reduction of educational opportunities for all children." ⁽⁶⁷⁾

In strictly educational terms, the Conservatives criticised the comprehensive schools on the grounds of the necessity to be very large, possibly with as many as 2,000 pupils, in order to provide an adequate sixth form. On this point, the Party could depend

on considerable support from the educational world, and many supporters of the comprehensive principle were concerned about this problem.

There had been some criticism of the 1944 Act on the grounds that it took too much responsibility away from the local authority. The right to choose the type of secondary education to be operated in the area was one example of local authority power. This could be threatened by a national comprehensive system.

The 1944 Education Act sought to protect parental choice in secondary education and one criticism of the comprehensive system was that it would erode this freedom of choice.

The parents of public school children expected the right to decide upon the school to which they would like their children to go. It was assumed, in most cases naively, that as long as there was a variety of available schools in the state sector, in any given area, then a degree of parental choice remained. Whilst the 1944 Act required this, in fact the choice was limited and in all but exceptional cases the choice had to be within the sphere of the one to which the pupil had been selected at eleven plus. An unfortunate result of this concerned pupils who moved from one part of the country to another. A pupil rated, perhaps between the top ten and twenty per cent of the ability range, would expect, in most areas, to gain a grammar school place. Where grammar school places were limited to the top ten per cent and less there were often other possibilities open such as colleges of further education, and examination classes in secondary modern schools. The bright child in the secondary modern school, on moving to an area where the eleven-plus pass rate was in excess of thirty per cent would enter an area where about half of the

grammar school pupils had been rated beneath him. Yet he would probably have to take a place in a secondary modern school in which there was no chance of doing examination work, due to the lack of able children in the school. In theory, however, parental choice existed and Conservatives saw the comprehensive system as a threat to that, hence Miss Horsbrugh's insistence that in urban areas, comprehensive schools should exist alongside grammar schools.

The Conservative Party's case against the comprehensive school in the early 1950's was strengthened by the lack of unity on the issue, within the Labour Party. In February 1955 Lord Silkin addressed the House of Lords on the subject. His mood was cautious and pragmatic. He said:-

"I am not being dogmatic about the value of comprehensive schools. I feel that they are worth trying, particularly in those areas where they stand the best chance of success - namely in the urban areas." (68)

Moreover, doubts within the Labour Party, were being expressed by people who were professionally involved in education themselves. At a Fabian Society meeting in November 1954, Mr. W.A. Clayton, the Headmaster of Maidstone Grammar School claimed that it was absurd to destroy good schools on purely doctrinaire grounds. Mr. H.D. Hughes, the Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford maintained that some form of selection was inevitable, whilst Miss M. Green, the headmistress of Kidbrooke School, in London, professed her belief that children are best taught in groups which had only a narrow ability range. The last two of these comments do not criticise the comprehensive school as such but they do attack the more radical hopes of many supporters of

comprehensive education, particularly those who intended that teaching should be on a mixed ability basis. (69)

Other socialists were against the system, believing that real equality of educational opportunity meant an equal chance to gain a grammar school education. Moreover, there was some confusion within the Labour Party as to the real reasons why comprehensive education was desired. Was it in order to do away with the inaccuracy of selection and the ability provided to transfer across streams after the age of eleven? Was it because the secondary modern schools provided an inferior type of education and that the comprehensives would provide "Grammar school education for all"? Furthermore, could it be because the type of education provided in the grammar school was undesirable, perhaps because, even for the most able pupils, it was too narrowly academic, and that comprehensives would provide a more liberal education for all?

At the Labour Party conference at Blackpool in 1956, the reporter for the Times Educational Supplement claimed that the comprehensive school was not as strongly backed as in previous years, and it was noted that the comprehensive school was not mentioned by name in a policy statement on "equality". (70)

The Conservative party was largely united on its policy towards comprehensive schools in the early 1950's. This policy may be briefly summarised as follows. The case for the tripartite system in secondary education was considered to be overwhelming. Very limited experiments along comprehensive lines could be permitted, provided that they were made on the initiative of the local authority, and provided that they did not affect the status of existing grammar schools.

This policy was clearly revealed in 1954 when the London County Council attempted to close down the Eltham Hill Girls Grammar School and send the pupils to the Kidbrooke Comprehensive School. The L.C.C. also planned to develop the Bec Boys Grammar School into a large comprehensive. Another new comprehensive school was planned for Finsbury. The plans concerning the grammar schools aroused a storm of protest, though it must be noted that a counter-protest in favour of the plans also gained momentum. Parents of Eltham Hill pupils sent a petition to the Minister, whilst those in favour of the scheme claimed that since most of the staff at Eltham Hill had accepted positions at the Kidbrooke School, the teachers were expressing their approval of the development.

Miss Horsbrugh, whilst sanctioning the building of the Finsbury school, refused to close down Eltham Hill. She also refused permission to extend the Bec School on the grounds that its size would become educationally undesirable.

The headmistress of Eltham Hill, Miss I.B. Ozanne later revealed that the staff were opposed to the transfer but refused to join the debate for professional reasons. She also pointed out that when the Minister's decision was made known, only one teacher decided to take up the position at Kidbrooke, the others preferring to remain at Eltham Hill where some remained on salaries lower than those which they could have received at Kidbrooke. (71)

The Minister's decision caused an outburst of protest and the Eltham Hill affair became the subject of a debate in the House of Commons. That Labour's position on comprehensive education was, to a large extent, determined by social considerations was made clear in the debate. Dr. Horace King, a regular contributor to educational matters from the Labour benches, praised the public schools, not only for the

education that they provided, but also for the wider development of personality which they encouraged. Dr. King went on to say:-

"What there is good in the old school tie, the L.C.C. passionately desires for all London children - the corporate life of a great school, the mutual impact of different abilities and social groups and a common core of our island's precious cultural heritage, the Christian basis embedded in the Act of 1944, loyalty to a community ... instead of being divided into upper, middle and working classes, or academic technical and modern, or highbrow and lowbrow and no-brow, with brick walls and social prejudices dividing children after they have been separated into three groups." (72)

Despite the references to public schools, religion, the national heritage, features expressed by Conservatives themselves as values peculiar to their own party, the emphasis placed upon the comprehensive school as a desire to remove social distinctions, did not impress Conservatives. Such schools threatened valued institutions, the grammar schools; and if the public schools represented different social groups, the differences were strictly relative.

Whilst Conservatives protested their willingness to tolerate comprehensive experiments, the tone was hostile. Clearly, few Conservatives liked the experiments and emotive terms were used to describe the comprehensive schools. Mr. William Stewart stated:-

"It has yet to be proved that herding together 2,000 children at a time will advance the standard of education ... Hon. Members on this side of the House, whilst being against mass-production in education, nevertheless await with interest

and with open minds as possible the result of the comprehensive school experiment." (73)

The phrase "as open minds as possible" would seem to indicate a point beyond which, for reasons not explained, it would be possible but not desirable to be more open minded. How open minded M.P.'s who already used terms like "herding together children", and "mass production in education" were prepared to be, remained to be seen. Another Conservative M.P. Mr. H.A. Price, bluntly claimed:-

"The Conservative Party, ... is suspicious of comprehensive education, which has already been tried and abandoned elsewhere in the world." (74)

Quite clearly, the Comprehensive experiment could not be expected to work properly if most of the new comprehensive schools were deprived of the most able children in their catchment areas. The Conservatives seemed, however, to believe that the comprehensive school ought to prove itself without the availability of the most able children, should there be an established grammar school in the area. This was particularly the case if parents were prepared to express a definite preference for the grammar school. Mr. Henry Brooke claimed:-

"Even before these troubles, the new idea of transferring Eltham Hill to Kidbrooke School proved itself so unpopular in the neighbourhood that in 1953 the number of parents of primary school girls who put down Eltham Hill School as their first choice of a secondary school fell by 70 per cent, compared with previous years" (75)

Mr. Brooke did not state his source, but the claim was not challenged

by the opposition during the debate.

Perhaps the Conservative feeling on the subject was most concisely put by Mr. William Stewart who asserted that:-

"To me, even the thought of uprooting good schools from their present backgrounds, traditions and environments shows an utter disregard for all that goes into the making of a school." (76)

Miss Florence Horsbrugh's position was well known and she had spoken on several occasions on her reservations about comprehensives. She had advised, indeed, the Times Educational Supplement used the word 'incited' the parents to petition against the closing of grammar schools.

As the 1955 election approached the leading educational spokesmen of the major political parties submitted articles to the Times Educational Supplement, outlining their education policies. On May 13th, Sir David Eccles wrote:-

"Children and teachers have each their own distinction in ability and aptitudes, and there can be no ideal pattern of school re-organisation. Variety is a principle
The honest policy is to admit that we are not born equal and to build up each secondary school with its own distinctive character and fitness to serve a range of ability and aptitudes

A party which on social grounds strongly believes in the comprehensive theory could not keep its hands off the independent schools. (77)

The period from the return to office of the Conservative government in October 1951, to the summer of 1956 may be described as a period of confident, if not, indeed, complacent expansion. Despite the problems caused by a threatening economic climate in 1951 and despite the necessity to make some cuts in spending, there was a steady growth in the number of secondary places provided. Whilst the attitude towards education from large sections of the party was somewhat lukewarm, those interested in state education looked with satisfaction and pride on the government's achievements. If only the problems presented by the 'bulge' could be brought to within manageable proportions, then it seemed likely that the quality of state education would improve as the "bulge" moved on, and numbers fell. If Labour's comprehensive policy was opposed, the Conservatives were convinced that their approach was more practical, and much more likely to win support from the local authorities, the teaching profession, the parents, and the electorate as a whole.

RECOVERY

The highly confident attitude can only be fully appreciated within the terms of the growing confidence generally which the Conservative Party had, both for itself and for the nation.

The economy became more healthy as the 1950's progressed. The crisis of 1951 did not prove to be the forerunner of disaster that many observers feared. In fact, the country had recovered rather quickly from the war and by 1950 the volume of industrial production was up 30 per cent on 1947 whilst exports had risen by 60 per cent during that period. Compared with a balance of payments deficit of £545 million in 1947, 1950 saw a surplus of £229 millions.

Such an improvement was made within the context of domestic controls which proved somewhat tiresome to the public. Thus a trend of improvement and recovery had begun and the crisis of 1951 appears, in retrospect to have been a temporary setback caused by factors particular to that time. At the time, however, the crisis was worrying particularly so, since recovery now depended to a great extent on the state of the American economy. The Korean War which broke out in June 1950 required a massive build up of armaments particularly in America. There was a world-wide scramble for raw materials and world prices rose rapidly. For example, rubber prices trebled from March 1950 over the following twelve months and similar spectacular rises affected wool and tin. In addition to the problems of inflation, the Labour Government decided to announce a three year armament programme which was estimated to cost £4,700 million, beginning January 1951. In midsummer 1951 gold and dollar reserves, which had held remarkably steady, began to fall. (78)

The Conservatives thus assumed office at a difficult time but once the initial problems created by the war could be overcome, the problems were not insurmountable. A recession could not be avoided in 1952 but by 1953 the economic climate was showing signs of improvement. Most controls both concerning imports and domestic consumption were removed, much, no doubt, to the delight of a public depressed by war and austerity. By 1954 there had been a notable rise in investment and by 1955 the country appeared to be completely recovered from the crisis of 1951. As the governing party throughout this period the Conservatives claimed the improvement as a triumph for their own policies and they held high hopes that the electorate would take the same view.

The recovery of the economy led to certain developments which created a marked improvement in the living standards of many British

people, particularly among the wealthier sections of the working class. The end of rationing and the return of greater choice in clothing and foodstuffs was matched by the possible acquisition of new electrical goods. The vacuum cleaner and washing machine removed much of the drudgery from the housewife's life. The refrigerator reduced the time required to do the family shopping. Such improvements enabled more housewives to take up employment and the addition of another wage notably improved the life style of many families. The television provided a new type of entertainment readily available and cheap entertainment and at this time had not lost its novelty value. For some, a new house and a car were products of the growing affluence of the nation. For those unable to afford these new labour saving devices the hope remained that as the economy continued its upward movement, these goods would eventually come within their means also.

This improvement in production was paralleled with a low level of unemployment and a high degree of industrial peace. In 1953, for example, only 1.5 per cent, on average, of the working population was out of work.

The industry whose success provided the greatest satisfaction for the Conservative Party was housing. Here also, it was hoped that considerable political capital could be made. The number of houses produced in 1951 was slightly in excess of 200,000. The Conservative promise was for a 50 per cent improvement. By 1953, the target demanded by the party conference, and taken up by the government, was surpassed when 327,000 houses were completed. The figure was exceeded by a further 27,000 in 1954. Thereafter the numbers began to fall but they remained in excess of 300,000 until 1958.

By 1955, the hopes for world peace had improved. The friction over Berlin in the late 1940's and the conflict in Korea were apparently

over. The settlement of the Vietnam conflict at Geneva in 1954 seemed to set the seal for peace in South East Asia. Stalin died in 1953 and there were inevitable hopes that a new government in Russia would lead to a thaw in the cold war. The effectiveness of British Foreign policy was widely assumed to have been improved by the acquisition of the atom bomb. In fact, during the Attlee Government, Winston Churchill had supported the hope that only the Americans would possess the weapon but its development by Britain could assure the country that Britain was still a member of the "big three", with her wartime allies. Britain could also claim to be in the forefront of technological progress, notably in jet aircraft.

Despite the granting of independence to India and Pakistan, the Empire was seen to be intact and despite the activities of the Mau Mau, not considered to be under severe threat. This was to the particular satisfaction to Conservatives who still saw the maintenance of the Empire as one of the key features of their faith. Only with the backing of the Empire could the small island of Britain expect to consider itself as a world power on a par with Russia and America.

The Conservative Party, as well as gaining satisfaction from the improving situation of the country, could feel that the party itself was gaining in strength and self-confidence. Critics who had claimed that a Conservative Government would run down the social services in order to improve the lot of the upper and middle classes could produce little evidence to suggest that this had been the case. Indeed, the Party had assumed the support of the middle classes and had made a conscious effort to appeal to the working classes. The growing affluence of this group suggested that appeal would be successful.

In the first years of the new government there was uncertainty as to when a younger leader would take over as Prime Minister. There

was little disagreement as to who the next leader would be and in April 1955 Sir Anthony Eden, a generation younger than Sir Winston became Prime Minister. With a record suggesting that he was courageous and able, Conservatives looked forward to years of decisive leadership under Sir Anthony.

A further boost to the Party's future hopes was provided by the manner in which the younger M.P.s who had entered Parliament in 1950 and 1951 showed themselves to consist of many men of ability. Of the ninety three new members of 1950, twenty four later became Privy Councillors and forty one became Ministers. Several of these men were already being appointed to minor government appointments and Iain Macleod made a spectacular beginning to his government career by being appointed Minister of Health after impressing Sir Winston Churchill with his attack on Aneurin Bevan in 1952.

The new intake brought in not only men of political, intellectual, and administrative ability, but also men whose outlook was progressive, who welcomed the establishment of the Welfare State. Of Iain Macleod, his biographer, the Conservative M.P. Nigel Fisher says:-

"He was learning politics at the beginning of a new chapter and, as he became interested, it was not in prewar Conservatism but in the new ideas which Butler and others were beginning to evolve. The ground was fallow and he could sow his own seed." (79)

From this intake came the "One Nation" group, dedicated to the reformation of Conservative policy. This group was composed mainly of young men, many of them recently elected to Parliament for the first time. They were not committed to the publicising of the party line and were often critical of the party. Nigel Fisher says:-

"One Nation was trying consciously to make the Conservative Party more classless in its outlook and more progressive in its policies. The members of the Group were dissatisfied with the look of the Conservative Party and what it seemed to stand for. They felt there was a lack of social purpose and a lack of concern for people as individuals. (80)

There were still those who resented the Party's alleged swing to the left; who believed that true conservatism required a commitment to laissez-faire, and a setting up of welfare upon a private basis. In 1969, Sir William Teeling the Conservative M.P. for Brighton Pavilion, wrote, concerning the early 1950's:-

".. the Party as a whole considered Butler so left and so uncertain that a lot of people drifted away from our Party in disgust over these years and are only now coming back." (81)

If the Butler group were in a minority in the party, they had the authoritative voice and loyalty to leader and party reduced internal opposition to a minor key.

The Conservative Party could also gain satisfaction from the success made in the re-organisation of its own operations in the constituencies. The belief that the catastrophe of 1945 was partly due to poor party organisation, had resulted in a considerable development in this area.

A general satisfaction of the nation was demonstrated not by a surge of enthusiasm for the Conservative Party or the policies of their opponents, but in a general lack of interest in political affairs. Lord Woolton remarked:-

"Whilst the Parliamentary life of the Government was vigorous

and not lacking excitement, the public showed little interest in it." (82)

In May 1955, the Conservatives went to the polls. It was a quiet election. David Butler remarked of the issues under discussion:-

.." none of these issues produced a fundamental clash between the official leadership of the two parties." (83)

He added:-

"More than any contest in this century the choice lay between men rather than measures." (84)

The Times described the Conservative manifesto "United for Peace and Progress" as containing a maximum of rhetoric and a minimum of programme. The election was fought by Conservatives on their past achievements of the four years. Little emphasis was placed upon future policies. The approach suited the mood of the nation. There was a fall in the number of people casting their votes but the result produced an increased majority for the Government. The Conservatives won 345 seats while Labour claimed only 277. The slim majority of 1951 had been converted into a very comfortable one. With education, as with their record in other fields, the Conservatives confidently believed that they had the support of the nation. The confidence lasted into the following year as Conservatives were beginning to feel that they had recovered their role of the natural governing party.

CONCLUSION

As far as the work of the education department was concerned, the Conservative Government viewed its record over the period 1951-55 with

pride. Despite the threatening economic climate of 1951, an enlarged school building programme had been maintained. This was made possible by the improving economic climate which gave a generally confident air to the Government.

Two events were controversial and in pursuing its policy regarding secondary education, the government found little opposition in the world of education, and little interest in the Conservative Party, either on the back-benches or in the country. The Eltham Hill incident showed that, whilst the Government was prepared to sanction limited experiments in comprehensive education, it was not prepared, as a general principle, to see grammar schools lost in the process. Thus, opponents of comprehensive education could generally count on the support of the Government, especially when there was evidence of public outrage.

The view of senior politicians connected with the Ministry of Education during this period was that the main business of the department was to plan the expansion of the service across a broad front. The actual organisation of secondary education and the means employed to select pupils for the various types of schools in operation was seen as the business of the local authorities. In the early 1950's the view of most of these, a view supported by the government was that the education service should evolve along lines set down by the 1944 Education Act. Despite the appearance of limited evidence to suggest that many of the assumptions upon which the tripartite system was based were dubious, this system, it was assumed, could predominate.

Thus, whilst critics could argue that the Government was ideologically opposed to the social ideals inherent in the comprehensive principle, the Conservatives could argue that theirs was a practical, open-ended policy which had the support of the education world and the local education committees.

CHAPTER FIVE

REACTION TO NEW FACTS

1956-1959

INTRODUCTION

During the early 1950's the Conservative Government encouraged the growth of the system of state secondary education along tripartite lines. Some of the Government's political opponents, and a minority of educationalists expressed the belief that new evidence regarding the accuracy of selection tests and the academic achievements of secondary modern pupils revealed serious weaknesses in the case put forward by the Norwood Report of 1943, for a system of selective secondary education. The Government was unconvinced by this evidence and claimed that it was insufficient to advocate any major alteration in the system.

This chapter considers the reaction of the Conservative Government, and the Party as a whole, to the developments in the world of education in the later 1950's. This period saw the appearance of much more evidence which challenged the assumptions upon which the tripartite system was based.

In the early 1950's the Conservative Party had shown little interest in education but two developments in the history of the nation gave the debate on secondary selection an added interest. First, the confidence of both the nation and the Government that had formed the background to the steady expansion of the education service in the early 1950's was severely shaken by events both at home and abroad. Secondly, the rapid advance of the means of production used by the industrial nations, now recovered from the most severe effects of the Second World War,

emphasised the need to develop education, particularly scientific and technical education.

The growing confidence of both the nation, and the Conservative Party in particular was sharply arrested by the Suez Crisis in 1956. The withdrawal from Suez illustrated two facts about Britain's position in the world. First, Britain, even when operating with a nation of the strength of France, could not pursue an independent foreign policy which did not have the support of N.A.T.O. Secondly, it made clear the fact that Britain could not always depend upon the support of the United States. In effect, it showed that Britain was no longer a great power; that the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union were the two "super-powers" and that the 'big three' was now a meaningless political concept.

The whole incident cast doubts upon Britain's role as leader of a great empire. To many supporters of this role, the control of the Suez Canal was essential. Would not this setback lead to further incidents which would undermine Britain's position in the world? In fact, writes Leon Epstein:-

"Until the time that President Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal Company in 1956, the British government had continued, however reluctantly, its postwar policy of gradual retreat from Egypt as from other Imperial outposts".⁽¹⁾

What the Suez incident did was to cast the new position into stark relief. If the nation as a whole was shaken by this, it was a double blow to the Conservative Party, first, because the most ardent supporters of the Empire were found in the Party, and secondly, because

they, as the governing party took responsibility for the fiasco. What made the situation worse was the fact that most members of the Labour Party had opposed the intervention from the outset.

The Suez incident split the party into three factions: the strong line imperialists, like Julian Amery, and Major Legge-Bourke who had resigned the whip in 1954 because of the Government's imperial policy. They were widely supported by the Party in the country. The second group were those who followed the Government's line, and third, were the group which might be termed 'anti-imperialist', or, as Sir Edward Boyle expressed it, "that body of opinion which deeply deplores what has been done".⁽²⁾

Imperial matters were to cause further strain within the Conservative Party in the late 1950's as the Government reacted to the surge of African nationalism. Iain Macleod's term at the Colonial Office was particularly controversial. What complicated the issue was the fact that the division on imperial affairs did not correspond to the traditional, left and right positions on domestic issues. Thus, the Suez incident revealed clearly the declining power and significance of the British Empire, a trend which had been developing for some time but which few British people realised.

THE DEMAND FOR IMPROVED EDUCATION

The launching of Russia's first sputnik in October 1957 had the effect of emphasising the dependence of the great powers upon technology. The reliance of industrial advance upon technical education was well known. The 'Year Book of Education' of 1956 was devoted to technical education and in the same year the Government produced a white paper on the subject. It stated:-

"We do not need the spur of foreign examples. Our own circumstances show clearly the policies which we must pursue. The aims are to strengthen the foundation of our economy, to improve the standards of living of our people, and to discharge effectively our manifold responsibilities overseas."⁽³⁾

The white paper referred to the effort being made in Russia to increase its number of technologists and acknowledged the fact that the standard of Russian technology was very high. In his contribution to the 1956 "Year Book of Education, A.F. Shalin claimed that in Russia:-

"The actual enrolment at technical colleges was 37.2 per cent of the total college enrolment, and 160 per cent above the 1940 figure."⁽⁴⁾

The launching of Sputnik 1 proved the extent of Russian technical development. It revealed another aspect of Britain's declining position in the world, for, whilst the Americans were expected to compete with the Russians in a "space race" it was understood that Britain had neither the wealth nor the technical knowledge to compete. What was particularly ominous to the Conservative Party was the fact that the Russian achievement had been made by a communist state. This popular Tory caricature of the inefficient corporate state entangled in a mass of bureaucratic interference which thwarted individual enterprise had been effectively challenged.

Sputnik 1 highlighted the need to develop the system of state education. The service was increasingly seen as investment; perhaps investment in national survival. The White paper on technical education quoted a speech made by Sir Anthony Eden at Bradford on 18th January 1956, when he said:-

"The prizes will not go to the countries with the largest population. Those with the best systems of education will win."⁽⁵⁾

The tone was hopeful. It suggested that the country could still rank with the U.S.A. and Russia, and emphasised that education was the only means by which this could be achieved. The point was emphasised by Mr. Macmillan during the Debate of the Queen's Speech on 28th October 1958. He said:-

.. "our continued prosperity depends more than ever before on our being able to develop and use to the full the brains and the skill of our people, and in the adjustment and change of industry to new conditions. That is why we regard education as the most fundamental productive investment we can make."⁽⁶⁾

This growing awareness of the economic importance of education in the post-war world encouraged, both more interest in the subject in general, and in particular, gave greater intensity to the debate on secondary education. The term, "the wastage of talent" and the means by which this could be rescued became a much discussed issue.

The Norwood Report of 1943 had envisaged three types of children; the academically able, capable of appreciating the subtleties of language, and understanding abstract ideas; the child of average and below average ability; and, between these two, the "technical" child, not sufficiently intelligent to handle the work tackled in the top grammar school streams, but showing an interest in and ability of understanding mechanical subjects. Whilst the tripartite system had, in most areas developed into a bipartite system without a technical level, the complete Norwood classification still provided the justification for a selective secondary system. The greater emphasis being placed upon technical education

challenged the Norwood view of the technical child, and hence, it could be argued, undermined the whole Norwood conception. The White Paper of 1956 stated:-

"The secondary technical school of tomorrow should select at eleven from children of grammar school calibre and have buildings of its own and a staff which combines academic quality and industrial experience." (7)

Thus, the technologists of the future would not come from a second level of intellectual ability as envisaged by Norwood, but from the academically most able sections of the community. Having apparently abandoned the Norwood vision of the technical pupil the recommendations of the White Paper created several problems. The authorities, having built their technical schools and acquired their quota of staff with industrial experience, would have to decide how to select, from a group of pupils already classed as "grammar school" calibre, those most suited to the courses available in the technical schools, and those who would gain the greatest benefit from a traditional grammar school education. Which criteria should be used ^{to} re-select these grammar school pupils were not made clear. What was evident was the fact that a considerable proportion of the academically most able would have to be encouraged to move into technology-orientated careers, and this would require a good standard of technical education both in the grammar and modern schools. This would have the effect of narrowing the gap between the two types of education provided. Furthermore, since this would require a considerable financial outlay the wisdom of providing good facilities in grammar schools and duplicating them in near-by modern schools where a significant but small proportion of children might use the most advanced equipment, came into question. Authorities would surely

have to consider equipping only one school in one grammar/modern catchment area.

Several developments on the home front disturbed the government. Although post-war affluence was increasing, and spreading to wider sections of the public, in particular, to the skilled working class, there were growing signs of social unrest in the mid-1950's. This found various means of expression, from the "angry young men" of literature to the new teenage cult of the "Teddy Boy". The new youthful fashions in clothes and music were puzzling and disturbing to much of the adult population, particularly since they were accompanied by a growth in teenage delinquency. To some people, better education was seen as the remedy for the new cults of the young.

Industrial peace was jeopardized by a growing number of strikes. Threats of industrial action came from the railway, engineering and ship building unions and the situation was ^{highlighted} by discussion in the mass-media, about the expected problems, particularly unemployment, which would attend the growth of automation. To many Conservatives, these new industrial developments were indicative of growing trade union militancy, and Nigel Fisher claims that the ending of the 1957 bus strike was seen by many as:-

.." a major victory over militant trade unionism." (8)

Greater equality of opportunity had been one of the great aims of the 1944 Education Act but by the later 1950's the problems arising ^{was based increasingly upon} in a world in which social status ^{occupational standard,} were being discussed. Such a development would challenge the widely held Conservative belief that social stability was maintained by a graded social hierarchy with a small upward movement of the most able. Michael Young's "The Rise of the Meritocracy", a speculative review of

supposed social developments from 1870 to 2033, was published in 1958. Young forecast a growth in unemployment and the rebirth of domestic service as the less able took over the menial chores of the meritocratic aristocracy. He also posed a warning:-

"For the first time in history the inferior man has no ready buttress for his self-regard. This has presented contemporary psychology with its gravest problem. Men who have lost their self-respect are liable to lose their inner vitality ... and may only too easily cease to be either good citizens or good technicians."(9)

The theme of meritocracy was taken up by Lord Hailsham at the Conference of the Association of Education Committees, at Brighton in June 1957. He remarked:-

"The fundamental divisions of the future will not rest on school education at all, but on graduate and diplomatic status. An old Etonian with only a G.C.E. to his credit will rank far below a grammar schoolboy with a university degree or a Dip.Tech., and one with no G.C.E. will rank effectively below a secondary modern boy with a good local certificate."(10)

Lord Hailsham's political opponents could claim that he was presenting a rationale for the maintenance of the privileges of private education, but he was aware of such criticism, and claimed, in the same speech:-

"I wish to make one thing completely plain beyond any peradventure whatever. The person who is seeking to ensure that "state pupils are not underprivileged" is I, the Conservative Minister." (11)

It was in this atmosphere of growing uncertainty that the Conservative Party underwent a leadership crisis. The failure of the Suez incident was followed by the declining health of the Prime Minister and a growing expectation that a change of leadership was forthcoming. Sir Anthony's incapacity made the day-to-day running of the government very difficult as neither of the expected candidates for the succession, Harold Macmillan and R.A. Butler, wanted to appear to be pushing their respective claims too hard. The responsibility for keeping the government together fell heavily upon the Chief Whip,, Edward Heath, despite the fact that Butler was acting Prime Minister. Lord St. Helens claimed:-

" It was very difficult for Rab or Harold to do much.

Neither of these two wanted to stick his chin out at that moment. Ted was the chief of staff. The party would almost certainly have fallen apart but for him." (12)

Sir Anthony Eden resigned on 9th January 1957, and to the surprise of most observers, Macmillan succeeded to the leadership. The architect of the 1944 Education Act was defeated, but, despite Sir William Teeling's remarks that Butler was disliked as being too left wing, (13) it would be wrong to interpret the result as a victory for the right over the left. Macmillan had a long record of support for progressive domestic policies requiring state involvement, whilst Butler's position on Suez had aroused resentment from many Conservatives who felt that he had avoided making his position clear.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASE AGAINST
SECONDARY SCHOOL SELECTION

Against this background of falling confidence Conservative Education ministers, and M.P.s interested in the subject, viewed the debate on secondary education. Evidence which seemed to undermine the existing system by showing that many of the assumptions upon which it was based were erroneous, began to appear on a bigger scale.

The results attained by secondary modern school pupils in the G.C.E. examinations in the early 1950's had proved to be very interesting but the successes were confined to few schools. In the later 1950's the number of secondary modern pupils succeeding in the examination was growing significantly. In 1953, for example, 14,000 modern pupils remained in school for a fifth year. These represented 4.5 per cent of the appropriate modern school age group. By 1957 there were 21,000 such pupils representing 7.0 per cent of the appropriate modern school age group.⁽¹⁴⁾ This does not imply that all of these pupils were taking G.C.E. courses. Some were taking local examinations, others were pursuing non-examination courses, in some cases because of local youth unemployment problems. However, Sir Edward Boyle pointed out that in 1958, 800 secondary modern schools were entering candidates for the G.C.E. 'O' level examinations. The schools entered 10,600 candidates compared with only 5,500 entries from 350 modern schools in 1954.⁽¹⁵⁾

In April 1959, Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd presented to the House of Commons, detailed figures relating to the performance of secondary modern school pupils in the 'O' level exams in 1957. There had been a total of 8,950 candidates. Passes were attained in 18,420 subjects whilst there were 16,915 failures. On average, therefore, the pupils were taking approximately four subjects but there were many taking fewer subjects, and these usually of a practical nature, Art, Handicraft, Technical Drawing and Domestic Science accounted for 29 per cent of

the total modern passes. However, 1,787 candidates, roughly 20 per cent passed in four or more subjects. Moreover, since many candidates were considered as "non-academic" at sixteen, but were entered in practical subjects, the proportion of the pupils considered to be secondary modern 'A' stream, who passed in four or more subjects was considerably higher than 20 per cent. For example, of the 8,950 total candidates, 1,699 failed to gain any passes at all, and another 4,196 passed in either one, or two subjects.

Some of the results could be described as spectacular. One boy passed ten subjects, six pupils passed nine and thirty two eight. The very creditable figure of seven passes was attained by 109 pupils.⁽¹⁶⁾

Sir David Eccles estimated that over forty per cent of the G.C.E. 'O' level candidates in grammar schools passed in five or more subjects in summer 1959.⁽¹⁷⁾ Thus, a growing proportion of secondary pupils were attaining G.C.E. results which few pupils in the bottom halves of the grammar schools could equal.

The comparison between 'A' stream modern pupils examination results and those of 'C' and 'D' stream grammar school pupils was further complicated by the different conditions existing in the two types of school. The grammar school pupil, having been selected, was instructed by mainly graduate teachers, received regular homework and was usually taught by traditional methods. The modern school teachers were, in the main, non-graduates. Homework was often irregular. On average, classes were smaller in the grammar schools. Sir David Eccles pointed out that the ratio of pupils to teachers was, in 1959, 22.5 to one in the modern schools, but only 18.6 to one in the grammar schools.⁽¹⁸⁾ It is, however, fair to assume that examination classes were considerably smaller in the modern schools, though 'A' stream classes in the first three years were

often larger than average since remedial education was often conducted in smaller-than-average groups.

Whilst modern school G.C.E. results were impressive two disturbing problems arose. First, the 970 modern schools entering candidates in 1959 represented little more than a quarter of the country's modern schools. Since there was no significant decline in the standard of certificates gained as more schools entered candidates, it was fair to assume that amongst the pupils of the near three-quarters of the nation's modern schools not taking the G.C.E. there was an enormous wastage of talent. Apart from the ethical viewpoint regarding equality of educational opportunity, there was the accepted economic argument that the country was sensitive to the whole problem of the wastage of talent. Critics might wonder what sort of occupation would have been the lot of the boy who passed in ten subjects had he been so unfortunate as to go to a non-examination school. How many equally talented young people were leaving school for manual work at the age of fifteen?

The second problem was that even schools with ambitious examination policies often lacked the staff and facilities to provide a wide choice of subjects. How many modern pupils, it could be asked, who gained two or three passes, might have gained a much more impressive certificate had there been a wider choice of 'available subjects'?

These results cast further doubts upon the effectiveness of selection procedures, indeed the whole purpose of segregating pupils at eleven was questioned. The results provided additional material for supporters of comprehensive education. They opened up a further line of argument. They were achieved, in the main, with the use of teaching methods less formal than those used in the grammar schools. Greater use was often

made of visual aids and the whole atmosphere was usually more relaxed. Moreover, even for the more able children, academic work was usually balanced with a considerable degree of practical work in which the G.C.E. could eventually be taken. Hence there was less pressure upon the pupils to sustain a high level of performance in a wide range of academic subjects. A morning in the woodwork shop or a double period of technical drawing proved to be a beneficial change from the formal classroom situation. If such methods produced impressive G.C.E. results from amongst the ranks of the 11 plus failures, was there not a case for extending these methods to all but the most able pupils in the grammar schools? This raised the further point that if the education received by more than half of the grammar school pupils was of the same type received by the most modern school pupils, the line of demarcation between the two became almost completely arbitrary and unnecessary.

To the G.C.E. examination success of the modern schools was being added that of the country's comprehensive schools. The number of pupils in the comprehensive schools was still too small to form a really accurate assessment of the advantages and disadvantages involved, but the numbers were rising. In 1955, for example, there were 15,891 pupils in comprehensive schools. By 1957 there were 42,416. In 1958 when the existing bilateral schools were reclassified as comprehensives the pupil population in comprehensive schools rose to 75,081.⁽¹⁹⁾ If it was too early for supporters of comprehensive education to claim that their arguments were supported by experience, it was also fair to claim that no significant evidence had emerged to confirm the fears of opponents of the new schools. A very reasonable assessment of the available evidence was made by Mr. Michael Stewart in an education services debate on 5th April, 1957. Referring to the 11 plus selection problem, he said:-

"The comprehensive school is, at all events, one way of finding an answer to that difficulty. For the moment, I claim no more for it than that, but as the number of comprehensive schools in the country grew, in certain quarters the wildest allegations were made against them. It was alleged that the less gifted children were unhappy and frustrated and that the more gifted children were held back, that the work could not be done to a proper standard.

We have now, not an overwhelming mass, but an appreciable amount of evidence. A significant thing about it is that not one single piece of practical evidence justifies any of those conclusions."(20)

In February 1950, the Times Educational Supplement produced a special edition on the comprehensive schools. Mr. A. Thomas, Head of Maesydderwen School claimed that since his school had gone comprehensive there was a marked tendency for non-academic children to remain in school for a further year. He asserted that the children were much happier in the comprehensive environment. Mr. H. Holmes, Head of London's Elliot School emphasised the ease of transfer between the forms in the comprehensive school.(21)

Speaking at a conference held by the University of Oxford Institute of Education, Dr. Robin Pedley claimed that the country's smallest comprehensive school, Castle Rushden in the Isle of Man provided evidence that the comprehensive ideal could work without the schools becoming too large. He added that of the 169 children who had passed the G.C.E. from the school during the years 1951-7, 33 were pupils who had been placed, at 11 plus, outside the grammar school stream.(22)

The effectiveness of the various selection methods employed by the L.E.A.'s was the subject of extensive research in the universities, and the results provided further material for opponents of selection at eleven. One of the leaders in this field was Professor P.E. Vernon who published "Secondary School Selection" in 1957. In this work, Professor Vernon listed nine common defects in the various tests being used by the local authorities. First, the abolition of the standardised test which many authorities were considering as the inaccuracies of these tests were revealed, would give a considerable advantage to the middle-class child from the more stimulating home environment. This advantage was due to the child's more complex means of expression. Secondly, Professor Vernon claimed that many authorities paid insufficient attention to the age of the children taking the tests. Since I. Q. ratings are calculated with the use of the child's actual age, the difference of age of almost a year between the children in a primary school class could distort considerably the results if a common actual age was used. A child ^{whose actual} /age was about six months below the norm would appear to be a "C" stream modern pupils with an I.Q. of around 95 whilst an average child six months older than the norm would register an I.Q. of around 105 and in some areas would be considered to be a border-line grammar school candidate. Thirdly, insufficient notice was taken by many authorities of the varying standards of the local junior schools. It was reasonable to assume that a school with a very good pass record, perhaps with modern facilities and a favourable staff-pupil ratio gave an advantage to its pupils over those from less fortunate schools. Hence the performance of pupils from poorer schools ought to be judged with some consideration of the pupil's disadvantages. This posed several problems, however. Some schools with good records could simply be sacrificing liberal education for cramming. To label schools good, poor and average posed considerable problems of diplomacy for the authorities. There was also the question of the fairness of

penalising a pupil who had proven himself to be grammar school material, simply because he went to a 'good' school. Professor Vernon's fourth criticism was that many large authorities used several selection panels and there was insufficient consistency in their placings. Fifthly, he stated the fact that many authorities did not test their papers adequately before using them. It was not difficult, he claimed, to isolate the best five per cent of the ability range, but choosing the top twenty per cent required the maximum of care. Instructions on papers varied in their clarity, and, perhaps more important since this varied in different schools within the same authority, oral instructions given by invigilators were given in a wide range of detail. Professor Vernon/^{claimed that} essays involved a high subjective element and it was impossible to establish a uniform standard. This was particularly important with borderline candidates where one mark could mean the difference between a modern or a grammar school place. He criticised the introduction of trick questions which were designed to thwart the crammers but which provided erratic results. Such questions were the subject of considerable interest in the press and the public could easily become confused as to what were genuine 11-plus 'trick' questions and which were jokes. Such questions as "which is the odd one out: 'dog', 'cat', 'television'? answer, 'cat', because the owner does not require a licence", would certainly produce a puzzled response in an examination. Professor Vernon's final point was that interviews designed to decide upon borderline candidates could again prove to be advantageous to the middle-class child.

This study concentrated, in the main, upon faults which could be either rectified, or, at least, improved upon. It did not condemn selection as such though Professor Vernon did state;-

"For many persons of a liberal outlook, there is something disturbing in making decisions about the lives of others, and particularly at such an early age as eleven years."(23)

He also warned:-

"Psychologists should frankly acknowledge that completely accurate classifications of children, either by level or type of ability, is not possible at 11 years, still less on entry to the junior school at 7, and should therefore encourage any more flexible form of organisation and grouping which gives scope for the gradual unfolding and the variability of childrens abilities and interests."(24)

In 1959 Professor Vernon reviewed the findings of two further enquiries into secondary school selection. These were 'Admission to Grammar Schools' published by the National Foundation for Educational Research, and 'Secondary School Selection' published by the British Psychological Society.⁽²⁵⁾ There was a marked similarity in their findings. They accepted that the process of selection produced harmful effects upon the educational and psychological development of the children, but they claimed that the extent of this had been exaggerated. Professor Vernon had, himself, claimed in 1957 that such claims were exaggerated, though he accepted the validity of the findings of Professor E.A. Peel, who had submitted case studies to the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference on Education and Mental Health of Children in Europe, in 1952. These revealed considerable stress caused by the eleven plus examination.

Whilst maintaining that, if carefully prepared and administered, tests could attain a high degree of accuracy, both studies accepted that

around 10 per cent of the children tested would be wrongly allocated because of the varying rates at which children mature .

Whilst Professor Vernon had warned of the advantages enjoyed by middle-class children, particularly with written essays, both studies felt, nevertheless, that these essays should be an essential part of the selection procedure since they placed a greater emphasis upon creative responses. It was also suggested that the appearance of such essays would discourage some of the unfortunate practices such as "cramming" in junior schools. The two studies recommended greater use of teachers assessments and suggested that these might eventually obviate the need for any type of attainment test. They stressed, however, the need to scale, very carefully, the inter-school variations.

Further evidence was being published at this time cast doubts upon the effectiveness of selection tests. D.V. Skeets "The Child at Eleven" published in 1957 referred to the work of primary school headmaster, Mr. G.V. Pape who had shown that children born in Autumn had in the main, more time at school before secondary selection took place, than children half a year younger, and tended to gain a higher proportion of grammar school places.

The problem of different rates of maturity was highlighted by J. M. Tanner, Lecturer in Growth and Development at the Child Centre of the University of London. Addressing the Oxford Institute of Education, in November 1958,⁽²⁶⁾ he pointed out that the eleven plus selection procedures could be rendered meaningless by this problem. He took as an example, the age at which girls experienced their first menstruation. He claimed that the average age for British girls was $13\frac{1}{4}$ but since there was a standard deviation of a year each way, one third of the girls would start to menstruate as early as $12\frac{1}{4}$. If there

were parallel variations of this magnitude in intellectual development, then clearly, any sort of selection procedure would be subject to considerable inaccuracy since there was no tangible means of calculating this intellectual maturity relative to actual I.Q. Mr. Tanner pointed out a further fact that children were, on average, maturing progressively earlier. Using Norwegian figures he pointed out that the average age at the first menstruation had declined in that country from 17 in 1850 to $13\frac{3}{4}$ in the late 1950's. Again, if this was reflected in intellectual development, eleven year olds would register increased I.Q.'s demanding more grammar school places, without being potentially more intelligent adults.

Despite the above assertions that the stress suffered by children as a result of secondary school selection, was exaggerated, many teachers claimed that this was not so. Mr. E. Blishen claimed:-

"There are many ways of damaging a child; one of the worst, I think, is to imprison him in a definition. He is a secondary modern child; he is capable of this or that limited amount of schooling." (27)

Mr. B. H. Howell Eaton claimed:-

"... we aim at making good citizens through the medium of the community life of the school. To achieve this there must be incentives, and in my opinion, the inferiority complex, resulting from failure in the eleven-plus exam must first be removed." (28)

M. Cooke emphasised not only the effect upon the child, but also the effect upon the parents. He claimed:-

"For myself, I think the great lesson I have learnt is to have faith in the child's faith in herself. The effect of the eleven plus examination is, so often, to destroy the parents' faith in the ability of their children." (29)

The eleven plus was, in fact becoming increasingly unpopular amongst parents as more evidence was put forward to illustrate its inherent weaknesses. A report in the journal "Education" in January 1959 stated:-

"Selection at 11 received its expected drubbing at the conference held... by the National Federation of Parent-Teacher Associations and the Council for Children's Welfare." (30)

The accuracy of selection tests was criticised by Sir Cyril Burt one of the country's leading figures in the study of testing procedures. Giving the Walter Van Dyke Bingham Lecture at University College, London, in May 1957, Sir Cyril claimed that, by themselves, intelligence tests were not as accurate as had been supposed. (31) He claimed that their predictions had about as much validity as the predicted order of horses entered for the Derby when deduced from the latest odds. Sir Cyril believed that a principal reason for this was the declining belief in the existence of an innate and hereditary intelligence.

The fallibility of intelligence tests was taken up in the House of Commons by Mr. Ian Mikardo. He asked Sir Edward Boyle:-

"Is the Hon. Gentleman aware that recently I tried out an 11-plus intelligence test on half-a-dozen top-class successful industrial managers, all of whom failed abjectly? Is he aware that my gleeful satisfaction at this phenomenon was somewhat abated when I abjectly failed the darned thing myself?" (32)

Sir Edward replied:-

"I am sure the Hon. Gentleman did better than I did when once faced with a similar test." (33)

The point was evidently made despite the humour with which the question and answer were provided.

Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd told the Conservative Party Conference in October 1958:-

"This Government would never regard the 11-plus as something which was final and unchangeable, and they were encouraging local authorities to experiment in selection for secondary education." (34)

Assumptions about innate intelligence were the subject of critical analysis by sociologists both in North America, and in Europe, notably in Sweden. Their belief was that, not only actual educational attainment, but also intellectual ability was influenced by social factors. Two of the British pioneers in this field were J.E. Floud and A.H. Halsey and in 1957 they published, with F. M. Martin, 'Social Class and Educational Opportunity', a book which was the result of an extensive study of children in South West Hertfordshire and Middlesbrough. They found that the likelihood of a pupil gaining a grammar school place declined relative to the position occupied by the parents, in the social scale. The child of the professional and managerial classes had the best chance of gaining a grammar school place. Fifty nine per cent of these children went to grammar school in South West Hertfordshire, and 68 per cent did so in Middlesbrough. The respective percentages were 44 and 37 for the clerical classes, 30 and 24 for the group represented by

foreman and small shopkeepers and 18 and 14 for the skilled manual group. In both West Hertfordshire and Middlesbrough, only 9 per cent of the children of unskilled manual workers gained a grammar school place.⁽³⁵⁾

Although the actual extent of these differences might be considered surprising the overall trend was not. It was known that the more stimulating the home environment, the better the child was likely to perform in many types of selection procedures, particularly those involving some means of written or oral expression. Middle-class children usually possessed a greater general knowledge. Intelligence tests, however, were designed to penetrate these "superficial" aspects and discover a basic intelligence which existed in isolation from these factors. What was really significant about the Halsey, Floud and Martin research, was that it showed that a stimulating environment affected this supposed innate intelligence as well as skills of expression. They claimed:-

.." the mean I.Q. of the highest occupation group was greater by 15 to 20 points than that of the lowest, both in South West Hertfordshire in 1952 and in Middlesbrough in 1953,....."⁽³⁶⁾

They added, with reference to both areas:-

"In 1952 virtually the full quota of boys with the necessary minimum intellectual qualifications was admitted from every social class to grammar schools."⁽³⁷⁾

These findings did not themselves destroy the case for selection in secondary education. Indeed, the discovery that all pupils with the minimum intellectual requirements were gaining grammar school places irrespective of social class, could be taken as vindicating

the system. Certainly the aim of "equality of educational opportunity" as most people understood the term in 1944, seemed to have been realised. Alternatively it could be argued that in showing I.Q. to be something not innate and immutable, the findings undermined the rationality of the tripartite system. As with the G.C.E. results from secondary modern schools, these findings provided convincing evidence for both opponents and supporters of the existing system.

What was particularly significant at a time when 'wastage of talent' was lamented was the disparity between those who might be capable of high educational attainment, circumstances permitting, and those who actually succeeded. The investigations into the work of the children of professional parents suggested, that, given favourable home conditions, about 60 per cent of children could acquire sufficient intelligence to be regarded as being of grammar school calibre. Since only 10 per cent of the children of unskilled manual workers were qualifying for grammar school places it was reasonable to assume that no less than half of the children in this group were capable of reaching grammar school standard but failing to do so. It could, indeed, be claimed as a general assumption that, according to Halsey, Floud and Martin's findings, about a third of the nation's children came into that group which failed, because of social factors, to realise grammar school ability. Sir Edward Boyle later said of research of this nature:-

"The work of these people made one realise that the pool of ability was deeper than we'd thought, and that the interplay between nature and nurture was more subtle than used to be accepted." (38)

There was, of course, little that the government could do, in the short term at least, to improve upon this situation but the findings did

pose problems for future policy. First, was there anything that the school could do to compensate for unfavourable home conditions? Secondly, did the attitudes of teachers, and the structure of particular schools, both of which were influenced by the assumption that intelligence was an innate, unchanging phenomenon, actually reinforce the disadvantages possessed by working class children? In this context, did the act of failure in the 11 plus selection procedures have a detrimental effect?

These findings also provided an important additional justification for the development of social services. If the state made more generous provision of welfare benefits; if local authorities built more modern 'council houses', as well as better schools, would this not help to provide the better home background required to foster the growth of intelligence? Indeed it was reasonable to claim that welfare benefits such as unemployment pay should be seen not merely as the humanitarian requirements of a liberal-democratic society, but like educational provision itself a form of national investment? If it could be shown that tensions and unhappiness in many homes were due to parental anxiety which resulted from relative poverty and job insecurity, then, presumably, better provision of welfare could improve those situations, and, hence, there was a possibility that the educational attainment of the children might improve. Put in extreme form, was it not worth spending extra for the benefit of a poor family if that extra meant the difference between the children' becoming research scientists or road sweepers?

A further aspect of the findings was the fact that low educational achievement was self-perpetuating. Unintelligent adults produced unintelligent children who grew up to produce more unintelligent children. This provided further justification for extending social and educational services particularly for the less-wealthy sections of the community

since, even if no significant improvements were made in school by the children, they might at least grow up to be better-adjusted socially and hence provide themselves a home environment for their children, more conducive to good educational attainment, than had been their own.

Yet another disturbing discovery by Halsey, Floud and Martin was the fact that the abolition of the payment of fees in grammar schools, heralded in 1944 as an egalitarian reform, was, in fact, having a detrimental effect upon education of many working class children. Most middle class parents had, before the Second World War, paid for the education of their children, leaving most of the free places for working class children. By the 1950's middle-class children, with various advantages were competing for places. The researchers claimed:-

"Both in South West Hertfordshire and in Middlesbrough the number of free places has been increasing since the beginning of the 1930's. But with each increase a smaller proportion has been awarded to working class children ... the immediate effect of the abolition of fees was to reinforce the downward trend." (39)

They were not suggesting that fee paying should be re-introduced but this aspect of their work revealed the extent to which working class children were, on average, underperforming.

Halsey, Floud and Martin had shown that children from all social classes could gain a grammar school place provided that they could register the required score in the various selection tests. Other work done at this time studied the actual performance of pupils once they had arrived at the grammar schools.

Basil Bernstein addressed himself to the study of the relationship between what he termed 'the mode of cognitive expression', and social class. Methods of expression, he claimed elicit, reinforce and generalize distinct types of relationship with the environment. It is by the method of communication used in his surroundings that the child interpretes his environment. The middles class child develops a complex interpretation of his environment. He matures in an 'ordered rational structure'. Not only does this facilitate the process of learning but it also enables the child to accept and assimilate the ethos of the school situation. The working class child with the more simple, direct, and immediate outlook finds the process of adjustment to school more difficult. Bernstein says:-

"The school is an institution where every item in the present is finely linked to a distant future, consequently there is no serious clash of expectation between the school and the middle-class child." (40)

Of the working class child, he says:-

"His self-respect is in fact more often damaged. It is obtained elsewhere in the careful conformity to the symbols of his class." (41)

Whilst these theories refer to the school situation as a general one, it would be reasonable to assume that they apply particularly to the grammar schools with their middle class predominance of both pupils and staff, and what might also be termed 'middle-class values'.

Eva Bene studied the respective attitudes towards education of working-class, and middle-class, grammar schoolboys.

She concluded her research by claiming:-

"It indicated that almost two thirds of the middle-class sample, but less than half the working-class sample, wanted to stay in school after the age of sixteen."⁽⁴²⁾

To what extent this reflected a view of education generally, and to what extent it reflected more narrowly, attitudes towards the grammar school as an institution was reflected by a further observation that:-

..."more boys of both social classes wanted to go to university than wanted to stay in school long enough to be able to do so."⁽⁴³⁾

Whatever use the opponents and supporters wished to make of these findings, two facts were evident. First, the concept of "equality of educational opportunity" had to be considered as being far more complex than had been imagined. Second, the wastage of talent, particularly amongst working class children was considerable.

Not all Members of Parliament were aware of the nature of the research taking place in the field of education but the chief findings were being considered by those in positions of responsibility in the local authorities, positions of authority which successive Conservative Ministers of Education had been determined to uphold. Those M.P.s who were aware of these findings were not totally convinced by what they read. Mr. I.J. Pitman, M.P. for Bath said;-

"The suggestion that working-class people are excluded from grammar schools in Middlesbrough and that the professional and well-to-do are included in Hertfordshire is, I would say,

again, a party political issue which would not bear examination for one minute. Either there are good selection examinations in Hertfordshire and Middlesbrough or there are not. Let us assume that there are;... The cause, then, lies in the differences in ability of the children." (44)

As the discussion about secondary school selection became more heated, greater consideration was given, especially by comprehensive school supporters, to the anomaly of the regional variations regarding the proportions of children gaining grammar school places. This was one of the areas of study of "Admission to Grammar Schools", by Alfred Yates and D. A. Pidgeon, published in 1957. They found that, whilst on average 19.9 per cent of children living in the catchment areas of County Council authorities gained grammar school places, the variation amongst this type of authority ranged from 11.2 to 25.5. Whilst the average for children in county boroughs was slightly lower at 18.4 per cent., the variation was even more remarkable, from only 10.4 to 30.0. Thus, in the county boroughs nearly twenty per cent of the full ability range could expect to pass the examination should they take it in one authority, but fail it in another. In Welsh authorities, up to 45 per cent of the children went to grammar schools. Yates and Pidgeon concluded:-

"It seems unlikely ,.... either that such variations as exist are sufficiently great to justify the differences in provision ... or, indeed, that they are substantially correlated with these differences." (45)

In May 1958 Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd refused to accept Mr. Ian Mikardo's

claim that children in urban areas gained nearly twice the number of grammar school places obtained by children in the rural areas. That wide regional variations existed was, however, beyond dispute. In the village of Arlesey in Bedfordshire, parents petitioned the Parish Council for a public meetings to discuss the low number of grammar school places awarded to the village children.⁽⁴⁶⁾ A meeting was held for a similar reason in Little Eaton in Derbyshire, where only one child from a total of thirty candidates, had passed the eleven plus.⁽⁴⁷⁾

In the House of Commons, Mr. Stephen Swingle complained that the proportion of children awarded grammar school places in Newcastle-under-Lyme, had fallen from 19.5 per cent in 1954 to 15.4 per cent in 1958.⁽⁴⁸⁾

There was growing concern in the world of education that preparation for the 11-plus examination was having an adverse effect upon the curricula of many primary schools. This problem was recognised by Sir Edward Boyle, who remarked:-

"I am ... concerned about the effect of the 11-plus examination on the primary schools. Some heads of primary schools can get the majority of parents to see that children will not be better off in the long run if the primary school curriculum is upset in the hope of getting just a few more pupils to the grammar school, but naturally, many heads feel that they must make concessions to the feelings of parents. Where that happens the prospect of the 11-plus examination does cast its shadow over the classroom, often with a rather evil effect"⁽⁴⁹⁾

The fact remained, however, that as long as the 11-plus existed, many junior school heads took a pride in the number of passes that their schools achieved. As for heads being able to persuade parents that it was not in the long term interests of the pupils to modify the curriculum in order to gain a few more grammar school passes, it was likely that the parents of those children who might occupy those few extra places might take a great deal of convincing.

The value of the grammar school education itself was the subject of mounting criticism. This was largely due to the disparity between G.C.E. results in modern schools, and the bottom forms of grammar schools. J. D. Hobkinson, Head of a rural bilateral school commented:-

"Experience at Easingwold has convinced some of us that failure in the grammar school course arises to some extent from its nature. Many of our pupils with a grammar school award find a course heavily laden with academic book learning cutting across the grain of their way of life." (50)

THE TRIPARTITE CASE AGAINST

THE NEW FINDINGS

In the period 1956-59 more evidence was produced to support the belief that comprehensive education could work successfully. Despite this evidence, the case for the retention of the existing tripartite system, which allowed limited experiments along comprehensive lines remained convincing, apparently, for most local education authorities, most Conservatives, and a still considerable proportion of Labour

politicians. A.D.C. Peterson a supporter of comprehensive education warned;-

"The danger is of course that the effect of the mass of trivial-minded children from trivial-minded homes, which are not of course distributed on a class basis, will be to depress the intellectual standards of the school as a whole. It does not in fact follow that the small core of able and energetic boys will leaven the lump: too often the lump may attract or overwhelm the leaven." (51)

Of all the arguments used by supporters of the existing system, the most important one in the eyes of most sections of the Conservative Party remained the value of the grammar schools. At the Conservative Party Conference in 1958, Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd described the grammar schools as one of:-

.."the great democratic institutions and...one of the essential sinews of our industrial power." (52)

In the climate of the late 50's a climate in which technological advance was becoming the keynote of many political speeches, opponents of secondary education stressed the wastage of talent inherent in the existing system. Supporters of the system could, however, stress the growing need to develop to the full, the intellectual capacity of the nation's most able children, hence, the significance of Mr. Lloyd's reminder that the grammar schools served British industry. The aspect of 'national investment' was stressed by Mr. Lloyd in the House of Commons in January 1959. He said of the grammar schools:-

"I think it enough to say that they are probably providing

the finest secondary education in the world for the cleverest children - from all classes - and that the nation has long been getting real practical benefit from the very able young men and women they produce."(53)

This reverence for the grammar schools was still shared by many prominent educationalists. In March 1958, Professor G. H. Bantock, author of many authoritative works on education, produced a two-part article on Tripartite Reform for the Times Educational Supplement. He asserted:-

"The question as to whether a great institution has outlived itself is a delicate and difficult one; it involves much careful balancing of possibilities, and an imaginative projection into the complexities of the posited new as well as the awareness of the nuances of the criticised old. And when an institution is as old as our grammar schools are,there would seem to be reasons for considering their abolition as a matter of some moment not lightly to be entered on."(54)

Professor Bantock attacked the rationalist reformer in Education. He argued:-

"He fails to see that there is any virtue in the fact that an institution like the grammar school has a particular ethos, or that the common pursuit of a particular purpose may engender a pervasive atmosphere, not easily definable in particulars but, nevertheless, strong enough to create its own sanctions and subtly to affect the quality of the living that it surrounds and interpenetrates." (55)

In part two of the article, entitled "Utopian Fallacies"

Professor Bantock added:-

"It is simply that many obviously seem to have little insight into what the demands of the intellectual life are in terms of congenial companionship, and of the mutual benefit to be gained by bright children from mixing with their peers." (56)

The grammar school versus comprehensive school issue produced a political crisis in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, late in 1958 and the events illustrated the divisions, and the intensity of the feeling on the subject, within the education world. Dr. C.I.C. Bosanquet, Rector of Kings' College, Newcastle, and Professor J.P. Tuck, Head of the Department of Education at Kings' College, resigned from the Newcastle Education Committee because of the plans to implement comprehensive education in the city. Dr. Bosanquet remarked:-

"It takes years of devoted work by headmasters and teachers to build up tradition and character and you can't merely by changing that character create something new and of equal value." (57)

The National Union of Teachers became involved in the issue when their area organiser, Mr. A.W. Dangavel strongly stated his support of the plans and described the process of selection at eleven as iniquitous. However, a spokesman for the N.U.T. pointed out that Mr. Dangavel's remarks were purely personal and in no way represented the opinion of the union which, if anything, deplored his remarks.

The case for the grammar schools was given further weight by a pamphlet entitled "Comprehensive Secondary Education", produced by the

Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools.

Whilst generally supporting experimentation, the pamphlet emphasised:-

..."The nation should resolutely resist any developments which might destroy or damage the grammar schools." (58)

These sentiments were well supported in the Conservative Party. In March 1959 the Central Council of Conservative and Unionist Associations held their annual conference in London. There was general agreement that comprehensive experimentation had gone far enough. A motion was passed with only three dissidents, calling upon the Minister of Education to safeguard the grammar schools. This is evidence that Conservatives were becoming aware of what many of them considered to be the comprehensive threat to the grammar schools, and this stimulated interest in education generally, within the party. This growing interest contrasted with the early 1950's, when, sensing no real threat to its main institutions, the party in the country showed little interest in the subject. Clearly, a threat to a revered institution had the effect of activating party interest.

Mr. Dudley Smith the prospective candidate for Brentford and Chiswick was particularly worried about the situation in Middlesex. He pointed out that the county had decided to close the grammar schools in Wood Green. In Southall, Willesden and Acton, Labour controlled councils were asking for similar schemes. Significantly the closure of Wood Green had been sanctioned by the government, indeed, Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd told the London Conference:-

"We don't intend to fall into the same error in reverse as the Socialists. Banning comprehensive experiments was as bad as imposing a universal comprehensive system." (59)

Whilst supporters of comprehensive education interpreted the G.C.E. success of secondary modern schools as evidence of the inadequacy of the whole system, Conservatives tended to view them as justification for the system. If secondary modern schools were gaining progressively better results it could be argued that the case for claiming that the eleven-plus condemned unselected pupils to failure was a hollow one. As for the argument that only a small proportion of modern schools were entering pupils for the G.C.E., the Government could argue that at least the system was working along the right lines. Adequate facilities could not be provided in all schools within a limited period. It would, presumably, take as long, if not indeed, much longer, to introduce a good comprehensive system, as it would to develop good G.C.E. courses in well-provided modern schools. Many headmasters had come to believe that the attainment of 'parity of esteem' could only come about when modern schools had thriving examination streams. Mr. F.J. Cresswell, Headmaster of the Victoria Street Secondary Boys School, South Bank, in the North Riding, wrote in 1956,

"In my opinion no school is esteemed that has not an examination at the end of its course." (60)

It may be assumed that secondary modern headmasters who developed G.C.E. courses in their schools did not subscribe to the belief accepted by many in 1944, that such courses would damage the prestige of modern schools. Many educationalists hoped that parity of esteem could be achieved when all modern schools were housed in well designed buildings, used modern facilities, and had developed academic courses in addition to their other services. Mr. Lloyd

told the 1958 Conservative Party Conference that where there was a keen staff, perhaps with a graduate head, and a fine new building, there was a change in the whole morale of the teachers, children and parents.⁽⁶¹⁾

Furthermore, there existed the possibility that able eleven plus failures might stand a better chance of academic success in the secondary modern environment, than in the grammar school. In "Secondary School Selection," Professor Vernon wrote:-

... "it is probable that many of those who shine intellectually in the modern school, and who are regarded as errors of selection because they gain numerous G.C.E. passes, actually do well largely because they are in modern schools. With brighter rivals out of the way they are able to become leaders and their good social adjustment helps to engender intellectual confidence. Sometimes, too, they get more help and encouragement from the staff than they would have had in the grammar school."⁽⁶²⁾

A similar view was held by some teachers. W.A. Davies, Headmaster of the Newlands County Secondary School in Blyth, Northumberland wrote of the able modern children:-

"Unless of tip-top ability, their interests are better safeguarded than if they were squeezed into the grammar schools. The modern school is healthy for them and healthier for their fellows who, without them, would constitute an abnormal deprived society."⁽⁶³⁾

Arguments which stressed the beneficial effect of the absence of very able pupils upon bright modern pupils tended to support the modern school in a positive sense. They did not simply criticise the relevance

of grammar school education for such children. The latter claim could possibly be used in support of comprehensive education, though the former claim could certainly not be used in this way.

The examination successes of secondary modern schools were cited by supporters of the tripartite system as evidence that the possible inaccuracy of selection tests was not important since failure did not prevent subsequent success. If failure at eleven-plus really did signal the likely end of a child's chances of gaining success in examinations, then the accuracy of selection methods was of the greatest importance. If, however, it could be shown that failure at eleven plus had no such cataclismic effect, and that borderline pupils might actually be better off in modern schools, the matter became less important. This was particularly so, since most of the anxieties about selection methods concerned their accuracy in selecting amongst the borderline cases. In 1957, Sir Edward Boyle said:-

"Selection at eleven years is difficult only if it is thought of as finally determining educational opportunities. This can be avoided partly by giving opportunities for later transfer, partly by developing a wide range of courses within the various secondary schools, and partly by strengthening links between schools and further education." (64)

It is reasonable to claim that all Ministers of Education in the period 1956-59 considered that their policy was the most flexible possible. The case that failure at eleven-plus meant an end to a child's chances of examination success was answered by impressive G.C.E. results from modern schools. The requirements of the most able pupils were provided by the safeguarding of the grammar schools, whilst experiments in comprehensive education were allowed to continue. Conservatives stressed the role of the secondary modern schools within

their overall plans.

Sir Edward Boyle refers to the growing reputations of some secondary modern schools, for example those in Wiltshire. (65)

Indeed, Sir Edward Boyle later claimed,

..."in 1958 on the whole the Department thought it was better to keep the percentage of grammar school places down so as to encourage the modern schools to build up their G.C.E. courses." (66)

In accepting this position the government tended to be satisfied by assurances that the eleven-plus examination, whilst liable to error, was as accurate as any other form of selection. Speaking to the North of England Education Conference in January 1959, Sir Ronald Gould, the General Secretary of the N.U.T. said:-

"no examination is more efficient than the 11-plus as a whole." (67)

Sir Edward Boyle told the House of Commons in 1957:-

"I suspect that most of the tests used today are as accurate as any tests could reasonably be expected to be." (68)

Sir Edward also asserted, and here he gained widespread support, both from his own party and from the world of education, that, whatever the type of system used, selection was inevitable. Even in the comprehensive school, pupils were usually divided into streams according to their supposed ability. Even in schools where broader divisions, or 'bands' were used as an alternative to the rigidity of streams, the top band usually corresponded with the traditional grammar school group. Whilst,

in theory, movement between streams or bands was easier than movement between grammar and modern schools, there were administrative problems which could hinder movement. Top bands, or grammar school groups often tackled subjects not attempted in lower bands, such as languages, whilst science teaching was often specialised in the form of chemistry, biology and physics in top groups. General science was often taught instead to lower groups. Pupils moving upwards, particularly after a full year's secondary education thus found themselves with considerable leeway to make up and this tended to discourage transfer, particularly in the case of pupils whose work was good, but not exceptional, by the standards of the group. Pupils transferring from modern to grammar schools after two years faced a similar problem and were often required to re-take a second year course rather than allowed to progress into the third year of the grammar school. In the late 1950's mixed ability teaching was rare. Sir Edward Boyle stated:-

.." I should like to emphasise that there simply must be selection in our education system....I believe it would be entirely defeatist to suggest that we cannot reconcile the need for selection with the wider goal of greater equality of opportunity." (69)

Concerning comprehensive schools, Professor Vernon claimed:-

.."we venture to point out, first, that no one, except perhaps a few left-wing enthusiasts, intends to eliminate ability grouping in such schools." (70)

Whilst research on selection procedures had illustrated the complexities involved in establishing I.Q. ratings, particularly around the borderline between grammar and supposed non-grammar school

ability, and social research illustrated the effect of environment upon intelligence, the broad lines suggested by the Norwood Report were still popular in education circles. Sir Edward Boyle claimed, in 1959:-

"There is,.. that relatively small percentage of children who have shown by their work in school and by the way they respond to tests, that they are suitable for the traditional grammar school academic curriculum. They are the children who can cope with the sort of reasoning and appreciation we associate with the humane studies, and more intellectual aspects of mathematics and so on. There is no doubt about what sort of education these children require. Next, there are those children who are not suitable for an academic education of that kind but who can very greatly gain from a course more closely related to their particular abilities and interests." (71)

Traditional views upon the necessity of selection, and the accuracy of existing tests still gained some support from amongst the local education authorities. In 1958, the Cheshire Education Committee published a study entitled, 'The Secondary Modern School.' In his introduction, the Director of Education for the county, Mr. John G. Kellett asserted his belief that children could be divided into two groups, average and below average; and the above average. These classifications were, he claimed, based upon the innate mental ability of the children. He added:-

.."the classification can be made reliably at the conclusion of the stage of Primary Education - viz. at the age of 11 plus. It is widely recognised that children with Intelligence Quotients of about 110 or more were capable of profiting by education in which abstract ideas, reasoning and the

precise use of language are conspicuous," (72)

Mr. Kellett went on to claim that comprehensive schools were too big. He claimed:-

"With Grammar and Modern Schools, each of a manageable size, the Authority is persuaded that the objectives of contributing to the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community are more likely to be possible of achievement than they could be with a single type of Secondary School for a large number of children of all grades of intelligence." (73)

The size of comprehensive schools continued to be an important feature of Conservative criticisms. Sir Edward Boyle claimed:-

.. "it is the most exceptional head teacher who can infuse a spirit of unity and cohesion into a large school which has been deliberately planned to be as large as possible in order to cover the whole range of ability with streams of a reasonable size." (74)

In particular, Sir Edward was concerned about the ability of any but an exceptionally large comprehensive school to sustain an adequate sixth form. Assumptions about the effects of large schools remained speculative. In an article entitled "The Relation Between Educational Achievement and School Size,' R. Lynn studied selected schools and came to the conclusion:-

"The figures seem to suggest that, within the present size range, the bigger the better." (75)

This did not necessarily imply a similar assumption for the exceptionally large comprehensive school. However, A.D.C. Peterson claimed:-

"Once you are over four hundred, it does not really matter much whether you are nearly eight hundred like Marlborough, or fourteen hundred, like Manchester Grammar School, or two thousand, like the new comprehensive schools." (76)

Conservatives continued to attack comprehensive education on the grounds that many of its supporters were motivated by socialist ideology. Moreover, some Conservatives feared that the growth of comprehensive education would be followed by an attack upon the public schools. In "The Future of Socialism," published in 1956, C.A.R. Crosland asserted:-

"It would,... be absurd from a socialist point of view to close down the grammar schools, while leaving the public schools still holding their present commanding position." (77)

Explaining the minister's policy regarding the local authorities, Sir Edward Boyle said in April 1957:-

"I should be very sorry if any central authority tried to force them to adopt one solution or the other as a matter of doctrinaire principle, and I can assure the House that my noble Friend will consider proposals for comprehensive schools with an open mind and on their merits, though he will naturally wish to know the educational grounds on which the proposal is justified." (78)

In criticising Labour's ideological approach, Conservatives were anxious to warn of the importance of the issue. Mr. J.C. Jennings, M.P. for Burton, advocated a cautious approach because, he claimed :
in education. He remarked:-

"The life of a child in a school is far too valuable to play about with as a pawn in a political game."(79)

Clearly, many Conservatives believed educating a child in a system that had evolved, partly through accident was not 'playing about' with it, but once reform was suggested by a particular political group, this was the case. However, Sir Geoffrey Lloyd warned the Party Conference at Brighton in 1957:-

"We would be fools if we did not carry out a certain degree of experiments."(80)

Conservatives criticised the lack of 'democratic consultation' implied by Labour's education policy. In April 1959, Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd rejected a proposal for a comprehensive school in Darlington on the grounds that it curtailed parent s' rights. According to the Borough Council's scheme the parents of children living in the Branksome catchment area would not be given the choice of sending their children, should they wish, and should the children qualify, to one of the two grammar schools in Darlington. (81)

Many teachers too were concerned about the lack of consultation with their professional bodies feeling that, since they were primarily involved, their views were important. There was great applause at the annual conference of the N.U.T. in 1959 when Mr. W. Clayton claimed that, whilst many teachers from his area, West Yorkshire, were not opposed to comprehensive schools, they were apprehensive, both about the scheme

being pushed through by the West Riding authority, and the lack of consultation with the teaching bodies.⁽⁸²⁾ This sort of response probably, was welcomed by those Conservative M.P.s who were concerned about the growth of comprehensive education. ?

Against their claim that Labour's policies were essentially ideological, Conservatives argued that their own policy was pragmatic. Such a policy would, they hoped, win widespread support. Sir Edward Boyle remarked in 1957:-

"We must start from the position we are now in and use the schools that now exist.... I should find it very difficult to be persuaded that it would be right to disturb the existing schools if they are doing well."⁽⁸³⁾

The Conservative Party could also argue that discussion about the nature of secondary organisation was diverting interest from what they considered to be the main educational priorities such as the provision of better facilities and a lower staff to pupil ratio. Opponents could, conversely, argue that some sort of pattern was essential and that discussion about actual provision need not affect the type of organisation used. However, Conservatives could, on this point, count upon considerable support. Sir Ronald Gould, General Secretary of the N.U.T., claimed, in 1959;-

"The great illusion of our time is that the stumbling block to equal opportunity is the 11-plus examination... It is not: the stumbling block is an inadequate educational system."⁽⁸⁴⁾

Whilst it had become fashionable, certainly at Westminster, to advocate greater expansion of the education services as a form of national investment, many Conservative Party supporters did not hold

this view. Numerous letters to the press, and speeches at local meetings suggested that the view was still widely held, that education was a form of state charity. The opinion was often expressed that children should have to pass some sort of qualifying test to prove that they deserved to have a large amount of public money spent upon them. Others clearly did not like the greater social uniformity that comprehensives would probably bring, cherishing the social status afforded by the grammar schools. There is no significant evidence to suggest that such views influenced, to any extent, government policy. Clearly, however, many Conservative M.P.s were extremely apprehensive about the comprehensive school. Mr. E. Partridge, M.P. for Battersea, South, remarked:-

"The only remedy that hon. Gentlemen opposite have is to bung children into comprehensive schools, which is like putting them into a gigantic factory;... Hon. Gentlemen opposite think that the answer is to turn children out like sausages from a machine." (85)

Mr. Dennis Vosper claimed, during the same debate that the word 'comprehensive' was as unpopular with the public as the word 'nationalisation'. (86) A similar comparison was drawn by Mr. Hubert Ashton. (87) Moreover, Conservative ministers continued to resist Labour attempts to persuade them to set up a special committee to study the development of comprehensive schools and systems as a means by which L.E.A.'s might be assisted in planning their secondary organisations. Mr. Stephen Swingler made such a request in February 1958. (88) Whilst considerable statistical information was available regarding examination work in secondary modern schools, Dr. Horace King, on asking how many local education authorities did not provide any opportunities for children to take the G.C.E. in secondary modern schools, was

told by Mr. Lloyd that the information was not available.

Whilst some Conservatives resolutely opposed comprehensive education, it is fair to claim that, by the later 1950's Conservative ministers were looking more favourably on comprehensive experiments than had been the case in the early years of the first post-war Conservative Government. This was due, in part, to the fact that the new findings by educationalists were studied by the department, and the ministers made aware of the implications. Britain's changing, and uncertain position in the world, made it necessary to consider all serious studies regarding the education of the nation's children. In January 1959, Sir Edward Boyle spoke at a public meeting in Gillingham, Dorset, recommending the authority's plan to unite the Gillingham grammar, and secondary modern schools. He told the meeting that he was satisfied that the motives of the authority were educational. He added:-

"There really is a very wide difference between a 14-form comprehensive school, which is the sort of school the Government is not keen to encourage, and a four-form comprehensive school such as Gillingham will become..." (89)

Whilst Conservatives criticised Labour's position on secondary education, it was not really clear what would be done should a Labour government come to power. In "The Future of Socialism", Anthony Crosland wrote:-

"Only a minority of education authorities at present favour a large conversion to a comprehensive pattern; and no-one proposes that the remainder should be coerced." (90)

Whilst the number of authorities making comprehensive experiments was increasing, the number was still small. For example, the Manchester

Education Committee asked its Chief Education Officer for a report on re-organisation. The report was against radical change but suggested the setting up of about six comprehensive schools so as to offer parents greater freedom of choice. Even this proved controversial and an attempt to stop the move was lost in committee by only thirteen votes to ten.⁽⁹¹⁾

In Darlington the Labour group had officially advocated comprehensive education before 1956 but in fact the group showed little enthusiasm for the reform, largely because older members tended to support the existing system.⁽⁹²⁾ In Gateshead, there had been a grave shortage of grammar school places for several years. The Labour group which controlled the Council opened a new grammar school in 1956 and planned another one for 1961. In 1957, Comprehensive education was discussed but no agreement could be reached. In particular, it was feared that an argument over comprehensive education would delay the urgent school building programme.⁽⁹³⁾ Whilst most local authorities continued to uphold the tripartite system, there was no conflict between the Conservative Party's suspicion of comprehensive education and its belief that the responsibility for school organisation belonged to the local authorities. There were some Conservatives who believed that the central government should keep tight control on the comprehensive experiment but Sir Edward Boyle warned:-

"If you believe in a strong and flourishing system of local government without too much day to day interference from Whitehall, then it really is no use being angry with the central government if it tends to be sparing in the exercise of its powers of direct interference with the educational plans of local authorities." ⁽⁹⁴⁾

During the period 1956-9 the secondary education debate became

complicated by the emergence of what became known as the Leicestershire plan. This involved the setting up of common schools for all state pupils from the ages of eleven to about fourteen. Separate schools would be used by senior pupils doing examination courses. Since existing modern schools could house the new junior comprehensives, and the grammar school buildings accommodate the senior ones, the system did not demand extensive new buildings. Thus, where the Leicestershire scheme was introduced, two of the main arguments against comprehensive education; that expensive new buildings were required, and that the schools themselves were too large, were not applicable. Significantly, these were the two problems which caused the most concern for those who favoured the comprehensive principle.

As early as 1954, Croydon's education officials considered the amalgamation of the Borough's sixth forms to form a sixth form college. Not only would this reduce the numbers in any one school but as with the Leicestershire scheme it would allow the operation of several small units rather than one large one. The two chief objections, at the time were, that statistical evidence to suggest that eleven plus selection methods were inaccurate, was not sufficiently adequate; and that teachers would be reluctant to lose their senior pupils. This latter problem could later affect the number of highly qualified applicants for posts in the lower schools.(95)

In May 1955, Dr. Robin Pedley was asked by the Midland branch of the Association of Education Officers, to represent the case for the two tier system of secondary education.(96) This fact is significant since it is evidence that senior education officials were giving serious consideration to secondary education along comprehensive lines, as early as 1955. In 1956, Dr. Pedley met senior officials of the Ministry of Education to suggest that all pupils might attend existing modern

schools for three years, and transfer, should parents wish, to a senior school, after three years. Parents requesting such a transfer would have to agree to keep their children in the senior school until they were sixteen.

In 1957, Leicestershire adopted a similar scheme in two areas, Wigston and Hinckley. A modification was that able children would transfer from junior to junior high school at the age of ten, though this was later ended.

In February 1958, Mr. S.C. Mason, Director of Education for Leicestershire, speaking in the Royal Institution, Swansea, explained the reasons for the adoption of the scheme. He maintained that the tripartite system of education was unpopular amongst the general public of Leicestershire. He also claimed that there was a general feeling in the county against the setting up of any sort of elite, whatever the criterion. Mr. Mason expressed concern, both about the inaccuracy of selection, and their effect upon the children themselves. He was also critical of the effect of eleven-plus upon primary school curricula.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Whilst therefore, the authority favoured comprehensive education in principle, it was felt that a system founded upon purpose built comprehensive schools would be too expensive. Since the end of the war, the county had built, at great expense, many new, medium sized schools. It seemed sensible, therefore, to implement a scheme which utilised the existing buildings. Mr. Mason added that the development of G.C.E. courses in the county's modern schools had caused a considerable overlap of functions between modern and grammar schools which was wasteful of resources.

It is significant that the Leicestershire authority was, at the time, Conservative controlled. The scheme met with some support from

Conservatives in Parliament. In May, 1958, Sir Edward Boyle told the National Federation of Parent Teacher Associations that he approved of the plan. (98) However, in the House of Commons Education debate in January 1959, Sir Edward warned:-

"The Leicestershire experiment is a very promising and interesting one. It is now being tried out in two very narrow areas of one county and it is premature to suppose that this experiment can be repeated on anything like a nationwide scale for a long time." (99)

In the same debate, Mr. Dennis Vosper, despite asserting that successful comprehensive schools were few and far between, expressed his approval of the Leicestershire experiment, and his interests in its results. (100)

CONCLUSION

THE CONSERVATIVE POSITION IN 1959

The period 1956 to 1959 was one in which a great deal of study was undertaken in education, both in terms of research and experimentation. Much of this work was done against a background of political uncertainty, at least as far as the Conservative Party was concerned. As election time approached, however, the Party appeared to have overcome its major problems. Time had healed the scars of Suez. The standard of living of most Britons continued to rise and despite growing unemployment in 1958, a considerable increase in production, some ten per cent higher than the previous year. (101) was made possible in 1959. This was partly due to increased public investment and reduced direct taxation.

Of particular importance was the success of the Conservatives' new leader, Harold Macmillan. Lord Swinton later wrote:-

"Harold Macmillan was perhaps the greatest all-rounder of the Prime Ministers of the century." (102)

Macmillan's style proved highly successful. His apparent unruffled manner, particularly when facing a political crisis such as the resignation of Lord Salisbury, and his meetings with world leaders, particularly those of America and the Soviet Union, assured a nation troubled by the events of the mid-fifties that all was well. It was reassurance that the nation seemed to need and the catch-phrase, 'You've never had it so good' met this need perfectly.

The education policy of an increasingly confident Conservative government was summarised by a white paper, "Secondary Education For All: A New Drive" published in 1958, and a major speech by Lord Hailsham in the House of Lords in February 1959. Lord Hailsham recognised many of the criticisms levelled at the tripartite system. Of the eleven-plus examinations he said:-

.. "There is a very great deal to be said for abolishing the examination if by that is meant the elimination of the false degree of terror that lies in the breasts of a generation of parents who in their youth knew only the choice between grammar school education and none at all, and a generation of pupils who are terrorised by such parents. (103)

This parental anxiety, claimed the white paper:-

"will be finally allayed only when every secondary school, no matter what its description is able to provide a full secondary education for each of its pupils in accordance with his ability and aptitude." (104)

As for teaching pupils according to their aptitudes and interests, Lord Hailsham implied reservations about the suitability of grammar school methods for many pupils. He said of the grammar school course,

"It remains much too highly academic, I would say, for those not over-gifted academically; and a very large number of teenagers do not benefit from, and in fact do not enjoy, such highly academic course!"⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

He added,

"I would go further and say that its greatest benefit is generally reaped only by the pupils who go beyond it into the university, or other further education."⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

Whether the "very large numbers of teenagers" refers to those in the lower forms of grammar schools, or those mainly placed in the modern schools, is not exactly clear. Were the former interpretation correct then a substantial criticism of the tripartite system would be implied. Although claiming that potential undergraduates gain the greatest benefit from a grammar school course, Lord Hailsham did not make the point that less able grammar school pupils would be better off in modern or comprehensive schools. Certainly, however, Lord Hailsham made no claim that the grammar school was an institution beyond criticism. Indeed he claimed that it had serious limitations. Moreover he did not make sweeping criticisms of the claims of comprehensive supporters.

He remarked;

".. the normal child requires a different kind of course, and the inevitable result of grouping him with a number of academically gifted children may be - I repeat, may be - to mutilate

the course in favour of the academic slant and against the kind of course the normal child may well require."(107)

With these reservations, however, Lord Hailsham clearly favoured the existing tripartite system. He claimed:-

"A grammar school course.... remains, I think beyond question, by far the most beneficial education for the academically exceptional boy or girl." (108)

He added:-

"It would not, I think be too much to say that on the minority of children able to benefit from grammar school courses in one sense the whole future of Britain in science, technology, and the arts really depends."(109)

The White paper asserted:-

"It cannot be right that good existing schools should be forcibly brought to an end, or that parents' freedom of choice should be so completely abolished." (110)

Lord Hailsham was equally convinced of the value of the secondary modern schools, claiming:-

"A secondary modern course is not an inferior type of education to that of a grammar school, but a new, stimulating and infinitely superior course tailor-made for those who can benefit from it. To deny it to children who can benefit by it is to deny them justice."(111)

Certainly, Lord Hailsham did not suggest that such 'tailor-made' courses could not be operated in a comprehensive school. His point was that since the modern school could provide such choices there was no pressure to reform. He maintained that the real problem facing secondary education was essentially an administrative one. He claimed:-

".. the problems of secondary education are the problems of adequate teachers - that is to say, teachers adequate in quality as well as quantity - adequate buildings and equipment, and suitable courses of instruction. If these are provided I profoundly believe, and I am completely convinced, that there is no problem of selection which need give rise to any anxiety of any insuperable difficult whatsoever."⁽¹¹²⁾

It was with the solution of these "administrative" problems that the White Paper was particularly concerned. It announced plans to spend £300 million over the five year period 1960-65.⁽¹¹³⁾ As for the content of secondary education, particularly that concerning older children, this was being studied in the late 1950's by a government committee chaired by Sir Geoffrey Crowther.

The White Paper "Secondary Education for All: A New Drive", and Lord Hailsham's speech of February 1959 reflect the reaction of the Conservative Government, to the new facts which emerged during experiences accumulated, and experiments made, in the nation's schools. Whilst many of the new findings appeared to undermine the rationality of the tripartite system, or at least the rationality upon which the system had been built, successive ministers remained convinced that the new evidence did not undermine their policy. This policy they saw as being a practical one which allowed scope for further experiment, and which had considerable support from the education world. They contrasted their approach with what they considered to be the doctrinaire policy of the Labour Party,

of which Lord Hailsham said:-

"..it substitutes the judgement of the politician at Westminster for the wish of the local community."(114)

Thus, throughout the eventful period 1956 to 1959 there was little change in the policy of the Conservative Government towards secondary education. It may be claimed fairly that the Ministers of Education in the late 1950's were more tolerant of the comprehensive school experiment that had been Miss Florence Horsbrugh in the early 1950's. Most Conservative Party supporters disliked the comprehensive idea and clearly, the Government would not have welcomed massive reorganisation on comprehensive lines.

The policy of the Government was supported by the Bow Group booklet "Willingly to School" published shortly before the 1959 General election. The Bow Group study surveyed the major issues in education and attempted a balanced assessment. In reviewing comprehensive schools it outlined the arguments given in favour as well as against them. It conceded that in areas of new development comprehensives could provide a suitable form of secondary education. However, the booklet asserted:-

"The good grammar schools undoubtedly provide a highly satisfactory form of education and the value of this depends largely on a tradition of academic prowess and standards of behaviour built up over many years. The wilful destruction of good grammar schools would be intolerable, for it is easy to destroy but hard to create. A local authority can build a new school, but it cannot at the same time create the spirit which gives a school value. Therefore, attempts to introduce

comprehensive schools must be condemned where this involves the destruction of good grammar schools." (115)

It was the fear of the possibility of the setting up of such a system by a future Labour Government that made the subject of state education more regularly ^{discussed} by Conservatives than had been the case in the early 1950's. In 1959, however, that fear was removed by a victory in the general election which increased greatly the Conservative majority. Despite fears that the economy was not healthy, the triumph of Harold Macmillan in the General Election seemed to mark the climax of his attempt to rebuild the confidence of the Party following the traumas of the mid 1950's.

CHAPTER SIX

A PERIOD OF CALM 1959 -1962

INTRODUCTION

To the Conservative Party, the victory in the 1959 general election was seen as a great triumph, following as it did the traumas of the mid 1950's. It helped to restore the confidence of the Party, a confidence which had been severely tested. By 1959, also, the Government had, to its own satisfaction, reconciled its policy for secondary education with the new facts that had emerged in the late 1950's regarding the effectiveness of eleven-plus selection. Compared with the period 1956-59 during which these new facts emerged, and the years 1963- 1964 which saw a considerable increase in comprehensive education, the period 1960-62 was one of relative calm. Sir Edward Boyle later told Mr. Stephen Swingler that in January 1963, there were 175 comprehensive schools in the country compared with 130 three years earlier. ⁽¹⁾ Whilst this represented an increase of nearly 35 per cent in three years, the addition of 45 new comprehensive schools was hardly a spectacular increase in view of the more favourable light in which they were being viewed by the education profession.

This chapter considers the reasons for this relatively calm situation; the new developments that did occur during the period, and the reaction to it of the Conservative Party.

The controversies of the years 1956-1959 had taken place against a background of uncertainty, and, as far as the Government was concerned, declining popularity. The confidence which the Conservatives gained as a result of the 1959 general election victory persuaded them that their policies had the widespread support of the public.

This confidence was enhanced by the apparent weakness and disunity of the Labour Party. The extent of this disunity was illustrated when Harold Wilson challenged the leadership of Hugh Gaitskell and secured 81 votes, representing almost a third of the votes cast, Gaitskell gaining 166 votes. This challenge followed the controversy during which Gaitskell had unsuccessfully attempted to drop Clause four of the Party's constitution which called for further public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

What particularly encouraged Conservatives was the suspicion, felt by many including members of the Labour Party, that there could be developing, trends in voting behaviour which would lead to the Conservatives barring a major upheaval, becoming the natural governing party.

The term "embourgeoisment" suggested that as greater prosperity reached the skilled working classes, they acquired middle-class habits which in turn produced middle-class voting behaviour. Thus, as the wealthier workers changed from Labour to Conservative a process was taking place which inevitably strengthened the Conservative Party at the expense of Labour. Whilst the term was very controversial in the world of sociology, the four general elections from 1950 to 1959 appeared to many, to justify its validity since each one had revealed a progressive growth in the popularity of the Conservatives.

Whilst many scholars rejected embourgeoisment as a gross oversimplification of social trends, most agreed with Mark Abrams and Richard Rose that:-

"Many of the chief motives for voting Conservative in 1959 appear to be durable ones." (2)

In their book, "Must Labour Lose?" published in 1960 they argued that the Conservatives were succeeding in associating themselves particularly in the eyes of the skilled working class with the new prosperity, and that Labour's image was losing its appeal in areas where, traditionally, it had enjoyed strong support. Abrams and Rose remarked:

"In short, members of the working class who do not support the Labour Party see the Conservatives as the Party which means prosperity idealism and opportunities to get on, and which enjoys a united team of leaders and a clear-cut policy; they can discern none of these things in the Labour Party. On the other hand, they agree with Labour Party supporters that Labour stands above all, for the working class and for the underdog." (3)

Any alteration of the Labour 'image' would, however, produce a dilemma. Some, like Gaitskell believed that some traditional socialist ideals, such as clause four, would have to be jettisoned. Others believed that to do this and attempt to move nearer to the Conservative image would only serve to weaken the party whilst it would be difficult to conquer ground already held by the Conservatives. The theory of 'consensus' that, in power, either party would be forced by circumstances to follow similar policies was widely believed, and the term 'Butskellism' referring to the similarity of the financial policies of the two parties, had emerged in the 1950's. Thus, some Labour M.P.'s argued that unless a clear distinction could be drawn between Labour and Conservative ideas and policies, there would be little likelihood of the electorate's deciding to remove a government which had associated itself with 'prosperity' and elect one which had nothing different to offer. There seemed little possibility, therefore, that

the disunity in the Labour Party could be overcome easily and this was a point of satisfaction to the Conservatives.

The popularity of the Conservative Party in 1959 survived into the following year but it began to decline as the Government proved unable to solve the economic difficulties which became increasingly manifest. By July 1961 the Treasury and the Bank of England had become alarmed at the signs of growing inflation and for the third year in succession there was a deficit in the balance of trade. By 1962 the popularity of the Government had reached a low ebb and in March of that year the Conservatives lost to the Liberals, the safe seat of Orpington in a bye-election. A national opinion poll published on March 28th reflected this result showing the Conservatives with only the support of 32.8 per cent of the electorate. Despite this, Labour enjoyed the support of only 33.5 per cent, whilst the Liberals led the poll with 33.7 per cent.⁽⁴⁾ Thus, despite the unpopularity of the Conservatives, the Labour opposition had been unable to capitalise on this and, perhaps, many Conservatives believed that since there was no significant move to Labour, there would be a swing away from the Liberals and back to the Conservatives when the next general election came.

Throughout the period 1960-62, therefore, the dismay felt by Conservatives at their own declining fortunes was countered by the weakness and ineptitude of the opposition.

Several factors contributed to the placid state of the secondary education debate during this period. The weak state of the Labour Party was one of these. The Opposition failed to attack the policies of the Government with its earlier enthusiasm and conviction. For example, when Mrs. Eirene White, M.P. for Flint East, called an

adjournment debate on the Queen's Speech in November 1960, criticising the state of the nation's education system, most of the speeches concerned provision and little was said about secondary school organisation.⁽⁵⁾

Similarly, the Labour Party outside Parliament was not particularly active in pursuit of the Party's policy of comprehensive education. In an article in the Times Educational Supplement in July 1960, Dr. Robin Pedley, one of the leading advocates of comprehensive education wrote:-

"The demoralised state of the Labour Party is nowhere better illustrated than in education. Before the election its leaders promised a great drive to change the pattern of secondary schooling and reshape it on the comprehensive principle.

The enthusiasm contrasts strangely with the apathy of the great majority of local Labour Parties on the subject.⁽⁶⁾

Since the central government was not prepared to take the initiative in developing comprehensive education, such reform as might be forthcoming would have to come on the initiative of local authorities. Few Conservative councillors were in favour of comprehensive re-organisation, hence that initiative would have to come from Labour controlled authorities. The fact, therefore, that so many local Labour Parties were extremely uncertain about re-organisation is one important reason why the comprehensive movement made fairly slow progress between 1960 and 1963.

A further reason for this slow pace was the fact that several authorities, particularly in urban areas, which were usually controlled by Labour, fell to the Conservatives between 1958 and 1960 and

possible reorganisation was postponed. For example, whilst there was considerable disagreement within the group, the Darlington Labour Party had been committed for some time to the comprehensive principle. In May 1960, however, Labour lost power in Darlington and did not regain it until 1963. During these years the Conservative majority showed no interest in comprehensive re-organisation. (7)

Although some of the main assumptions upon which the tripartite system of education was founded had been challenged in the 1950's the weight of opinion in the education world was still in favour of a selection secondary system. This obstructed the growth of comprehensive education in two ways. First, it helped convince the Government that its policy was basically sound, and, secondly, it persuaded many hesitant Labour controlled local authorities against reorganisation.

Of great importance was the Crowther Report which was the result of lengthy research by the Central Advisory Council on the education of young persons aged fifteen to eighteen. Whilst, in many aspects the Crowther Report was critical of the state of education in England and Wales, the most important factor, as far as the Government was concerned, was that it generally supported the Government line on secondary education. Despite the criticisms levelled at the segregated secondary system, the Government had, throughout the 1950's stressed the fact that there was only very limited evidence as to what comprehensive schools had actually achieved in practice. The Crowther Report supported this view saying:-

"Any judgement of English comprehensive schools at this stage must be made in faith rather than knowledge. (8)

It added:-

"... there are... situations where a comprehensive school could only be established by doing harm to existing schools which are doing a very good job. We cannot afford to lose any good school, whatever its classification." (9)

A further source of satisfaction to the Government was its confidence that in most of the areas in which the Crowther Report was critical of the state of education in England and Wales, the Conservative policy was moving in the right direction to improve those shortcomings. This was particularly so in the three main areas; the need for a higher level of technical education; the extent of the wastage of talent, and, most notably, the wastage of talent amongst children of the working classes.

The Crowther Report emphasised the role of education in a technological world, stating:-

"More recently, the emphasis has come back to education as an investment. There are perhaps two special reasons for this. The first is the new doctrine (how new/^{few} people now remember) that the nation can control its own economic development. And, secondly, there is a new emphasis placed upon the belief that the prosperity, and even the safety of the nation depend upon "keeping up in the economic race." (10)

The report strongly implied that the standard of the nation's technological education was not of a sufficiently high standard, but the Government considered that on three points, its policy for the future invalidated any criticism based upon its past record. First, the need to develop technological education, particularly in the schools had been recognised clearly in the 1956 white paper, 'Technical Education'. Indeed, another white paper appeared in 1961 although

this was concerned in the main, with education after school.⁽¹¹⁾

Secondly, the Government believed that the 1958 white paper, 'Secondary Education for all : A New Drive' would provide the material means by which technical education could be improved. Thirdly, it believed that its policy concerned the practical problems of education and that this contrasted with the political dogma, which, many Conservatives insisted, was at the heart of the Labour Party's policy for secondary education.

The Crowther Report revealed, in considerable detail, the extent of the wastage of talent. The Report included statistics collected both by the Army and the R.A.F. over the period 1956-8. The Army survey involved 6573 recruits chosen at random.⁽¹²⁾ These people were given an extensive range of tests and they were then divided into six different groups based upon general intelligence. These findings were then compared with the G.C.E. 'O' level results of the recruits. Of the 727 in the highest ability group, 136 gained eight or more passes whilst another 289 gained either five, six or seven passes. This suggested that there was a considerable correlation between the high placings by the Army, and the good certificates obtained. Similarly, only 32 of the 1971 candidates in the second ability group gained eight passes whilst not one of those in the bottom four groups passed in eight subjects. What was particularly significant was the fact that 137 of the 727 candidates in the top ability group, representing almost 19 per cent of the group, did not take the G.C.E. 'O' level examination at all. If this figure was reflected in the nation as a whole, then it represented a considerable wastage of talent, since the average number of passes attained by the candidates in this group was 5.7. Nearly all of these candidates would be considered to be well suited to further education beyond 'O' level.

The Army survey also showed that of the 1971 men in the second ability range, 1501 had not taken 'O' level although, of the 470 who did, an average pass of 3.7 subjects per candidates was achieved. Furthermore 190 of these passed in five or more subjects. Even in the bottom four groups, when combined, the average passes for each of the 36 candidates was 2.9 and 160 passed in five or more subjects.

These statistics revealed the extent of the wastage of talent produced by the nation's system of education, not only amongst the intellectually most able, but also amongst those^{of} supposed mediocre intelligence.

Similar findings emerged from the R.A.F. study which examined 1900 recruits. (13) Of the 348 placed in the top ability range 76, representing in excess of 20 per cent did not take the G.C.E. 'O' level examination although an average of 5.2 subjects per candidate were passed by those who did so. In the second ability group, where the average 'O' level pass was 4.5, 130 of the 356 total did not take the examination.

The proportion of those in the top ability groups who were unable to enter the G.C.E. because of their attending secondary modern schools which did not operate an examination course, was not recorded but it was certainly considerable, in view of the good certificates obtained by many pupils from modern schools which did operate such courses.

Whilst the Government was aware of the need to reduce this wastage of talent it did not believe that the Crowther Report implied criticism of future policy. As with the need to improve technological education, the Government's view was that the 1958 white paper provided the resources by which the problem could be overcome. Furthermore, secondary modern schools were extending opportunities to enter G.C.E. and the

Government believed that the sensible plan was to develop along established lines until all modern pupils had the choice of taking the G.C.E. Indeed, such a policy probably could be implemented much more quickly and at less expense, than a national comprehensive system. However, the Government view was that modern schools had a function other than developing examination courses. The educational attainment of all pupils had to be improved. The most potent impact of technology upon general education is, maintained the Crowther Report:-

.. "the emphasis that it places on the rapidity of change, particularly in the conditions of work. A boy who enters industry today will not retire until well into the next century. In that time the odds are that he will see at least one complete technological revolution in his industry. The job he will hold when he becomes a grandfather may not exist at all today;"....⁽¹⁴⁾

The Government remained convinced that the secondary modern schools could meet this need.

The Crowther Report emphasised the effect of social class upon educational attainment. In the survey they found that about one in four of the fathers of modern school pupils were in semi-skilled or unskilled manual work compared with only one in ten of the fathers of grammar school pupils in similar occupations. Conversely, 18 per cent of the fathers of grammar and technical school pupils were in professional or managerial occupations whereas only four per cent of modern school fathers came into this category. The Report emphasised the need to create a greater social mixture in all of the state schools. It claimed:-

"If it is important in the grammar schools to make sure that there is, especially in the Sixth Form, a good

representation of boys from working class homes; it is just as important that the middle class families should be well represented at the top of modern schools." (15)

This aspect of the Report expressed a hope rather than recommend a line of policy. Again, the position of the Government was that its policies for the expansion of secondary education would have the effect of extending educational opportunities to all classes. It also believed that further information was necessary in order to gain a clear picture of the educational needs of "secondary modern" children. Thus, in March 1961 the Minister of Education, Sir David Eccles, asked the Central Advisory Council for Education to prepare a report on the education of pupils aged 13 to 16 of average and less than average ability. This, therefore, provided a further justification for both the Government and the local authorities not to rush ahead with plans for reorganisation. The Government, and many authorities believed that it would be sensible to await the findings of what would be known as the Newsom Report.

The fact that evidence which appeared to undermine the assumptions of the Norwood Report was not seen by Conservatives as being contrary to their policy, was another factor contributing to the lack of controversy in the period 1960-63. These assumptions were, firstly, that intelligence was innate and immutable, secondly, that there were three distinct types of intelligence requiring different types of education and thirdly that this intelligence could be measured with considerable accuracy. These assumptions provided the theoretical justification for the tripartite system. In the 1950's these assumptions became the subject of controversy, especially so since advocates of comprehensive education demanded that if they could be disproved then the tripartite system could not be justified. By the end of the decade

however, the Government was prepared to admit that intelligence was a far more complex phenomenon than the Norwood Report had indicated but it believed that the examination success of secondary modern schools justified the existing system since it proved that eleven plus 'failures' did not lose the opportunity to progress. Having reconciled their policy to the new evidence therefore, it followed that further evidence of the same kind would not have the controversial character that it had in the 1950's. This was a further factor in the calm climate of the early 1960's

Further evidence regarding the academical potential of eleven plus failures certainly was forthcoming. The number of modern schools entering candidates for the G.C.E. 'O' level continued to rise. In 1959, 969 modern schools entered pupils for the examination.⁽¹⁶⁾ The following year the number increased to 1,254, amounting to 33 per cent of all the country's modern schools.⁽¹⁷⁾ The actual numbers of candidates rose from 15580 in 1959 to 21,670 in 1960. Despite this considerable increase, there was no deterioration in either the average number of subjects taken per candidate, or passed. In each case the figures remained constant at 3.9 and 1.9 respectively.

In March 1961, Sir David Eccles, replying to a question from Mr. Stephen Swingle, gave a detailed analysis of the 1960 figures. Of the 21,680 candidates, 222 pupils passed in seven or more subjects, one of them passing in eleven. Another 3675 passed in four, five or six subjects.⁽¹⁸⁾

The value of the G.C.E. course in the modern school was, by this time, generally considered to be proven. Mr. C.A. Hargreaves, headmaster of Linsill Secondary Boys School in Tynemouth told the Northern Counties Technical Examination Council that without any major alteration

in the syllabus the boys at his school produced an increase in attainment and effort of around 30 per cent since the school had entered the G.C.E. (19) The Government welcomed this. Sir David Eccles told the House of Commons in July 1961:-

"Every modern school that achieves this distinction is one more proof that there is no need to sacrifice education to a doctrinaire social policy." (20)

The effect of environment upon educational attainment was stressed by two particular studies which appeared in 1962. Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden produced "Education and the Working Class," a study of a northern city which revealed that few working-class boys entered the city's grammar schools. However, of those who did go, Jackson and Marsden claimed:-

.."very many of these families came from districts where the social classes were mixed, and where there was an important minority of middle-class children attending the local primary school." (21)

The second of these studies was John Barron Mays' book, "Education and the Urban Child", a study of the "Crown Street" district, an underprivileged area of Liverpool. This study revealed a considerable disparity between the examination results of the "Crown Street" schools and the less depressed areas of the city. The social mores, claimed Barron Mays, impeded further progress in education. He remarked:-

"The benign sunlight generated by the 1944 Education Act filters with difficulty down through the obscuring smoke and gloom of the older and less privileged neighbourhoods." (22)

He added:-

"These schools derive from the old elementary tradition, and between them and the grammar schools lies a gaping and almost unbridgeable chasm." (23)

As with similar findings in the Crowther Report regarding the environmental effect upon educational attainment, the Government remained convinced that its policy offered a realistic means of reducing these ill effects.

Throughout the period 1960-1962, therefore, the Conservative Government remained convinced that its policy for secondary education, which envisaged a tripartite system allowing for comprehensive experiment was the most sound of several possibilities. This policy, it felt was supported by experience and by most research into educational needs. Whilst the actual growth of comprehensive education was slow, several developments did take place which strengthened the case for comprehensive reorganisation.

Whilst the Government, and several local authorities insisted throughout the 1950's that the actual evidence about the working of comprehensive was negligible, limited, but significant evidence of this nature did emerge in the early 1960's. Whilst the number of comprehensive schools steadily increased in the late 1950's seven years were required for pupils entering a school as a first year intake to progress throughout the school. In the early 1960's several year groups were completing their education in purpose built comprehensives.

In 1960, Mrs. H.R. Chetwynd, a London headmistress produced a book about her school entitled, "Comprehensive School : The Story of Woodberry Down." This produced an extremely favourable.

report of the school's achievements.

It stressed the happiness of the children in the school and attributed this, to some extent, to the removal of that sense of failure supposedly given by the eleven plus selection procedure, to those pupils below grammar school ability. In particular, Mrs. Chetwynd argued that two of the claims often made by opponents of comprehensive schools had been shown by the Woodberry Down experience to be false. First, she claimed that the size of the school had caused no major problems and argued that this was largely due to the setting up of a well-planned pastoral unit. Secondly, she insisted that the examination results of the most able Woodberry Down pupils were in no way inferior, either at 'O' level or 'A' level, to those of grammar school pupils.

In October 1962, J. Dickerson and M. Tucker wrote an article for the Times Educational Supplement about the Mayfield Girls School which had, in that year, seen the completion of a full seven year course by its first eleven year old comprehensive intake.⁽²⁴⁾ The article examined the G.C.E. results of this year group. On entering the school in 1955 the group consisted of 420 pupils. Of these, 90 had been recommended for grammar school courses, 150 for five year non-grammar courses, and 180 for four year courses. Of the 90 grammar school girls, representing about 21 per cent of the whole group, 74 eventually took 'O' level, gaining a total of 292 passes, an average of almost four per pupil. Since the group was roughly similar in proportion to the average percentage of pupils passing the eleven plus throughout the country, these results were not unimpressive. In 1962, 19 of the girls in the top set completed sixth form courses gaining a total of 25 passes.

The middle group, consisting of 150 pupils, which was roughly comparable with the top half of the secondary modern school, produced

68 'O' level candidates who, in 1960, passed 197 subjects at 'O' level. This was an average of almost three passes per pupil. Two significant features emerged. First, the 68 'modern' G.C.E. candidates represented more than twenty per cent of the total number of pupils in the two non-grammar groups. This was a higher percentage than in most modern schools where 'O' level courses were operated. Secondly, the average number of passes per pupils which was three, compared with around only two in secondary modern schools. Moreover, the Mayfield results suggested that the comprehensive school could encourage further study amongst pupils not in the highest ability level. Of the 68 'O' level candidates in the group several continued their education either in the sixth form, and as full-time or part time students, in Colleges of Further Education. They produced a further 56 passes. Thirteen of the pupils in this group took 'A' level courses and gained a total of sixteen passes.

Of the 180 pupils in the lowest ability range, as designated at the age of eleven, seventeen took 'O' levels in 1960 and a total of 23 passes was obtained. Significantly, two of these pupils progressed to the sixth form and gained a total of four 'A' level passes.

The main points suggested, therefore, were that pupils of grammar school ability had not suffered in the comprehensive situation whilst the less able pupils had, on average, performed far better than might have been expected, had they been educated in modern schools.

In 1961, T.W.G. Miller produced 'Values in the Comprehensive School' (25) This was a study of a number of such schools. He admitted that the schools he studied were well equipped and also agreed that the effect upon social unity of comprehensive education was not clear. However, he concluded that several strong points emerged in favour

of these schools. He claimed that they contributed to a raising of cultural standards, helped to overcome the problem of parity of esteem, and provided a more purposeful education than the secondary modern schools.

One of the first authorities to pursue comprehensive experiments was the London County Council and it commissioned a survey led by Dr. L. W. Payling, into the working of these schools. This was published in 1961. The report stated that in that year, 53.4 per cent of London's secondary school pupils were being educated in schools of a comprehensive character, but it emphasised the fact that there was considerable diversity regarding the actual types of systems in operation. It claimed that the comprehensive schools were extremely popular with parents, saying:-

"The comprehensive schools are so popular with the great majority of the parents of pupils that it is really the only way in which the Council can give a fair deal to the many parents who would like their boys or girls to come to such a school." (26)

The report added:-

"Parents have two choices but so much pressure is upon comprehensives that usually parents must put them down first if they wish them to go there." (27)

It also claimed that comprehensive schools encouraged pupils to stay in school beyond the minimum leaving age. The pupils were happy in the comprehensive environment and an emphasis was placed upon pastoral care which helped to ensure this. A further significant

claim was that:-

"The schools which newly opened in new buildings are perhaps naturally showing particular keenness to experiment but equally some of the most exciting developments have come from the schools in old buildings,..."(28)

The claim was significant since opponents of comprehensive education often responded to evidence of success in them with the argument that ^{they} had the benefit of new buildings and excellent facilities, without which they could achieve little.

Surveying the achievements of the London comprehensive schools as a whole, the report concluded:-

"..all are working with encouraging success in the present and thinking hard about their future." (29)

Whilst the L.C.C. was confident that its comprehensives were developing well, Leicestershire took a similar view. In 1960 the progress of their experimental comprehensive scheme was reviewed and it was adopted as the definitive scheme for the reorganisation of the entire secondary system of the county and was officially renamed "The Leicestershire Plan". In an article entitled "The Progress of the Leicestershire Plan" in "The Parent Teacher", C. J. Hetherington, Headmaster of the Hanbury Church of England Secondary Modern School reported:-

"Primary teachers claim, and all observers appear to agree, that the Plan has done exactly what it promised for the primary schools." (30)

Whilst few in the education profession considered such evidence conclusive regarding the success of comprehensive education, the experiment was becoming widely accepted as educationally valid . Few educationalists were still prepared to dismiss comprehensive experiments as the ideas of dogmatic socialists. Indeed the Crowther Report stated:-

"We welcome comprehensive schools ... as pace-setters both in persuading boys and girls to stay longer at school and in showing how education, though it must divide us intellectually, can still unite us socially." (31)

Although the Government maintained that secondary modern examination success showed clearly that failure at eleven plus was not really important since opportunities for educational advancement existed in the modern schools, supporters of comprehensive education remained convinced that these results undermined the whole system. They insisted that the more evidence emerged regarding secondary modern examination success, the more irrational the selective system was shown to be. They remained confident that although the comprehensive movement was making only steady progress, the weight of evidence was continuing to move in favour of reorganisation, and against selection. This they hoped would continue until most local authorities accepted the case for comprehensive education. For example, the Norwood view of intelligence envisaged a fixed pool of ability, but this concept had been almost completely abandoned, not only in Britain, but throughout the industrialised world. Reporting the Conference held in Kungälv in Sweden, in June 1961,, A.H. Halsey claimed:-

.." the most striking single agreement that was arrived at in discussion was the ready abandonment of the metaphor

of the "pool of ability" as scientifically misleading and from the point of view of policy, irrelevant." (32)

Whilst the Crowther Report generally supported the Government's policy on secondary education, there were several areas in which it was in disagreement, either with the Government outlook, or that of most Conservatives. This is further evidence that the education world was beginning to move away from the assumptions upon which Conservative policy was based. The Crowther Report's comments implied a considerable degree of etatism. Whilst in the conditions of interwar depression, some radical Conservatives, such as Harold Macmillan had suggested greater state involvement both in industry and welfare, most Conservatives, in the early 1960's were moving away from this view. Most of them felt that as prosperity spread, state provision of welfare should act basically as a safety net for the less fortunate. They also believed that as a contrast to Labour's demands for greater state initiative, it was necessary for their own party to stress "free enterprise" and "individual choice". In education in particular, Conservatives strongly advocated, as far as possible, maximum choice both for local authorities, and, perhaps, more important, parents. However, the Crowther Report claimed:-

.." the parents are often in no position to judge for themselves. Their knowledge of what is valuable above their own economic level is necessarily limited." (33)

Advocates of comprehensive education defended the role of such schools to undertake a degree of social engineering. As more research appeared to show the extent of environmental influences upon educational attainment, the education profession began to accept the need for the school to provide a social stimulus. Indeed some headmasters of

comprehensive schools were introducing classes of mixed ability, the expectation being that the able children would create an intellectually stimulating environment from which the less able children would benefit. To most Conservatives the use of state schools as instruments of social engineering was unacceptable. Indeed in advocating grammar schools they made the assumption that separation from the influence of the less able was a positive benefit to the most able children. However, the Crowther Report stated:-

"If it is important in the grammar schools to make sure that there is, especially in the Sixth Form, a good representation of boys from working class homes, it is just as important that middle class families should be well represented at the top of modern schools." (34)

Whilst this belief did not, therefore, recommend comprehensive education it did represent the growing feeling amongst the education profession, that greater social integration within all state schools was desirable. Supporters of comprehensive education considered this as providing a further factor in the case for a national comprehensive system.

The Crowther Report's assertion that technological advance would necessarily cause rapid social change, was accepted as a fact of modern life by most Conservatives. However, it ran contrary to one of the fundamental principles of Conservative thought, that social change ought to proceed at a slow pace. Whilst most Conservatives accepted this trend, many found it disagreeable. Certainly many Conservatives did not subscribe to the view that the state system of education should attempt to hasten social change.

The area of disagreement between the Government and the Crowther Report which produced the greatest concern was the timing of the raising of the minimum school leaving age to sixteen. The 1944 Education Act had planned for the eventual raising of this to sixteen but set no date. The Crowther Report expressed great concern about the large number of pupils who, on leaving school at fifteen, were unable to find employment which was both suitable and permanent. Its survey showed that:-

"Sixty-three per cent of Modern Schoolgirls in the non-skilled manual jobs left their first job as compared with 35 per cent of those in skilled manual work and 58 per cent of those in the other non-manual category." (35)

The Report insisted therefore, that the minimum leaving age be raised to sixteen and that a date should be set for this. It suggested that since two peaks for the rising school population were expected in 1965 and 1969, a date should be set between these two peaks. If this was to be effected an announcement of intent could not long be delayed. However, the 1958 White Paper on secondary education said:-

"The Government consider that it would be wrong to dissipate the improvement in educational standards to be secured under an immediate five year programme by attempting too much too fast." (36)

When the Crowther Report was discussed in the House of Commons, Sir David revealed that there had been no change in government policy on this matter. He said:-

"I think that we owe it to the parents and to the children,

to the teachers and to the local authorities, to bring our schools, primary and secondary, to a point much nearer complete readiness for the reform before the actual date is decided." (37)

This aroused widespread opposition within the education profession indeed, the Times Educational Supplement claimed that:-

"The Government have looked at the Crowther Report and have decided to do nothing about it." (38)

A further development during the period 1960-62 which was seen by advocates of comprehensive education as strengthening their case was the growing popularity of the proposed Certificate of Secondary Education. This, like the G.C.E. 'O' level was to be taken, following a two year course, at the age of 16. However, it was to aim at a standard lower than 'O' level. The C.S.E. was recommended by the Beloe Report of 1960 (39) and was seen by many educationalists as necessary in view of recent developments. There had been a considerable growth in the number of pupils voluntarily remaining in school for a fifth year and the Crowther Report recommended that this be compulsory. Many secondary modern teachers were convinced of the value of external examination courses. What remained a fact, however, was that only a few modern pupils were really suited to the 'O' level examination. A full examination course, even in modern schools, could involve eight subjects yet the average number passed was about two. Moreover, this figure was distorted in a favourable direction by the excellent results of a small proportion of very able pupils. Whilst the figures given by Sir David Eccles in March 1961 revealed that 222 modern pupils had passed 'O' level in seven or more subjects, the less fortunate aspect of the figures was that of the total of 21,680 modern candidates in the 1960 examinations, 4,163 passed in two subjects, 5,797 in only one, whilst 4,835 failed to

gain any passes at all.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Thus, 14,795 pupils, representing more than two thirds of all modern candidates, gained two passes or less. Not only did these pupils emerge as examination 'failures' the chances were that they were spending two years doing work which they did not really understand. Such a situation was clearly undesirable. What the Beloe Report advocated was a course of work which the average child could undertake successfully and an examination which he had a reasonable chance of passing. Particularly important was the fact that average pupils would be able to take a full examination course. In 1960, 8825 of the modern candidates, roughly forty per cent of the total, entered fewer than four subjects. Despite this the demand for fifth year work in modern schools increased.

Thus, the main impetus for the C.S.E. emerged from a natural development, the demand for further education by pupils below a good 'O' level standard. Moreover, it could be assumed that many pupils who left school before sixteen because they believed, perhaps quite rightly, that they would be unlikely to gain a good 'O' level certificate, would be persuaded to extend their education if a suitable course was offered. This was particularly pertinent in view of the sensitivity to the wastage of talent. Indeed, the services tests, published in the Crowther Report suggested that candidates of average ability could gain some success, even at 'O' level. Of the 36 candidates in the army's category of groups three and below, only six failed to get any passes whilst another six passed in either six or seven subjects.⁽⁴¹⁾ In the comparable groups in the R.A.F. 252 candidates entered 'O' level and only 22 failed to gain any passes, whilst 19 passed in eight subjects and a further 19 passed in seven.⁽⁴²⁾ However, half of the army's sample, eighteen out of 36; and roughly a third of the R.A.F.'s sample, 89 out of 252 passed in fewer than three subjects. Since there was some

evidence of 'O' level success in this category therefore, it could be reasonably assumed that average pupils could do well on a course whose standard was slightly lower than 'O' level.

The proposed C.S.E. course did, however produce considerable administrative problems to organisers in tripartite systems. It was clearly designed for modern schools. The Beloe Report envisaged around 20 per cent of the ability range taking a full 'O' level course. This was roughly the same per centage of pupils in grammar schools. The C.S.E. was intended for the next 40 per cent., roughly the top half of the modern school. The actual implementation of the C.S.E. would obviously be much more complicated than this.

The first problem concerned less able grammar school pupils. In view of the considerable number of such pupils unable to gain an impressive 'O' level certificate the C.S.E. would probably have some value in grammar schools. However, few grammar school pupils could be considered sufficiently weak as to require a full C.S.E. course. What would be most applicable would be a course based upon a mixture of 'O' level and C.S.E. work. Providing a variety of C.S.E. courses in schools heavily biased towards 'O' level would prove extremely difficult.

The second problem concerned the most able pupils in the modern schools. Should pupils best suited to C.S.E. be removed from 'O' level groups, viable G.C.E. courses would be extremely difficult to operate. Indeed it could be argued that viable 'O' level groups had only become possible in modern schools because of the inclusion of a considerable proportion of pupils who stood little or no chance of passing the examination. Few modern schools would however, welcome entering potential 'O' level candidates for the C.S.E.

In view of the large number of pupils who could gain limited success in 'O' level modern classes, the likelihood was that many such pupils would best benefit from a mixed course. What was certainly difficult as far as administration was concerned, and illogical in the opinion of supporters of comprehensive education, was the problem of providing for relatively small groups taking a mixture of 'O' level and C.S.E. courses, in two or more schools in one catchment area. Comprehensive advocates saw their system as more rational, administratively more simple, and less expensive. In the comprehensive school there would be three options open to examination candidates, full 'O' level, full C.S.E., and mixed. Within the tripartite system there would be six, each of these being duplicated in both grammar and modern schools, and full 'O' level in modern schools would be almost impossibly small to operate.

A further problem was that as better facilities became available more money was needed to finance new courses. Many educationalists agreed that it would be sensible to develop all C.S.E. work in one school in a catchment area rather than two. However, if all C.S.E. work was tackled in grammar schools their percentage of the nation's children would rise to around sixty which they could not accommodate. This would leave the modern schools with the bottom forty per cent of the ability range, a situation which few educationalists could support. The transfer of all C.S.E. work to modern schools would considerably reduce the number of grammar school places required.

Thus, the proposed C.S.E. course presented considerable administrative problems within a tripartite system, several of which did not apply to a comprehensive system.

The financial aspect regarding new courses had a more general application. The availability of more money for education meant that

such items as swimming pools, laboratories and technical departments could be provided in more schools. What authorities could not do was duplicate these provisions in several schools in one area. It was becoming common to find grammar schools with excellent science facilities yet with only the most simple provision for physical education and craft whilst nearly all modern schools had modern gymnasias and craftrooms but lacked really good provision for academic work. Comprehensive advocates saw the possibility of rationalisation of facilities as a strong argument for the ending of selective education.

Whilst, therefore, the period 1960-62 saw the spread of comprehensive education at only a slow pace, its advocates were convinced that their case was growing in strength. During this period, moreover, the Government made changes in policy in several departments. The most notable of these was the decision, taken in July 1961 to apply for membership of the European Economic Community. A greater level of economic planning was sanctioned by the setting up of the National Economic Development Council. Both of these changes were subject to considerable opposition within the Conservative Party. Many M.P.'s who saw the defence of the Empire as a cornerstone of Conservative thought opposed the Common Market application, whilst some saw the N.E.D.C. and the 'little Neddys' as contrary to Conservative principles of free enterprise. These and other developments represented a search for a new direction to solve Britain's growing social and economic problems. In such an atmosphere, would the Conservative Party rethink its policy towards secondary education?

CONSERVATIVE THINKING ON EDUCATION

At this time there was little change in Conservative education/

policy. It is necessary, therefore, first to examine the Conservative Party's education policy during this period, particularly its reaction to the growing strength of the comprehensive argument, and secondly, to consider additional reasons why a change of policy was not forthcoming.

The single most important fact was that the main line of Conservative policy on secondary education, that the tripartite system should be the dominant one had the general support of the Crowther Report. Conservatives maintained that they were not opposed to comprehensive experiments and in April 1961, Sir David Eccles told Mr. Stephen Swingle that, since taking office he had approved Twenty-nine proposals for comprehensive schools, whilst rejecting only four.⁽⁴³⁾ Sir David also pointed out that in January 1960 there were 128,834 pupils on the registers of the country's 130 comprehensive schools.⁽⁴⁴⁾ However, to a query by Mr. Fred Willey, Sir David answered:-

.." the Hon. Member would be wrong to think that I have changed my mind. It is exactly the same now as it was when I was previously Minister of Education."⁽⁴⁵⁾

Certainly it was true that the Government's policy of allowing local authorities power to implement their choice of schemes allowed the spread of comprehensive education. It was equally clear that the Government was not enthusiastic about the experiment and it was a matter of conjecture as to whether a Conservative Government would continue to allow local authorities to operate comprehensive schemes should there be a rapid advance in the number of plans submitted. Sir David's attitude to comprehensive schools was made clear in a speech in the House of Commons in July 1961, he said:-

".. the comprehensive experiment is having a good run. Some of these schools are doing well..." (46)

However, he expressed his belief that:-

".. we have enough evidence now to know that the large comprehensive school puts an exceptional strain on the teachers." (47)

He did not state his evidence to support this claim but added:-

".. I doubt whether enough head teachers and senior staff with the capacity and resilience to stand up to the strain of very large schools could be found if such schools were the rule rather than the exception. It would certainly be an uneconomic way of using our teachers and one wonders whether the tradition of leaving the head teacher to make the school in his or her image would have to give way to an imposed pattern or organisation." (48)

Conservatives continued to maintain, therefore, that the tripartite system should predominate. The value of the grammar schools, and the rights of parental choice were defended. Significantly, whilst most

educationalists were abandoning the notion that comprehensive education was desired essentially as part of socialist dogma, many Conservatives continued to uphold this belief. Sir David Eccles remarked:-

"We have insisted that where a child is qualified for a grammar school place he should not be compelled to go to a comprehensive school merely to suit an educational or social doctrine." (49)

He also maintained:-

"I should be surprised, knowing as we do the strength of feeling on this issue, if any House of Commons in our generation would accept the restriction on parents' choice which would follow the destruction of the grammar schools." (50)

Referring to secondary education, Sir David told the Conservative Party Conference at Brighton in 1961:-

"At this stage selection and variety of choice are essential if we are to do justice to the children's varying abilities." (51)

In 1962 the London County Council decided to plan for the amalgamation of fifteen of its remaining twenty grammar schools into comprehensive units. The Conservative group denounced the plan. (52) Their claim was that any "attack" upon the grammar schools was undesirable and that this alone constituted a convincing argument against comprehensive. They insisted that comprehensive education was still

at an experimental stage, although more than half of London's secondary school children had, for some time been in comprehensive schools.

Conservatives continued to argue that the success of modern school pupils in the external examinations was evidence that adequate safeguards existed for able eleven-plus failures.

Regarding the proposed 'C.S.E. examination,' Sir David Eccles was not particularly enthusiastic though he was aware of its growing popularity within the teaching profession. He told the Local Government Conference at Scarborough in October 1960 that he did not regard the suggested examinations as sound. However, he added:-

".. we may be forced by public opinion to have a second examination of one kind or another." (53)

At this time a number of Conservative M.P.'s recommended greater provision for state pupils in the public schools. Mr. William Yates M.P. for the Wrekin, who described himself as a "radical member of the Conservative Party" claimed that it was the duty of the Party to fight for greater social unity in the public schools and remarked:-

" I hope that hon. Members will not just accept a very polite and pleasant speech from the Minister, of the kind we always get from him, but will insist that further progress is made in these matters." (54)

Mr. James Prior, Conservative M.P. for Lowestoft, also referring to the need to make more provision for state pupils in the public schools stated:-

".. I believe that we should not try to take too many boys from grammar schools at this stage, but that we should concentrate more on the secondary modern schools." (55)

Were such an opinion widely held in the Conservative Party opponents would undoubtedly consider it an ambiguity that whilst grammar school pupils ought to be segregated from modern pupils, some integration was wise in the private sector.

In November 1961, Sir David Eccles reminded the House of Commons that:-

"Recently at our party conference at Brighton, I repeated the suggestion, saying that I thought it would be a good thing if all, or nearly all, parents sent their children to maintained primary schools." (56)

Throughout the period 1960-62, therefore, there was little change in Conservative policy for secondary education. Although, as the Government's difficulties mounted several changes of policy were made in other departments. Speeches in Parliament suggest that there were five reasons for a policy of no change in education.

First, the Government remained convinced that the policy which had evolved over a long period allowed sufficient scope for experimentation without threatening the basic structure whose fundamental value was assumed.

Secondly, the only viable alternatives to the Government's policy seemed to be, either an accelerated drive, partly at least, on the initiative of the Government, for more comprehensives; or an abrupt ending of the comprehensive experiment. Some Conservatives would have favoured the latter scheme but not only would such a scheme prove administratively difficult to implement, it would leave the Government open to severe criticism on the grounds that it was stopping a development which it had allowed for many years. Clearly also, support for the experiment, at least within the limits within which it was operating was widespread, both amongst the public and educationalists. The Conservatives would be accused of allowing political dogma to override educational considerations, if they restricted severely, the growth of comprehensive education, an ironic charge in view of Conservative criticisms of Labour's policy for secondary education. The former alternative would clearly have negligible, if any, support in the Conservative Party. Without a valid alternative the Government continued the same policy.

Thirdly, the Ministry of Education decided that there must be a new drive to increase drastically the number of university places.

Several studies had shown that the proportion of Britain's eighteen to twenty one year olds in full time education was lower than that of most of the other industrial nations. For example, John Vaizey showed that in the period 1957-59, 8.57% of Britain's eighteen year olds were in full-time education.⁽⁵⁷⁾ This compared with 30.42 per cent in the Netherlands, 27.09 in Norway, 20.92 in Belgium, 16.6 in France and 14.6 in Germany. The Netherlands also had the highest number of 21 year olds in full time education, in the group of countries studied, having 11.10 per cent. The lowest of the five continental countries was France with 4.5 This compared with only 2.47 per cent in Britain.

Education had seldom been one of the subjects most likely to arouse the greatest interest in the Conservative Party, and for a time, the emphasis placed upon higher education diverted the interest of the Party away from secondary education.

Fourthly, the Government remained convinced that, as suggested in the White Paper 'Secondary Education for All: A New Drive' in 1958, the main problem was the need to provide more money and hence develop improved facilities in all types of schools. Arguments about reorganisation, it was claimed, only diverted attention from this problem. Indeed, the need to raise the overall standard of education as of economic necessity was emphasised by a report produced for the N.U.T. by a committee chaired by Sir Charles Morris, entitled, 'Investment for National Survival'. The report, which was published in 1961 claimed:-

"We believe our national survival depends wholly on the manner in which we use our human resources."(58)

It also asserted:-

"The trend which is so clearly gathering momentum in the schools (and which is matched by the experience of other countries, such as the U.S.A. and West Germany) indicates that we are rapidly approaching the point when perhaps for the first time in our history a majority of parents will be demanding more than a minimum education for their children. It seems to us fundamentally important that this demand should not only be met but that it should be encouraged."(59)

Whilst comprehensive advocates insisted that a better education could

be provided by a comprehensive system, the Government's argument was that the existing system was working well and that dissent about organisation would only divert interest from the main problem.

Finally, the Government believed that as its immediate problems caused increasing concern, its main energies ought to be directed towards what, in the short term at least, were seen as more pressing matters.

CONCLUSION

The years 1960-62 were years of little change in the Conservative Party's attitude to secondary education. Many M.P.'s accepted, apparently, that the policies, and the arguments in favour of the policies, that had emerged during the late 1950's were still sound. Thus, whilst the Government continued to allow experiments, albeit with a degree of caution, along comprehensive lines, the conviction remained that the tripartite system should be the dominant one. The value of the grammar schools remained, in Conservative eyes, beyond dispute whilst the examination successes of secondary modern pupils were seen as evidence that such schools were developing in a desirable manner.

This policy of no-change was encouraged by the fact that although many educationalists considered that recent evidence was strengthening the case for comprehensive education, the weight of professional opinion still favoured the existing system. Such also was the position taken by the Crowther Report.

The weak state of the Labour party during these years boasted the confidence of the Conservative party despite its own steadily declining fortunes. Not only did the Labour Party in Parliament fail to argue

its case with its earlier conviction but in the local authorities too, Labour suffering the double shock of massive defeats both at local and national level appeared to be inept.

By the end of 1962 however, the Conservatives, unable to create a significant improvement in the economy and rocked by scandal found their popularity at a low ebb. The support of 1959 had disappeared and both senior figures in the Party as well as political commentators were beginning to doubt the Party's ability to win a fourth consecutive general election.

THE COMPREHENSIVE ONSLAUGHT

1962-1964

INTRODUCTION

During the last two of the thirteen years in which the Conservatives governed the country in the 1950's and 60's there was a rapid increase in the number of comprehensive plans proposed and implemented. This chapter examines the reaction of the Conservative Government and Party to this development. An important aspect of this, was the fact that it took place during a period in which, in several ways, the fortunes of the Party reached a low ebb.

As long as the Party's difficulties remained so great, survival and recovery tended to dominate the minds of active Conservatives, rather than concern about such areas as education. Many of the Government's problems sprang from its apparant inability to improve a sluggish economy, and the morale of the Party was shaken by a number of scandals. In the immediate years following the 1959 General Election the Conservatives were encouraged by the apparent disarray in which the Labour Party found itself but by the early months of 1963, the Opposition under its new leader Mr. Harold Wilson was regaining popularity. The latest possible date for a general election was October 1964 and the impression of many observers throughout 1963 and 1964 was that the main concern of the Conservative Government was to hang on in the hope that they might yet snatch an unexpected election victory.

The plight of the Conservative Party was worsened by the controversy surrounding the struggle for the leadership during the summer of 1963. Whilst many Conservatives saw Sir Alec Douglas Home as the ideal man to unite the Party, others felt that he lacked political experience.

Plots to exclude more likely candidates were suspected. What was clear was that the apparent support for a "compromise" candidate was evidence of considerable disunity within the Party. Such disunity produced a state of nervousness within the Party. Referring to the requirement of the Party's public relations consultants to have a clear directive regarding the policies that were to be promoted Richard Rose wrote:-

"No one at Central Office could write this directive nor could clear guidelines be obtained from the government asking the simple question - 'what line of policy will the government follow in the next year', was enough to spark controversy"⁽¹⁾

A further cause of the Conservative Party's problems was a fear that after more than ten years of continuous office the Government had reached a period of 'old age'. A general feeling expressed in opinion polls was that the Conservatives had been in power for long enough and that it was time for a change. Edward Heath wrote later:-

"At the end of the thirteen years of Conservative Government people got bored with us and they thought that we'd rather run out of steam. In 1963 I think this was true....."⁽²⁾

It was the opinion of Lord Kilmuir that the Party suffered because the search for new policies took place at the expense of the retention of a more general identity. He wrote:-

..." after ten years of power, there was a too-dominant preoccupation with administrative matters. Ministers had become obsessed with the work of their own departments, and there was what an unkind critic justly stigmatised as

'legislative diarrhoea'. The Government as a whole lost interest in political thinking and the impact of the measures they proposed on ordinary people." (3)

SUPPORT FROM NEWSOM

The tension in the Conservative Party manifested itself in its reaction to developments in education. Despite the mounting criticism of the tripartite system of secondary education, and the growth in the popularity, amongst local education authorities, of comprehensive schools, most Conservatives remained convinced that education was not one of those areas in which a change in policy was required. Many backbenchers were, however, becoming increasingly concerned about the latitude given to local authorities regarding comprehensive development.

The attitude of the Government was that experiments in comprehensive education were permissible but that a national system of comprehensive education was most undesirable. Throughout the 1950's the Conservative Party was supported in its preference for the tripartite system by the majority opinion of the education profession. By the 1960's this support was declining. It was, therefore, a source of satisfaction to the Government that the Newsom Report, commissioned by Sir David Eccles in March 1961 and published in 1963, seemed to support the Government line.

The Report, entitled 'Half our Future' examined the education of those children aged thirteen to sixteen who were not amongst the academically most able. It dealt, in the main, with the type of education desirable and that was seldom a politically controversial issue. It did, however, make several comments upon the structure of secondary

education. Like the Crowther Report, it was far from being a complacent document and in particular, it attacked many of the assumptions upon which the process of secondary selection was based. It stated:-

"Intellectual talent is not a fixed quality which we have to work but one variable that can be modified by social policy and educational approaches." (4)

This point was fully accepted by Sir Edward Boyle who wrote in his introduction to the Report,

"The essential point is that all children should have an equal opportunity of acquiring intelligence and of developing their talents and abilities to the full." (5)

The acceptance that intelligence was not innate, but something which could be 'acquired' seemed to many, to render illogical an examination taken at the age of eleven, which was designed to assess this supposed innate intelligence.

Critics of the tripartite system had long maintained that selection at eleven was a major cause of the wastage of talent. The Newsom Report emphasised the extent of this wastage claiming:-

".. there is much unrealised talent especially among boys and girls whose potential is masked by inadequate powers of speech and the limitation of home background." (6)

It added:-

"The greater the number of people who prove to be educable

beyond all previous expectations, the stronger the suspicion grows - and the teachers are amongst the first to voice it - that the rest may have been underestimated also, and that we are somehow failing a substantial number of young people.⁽⁷⁾

The need of the country to harness this wasted talent was also stressed; -

".. the future pattern of employment in this country will require a much larger pool of talent than is at present available and... at least a substantial proportion of the "average" and "below average" pupils are sufficiently educable to supply that additional talent." ⁽⁸⁾

A continuing theme of the Report was the need to spend a great deal more money on the nation's 'average' and 'below - average children. In stressing this need the report implied that sufficient money had not been spent upon this sector in the past. Both in this, and in its rejection of the belief that intelligence Quotient was a reasonably accurate indicator of academic potential, the Report could be interpreted as critical of the Government which still envisaged the selective system of secondary education as the one likely to continue to be dominant. However, it claimed:-

"We have been impressed by what the schools have achieved since the concept of secondary education for all was initiated." ⁽⁹⁾

In particular, satisfaction with the broad pattern of secondary organisation was expressed. The Report stated:-

"We cannot stress too strongly that the solution to these problems is not necessarily to be found by a reorganisation of the present pattern of secondary education." (10)

Satisfaction with the secondary modern schools was expressed:-

"The percentage of pupils who voluntarily remain at school beyond the minimum age of fifteen has doubled in the secondary modern schools since 1958, and this itself testifies to an increasing confidence in the schools and to a belief on the part of many parents in the value of a longer education for their children." (11)

Thus, the Newsom Report implied approval of the Government's policy regarding secondary organisation. Most Conservatives did indeed view with pride, the record of the Government in the field of education. Mr. Christopher Chataway quoted U.N.E.S.C.O. as his source when he told Mr. Stephen Swingle that Britain spent more per head on education than almost all other Western European countries. (12)

Mr Philip Goodhart, M.P. for Beckenham, said during the same debate:-

".. during the past decade there has been a staggering improvement in the education of this country." (13)

This belief was substantiated by the fact that an increasing proportion of the gross national product was being spent upon education. In the year 1963-4 Britain spent 4.9 per cent of the G.N.P. on education. This compared with only 3.9 in the years 1957-8 and 1958-9, around the

time that the white paper, "Secondary Education for All: a New Drive", was produced. This was a source of satisfaction to most Conservatives since their political opponents often maintained that the Government was not really interested in the social services, including education. (14)

THE EXPANSION OF COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION

Despite this sense of satisfaction, the Conservatives were confronted during the years 1963 and 1964 with a rapid increase in the numbers of comprehensive schools, both planned and introduced. Sir Edward Boyle later stated that in 1963 ninety local authorities had reorganisation plans. (15) Why was there this rapid advance in comprehensive education at this time?

One of the most important reasons for this advance was the conversion of many directors of education in the local authorities. These directors exercised great influence in most authorities, indeed it is the caution of many of these officials, for example in Cheshire which had helped maintain the tripartite system. Referring to the early 1960's in Darlington, Balty, O'Brien and Parris wrote:-

"Perhaps the most important development during the three years was the apparent conversion of the Chief Education Officer to the comprehensive principle." (16)

Later the chairman of one of the large county authorities told Sir Edward Boyle:-

"After all we have done to stimulate the growth of G.C.E. courses in each kind of school comprehension seemed the next logical step." (17)

Many senior councillors, some of them Conservatives were also moving with the trend towards comprehensive education. There were several reasons why this was becoming popular amongst many local authorities. These Authorities had to consider a balance between the known inadequacies of the tripartite system on the one hand, and the relative success of it in practical terms, coupled with the lack of evidence regarding comprehensive education on the other. In the late fifties and early sixties most authorities believed that this balance was more strongly weighted in favour of the tripartite system. By 1963 the feeling was that sufficient evidence had been produced to tip the balance in favour of comprehensive organisation. The declining value placed upon the standardised intelligence test was an important factor here.

One of the main reasons why the tripartite arrangement had been so popular in the 1940's was because there was great confidence, both in the belief in the existence of innate intelligence, and the ability of the standardised test to measure this ability. The experience of the 1950's indicated that these tests were not as accurate as had been hoped but the predominant feeling was that this type of selection was more effective than any other known method of selection. This was particularly so, since the weaknesses of alternative methods of selection, particularly the high degree of subjectivity involved, and the advantages enjoyed by middle class children, were well known by 1944. Research since the Second World War had emphasised these advantages. Despite the known weakness, however, many authorities were by 1963 moving away from formal methods of selection.

A major reason for this move away from formal selection methods was the fact that great changes were being made in primary education and by about 1963 these developments had reached a stage in which

the necessity to prepare for eleven-plus selection was becoming a serious obstacle to further advancement. As long as the formal tests remained, however, most primary school headmasters believed that it was necessary to prepare the children for them. This was particularly so, since the evidence suggested that test scores could be improved by training and practice. Had intelligence really been an innate quality this would have been unnecessary since the actual work done would not affect this basic intelligence. Schools would be free to develop their curricula along their own lines. Once it became recognised that scores could be improved, schools had to modify their teaching to accommodate this.

A further development which was generally considered to be undesirable was the growth of coaching offered in the evenings to help the pupils pass the eleven-plus exam. It was this effect upon primary school work that was persuading many authorities to abandon completely formal methods of selection. Sir Alec Clegg, the Chief Education Officer for the West Riding explained that all formal examination had been abolished as part of the eleven-plus selection procedure, by his local authority. By this time the standardised test had also been abandoned by Manchester, London and Liverpool.⁽¹⁸⁾ This development had the support of Sir Edward Boyle who said, in July 1963;-

"Recent changes in the direction of less formal methods of selection have been found beneficial to the primary schools, and I have no reason to suppose that they have in any way affected grammar school standards."⁽¹⁹⁾

Criticism of the standardised tests became more widespread and Professor P.E. Vernon was careful to point out^{that} critics should not exaggerate the claims made by the designers of these tests regarding

their accuracy. Replying in The Times Educational Supplement to a claim by Mr. St. John Reade that the results of many 11 plus failures in comprehensive school, particularly in the 'O' level examinations emphasised the weakness of such tests, he claimed;-

"... I am concerned lest Mr. Reade's figures should be thought to imply that present day educational psychologists have misled the public by grossly exaggerating the efficiency of well-designed selection procedures." (20)

view

The of successive Ministers of Education had, since 1944, been that local authorities should be free to choose their own selection procedures. However, by 1963 Sir Edward Boyle had taken the responsibility of recommending the less formal methods of selection. Replying to Mr. Biggs Davison in the House of Commons regarding the position of the Ministry on this matter he remarked;-

"No formal advice has been given. But I have made known my view that the strictly educational case for moving away from formal methods of selection is now well established." (21)

Some Conservatives were opposed to the Ministry's taking a major share of this responsibility. They believed that a method near to an ideal would emerge if freedom of local authority choice remained. T.E. Utley wrote:-

"The important thing is to get the test right: after this the question of who does and does not pass it will be out of our hands, which is precisely where it ought to be." (22)

Having decided, therefore, that formal selection procedures were

not only far from accurate as indicators of academic potential, but also an obstacle to the further development of primary education, many authorities decided to abandon them. Since, however, grave weaknesses in other methods were widely recognised, several authorities decided that the ending of selection by standardised tests should mark the end of selection completely.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the shortcomings of the various selection methods operated was the subsequent success in the G.C.E. of those ascribed 'non-academic' by those methods. Supporters of the tripartite system had maintained that the success of these schools justified the system. To supporters of comprehensive education, however, these results acted only to illustrate the irrationality of the whole system. The more impressive modern results were, the more illogical, claimed critics, was the system. Many authorities began to feel that such a system could not continue. Regarding modern G.C.E. results, Angus Maude wrote in his book, "Good Learning", published in 1964:-

"Yet so far from being a vindication of the tripartite system, this is surely a clear indication that it is beginning to break down in face of the logical facts." (23)

Despite the success of modern results many such schools were still not entering candidates for external exams but it was becoming increasingly obvious that they would have to do so. The problem facing those authorities confronted with the task of building up non-grammar school G.C.E. work from the beginning, was, whether to begin the task in existing modern schools or re-organise the local education services along comprehensive lines. With the weight of evidence falling more and more on the comprehensive side, many of these authorities decided to begin

with a comprehensive system, rather than develop a modern G.C.E. course, only to change later when the case for a comprehensive system might be established as uncontested. Even where successful modern schools were operating, the average number of passes per pupil was around two and the suspicion remained that given a wider choice of subjects these pupils might perform even better. Aware of the wastage of talent, and the sensitivity towards this subject, many authorities were becoming convinced that a comprehensive system could reduce this wastage. Sir Edward Boyle later remarked:-

"After 1963 it was hardly controversial to say that you had massive evidence of the numbers of boys and girls who were being allowed to write themselves off below their true level of ability. I think 1963 was a watershed here,.."(24)

An important post-war development was the considerable improvement in basic literacy and numeracy, by the nation's children. The Newsom Report emphasised this and Mr. Angus Maude told the House of Commons in January 1964:-

.."the Newsom Committee found that the average score of a sample of $14\frac{1}{2}$ year olds in secondary modern schools had, during the last 10 years, increased by so much that the reading age of children is about two years in advance of what it was 10 years ago. This is an astonishing achievement by any standards."(25)

The implication of this was that far more children would be capable of fulfilling the basic qualifications for a grammar school course. To accommodate these children, authorities would have to increase the provision of grammar school places, or send to modern schools, pupils

who according to their own requirement, would have been considered suitable for grammar school places some ten years before. In February 1963, therefore, Sir Edward Boyle told the Oxford University Education Society that he hoped to see a higher proportion of pupils going to grammar schools. He said:-

"Twenty-five to thirty per cent would seem to be about right now." (26)

This contrasted with the policy of the Government in the late 1950's which was to hold steady the number of grammar school places in order to allow the secondary modern schools to develop. Such a policy however caused two particular problems. First, admitting more pupils to grammar schools when already a notable proportion of grammar school pupils were failing to gain a good 'O' level certificate, seemed rather unwise to many observers, especially in view of the success of the most able modern pupils. Moreover, if the most able pupils were removed from the modern schools, it would probably be very difficult for those schools to operate viable examination courses. To advocates of comprehensive education, the suggested increase in grammar school places was merely evading the issue that the logic of the tripartite system was, in Mr. Maude's words, 'breaking up'. Many authorities, faced with the possible need to create more grammar school provision decided that this would be a suitable time to introduce a comprehensive system.

A further reason for this move towards comprehensive education concerned the increase in expenditure on the education service. Authorities could now provide equipment which could not be afforded in the 1950's. What they could not, in most cases afford to do was duplicate this equipment in several small schools in one area. In particular money

was required to develop the new C.S.E. courses, and again the problem was making this provision in perhaps one grammar school where most of the pupils were taking G.C.E., and in two or more modern schools each of which housed a notable proportion of non-examination candidates. On economic grounds, many authorities decided that the improved facilities that were made possible by the increase in educational expenditure could be provided most effectively within a comprehensive system.

Most authorities were in contact with teachers' professional associations regarding the most desirable schemes for their areas. Many authorities valued the opinions of the teachers. The teaching profession was far from united on the issue. Many grammar school teachers did not relish the prospect of teaching below-average children and also many secondary modern teachers liked the existing system. Non-graduates, it was often claimed, stood a far better chance of promotion in secondary moderns than in comprehensive schools. This was, in fact, becoming less true, first because modern schools were looking for graduates as Heads of academic departments and second, because non-academic posts, for example in pastoral care and vocational guidance were being made available in large comprehensive schools. The creation of larger units did, however, force many people out of their posts and this caused some resentment. For example, the scheme introduced in South East Derbyshire in 1964 envisaged a Leicestershire type organisation. In Long Eaton, all of the external examination work was to be concentrated at the town's grammar school and the secondary moderns were to become junior units. This was resented at Wilsthorpe School where a thriving 'O' level course had been developed which in 1963 had 48 pupils in two fifth year examination classes. Mrs. O.M. Collett Jobey, who had been deputy-head since 1955, the year after the

school opened claimed:-

"The teaching staff was disappointed and dismayed at losing its G.C.E. group at 14 to the grammar school." (27)

Despite considerable opposition, however, the teaching profession generally was accepting the credence of the comprehensive case. Having interviewed hundreds of teachers and local associations, the N.U.T. making its recommendations to the Plowden Committee which was examining primary education, suggested that, wherever possible, the local authorities should turn to comprehensive education. This evidence, published in June 1964 (28) marked the first occasion in which the N.U.T. came out in favour of a comprehensive system. That the largest teachers' union should take this position strengthened further the comprehensive cause. Less credence was left to the idea that the only supporters of comprehensive education were doctrinaire socialists. Professor Vernon, in his reply to Mr. St. John Reade stated:-

But evidence
that
it
converted
Tories

"These comments do not mean that I personally prefer "once-for-all" selection, as against "progressive differentiation" within a comprehensive school. Still less do I support all the views of the Norwood Committee." (29)

Considering the case for comprehensive education on essentially educational grounds, therefore, many local authorities, guided by their Chief education officials were turning towards re-organisation.

Political considerations remained important, however. For example, the decline of the popularity of the Government and the increasing support for the Labour Party led many officials to expect a Labour

victory at the next general election. Since a Labour Government would probably insist upon comprehensive education, many considered it expedient to begin their plans before the election. Planning new schemes along tripartite lines, schemes which might have to be abandoned would almost certainly result in lost time and money. Clearly, there seemed little point in assuming that the tripartite system would continue to be the dominant one for many more years.

This feeling of almost inevitable Labour victory was enhanced by Labour gains in local elections. The massive gains of the Conservatives from 1958 to 1960 were, by the early 1960's being lost. Moreover, the gradual development of comprehensive education in the first years of the decade was in part due to the loss of control by many local Labour parties, of authorities in which comprehensive education was being considered. Once back in office, some Labour councillors were anxious to implement reforms in secondary education. Whilst there had been disunity within many local Labour Party's regarding re-organisation, this had, in most cases been overcome. Of Darlington, Baltey, O'Brien and Parris wrote:-

"Unlike 1958 when the previous scheme was submitted Labour was now not only in control but virtually united." (30)

Sir Edward Boyle outlined four reasons for the development of comprehensive education at this time. First,

~~There was a general feeling of optimism about the future of the country and the Labour Government was determined to implement its policy of comprehensive education.~~

attitudes to school life were changing. He claimed that the old bi-partite system had been sensible in the 1940's when few children stayed on until the age of 16. However, he added:-

"... it was making much less sense to many parents in the 1960's when so many more children were already going on to higher education and when in some parts of the country, more than half the school population would shortly be staying on voluntarily till the age of 16." (31)

Secondly, Sir Edward claimed that more parents were becoming involved with schools and in organisations such as the Association for the Advancement of State Education, and that there was growing concern regarding the hazards of selection.

Thirdly, Sir Edward recognised the work of writers such as Halsey, Vernon and Floud whose work had tended to question the concept of innate ability. (32)

Fourthly, Sir Edward claimed that there had been a growth in the numbers of parents in the middle income group and these were not prepared to accept secondary modern education for their children. He wrote :-

"Once something like 60% of parents really cared about secondary education it became even more difficult to justify making quite different arrangements at either side of an arbitrary borderline at so early an age as eleven." (33)

It may be fairly claimed that the social climate of the years 1963 and 1964 was conducive to the growth in the popularity of the comprehensive ideal.

Disillusionment seemed rife, satire was popular.

The dissatisfaction that had appeared in the Arts in the mid 1950's had become widespread in the mid 1960's. 'Tradition' seemed to have a declining appeal. The success of the Labour Party was, in part, due to Harold Wilson's call for "A New Britain". It is significant that, whereas in 1959, the image created by Harold Macmillan of the reassuring aristocratic leader was extremely popular amongst the electorate as a whole, by 1964, 'the grousemoor image' was used by Harold Wilson as a taunt to associate the Conservatives with an age gone by, no longer relevant to the world of the 1960's. In an atmosphere in which traditional institutions were regarded with some scepticism, it became increasingly easy to criticise the value of the grammar schools. Such value as they had must concern their worth in the technological age. Speaking to the A.E.C. Conference on 5th July 1963, Sir Edward Boyle said:-

"If we group children together in certain ways it must be because it is for their good, not because keener competition will teach them to run with their elbows cut or give them the pride of an elite." (34)

Concern with social problems was becoming more intense. For example, horror at the discovery of Rachmanism was widespread and Labour demands that much more money needed to be spent on the social services proved to be a popular appeal. It was as if the climate of 1959, typified by the slogan 'You've never had it so good' was followed by a keen awareness of the needs of the less wealthy sections of society. In this new climate, the ethical problem of labelling eleven year olds successes and failures, the supposed unfairness of sending to modern schools, probably, pupils with academic potential, increased, the support for the comprehensive ideal. It was in this climate that the 'comprehensive onslaught' took place.

The Conservative reaction to this advance in comprehensive education was mixed. Whilst few M.P.'s came out in favour of the trend, several senior Conservatives, in speeches in the House of Commons, were prepared to accept that there was some logic in it. The Minister, Sir Edward Boyle made quite clear the fact that he was not prepared to obstruct the trend. In July 1963 he said;

"Neither I nor my colleagues in the Government are wedded to any particular pattern of secondary school organisation, none of us believes that children can be sharply differentiated into various types or levels of ability, and I certainly would not wish to advocate the view that the bipartite system, as it is so called, should be regarded as the right and usual way of organising secondary education compared with which everything else must be stigmatised as experimental." (35)

This represented a change in Government policy since the early sixties on two points. First, the Conservative policy, whilst allowing for comprehensive experimentation had assumed that the tripartite system would dominate. Secondly, Conservatives had, throughout the fifties and early sixties, stressed the experimental nature of comprehensive education. As long as this position was maintained it was extremely unlikely that the Government would allow re-organisation on a large scale. Sir Edward's words, however, implied that comprehensive schools need no longer be considered experimental. Sir Edward continued:-

"Indeed, a system of completely separate schools is

unlikely to be the best answer in a new housing area where one can plan from the beginning, or in a very scattered country district." (36)

This line of argument was particularly significant. The advantages of a single school in sparsely populated country areas were several. It reduced the size of the catchment area which, for a small country grammar school could be very extensive. Regarding a densely populated estate the situation was completely different. Here, local authorities did not have to consider the catchment problem and they were therefore free to develop whatever type of education was best. There was no reason why the erection of a grammar school in a new urban area should be seen^{as}/less sensible than the continued existence of one in an older area. To suggest that, when given the opportunity to develop a secondary system from the beginning, a comprehensive system was probably desirable was strongly implying, that ideally, the comprehensive system was preferable to a selective one. Apparently the only reason for continuing the tripartite system was that the existing buildings had not been designed to cater for comprehensive education. Once the principle was established, however, that a comprehensive system was theoretically desirable, it was but a short step, at least in the eyes of comprehensive advocates, to demanding that means be found to overcome any practical problems.

Sir Edward's policy was not just a negative one: allowing local authorities the freedom to extend at will, comprehensive education. The Education Act of July 1964 was designed to help local authorities to this end. In the private sector of education the break between preparatory and senior school came, usually, at 13. In 1944 it was felt essential that in the state sector the break should come at eleven.

The aim was to break the "elementary" tradition by creating a separate secondary education. Since most pupils would leave school at 15, there seemed little point in separating primary and secondary education at 13. This would allow for only two years of secondary education, indeed, since pupils could leave school at the end of the term in which they reached their fifteenth birthdays, for many pupils secondary education would last for only one year and one term. The break at thirteen was acceptable in the private sector since almost all of the pupils remained in school at least until the end of the fifth year, giving them three years in the senior school, and many remained for a further two years. Thus, the 1944 Education Act required a break at eleven, thus allowing modern schools to plan four year secondary courses.

By 1963 the situation had changed. The school leaving age was to be raised to sixteen whilst an increasing number of pupils were taking sixth form courses. The break at eleven was no longer necessary and many teachers doubted the wisdom of having an age range of seven years. Criticism like this, coupled with a fear that eleven to eighteen comprehensives were undesirably large encouraged some local authorities to consider two levels of secondary education with an age of transfer between the two coming around the age of thirteen. However, the question was raised as to whether two transfers between the ages of eleven and fourteen were desirable. Some authorities considered that a sensible solution would be the setting up of 'middle schools' which would accommodate the senior years of primary schools and the junior years of secondary schools. The obstacle was that the 1944 Act required a break at eleven. Before middle schools could be established, an Act of Parliament would be necessary to override this requirement. Such an act required a positive act by the Minister, and that Act would

necessarily be controversial. It could give a Minister apprehensive of the comprehensive advance a chance to demonstrate his position by refusing a new Act. Such a refusal would leave the Minister vulnerable to criticism on two counts; first, because Conservative Ministers had, for many years defended the right of local authorities to implement their own systems, and this would be a negation of that right; secondly because, having accused the Labour Party of pursuing a doctrinaire education policy, the Government would be seen as doing exactly that. Alternatively, the passing of such an Act, specifically designed to allow the creation of comprehensive systems could be interpreted as giving positive support to the comprehensive principle. Sir Edward introduced the Act and allowed the setting up of middle schools. Sir Edward's position could not be described as radical, indeed it could be argued that it was the circumstances that had changed, not the policy of the Government which was simply continuing to allow local authorities to choose their own secondary systems. Thus, when in March 1964, Sir Kenneth Thompson asked if a committee of enquiry might be appointed to examine the reorganisation plans of the Liverpool Education Authority which, he claimed, would result in the destruction of many grammar schools, Sir Edward emphasised that he was not prepared to alter his policy. He remarked:-

"I do not..propose to take the unprecedented step of setting up a public inquiry." (37)

What Sir Edward was not prepared to do was positively^{to} advocate a comprehensive system. Indeed, of the Leicestershire scheme, which many authorities considered the most realistic one to implement in areas where purpose built comprehensives were not available, Sir Edward said:-

"I am doubtful yet whether I can possibly say this is the right method for other parts of the country." (38)

Sir Edward's position may be summarised as being aware of the weaknesses and growing unpopularity of the tripartite system, convinced that there was sufficient evidence regarding comprehensive schools to allow the experiment to continue at its accelerated rate, but not sufficiently convinced as to recommend, least of all require that local authorities adopt a comprehensive system. Circumstances were changing to the extent that many local authorities were planning comprehensive reorganisation. Sir Edward's policy was not different, fundamentally from the policies of other Conservative ministers over the previous few years. Thus there was little open opposition within the Party to the line taken by Sir Edward.

Conservatives who were firmly opposed to comprehensive education had to recognise two facts: first, that the assumptions upon which selection was based, for example, that intelligence is innate and could be assessed with reasonable accuracy, were discredited: secondly, that in actual fact the system was breaking down as an increasing number of local authorities submitted re-organisation plans. Against the logic of the comprehensive system was weighed the popularity of the grammar schools. Indeed, Sir Edward Boyle, when asked by Sir Kenneth Thompson if he was prepared to state the value placed, by the Conservative Party upon the grammar schools answered in the affirmative. (39) The view of some Conservatives, recognising this dilemma, was to allow the system to develop and refuse to advocate a Government line, beyond that. Mr. Maude suggested that Conservative policy should:-

".. follow the sound conservative principle of necessary changes but avoiding change for its own sake." (40)

Mr. Quintin Hogg remarked;-

"Most of the schemes which we have been discussing, whatever their merits or demerits, have been running for a relatively short time or in relatively restricted areas and, although one may express a strong conviction - most of us have expressed strong convictions - yet if one were to ask for an objective assessment of what they have done or failed to do, one would inevitably get from any reasonably impartial judge the conclusion that more time must be given to assess them." (41)

Since its position was that local authorities must make their own decisions, the Government was free to take a 'wait and see' line, but the situation was different in the local authorities. They could not afford to wait many years for conclusive evidence to recommend one system or the other. They had to make decisions that would affect the education of their districts for years, at that particular time. They had to decide whether the evidence as it existed, advocated a change of policy. If it did, then a decision ought perhaps to be made to implement that change of policy. Faced with this desire to make a decision, and allowed freedom to choose by the Government, more local authorities decided upon a comprehensive system.

Whilst the policy of the Government was guaranteed considerable support from the Conservative Party, simply because it was Government policy, the comprehensive advance in the years 1963-64 revealed just how extensive was the Conservative opposition to comprehensive education. This opposition was reflected in demands that the Government should take much stricter control with authorities developing comprehensive schemes, for example, the request by Sir Kenneth Thompson for an enquiry into the

Liverpool scheme. Mr. Box asked if the Department would examine the re-organisation plans for Cardiff.⁽⁴²⁾ Mr. Dudley Smith asked if the Secretary of State was aware of the moves by many authorities to absorb grammar schools into comprehensive systems. This, he claimed, was often against the wishes of parents and he asked if steps would be taken to prevent such action. Mr Hogg's answer was;-

"I would certainly look carefully at any proposal to destroy an existing school with a successful record which was valued by parents. I encourage authorities to discuss schemes for all kinds with my Department and H.M. Inspectors as well as with the staffs of the schools concerned."⁽⁴³⁾

What Mr. Hogg was not prepared to do was actually prevent local authorities from implementing re-organisation schemes unless there was evidence sufficient to convince the Department that a particular scheme was undesirable on educational grounds. On a more general point Mr. Raymond Gower, M.P. for Barry, requested, in April 1964, leave to bring in a bill;-

".. to provide that any proposal by a local education authority to change the status or nature of a secondary school shall require the approval of the Minister of Education."⁽⁴⁴⁾

Mrs. Harriet Stater, Labour M.P. for Stoke on Trent North remarked:-

"It is ironic that the hon. member for Barry... a member of the party which tells us that we are wrong, because, so it is said, we believe that the man in Whitehall knows best, should ask leave to introduce a Bill which would give far

more responsibility to the Minister and take away from the local authorities." (45)

The motion was negatived but it was indicative of the feeling on the Conservative back benches that 152 voted in favour of the motion.

Sir Edward Boyle affirms this growing interest in education among Conservative M.P.s at this time. He writes:-

"... I would have said it was only in the 1960's that interest in education became accute among Conservative M.P.s partly because of the comprehensive controversy and partly because of the concern over the expansion of higher education." (46)

The position of the grammar schools was still an important aspect of the case put forward against comprehensive education. As the rapid advance of new systems continued, the case against was passionately put forward by Conservative back benches. The arguments had changed little since the early 1950's. Mr. Gower warned:-

"Some of the schemes now planned must involve the destruction of grammar schools and other secondary schools of long standing merit." (47)

Such a development was clearly abhorrent to many Conservatives. Mr. Geoffrey Johnson Smith M.P. for Holborn and St. Pancras South remarked:-

"I believe that there is a very good case to be made for comprehensive schools, but I see no reason why the good

grammar school, the proficient technical school and the sound secondary modern school should be swept away and the comprehensive system be substituted in their place."⁽⁴⁸⁾

What some Conservatives were prepared to do was accept comprehensive schools but not comprehensive systems. A comprehensive school operating in an urban area with grammar schools and modern schools was acceptable. What the comprehensive ideal sought to achieve was the end of selection and separation of pupils into different kinds of schools. Within a comprehensive system, there was no room for other types of schools.

Many Conservatives remained convinced that the possible ending of grammar schools would inevitably create a fall in academic standards. This point of view was strengthened by a degree of sensitivity on this matter by many comprehensive advocates. What many Labour spokesmen were doing was not freely admitting that the grammar schools were ending but were to be replaced by a better system; but insisting that they were being integrated into a comprehensive system. Since much of the value of the grammar schools was considered to be their exclusive character, this was seen by Conservatives as a strange argument. Mr. Jennings insisted regarding the 1964 Education Act:-

"What we are to do in re-shaping our educational system, obviously in the limited experiment allowed in Clause 1, is to descent to a level of mediocraty."⁽⁴⁹⁾

Anthony Lejeune expressing his view of the Labour outlook, wrote in "Freedom and the Politicians", published in 1964:-

"..We don't want to destroy the Grammar Schools or the Public Schools,' they say, with an air of injured innocence. 'We are simply going to merge the Grammar Schools into Comprehensive Schools and integrate the Public Schools into the State System': Which is like saying that you don't propose to destroy a bottle of gin, merely to integrate it with a pond." (50)

Those Conservatives who accepted the merits of the comprehensive system were reluctant to see the grammar schools sacrificed in that cause. Mr. Maude wrote:-

"No Conservative would dream for a moment of jettisoning this immensely valuable institution without the certainty that there is something better to put in its place. At the present, this certainly does not exist." (51)

Referring to the attitude of Conservative M.P.'s to secondary education, Sir Edward Boyle later wrote:-

"... it was the future of the grammar schools that always caused concern,...

they were afraid, for instance that there simply were not good mathematics teachers to train the ablest minds of the next generation and if these had to be divided equally among all comprehensive schools the butter would be spread all too thin." (52)

Another point upon which some Conservatives continued to attack

the comprehensive system was the supposed lack of parental choice involved. Regarding the Labour Party's policy, Mr. Johnson Smith said:-

.."it makes me, for one, shudder about the freedom of choice, which the people of this country would have." (53)

In an essay entitled "Parent's Choice in Education" in a book published by the Institute of Economic Affairs in 1964 entitled "Rebirth of Britain", E.G. West wrote:-

"Meanwhile, no doubt, education officials are impatiently waiting the genius in political theory who can explain convincingly why parental judgement is supposed to be so inadequate to choose the "right" schoolmaster directly and yet adequate enough to choose the "right" government representative to secure the schoolmaster indirectly!" (54)

In this threat to parental choice within the state sector, some Conservatives envisaged the beginning of a threat to the right of parents to opt out of the state system. Mr. Angus Maude wrote:-

"... it cannot be right to prevent parents from spending their own money in a perfectly lawful way on the respectable object of providing a good education of a kind, as well as of a quality, which they prefer to that of the maintained system for their own children." (55)

It was clearly more easy to justify the validity of that "kind" of education, in the private sector, if a similar 'kind' was available in the state system, in the grammar schools.

The scarcity of purpose designed-comprehensive schools was stressed. Mr. Gower remarked:-

"Perhaps the fully comprehensive school has appeared to be the most encouraging experiment in the last decade or so, and if suitable buildings were available in much greater numbers it might be possible to press ahead with schools of this kind at a greater rate. But for a considerable time, at any rate, the physical limitations and resources and the lack of appropriate buildings must limit this kind of experiment." (56)

Mr. Jennings stressed the inevitability of selection within the comprehensive school saying:-

"We have heard much nonsense talked about the wickedness of the 11-plus. Whether it is 11-plus, 12-plus, 13-plus or 21-plus, we underestimate the resilience of our children when we talk about the stresses and strains of examinations. (57)

He added:-

"When people tell me that the comprehensive system gets rid of selection, I say that it is complete nonsense. In the end we have the grammar school stream, the average stream and the dull and backward stream in the comprehensive school." (58)

What remained an important part of the case against comprehensive education, despite its increasing respectability in the world of education, was the belief that most advocates of comprehensives were doctrinaire socialists, prepared to sacrifice the best interests of the

pupils for the realisation of their own political ends. Mr. Longden, M.P. for Hertford South West complained of Labour's education policy:-

"It is a piece of doctrinaire absurdity which well illustrates the Achilles heel of the Labour Party. Its attitude to Oxford and Cambridge, to the public schools, and to teachers' salaries, all tell the same story - the adulation of equality and the adulteration of quality.... The Labour Party's highest aim is to ensure the compulsory standardisation of mediocrity."(59)

Many Conservatives were concerned about this aspect of the pro-comprehensive case. First, they believed that the socialist approach was clouded by political dogma whereas their own approach was pragmatic. Secondly, they maintained that the ultimate aim of Labour's policy was social manipulation rather than the pursuit of scholastic standards. They repudiated counter-claims that their own policy reflected strongly, Conservative principles, and most systems of education inevitably influence social mobility. What heightened Conservative fears was the rather extreme language often used by pro-comprehensive advocates. For example, Dr. Robin Pedley, in "The Comprehensive School", published in 1963 referring to Conservative Education policy in the 1950's, wrote:-

"In the following year Miss Horsbrugh's successor Sir David Eccles, forced the proud city of Manchester to its heels."(60)

Whilst many opponents of the Comprehensive system could be accused of using extreme language, this was not the sort of style likely to win over cautious Conservatives to the comprehensive cause. R.A. Butler, the architect of the 1944 Education Act later wrote:-

"In 1944 we were well aware that education had to be widened and improved but since then little has been done because the controversies have not centred around the real problem, which is to bring the education system in line with the 1960's and 1970's but instead have been obsessed with the re-organisation of secondary schools and a re-vamping of education policy which seems sometimes to put more value on equality than on scholarship." (61)

Some Conservatives saw the Labour Party's policy on secondary school selection as part of a wider and sinister scheme to reduce individual freedom in the cause of equality and expand the activities of the state. This theme, felt ~~these~~^{by} people, dominated Labour policy regarding the social services, taxation and industrial ownership. In "Why Conservative" a book designed to outline Conservative policy, before the 1964 election, Timothy Raison wrote:-

.." the egalitarianism which characterises a good deal of contemporary English intellectual life is likely to be valuable. In other ways, though, it has serious weaknesses. At its worst it seems to be obsessed with, almost to wallow in, failure..." (62)

He quoted an article in "Encounter" in November 1963, written by the American Irving Kristol which claimed:-

"Not that Britain is really deficient in the will to change. It is just that this will, at the moment, appears to be completely absorbed by the reforming, egalitarian spirit - a spirit which is corrective and retributive, rather than expansive." (63)

Regarding Labour's supposed reverence for the state, Enoch Powell said at Bromley in October 1963:-

"Lift the curtain and 'the state' reveals itself as a little group of fallible men in Whitehall, making guesses about the future, influenced by political pressures and partisan prejudices, and working on projections drawn from the past by a staff of economists." (64)

He added:

"The Tory principle is the opposite: to trust the people". (65)

Anthony Lejeune warned against the dangers of Conservatives being attracted by the socialist view. He wrote:-

"The pity is that many Conservatives have been led, brain-washed by the ubiquitous political fashion, into fighting on the enemy's ground. They write articles called, 'What should be the future of the Public Schools'... It never occurs to anyone, apparantly, that 'we' have no right to do anything about the Public Schools... for the simple reason that they do not belong to us." (66)

Parliamentary opposition to comprehensive education was encouraged by the apparent support given to the selective system by a majority of Conservatives throughout the country. Wherever a local row developed regarding re-organisation, it was usually local Conservatives who took the initiative in supporting the existing system. The extent of this opposition in local authorities was implied by Sir Edward

Boyle who later said:-

"I never had much sympathy with an authority or, more likely, perhaps, a Conservative Opposition in authority who said 'Don't approve this school because it could be operated as a comprehensive with another school in two or three years time.'"(67)

Whilst Sir Edward had little sympathy with this position, it was equally clear that he would not exercise his authority to insist upon comprehensive re-organisation, even if the world of education might over the following years strongly recommend the development of a national comprehensive system. What seemed likely was that a sizable core of Conservative controlled authorities would continue to uphold the tripartite system and hence there would be limits beyond which the comprehensive advance would not go. It seems highly probable that the Conservatives most sympathetic towards comprehensive education would have accepted this dual system.

Some Conservatives felt, however, that a valid means of opposing a fully comprehensive system, was not simply defending the tripartite system, but by advocating a new alternative. Several suggestions were discussed as the comprehensive advance gained momentum. One alternative was the voucher system. This envisaged the issue of vouchers to all parents with children of school age. This would cover the basic cost of a state education. Should parents wish they would be able to pay an extra sum and send their children to a private school. The theory was that many parents who, having paid their contributions towards the state system of education could not afford, in addition, to pay the full cost of a private education. Such parents might, however, be able to pay a small sum in addition to the voucher. Supporters of this

scheme believed that it had two advantages, first it would increase the total cash spent on education; second it would create competition between schools which would in turn have the effect of raising standards.

In "Why Conservative", Timothy Raison suggested that the existing system could be modified to extend parental choice. He wrote:-

"But the real aim, perhaps, should be to provide as complete a freedom of choice as possible, with no formal division into grammar, technical, and secondary modern school. If this were done, parents would naturally tend to send their children to the school which they believed suitable - the naturally academic would tend towards some schools, and the less bright towards others. One school might take pride in the number of university scholarships which it won, another the number of apprentices it turned out. But because the pupils were there as a result of choice, rather than passing or failing the eleven-plus examination, they would be more likely to want to do well." (68)

A further possibility was advocated by Robin Davies, a master at the Merchant Taylor's School and a chief examiner for the London University General Certificate of Education. The plan, later explained in his book, 'The Grammar School' was designed to enhance parental choice. Mr. Davies envisaged a choice offered to parents between the comprehensive type and the selected type. If parents desired their children to go to a comprehensive school they would be allowed to do so. If they wished their children to go to a grammar school then a selection procedure would come into operation. If the children passed they would go to grammar school but if they failed they would have to go to a

modern school. In 'The Grammar School', Mr. Davies explained:-

"What would not happen is that parents who opted for selection, if their children failed to secure a grammar school place, should then expect a place at a comprehensive school, for this would be quite unfair to the comprehensive. Those who go to the comprehensive school must go there because they believe in it and reject selection, not as a sort of second-best." (69)

Whilst such schemes were discussed openly in the Conservative Party, there is no evidence of strong support for them. Each would have created immense administrative difficulties and it is doubtful whether a great deal of support from the world of education would have been forthcoming. The voucher system in particular would require a massive re-organisation of educational administration, and whilst, in theory, the system would induce more money from the public there was no guarantee that this extra cash could be used effectively. Almost certainly there could be duplication of facilities and waste, and particular schools, operating without fees to supplement vouchers would attract the children of poor or apathetic parents, and unambitious or unsuccessful teachers. The free choice system would certainly not result in the national drift of the academically able children to the grammar school. Sufficient research in educational sociology had been done to suggest that the middle-class children would gravitate towards the grammar schools, and working class children, able or otherwise, would tend towards modern schools. The selection system did at least attempt to guarantee able working class children a grammar school place whilst barring middle class children who did not show academic potential. The free system would remove this selection. The suggestion that parents should choose either comprehensive education or selection could only

accepted the case for comprehensive schools in rural areas since the catchment area for a tripartite system providing for a grammar school, two modern schools and, perhaps a technical school would be very large. To operate a parallel comprehensive system would probably double the size of the necessary catchment area.

All of these schemes were, of necessity opposed to a basic premise of comprehensive education, namely that children should not be selected, by any means, to go to schools which were of a particular type, which emphasised one area of education and, conversely, placed little emphasis upon another. The comprehensive idea attacked the existence of the modern school which was not supposedly equipped to provide an academic education. It was therefore futile, to offer to authorities intent upon comprehensive re-organisation, any alternative which envisaged the continued operation of secondary modern-type schools.

Given, therefore, that widespread support could not be found for a modified selective system, those who opposed the extension of comprehensive education were given little choice but to defend the existing tripartite system.

CONCLUSION

Having allowed Parliament to run its full five-year course, Sir Alec Douglas Home, the Prime Minister, called the general election for October 15th 1964. Despite the passion with which discussion about secondary education had taken place, both in Parliament and in the constituencies, in fact, education did not emerge, as one of the by issue in the campaign. The Times Educational Supplement reported on October 2nd:-

"Education as yet shows no sign of becoming a burning issue in the general election campaign at least as far as the party television broadcasts are concerned. Nor, to judge from the questions they sent to the B.B.C.'s Election Forum programmes last week, are the voters very concerned about the omission." (70)

ev. theme / From the Conservative point of view, whilst there was considerable fear of what might become of the grammar schools if the expected Labour victory materialised, other fears were paramount. The threat of the nationalisation of the steel industry, followed perhaps by that of other industries, steeper rates of taxation and the abandonment of the nuclear deterrent disturbed most Conservatives far more than the Labour Party's education policy.

What came as a surprise to most Conservatives was not that they were out of office on October 16th, for the first time in thirteen years, but that they came so near to another victory. Labour's narrow majority made a second general election seem inevitable. Many Conservatives were convinced that Labour's more controversial policies, for instance, the extension of a fully comprehensive system of secondary education could be resisted successfully.

Despite the general support given by the Newsom Report to the main lines of the Government's education policy, the years 1963 and 1964 were marked by the spread of comprehensive education. Since the later 1950's when secondary modern G.C.E. results and educational research had cast grave doubts about the rationality of the tripartite system and the theory supporting it, educationalists had had to balance these doubts with the apparent success of the existing system and the lack of evidence about the working of comprehensive schools.

Throughout the 1950's and early 1960's most educationalists and local authorities believed that the balance favoured the existing system provided that comprehensive experiments were allowed to continue. By the mid-1960's many authorities, guided in most cases by their senior education officials had decided that the weight of evidence had shifted in favour of comprehensive education and hence, re-organisation plans were submitted. This advance in comprehensive education was favoured by a return to power in many local authorities, of the Labour Party.

This comprehensive onslaught was widely opposed in the Conservative Party as was seen when 152 voted in favour of a motion requiring authorities to secure the permission of the Ministry before changing the status of schools. That the spread of comprehensive education was possible was largely due to the fact that the senior ministers, aware of the growing demand from local authorities, for comprehensive schemes, refused to change their policy regarding the right of those authorities to have the secondary education systems of their choice.

Some Conservatives considered schemes which sought to modify the tripartite system, but a really feasible scheme did not emerge. This being so many Conservatives continued their criticism of the comprehensive system and the practical problems involved in its implementation; and their support for the traditional system with its supposed variety, parental choice, and, in the grammar schools, high academic standards.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT 1964-66

INTRODUCTION

The General Election of 1964 brought to an end thirteen years of Conservative government, years which saw both an increase in the popularity, amongst the education world, of the case for comprehensive education, and the considerable growth of the number of comprehensive schools in England and Wales. This Chapter is concerned with Conservative Party attitudes to secondary education between the General Elections of 1964 and 1966.

It is fair to claim that a clearer view of Conservative attitudes to education in the mid 1960's may be detected from the statements made during the months of opposition following the 1964 election than from the immediate years before it. In the two years that preceded that election the primary concern of the Government was survival and inasmuch as particular policies aroused considerable interest within the Party, those policies concerned the economy and defence. These were years, also, when many observers believed that the Tory Party was suffering 'exhaustion' having governed for more than a decade.

Although faced with opposition for the first time for thirteen years there were several respects in which the position in which the Conservatives found themselves differed from their situation in 1945 and it was with regard to these factors that the Party's education policy may be understood.

In 1945 the Conservatives were faced with overwhelming rejection at the polls and a huge Labour majority in the House of Commons. What was needed, or so many Conservatives believed, was a complete re-structuring of Party organisation and a massive re-think of Party ideas so that a coherent policy could be presented to the electorate some five years after the defeat of 1945. In 1964, however, the situation was different. Despite the difficulties of the previous two years the Party had been beaten only narrowly and few expected that the new Labour Government would survive for more than a few months. Most Conservatives interpreted the Election result as a rejection of 'socialism' but as a demand for some change.

written

What was required of their Party was not a massive re-organisation on the scale of that of the late 1940's but simply a degree of reform within Party organisation and a clarification and re-statement of Party policy. Regarding policy this represented a challenge to the Conservative style. Most Conservatives see their Party as a Party of government, making wise and pragmatic decisions as circumstances require them. They prefer to be judged by results rather than promises. In opposition the need to state clearly Party policy assumes an importance which few Conservatives would consider when in government.

In 1945 the problem of Party leadership did not arise. Before the election Sir Winston Churchill was considered to be the Party's main electoral asset and despite the defeat few suggested

that Sir Winston should step down. In 1964 there were widely expressed beliefs that Sir Alec Douglas Home, having been elected to unite a disrupted Party, should stand down and in 1965 Edward Heath was elected Party leader. As the new leader, it was to be expected that Heath would choose to outline Tory policy as he saw it.

Before the 1966 General Election, therefore, the Conservative Party was in a position in which it was necessary to make an expression of Party policy, and such a general statement would, almost inevitably, include education.

The Labour Government made quite clear its plan to develop a fully comprehensive system of comprehensive secondary education. On 12th July 1965, Mr. Anthony Crosland issued circular 10/65 which outlined the various types of comprehensive organisations acceptable to the Government. The six alternatives were based on systems already in operation throughout the country, and it was in accordance with these types that local authorities in which the tripartite system was still in operation, were asked to submit plans for re-organisation. As early as January 21st 1965, however, the Government had left few doubts as to its plans. Mr. Crosland's predecessor, Mr. Michael Stewart told the House of Commons:-

"I intend to issue a circular to local education authorities calling on them to submit plans to me for the re-organisation of their secondary schools on comprehensive lines. I shall consider what further action might be required on my part to further the Government policy after I have seen the response made by local education authorities to my circular."⁽¹⁾

Such a policy left little room for compromise. Either the Conservative Party would have to accept it, or, it would have to present a coherent case against it. Previously, the Party had been satisfied as much as possible to leave organisation of secondary education to the local authorities.

The Government's decision to impose a fully comprehensive system gave impetus to the debate on systems of secondary organisation both in the world of education and in the constituencies. Those who opposed comprehensive education looked to the Conservative Party to represent their case at a political level.

The extent to which the Government's policy stimulated debate within the education profession was reflected by the manner in which the problem dominated the letters page of the Times Educational Supplement throughout 1965. Even within the education world, however, Mr. J.E. Colbeck of Rickmansworth Grammar School observed;-

"There seems to have been plenty of argument, but little real dialogue, in the debates about independent schools and about comprehensive schools. The bias of each writer is clear, his position immovable."⁽²⁾

The debate within the constituencies was particularly acute in Bristol. On visiting the city, Mr. Michael Stewart was met with angry demonstrations by those wishing to preserve the city's grammar schools. One of these schools, the Colston's School for girls, a voluntary aided school decided to opt out of re-organisation and go independent.⁽³⁾ A Bristol millionaire offered £100,000 over fifteen years to provide scholarships and several other considerable sums were promised. Mr. Robert Cooke, Conservative M.P. for Bristol, West, thus attacked the Government's plans in the House of Commons stating:-

"Before anybody leaps up on the other side and says that I am attacking the comprehensive system and rejecting it out of hand, let me point out that we have 17 comprehensive schools, excellent places for education, but they have not been in existence very long, and it takes a little time for a school to get going properly."⁽⁴⁾

The emotional atmosphere in which secondary education was discussed meant that particular incidents received considerable, and often distorted publicity. Such an incident ^{concerned} the decision by the Inner London Education Authority to close the Risinghill Comprehensive school in Islington. In January 1965 most national newspapers carried reports of the possible closure of the school. Supporters of the school's headmaster, Mr. Michael Duane claimed that he was succeeding in raising educational standards in what was an extremely tough district of London. His policy of rejecting corporal punishment would, it was hoped, enable teachers to influence more effectively, the development of the pupils. To opponents of Mr. Duane's policy, the school seemed to have fallen into a state of chaos with a complete lack of discipline. To some ^{were seen,} who took a pessimistic view of the school, its supposed defects perhaps, as typical of what could be expected if the comprehensive system should become more widespread.⁽⁵⁾

Thus, the circumstances of the months between the General Elections of 1964 and 1966 required that the Conservative Party make a clear expression, particularly in Parliament, of its policy on secondary education.

CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS EDUCATION

With regard to the need to make a general statement on policy, the Conservatives published in 1965, a document entitled "Putting Britain Right Ahead". The theme of this was that 'socialism' threatened to create a monolithic, corporate state in which individual choice and individual enterprise would be threatened. By contrast, therefore, the domestic policies of the Conservative Party would emphasise diffusion of power, variety of choice and freedom of choice. The Party leaders were convinced that the outline of policy for secondary education expounded in 'Putting Britain Right Ahead' was a development of this theme. It stated:-

".- We have long recognised that eleven is too early an age at which finally to decide the kind of course of which a boy or girl may be capable. But while acknowledging this and accepting that a comprehensive pattern is best suited to certain areas, we do not believe that the academic standards set by our grammar schools, which are widely admired outside this country, can be maintained if all these schools are to lose their separate identity. The Labour Government's attempts to spread comprehensive education throughout the country are a regrettable and in places damaging irrelevance... Basic improvements, especially to primary schools, should have priority over projects for new comprehensive schools where adequate secondary accommodation already exists."(6)

This general statement, therefore, accepted that eleven plus selection should not be rigid but criticised comprehensive education on three points. It refused to accept the comprehensive schools could uphold the academic standards of the grammar schools, it implied criticism of the manner in which a national system of comprehensive education was to be implemented and on the grounds of economy, and it maintained that the necessary expenditure on comprehensives was wasteful in view of other priorities in education.

These three points formed a major part of the case against the Government's policy, put forward by the Conservative Party. It was the opinion of many Conservatives that the excellence of the nation's grammar schools was a proven fact. Whilst the Party had maintained for some years its willingness to allow comprehensive experiments, statements made after the defeat of 1964 indicated that the Party was apprehensive of comprehensive education as a whole. The belief was expressed strongly in the Party that eleven to eighteen comprehensive schools were too large. Mr. Quintin Hogg stated:-

"...I do not believe that it is necessarily in the interests of the ordinary boy or girl to be sent at the age of eleven to a unit of 2,000 pupils, and I do not believe that it is possible to run - I know that this is disputed - a comprehensive school with an age of transfer at 11 and carry on a viable sixth form, at very much less....I do not think that units of this size are inherently desirable either in the interests of the gifted or in the interests of the ordinary boy or girl. I believe that a school of much smaller size is much nearer the optimum, and I believe that this is particularly true of the ordinary boy and girl." (7)

Such criticism of large schools implied strongly that they could not hope to maintain the academic standards of the grammar schools. Schemes involving the amalgamation of existing buildings were, similarly criticised and the term 'botched up' was used widely by Conservatives in condemning such systems.

A further feature of the Conservative case against comprehensive schools was the belief that the neighbourhood comprehensive school situated in a depressed area would deprive the able child of the sort of chances that the grammar school offered. Mr. Christopher Chataway wrote:-

"Perhaps the single strongest social objection to the idea of a universal comprehensive system is that by creating neighbourhood schools one would perpetuate class differences and check social mobility far more effectively than do defects in the existing set-up." (8)

Referring to the situation in the U.S.A. Lord Eccles stated:-

"The inevitable result of their system has been to create a hierarchy of neighbourhood schools." (9)

Many Conservatives continued to insist that individuality would be subjugated in the large comprehensive schools. Lord Eccles asserted:-

"One hears from teachers, especially head teachers,... that if all schools become comprehensive, the likelihood is that fewer children will receive an education which really suits them as individuals." (10)

One of the main arguments of the supporters of comprehensive education was that it gave fair opportunities to those children who otherwise would under achieve in non-academic schools. In attacking the Government's plans to create a national comprehensive system of secondary education, therefore, an essential part of the Conservative case was the belief that secondary modern schools could provide an excellent education. Not only did such schools deny academic opportunities, supporters of comprehensive education claimed, but children were stigmatised as failures. This, the Conservatives also denied. Mr. Hogg told the House of Commons:-

"I can assure hon. Members opposite that if they would go to study what is now being done in good secondary modern schools, they would not find a lot of pupils biting their nails in frustration because they had failed the 11-plus. The pleasant noise of banging metal and sawing wood would greet their ears and a smell of cooking with rather expensive cooking equipment would come out of the front door to greet them. They would find that these boys and girls were getting an education tailor made to their desires, their bents and their requirements. They would find the best of them were getting their O-levels with the equivalent degree of skill and ability of those who have been selected for grammar school education." (11)

The manner in which the Government planned to introduce a national system of comprehensive education was hotly opposed by the Conservatives. Mr. Hogg maintained that his party had always attempted to allow local authorities a considerable degree of freedom in planning the systems of education in their areas. This, it was argued, allowed

the electorate, and hence, parents, the chance to influence the systems of education in which their children would be educated. Thus, he criticised the manner in which the wishes expressed by some authorities would be overridden. He objected also that the spirit of the 1944 Act was being disregarded. He stated with regard to the Secretary of State for Education and Science:-

"If he means that it is his policy to coerce local authorities to impose by means of compulsion on local authorities - whether they agree with him or not - a single unitary principle of re-organisation all over the country, then I think that he is undermining the whole philosophy of the Act of 1944... Indeed he would be bringing back, I think, the bitterest political antagonisms into the field of education." (12)

Some Conservatives, nervous, perhaps, about the ultimate future of the public schools emphasised the desire to retain, as much as possible, a degree of parental choice. Mr. Christopher Chataway was concerned about the extent to which research was, in his opinion, neglecting this aspect of education. Referring to the Crowther Report he stated:-

"It is a curious thing that a gifted committee set up to advise a Minister in a liberal democracy on the education of boys and girls between the ages of fifteen to eighteen' can produce what amounts to a lengthy book on the subject with barely a hint that they see in the whole business any positive role whatever for the parent." (13)

Some Conservatives believed that such parental choice as existed within the tripartite system ought to be extended. Mr. Geoffrey Howe believed that the introduction of the voucher system would have this effect.

He expressed what, he believed were the advantages of the system:-

"It could be the right way of enabling parents to extend their responsibility and opportunity for raising the standards of their children's education without being compelled to raise the whole of the fees for Eton or Shrewsbury, which few of them would want or be able to do." (14)

He quoted a survey done in Bristol which suggested that half of the city's parents, including about a third of those in manual work, would be prepared to pay £70 per year to retain grammar schools. What is significant about the interest shown in the voucher system is its illustration of the extent to which, many Conservatives were prepared to go on defending, as much as possible, parental choice. Some Conservatives defended the rights of parents to withhold their children from an academic education, presumably, even if their children showed ability. Mr. Harold Gurden told the House of Commons:-

"Let us face it, there are many children who do not wish to go on to better education. In some cases the parents do not wish them to. There is no reason why they should be forced into these comprehensive schools if they do not wish to follow an academic career." (15)

These remarks indicate a fundamental disagreement with one of the principles of the 1944 Act which, in raising the minimum school leaving age to fifteen and recommending its eventual raising to sixteen, insisted that parental rights should not extend to preventing their children receiving what the state considered to be an adequate education. It may be added that these remarks implying that comprehensive schools were concerned mainly with academic education, indicate a rather confused

view of the nature of the comprehensive schools.

In opposing the manner in which the Labour Government intended to introduce a fully comprehensive system of secondary education, Conservatives insisted that reform should proceed slowly so that new developments could be assimilated. New methods should be tried and tested before further reforms were attempted. Indeed Mr. Hogg hinted at a change of direction in Conservative thinking. When in Office, Conservative ministers had resisted suggestions that they should act to prevent local authorities from introducing comprehensive schemes. The situation in 1965, was, as Mr. Hogg saw it, such that some authorities in pursuing policies of re-organisation were taking regrettable steps. Thus, in the debate on January 21st, Mr. Hogg moved:-

"That this House, conscious of the need to raise educational standards at all levels, endorses the recommendation of the Newsom Report that it would be premature to attempt a reasoned judgement of comprehensive and other types of secondary education, urges Her Majesty's Government to discourage local authorities from adopting schemes of re-organisation at the expense of grammar schools and other existing schools of proved efficiency and value, and would deplore any proposal to impose a comprehensive system upon local authorities." (16)

The suggestion here was that local authorities enjoy considerable freedom of action, but if that freedom of action should threaten existing schools and supposed parental freedom, then some degree of restraint should be exercised by the central government. Mr. Hogg stated:-

"...I feel that many recent developments by local

authorities, particularly those in great centres of population in the country, have been unfortunate rather than fortunate in the last two years." (17)

Regarding the speed with which comprehensive education was to be imposed, Mr. Hogg remarked:-

"What is needed is a right decision rather than a quick decision, or rather a right series of decisions rather than a quick series of decisions." (18)

Some Conservatives were convinced that the speed with which the Government was to act was due to its being influenced, excessively, by party dogma. This, they insisted, contrasted with their own pragmatic approach. Lord Newton, former Minister of State in Education, speaking during the House of Lords debate on secondary education emphasised that throughout his time at the Ministry he had maintained a mild bias in favour of comprehensive organisation. However, he stressed:-

.."the burden of my theme this afternoon is that in my experience it is not sensible to be dogmatic in this controversy." (19)

Certainly Labour spokesmen made no secret of the fact that the 'moral' argument was a strong part of their case for a fully comprehensive system. Answering Mr. Hogg in the Commons debate, Mr. Michael Stewart remarked:-

"We are debating whether it is a good thing to have a separate system of secondary education. That, at bottom is what it is all about." (20)

He added:-

"I have stressed these evils of the separatist system, these grotesque injustices, without rhyme or reason, between areas, and between sexes, and the fundamental absurdity of thinking that one can make a right judgement at this age,..."(21)

Some Conservatives maintained that these 'moral' claims were wildly exaggerated and that they were different from educational arguments rather than part of a general case. Lord Eccles told the House of Lords:-

"I do not think that educational arguments are really uppermost in the minds of the Labour Party." (22)

The theme that the cash required to build an effective system of comprehensive education would be better spent in other areas was taken up by Sir Edward Boyle. Sir Edward had been criticised within the Party for his toleration of comprehensive education but in summarising his views in an article in the Times Educational Supplement on March 25th 1966, he wrote:-

"To pretend that, at a time of limited resources, we can fulfil all the priority tasks which I have mentioned, and in addition make sufficient provision for a change-over to a totally comprehensive secondary system, is just plain humbug." (23)

The overall impression of Conservative attitudes to education from 1964 to 1966, is that the comprehensive experiment had gone far

enough. However sections of the Party took a more radical line.

A Bow Group publication, 'Strategy for Schools' which was produced in 1964 asserted:-

"Much of the middle and many of the shortcomings in the curriculum can be tied directly to the tripartite system which theoretically dominates the present educational scene." (24)

It also claimed:-

"If the curriculum is suffering from the deadweight of the past, it is further distorted by the examinations which loom inevitably before each child." (25)

Whilst this was, in many respects a radical document, indeed it called for 'a radical appraisal of the assumptions underlying English educational institutions', and went on to attack many of the criticisms levelled often at comprehensive schools, it did not actually advocate a national comprehensive system.

The chance for which the Conservative Party had been hoping since the defeat of October 1964, to cut the Government's majority so much as to make another election necessary, came early in 1966 when a bye election was contested at Hull North. The education policy put forward by the Conservative candidate Mr. Toby Jessel, reflected the policy put forward by the Party over the previous months. In certain areas such as the nearby market town of Market Weighton, a comprehensive school might be desirable, but generally, a national policy of comprehensive education should be opposed.

CONCLUSION

In opposing comprehensive education as the main form of secondary schooling, the arguments put forward by Conservatives may be placed in three main areas. First, they maintained that the best policy to follow was an improvement of the existing system in which the grammar schools had excellent traditions and in which the secondary modern schools were beginning to build good reputations as places of learning for 'academic' as well as 'non-academic' children. By contrast, comprehensive schools were too big and would probably lead to declining standards at all levels. Secondly, the Conservatives opposed the manner with which the Government was acting. The rights of local authorities and parents, were, it was argued, being disregarded by the strong-handed central government. The Labour Party, concerned more with political dogma than with educational considerations was rushing through its policy too quickly to allow a reasoned appraisal of comprehensive education. Thirdly, the Conservatives maintained that, even if a fully comprehensive system were desirable, the funds necessary to provide the adequate buildings and facilities could better be spent elsewhere in education.

Both in the Hull North bye-election and in the General Election of March 1966 the Conservative Party was defeated soundly. For the first time since 1945, the Party found itself out of office with little chance of a swift return and without the possibility of using the narrowness of the Government's majority to pressure it severely in the House of Commons.

Having made a clear re-statement of policy between the two general elections of the mid 1960's, another extensive re-thinking of policy was unlikely. As far as education was concerned, there seemed little

the Conservatives in Parliament could do to prevent the setting up of the national system of comprehensive secondary education which they had so firmly opposed.

CHAPTER NINE

EDUCATION AND CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This study has sought to examine the Conservative Party's policy on secondary education during the period 1944-1966. This chapter, considers the extent to which education policy reveals any insights into the existence of, and the nature of, a "Conservative Ideology".

Chapter One considered the possible usages of the term ideology, and the argument was made that a body of values was inherent in Conservative attitudes and policies. Certain principles of 'natural conservatism' were considered; principles which are implicit in Conservative attitudes, and which have found expression in the work of notable British Conservative theorists from Edmund Burke to those of the present century.

This concluding chapter examines, therefore, the extent to which these principles are implicit in Conservative Education policy. First, the extent to which the system of secondary education before 1944 reflected these principles will be examined. Second, the principles underlying the 1944 Education Act and the extent to which these also reflected Conservative values, will be examined.

Third, the chapter examines the manner in which the principles upon which the demand for comprehensive education was based, challenged Conservative principles. The grounds upon which many Conservatives opposed these arguments may shed further light upon Conservative principles.

Ideology, it was argued in chapter one, usually assumes a view of change, given that some degree of social change is inevitable, and hence a programme which expresses the groups' attitude to change. The fourth task of the chapter is, therefore, a study of the changing character of British education during the period 1944-66; the extent to which it reflected changes in the social structure of the country, and the nation's changing position in the world; and the extent also, to which Conservative policy was prepared to accommodate these changes.

EDUCATION AND VALUES:
THE 1944 ACT AND BEFORE

The pattern of secondary education in Britain, during the inter-war years, reflected strongly the values and principles of the Conservative Party. This is hardly surprising. A notable education act, setting up school boards, was passed by the Liberal Government in 1870 but four years later the party was out of office. During the period of forty years from 1874 to 1914 the Conservatives were in office for more than half of the time. In particular, the Conservatives dominated government before the Liberal landslide in 1906 with the Gladstonian intervals being dominated by the Irish question and the short-lived Rosebury Government achieving little. It was the Balfour Government which in 1902 passed the Education Act which improved the organisation of elementary education according to the principle of local government control. When the Liberals did achieve power they avoided educational controversy because of the dissatisfaction within the Party, particularly among the strong non-conformist element, of the manner in which denominational schools were supported by government funds, both at local and national level.

During the twenty one years between the two world wars, the

Conservative Party again dominated the government of the country, though often as the majority party within a coalition. The Liberals failed to form a government during this period and the two Labour Governments were short-lived, the second one being pre-occupied with the economic crisis.

Thus, the development of the system of state education between 1870 and 1939 took place under governments in which Conservatism was the dominant influence.

Certain principles of Conservatism relate to the manner in which the government of the country is undertaken. Five principles in particular concern the nature of society. First, is the belief that change should be slow, evolutionary and based upon experience. Second is that a high level of individual free choice should be maintained. The third is the requirement that power should not be as centralised as is proposed by the Labour Party and fourth that the social structure should be hierarchical. The fifth principle which the Conservatives have come to accept since the late nineteenth century is the belief that the state has a responsibility to provide for all members of the community a basic standard of living. These principles are clearly implicit in the system of secondary education that emerged in Britain during the first half of the twentieth century.

The whole structure of the system of education in Britain in the inter-war years reflected the manner in which it had developed. At no time did a comprehensive Education Act seek to create a uniform system. Piecemeal reform from above, development from within, were the chief factors which led to the multifarious types which constituted the British system. This style of development suited perfectly the Conservative outlook.

It was this multiplicity of types which enabled the wide range of choice and individual freedom which Conservatism preferred against the possibility of the sort of monolithic system which members of other political groups have favoured. This principle was thus embedded in the doctrine of parental choice regarding the type of education preferred for their children. Parents of an above average level of income could afford a private education and here there existed a completely open choice subject to the ability of the parents to pay the required fees. That these public schools were independent of government control meant that they were free to experiment with teaching methods and the curriculum thus giving parents an extensive choice regarding the type of education desired, within the private sector.

The provision of county secondary schools for which only small fees were charged opened up opportunities for secondary education to the lower middle classes and white collar workers.

The freedom of religious bodies to maintain schools in which an emphasis was placed upon the religious education of children according to the principles of the particular denomination, and the aid given to these schools by local authorities widened further the choice of schools which was open to parents.

The rights and preferences of parents were also involved in the fixing of the minimum school leaving age. One of the examples of the use of state compulsion during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the setting up of a compulsory attendance at school and a minimum leaving age. Throughout the inter-war era the school-leaving age remained at fourteen though there was considerable pressure to raise it, the higher leaving age of most industrial countries being

invoked to advocate this. Governments resisted this demand and, whilst economic considerations were paramount, the fact that a majority of parents appeared to oppose this and saw it as an infringement upon their rights was undoubtedly a contributory factor towards the governments' refusal to raise the minimum leaving age.

The Conservative preference for a dispersal rather than a concentration of power was illustrated by the control of the education system during the inter-war years. In 1902 Arthur Balfour affirmed his belief that the state authority should not seek to dominate the education system and this doctrine remained apparent before 1944. The public schools, supported entirely by fees and various forms of gifts were almost completely independent of any government body either at national or local level.

While the framework for the system of state education had been set down by government legislation and the whole system was supervised by the Board of Education, power was still diffused. County and County Borough authorities decided upon the framework of education in their areas and thus enjoyed considerable power. Each individual school was supervised by a governing body comprised mainly of locally elected councillors. The Churches enjoyed considerable authority over the management of their own schools.

Concerning the actual curriculum the headteacher was allowed extensive freedom to develop his school according to his own plans.

It was this diffusion of power, which, in the main, created the rather hap-hazard system of British education. It produced a variety of types and choices of which most Conservatives approved.

A system of education it is claimed often reflects closely the nature of the society of which it is a part. The Conservative preference was for a hierarchical society and this was reflected strongly in the education system, different types of education catering for different social groups and thus, emphasising social differences. Indeed, the type of school to which a person's children were sent was seen often as one of the clearest indications of that person's social status.

The public schools were the preserve of the upper, and upper-middle classes. Moreover the public school structure itself was essentially hierarchical. The most prestigious schools were patronised only by the sons of the well established families and the most wealthy. Below these were various grades declining in prestige in proportion to the decrease in fees. These schools trained their students for university entrance, for commissions in the services, for managerial posts in industry and commerce and for the professions.

The lower middle classes were represented strongly in the county secondary schools. These were modelled closely upon the public schools and aimed at similar career prospects though, in the case of the more prestigious public schools, at lower levels. Attendance was to be to the age of sixteen at least and for the most able pupils university entrance was possible.

State elementary schools were overwhelmingly working class in their social composition. Money spent per pupil was far lower than in other schools, most heads considered only a thorough mastery of basic educational skills necessary for their pupils and almost all of the pupils left school, at fourteen to take up manual jobs.

Since the latter part of the nineteenth century the Conservative Party had accepted that the state had a responsibility to maintain a minimum standard of living at least, for all of its members. Education policy during the inter-war years reflected this in two ways. First, a minimum leaving age and compulsory attendance were maintained for all children. Second, the system of scholarships by which able children could secure free places in secondary schools continued.

It may thus be seen that many of the principles implicit in the system of education in England and Wales before the Second World War, were closely akin to Conservative principles.

Dissatisfaction with this situation, coming , in particular, from the world of education itself, prompted a demand for an improved system. In 1944 a major education bill was introduced which included many radical features. It was notable first, for its sheer size. It was the most extensive education reform in British history and it sought to impose some form of national standard upon the varied system which existed and, in so doing, overcoming the religious problems which had, for so long, beset education reform. Parental choice and freedom was apparently limited both by the raising of the minimum leaving age and the abolition of fees in state schools.

The Education Act of 1944, as well as including several notable innovations was significant also in the long term effect which it was likely to have upon British society. Social mobility would probably increase and also would become more meritocratic in outlook. State spending would increase, as, therefore, would taxation.

Whilst the Act contained many radical features its underlying principles, were, in the main, in accordance with the beliefs of the

Conservatives. The manner in which reform was put forward suited Conservatives. Whilst technical studies such as the Hadow Report of 1926 and professional research played an important role in the actual structure of the Act, the predominant influence was the experiences of teachers and educationalists. The language of the Norwood Report which preceded the Bill was almost Burkian in character. Whilst the Act was extensive in its scope, it sought only to provide a blueprint from which the education service would evolve naturally over several decades.

Individual parental freedom remained strong. The public schools were not touched by the Act. Whilst parental choice suffered in that the lower-middle class parents could not purchase a place in a county secondary school, it was reinforced in other areas. First, direct grant schools would be encouraged which allowed independent education for at least some of those who could not afford the full fees of the public schools. Second, the system of state secondary education would involve three fairly distinct types of school, the grammar school, the technical school and the modern school. No definite method of selection was required by the Act, that being the job of the local authorities. What the Act did do was insist that the wishes of parents were to be respected though it did not clarify as to how this was to be done or how consequent anomalies might be removed.

Diversity of power was to remain. Whilst clear guidelines were to be laid down, insisted upon, and checked by the state, local authorities, governing bodies and headteachers were to retain much power. The control of public and denominational schools would lie also beyond the close control of the government.

Whilst the Act sought greater equality of opportunity, and certainly

its founders and supporters hoped that it would produce greater social mobility, the system of education remained strongly hierarchical. The social pyramid of the public schools remained but the state system itself was clearly banded. Whilst the grammar schools would, it was assumed, become more heterogeneous, at least as far as social background was concerned, the traditions of the schools would remain essentially 'middle-class' and based upon the public school precedent. Moreover, the grammar schools would be fairly demanding with regard to the career and, hence, social expectations of the pupils. There were, also, educationalists and psychologists who warned that since environmental influences play a great part in the formulation of general intelligence as well as such basic skills as literacy and numeracy, the grammar schools would, in fact, remain strongly middle-class.

The very nature of the secondary modern schools dictated that they serve the working classes. They were to emphasise practical rather than intellectual skills, and, most important, their pupils were to leave at the age of fifteen without any academic qualifications. Such conditions would make extremely difficult, any upward social movement. Between the grammar and the modern levels was to come the rather indefinable 'technical' level.

Thus, the main principles upon which the post-war system of state education was founded were essentially conservative. Insofar as the Act was radical the changes were changes of degree rather than kind. Any system of state education demanded government expenditure and higher taxation. The post-war system was likely to require rather more of both than did the pre-war system. The pre-war system had created a degree of social mobility and the 1944 Act would it was assumed, allow

more of this.

The difference of degree was facilitated by the shared experiences of war, and, in particular a pervading influence of egalitarianism. It may thus be said that the 1944 Education Act revealed the Conservative ideology to be essentially similar to that of the pre-war era but it was coloured by its acceptance of a greater degree of social equality, particularly regarding educational opportunity, than had been the case before the war. The experiences of war influenced the Conservative ideology no less than the attitudes of the nation as a whole.

EDUCATION AND VALUES: AFTER THE 1944 ACT

During the ten years which followed the 1944 Education Act, during which time a Labour Government enjoyed power for more than half of the time, the fundamental principles of the tripartite system of secondary education met with only limited criticism. A convincing majority of politicians in all parties, councillors, educationalists, teachers, and apparently parents were satisfied with the system. During the second decade following the passing of the Act, however, years in which the Conservatives enjoyed uninterrupted power, criticism mounted with the consequent growth in the support of the comprehensive system of secondary education.

Although several types of comprehensive schemes emerged, the fundamental principle was that children should not be segregated according to educational or other criteria and that all should attend common schools. During the forties and early fifties the greatest pressure for comprehensive education came from within the Labour Party. These supporters of the comprehensive movement based their policy on a point of principle, namely, that segregation of pupils into different

schools is inherently bad. It must be remembered that, even within the Labour Party, this group was in a distinct minority, most socialists interpreting 'equality of opportunity' as the right of all children to compete upon equal terms with each other for a grammar school place. By the 1960's however, comprehensive education had become the declared policy of the Labour Party. By this time also opinion outside politics had become fairly even and seemed certainly to be moving in the direction of the comprehensives. Both experiences in the schools, in particular the G.C.E. successes of the secondary modern schools, and further academic research, had shown that many of the preconceptions upon which the tripartite system was based were erroneous.

In addition to this, such comprehensives schools as were allowed to develop produced results which showed that much of the criticism of them was ill-founded. Also, administrative difficulties particularly with regard to examinations and especially the proposed Certificate of Secondary Education, arose within the tripartite system and thus aided the comprehensive cause. These factors led to the conversion of the Labour Party to comprehensive education but also led to the increasing support for these schools from teachers, educationalists and the general public.

In the early fifties, in particular, opposition to these schools within the Conservative Party was clear; but so few proposals for re-^{ministers}organisation were put forward that many were passed by successive ^{who} saw no effective threat to the dominance of the tripartite system. As support for comprehensives grew the official Party line, whilst remaining sceptical, was that local authorities should be allowed to pursue a comprehensive policy as an experiment.

Although most Conservatives were critical of comprehensive education throughout the 1950's and 1960's, the escalation of comprehensive education during the last years of the Conservative administration was allowed to continue. This is explained mainly by the concern of most Conservatives being directed to the survival of their party as the governing one, and a pre-occupation with economic problems. A collective 'running out of steam' after more than a decade in office also has been put forward as an explanation for a rather lethargic approach to policy. The fact that the Minister responsible for education, Sir Edward Boyle, demonstrated a more tolerant attitude to comprehensive schools than did most Conservative M.P.'s is a further reason why comprehensive education was allowed to expand during the last years of the Conservative Government.

When, in October 1964, the Conservative Party found itself in opposition for the first time in thirteen years, a fairly clear Party policy on secondary education emerged. This was due, in part, to the need to present a clear programme to the electorate in order to win back confidence, especially with another election expected shortly, and the desire of the new leader, Edward Heath, to re-state the principles and programme of the Party. In particular, the Government's circular 10/65, requiring local authorities in which the tripartite system of secondary education was still in operation, to submit plans for comprehensive re-organisation, offended Conservatives. Thus, most Conservatives saw a need to present a coherent criticism of the Government's policy.

It has been seen that the 1944 Education Act, whilst it was, in many ways a radical piece of legislation, proposed really, a development of the existing system of state education in which many Conservative values may be said to be inherent. By contrast, the comprehensive system of secondary education presented a challenge to these values and principles

and as such it was opposed, often with passion. Several aspects of a "Conservative ideology" may be detected in the arguments put forward by Conservatives to advance their case.

The manner in which the Labour Government planned to introduce comprehensive education offended the Conservative belief that change should take place gradually. What was proposed was that a completely comprehensive system be set up, according to the guidelines of the circular, within a limited number of years.

The time factor worried Conservatives. They maintained that the grammar schools had developed an indefinable 'ethos' which had evolved over decades of educational experience and that the new comprehensives could not replace this adequately. They maintained that the secondary modern schools had had insufficient time to establish themselves properly. The 1944 Education Act envisaged that these schools would be experimental and that Headmasters would, within broad limits, be allowed to develop them as they wished. During the nineteen-fifties and early sixties the secondary modern schools began to develop reputations not only for providing an education for 'average' and 'below average' pupils but also for providing examination courses for the more able ones. Much more time was required, most Conservatives insisted, before the full potential of the secondary modern experiment could be evaluated. It would be wrong, it was claimed, to condemn these schools before they had had sufficient time to prove themselves.

Most supporters of comprehensive education maintained that evidence regarding the practicality of the new system was sufficient to justify a national comprehensive system. Here also, most Conservatives disagreed. Only fifteen years before the issue of circular 10/65 the number of fully comprehensive schools in England and Wales had been minimal. Only in the 1960's had there been a spectacular rise in their number. This

length of time, Conservatives maintained, was far from adequate to prove the value of comprehensive schools and hence, to justify the implementation of a national comprehensive system. Hence, there was a distinction between the belief of the supporters of comprehensive education, that there was sufficient evidence to justify a national system of comprehensive education, and the belief of most Conservatives that a gradual and 'evolutionary' development was desirable.

The Conservatives felt, undoubtedly, that the introduction of a fully comprehensive system reduced individual freedom and choice. Different types of schools, it was argued, provided different types of education. This variety was seen as inherently desirable. It was not accepted that all of these types could be accommodated within the comprehensive unit, rather it was felt that the comprehensive would provide one type at the exclusion of all others. This lack of choice limited parent's rights. As long as different types of school existed, parents were free to choose the type of education most suitable for their child. Few Conservatives were impressed by the argument that little choice existed, and that there was little chance of reversing a decision on secondary school selection taken by the local authority. To Conservatives as much choice as possible was desirable and, therefore, what little might exist ought to be preserved.

What offended many Conservatives was the assumption that Labour's case was founded upon the belief that the 'state' was better suited than individuals to decide upon the best form of education for the nation's children.

Most Conservatives disliked the manner in which a comprehensive system was to be implemented by a decision of the central government. They preferred a wider diffusion of power and throughout the fifties and

early sixties the Conservative policy, of refusing in the last years of their administration to halt the rapid escalation of these schools was defended on the grounds that local authorities should be free to operate the system which, they considered, was most appropriate for their areas. This belief was fundamental also to the Conservative Government's refusal to insist upon an agreed system of secondary school selection methods. It must be noted, however, that this value placed upon the rights of local authorities did not emerge as one of the most strongly held Conservative principles. When the majority of local authorities, many of them controlled by Conservative councils, decided in favour of comprehensive education, a majority of Conservative M.P.s wished to use the power of the central Government to over-ride the decisions made at local level.

The Conservative view of hierarchy influenced strongly the attitude of its adherents to comprehensive education. Few advocated a socially hierarchical system as such, in the nineteen sixties. The principle of hierarchy was, however, manifest in a negative sense. The Labour support of comprehensive education was sustained by a belief that segregation into different types of schools was ethically wrong. They disliked the social ethos of the schools, the 'middle-class' grammar schools, and the 'working-class' modern schools and the influence this ethos had upon career choice. Such a system, they maintained accentuated a society segregated by class. If children from all backgrounds and of all expectations could be educated in the same schools, then social barriers might be, indeed, broken down. The Conservative argument was that it was unnecessary to break down these supposed class barriers and, also, that to use education as a device for doing this was ethically wrong.

The Conservatives' acceptance of social hierarchy was implicit in the fear that a national comprehensive system would, in time, damage the credibility of the public schools. Some Conservatives believed, and, indeed, some socialists feared, that a hierarchical state system helped to justify the existence of an independent sector. The imposition of a uniform state system built upon the principle of an egalitarian system of education would, some Conservatives feared, lead to increasing pressure upon, and by a future Labour government, the destruction of, the public schools. To Conservatives, a hierarchical society was, if not necessarily a positive good, certainly an acceptable situation.

The Conservative belief that their policies are based solely upon experience compared with the tendency of radicals to base their plans upon 'abstract theory', was revealed clearly during the debate on comprehensive education. The case put forward by supporters of the comprehensive system was, to a great extent, a rational one. The tripartite system of education had been endorsed by the Education Act of 1944, and, in particular by the Norwood Report because it was justifiable given certain suppositions. Experience had shown, claimed the Norwood Report, that three types of children could be distinguished readily; the academic child, the technical child, and the practical child. These types were capable of equation with a certain general factor of intelligence. The academic children had high I.Q.s the technical children came above average, and the practical range encompassed those of average and below average intelligence. Moreover, it was believed, means had been found to assess this general intelligence and what was of particular importance was the assumption that this was unchanging. On the basis of these assumptions, the tripartite system provided a solution to the problems facing British education in the post-war era, which was both a 'rational' solution given this evidence, but also one based upon

the experience of state education in England and Wales. The secondary, or grammar schools, provided a suitable education for the academic children, it remained only to develop schools suited to the particular needs of the technical children and the practical children. These schools would be essentially experimental in the early years but certain factors could be assumed. The modern schools would not, for example, tackle examination work. The children were not suited to this hence they would not receive an education suited to their needs whilst the schools themselves would suffer should examinations be taken, and their results compared with the vastly superior records of the grammar schools.

The evidence of the nineteen fifties, both from the research of educationalists, sociologists and psychologists, and the actual experiences of the schools, showed many of the pre-conceptions upon which the tripartite system was based to be falacious. The idea of innate and unchanging intelligence was shown to be in error. Factors related to the environment, in particular the school environment, were shown to influence the development of intelligence. This point was conceded by Sir Edward Boyle when he referred to the need to acquire intelligence, in his preface to the Newsom Report. The rationality of selecting children at the age of eleven for different types of education suited to different types of minds, these related to static, general intelligence, was undermined clearly by the discovery that children's I.Q. levels could, individually, vary greatly over a short period and that, the idea of the different types of minds, was, at the very least, a gross over-simplification.

Insofar as a fairly stable I.Q. might exist, great doubts were shed, during the fifties, upon the ability of intelligence tests, or any other device, to evaluate this with any accuracy. Since one of the chief principles upon which the tripartite system was based was the ability

to decide with great accuracy which children were suited to which type of school, it was damaging to the system's rationality, to find that selection methods involved considerable inaccuracy.

The experiences of the nation's schools supplied ample evidence that these new discoveries were valid. Secondary modern schools began to gain good records of passes in the G.C.E. examination. Critics of the tripartite system claimed that when pupils who had been labelled 'non-academic' gained good G.C.E. passes, then the whole system was shown to be irrational, indeed, nonsensical. Failure of more than half of the pupils attending grammar schools to attain what were considered good G.C.E. certificates emphasised the point since these had been assessed at the age of eleven, and shown to be of good academic potential.

Critics were encouraged also by apparent anomalies in the tripartite system. In particular the differences in the number of grammar school places offered by various local authorities was, they considered, an absurdity. Some authorities offered grammar school places to more than forty per cent of their children whilst others offered them for less than ten per cent. Thus, although the system sought to distinguish between the academic and the non-academic, more than a third of the nation's children were included in a category that would be considered academic in one area and non-academic in another.

To critics of the tripartite system, the developments in the fifties had shown the system to be irrational, therefore the whole system ought to be scrapped.

By the 1960's certainly, most senior Conservatives concerned with education did not dispute these findings or defend the rationality

of the tripartite system. Their argument was, that, as long as the system worked in a satisfactory manner, then it was justifiable whatever weaknesses there might be regarding the theory supporting the system. Grammar schools, Conservatives argued, were admirable institutions, therefore it would be foolish to abolish them. Whereas comprehensive supporters saw the ever-improving G.C.E. results of the secondary modern school as evidence of the absurdity of the principle of selection, Conservatives tended to see these as convincing evidence that the modern schools could cater for their most able children, therefore there existed no need to abolish them, rather they should be allowed to develop and to improve. This illustrates the Conservative preference for developing existing systems if they appear to be working with reasonable satisfaction, rather than introducing new systems,

Regarding secondary school selection and segregation, Conservatives maintained that two further practical points were important which, weakened the case for comprehensives. First, they maintained, whilst selection between schools could be abolished, the classes within comprehensive schools would be probably streamed, thus pupils would be segregated according to ability, within the comprehensive schools. Second, they argued that neighbourhood schools, schools which served the children in the surrounding area, would be socially divisive, more so than the tripartite system. A comprehensive school in a socially disadvantaged area, would be unlikely to achieve a good academic reputation. The able child from such an area would be unable to escape from this environment whereas the tripartite system offered him the chance to gain a grammar school place. In middle class areas, by contrast, excellent schools would evolve and the children of these areas would gain access to these schools irrespective of their ability.

It is thus seen, that the opposition to comprehensive secondary education was maintained by most Conservatives during the period 1964 to 1966. The reasons given for this opposition relate very closely to those fundamental values which form an important part of the Conservative ideology.

Ideology, it has been seen, requires, not merely the expression of fundamental principles and values, but usually, an acceptance that change is inevitable and that policies and attitudes must adjust to changing circumstances. In this sense, ideologies are not static, they evolve. The extent to which the Conservative Party had modified its view of Britain's future, during the two decades following the passing of the 1944 Education Act may be understood with reference to its education policy. The need to plan for a society different in many aspects from that which existed in 1944, was reflected clearly in the Butler Act.

To contemporaries, the Second World War provided a distinct break in the development of British society. They were able to reflect upon the inter-war period and consider it a frustrating and disappointing interlude during which time failure to maintain world peace complemented a failure to improve the living standards of the people. These had been, perhaps, the greatest hopes of the men at Versailles. The dislocation and damage caused by the Second World War allowed politicians of all parties to plan for a future society which would be different, of necessity, from that of wartime, and which would be different also, most hoped, from that of the pre-war years.

One of the common hopes was that society would become more egalitarian than that of the inter-war period though there were of course, differences between the Labour views and the Conservative views.

Certainly most senior Conservatives hoped that some of the more striking differences between the life-styles of the various classes would be modified. The Education Act reflected this desire. Fees were to be abolished in state secondary schools and entry was to be based upon open competition with an emphasis placed upon tests designed to show the innate intelligence quotient of the child. The secondary, or grammar schools were to provide the type of academic education associated with the public schools.

The need to improve, generally, the life styles of all the people found its expression in the provision of an improved education for average and below average pupils. The minimum school leaving age was to be raised from fourteen to fifteen with further provision at a suitable time, for an increase to sixteen. In duration therefore, the education of all pupils would equal that of those chosen to attend secondary grammar school. It was hoped that the new modern schools would develop a style of education suited ideally to the needs of their pupils.

University entrance would, it was hoped, become more open, the grammar schools providing the route by which children of parents unable to pay fees, would become undergraduates. This would, it was assumed, contribute to much greater social mobility than had existed before the Second World War.

Few people envisaged, in 1944 the speed with which the British Empire would be dismantled, and with which Britain's position as a world power would decline. What most politicians did understand was that the success of the country in the post war world would depend, to a great extent, upon its ability to remain at the forefront of technological development. Rapid advance had, of necessity, taken place

during the War and the pace was likely to be maintained in peacetime. This technological change would affect, not only major projects as, for example defence and aviation improvements, but almost certainly also equipment of a domestic nature. Goods such as vacuum cleaners, refrigerators and televisions had come into use before the war and would become more widespread afterwards. These would have the effect both of changing the life-style of many people in the average and below-average income brackets, and of providing the basis for industries with worldwide sales, industries in which it was hoped Britain would remain important.

The 1944 Education Act sought to make provision for the developing role of technology in the peacetime world. The technical schools would seek to provide an education suited to the needs of those children, who, it was assumed, displayed a particular talent for technical subjects. The grammar schools, whilst emphasising the more traditional subjects, would provide scientific and technical education for the most able children.

The curriculum of the secondary modern schools would include, also, some form of technical education.

Confident that in the post-war world, greater material wealth, and world peace would improve living standards for all, the Education Act of 1944 planned for the training of youth in the use of leisure. Physical education, with a variety of recreational activities was to be a compulsory part of the state system of education.

The Act, thus planned for a society more egalitarian than that of the pre-war era, one which would place greater dependence upon technology and one in which rising living standards would allow more time for leisure. It was an Act which had the support of most Conservatives. It was essentially a blueprint, or plan, upon which an

improved system of education could be developed. It was, thus built with a view to the needs and requirements of the future. What is important is that, whilst it sought to meet the needs of the future as politicians saw them, the new system was based upon contemporary educational assumptions. The tripartite system was based largely upon the assumption that intelligence is innate, that it can be measured and that different levels of intelligence produce different types of minds with consequently different educational needs.

Attitudes became modified as knowledge and circumstances change. The ten years which followed the passing of the Act were marked by little controversy regarding the actual structure of secondary education in England and Wales. During the later 1950's, however, evidence from research and from experience within the nation's schools showed that many of the assumptions upon which the tripartite system was based, were erroneous. The reaction of the Labour Party to these findings was to abandon its support for the tripartite system of secondary education, and advocate comprehensives. In the late 1940's and early 50's most socialists saw the grammar schools as providing the means by which a more egalitarian society might evolve, with able working class children able to acquire the type of education enjoyed in the public schools by middle class children. Whilst most Conservatives opposed the development of comprehensive education, seeing it as a challenge to their principles, the events of the late fifties and early sixties did lead to some modification of the Conservative position.

The belief of 1944 that Britain's standing in the world would depend, to some great extent upon the quality of its education, particularly its technical education, was reinforced strongly in the ensuing two decades.

The Suez incident clarified the increasing weakness of Britain's status as a world power whilst the beginning of what became known as the space-race between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., which was founded upon economic strength and technological innovation revealed other aspects of Britain's weakness. It was understood that Britain was in no position to compete with the great powers in space.

By the early sixties it was apparent that, whilst the economy was continuing to expand, the rate of expansion was less than that of many of Britain's competitors. If these trends were to continue, Britain would lose its still high rank amongst the world's industrial powers.

The Conservative reaction to this was to increase considerably, the money spent on the education service, despite the Conservative preference for keeping as low as possible, state spending. The need to reduce the "wastage of talent" became a top priority. Whilst an effort was made to improve all facets of secondary education the most important development here was the planned expansion of the universities and Colleges of Advanced Technology which, eventually became universities in their own right.

With regard to those developments which encouraged the Labour Party to favour comprehensive education, the Conservatives continued to support selective education but they did accept that the differences between the grammar and modern schools should become less marked. Whereas, in 1944, the new modern schools were discouraged from entering pupils for external examinations, they were, by the mid-1950's encouraged to include G.C.E. courses. The proposed Certificate of Secondary Education, moreover, was designed, not only for the majority of pupils in the modern schools, but also for those children in the grammar

schools who were unable to obtain a good G.C.E. certificate.

Whilst Conservatives generally, opposed comprehensive education, their opposition did become modified in the early 1960's. Whilst many Conservatives were ready to state their distrust of comprehensive schools, the view of successive ministers was that it would be wrong to obstruct them as a point of dogma and that they should be allowed as an experiment. Even when the number of comprehensives increased dramatically around 1962 the Government made little by way of an attempt to restrict this growth.

Further concessions were made to comprehensive education. First, many Conservatives were prepared to admit that, in rural districts where catchment areas were very large a comprehensive school could be desirable as a means of reducing the necessary size of the catchment area. Secondly, some Conservatives accepted that in areas of new development, such as new housing estates, comprehensive schools could be desirable. This implied that the tripartite system was not seen as inherently superior to the comprehensive one, merely that where schools with established traditions existed, they should be retained. Where no schools existed, a comprehensive school was, perhaps, preferable to a grammar and modern school. This represented a considerable development from the early 1950's when most Conservatives (and most Labour M.P.s) considered comprehensive schools undesirable.

Despite the growing evidence that the tripartite system was based upon dubious assumptions it must be remembered that the Conservative opposition was not simply a political one against the findings of research. In the mid 1960's educational opinion, both in the universities and in the schools was divided in its support for comprehensive and selective education. Government reports, such as,

for example, the Newsom Report on the education of average and below-average secondary school pupils continued to support the basic framework of the tripartite system.

The growth of comprehensives persuaded some Conservatives to consider alternative means of developing secondary education in a manner which would not offend Conservative values. The emergence of interest in the voucher system was an example of this. The system would have the effect, not merely of preserving what parental choice existed already, but of extending it. A variety of types, and almost certainly status, would remain and possibly be emphasised further and many Conservatives considered this desirable. Also the extent of government control would be probably reduced.

In using the term ideology, it has been maintained that it may be used in connection with any body of ideas associated with a political group, but that these ideas should relate to general principles as well as the particular programme of the group. Also, ideologies have a functional character in that support for common beliefs and aims helps to unite groups and to aid them to present a case designed to win support from similar-minded members of the public.

CONCLUSION

This paper has concerned itself with the extent to which a Conservative ideology may be seen as implicit in the education policy of the Conservative Party. In as much as an ideology may be detected, the nature of an implicit ideology requires that its basic principles denote general areas rather than involve the depth of analytical explanation often associated with other ideologies. The Conservative ideology remains vague and generalised yet in terms of practical applicability

it indicates notable differences of value from that of the Labour Party.

The Conservative preference for slow organic change was illustrated by its acceptance of the comprehensive experiment but its refusal to draw definite conclusions with regard to these schools at a time when Labour was prepared to demand of the central government that it impose a national comprehensive system.

The tripartite system was defended by Conservatives, partly on the grounds that individual freedom in the form of parental rights must be preserved. They opposed the willingness of the Labour Party to use the power of Westminster to implement a particular educational policy preferring to support some degree of local authority preference. Perhaps of most significance is the fact that, in the tripartite system of education for secondary pupils Labour saw the seeds of hierarchical society and this alone was sufficient, irrespective of purely 'educational' arguments to persuade socialists to support comprehensive education. Conservatives, by contrast, found this aspect of the tripartite system quite acceptable. Ideology should adapt to change. The Education Act of 1944 was founded upon the conviction that the post war world would be very different from the pre war world. The demand for more skilled technicians, and in general, a more egalitarian society required in turn an educational system improved at all levels.

Developments in the 1950's and 1960's persuaded the Conservatives that an increased proportion of the Government's expenditures should be allocated for education, particularly technical education. Whilst continuing to support the tripartite system Conservatives came to accept a wider role for each type of school, a lessening of the distinctions between these types, and in certain cases they accepted

that comprehensive schools were a valid alternative to a selective system.

Most Conservative writers disclaim the view that their politics are ideological. By this they mean that whereas totalitarian states are governed often by leaders who seek to rule according to a body of doctrine, their rulers are essentially pragmatic in their approach. Politics is, however, about choice, about decisions made from given alternatives. Most decisions involve an element of preference based upon a value or set of values sometimes felt very strongly but often only vaguely explained or understood.

Conservatism involves no highly developed body of values and ideas which all who call themselves Conservatives are bound to accept. It may be seen, however, that those who find themselves drawn towards Conservatism rather than ^{any} of several radical alternatives, usually share some common attitudes both to life in general and politics in particular. These attitudes and values may be seen as implicit in the actions and decisions taken by the group. It is in this form that a Conservative Ideology may be identified.

ABBREVIATIONS

C.E.B.	Correspondence of Edmund Burke
T.E.S.	Times Educational Supplement
Tech. Ed.	Technical Education (cmd.907 1956)
Sec. Ed.	Secondary Education: A New Drive (Cmd.604 1958)
Ed. Rec.	Educational Reconstruction (Cmd. 6458 1943)
Tech. ed 1961	Better Opportunities in Technical Education. (Cmd. 1254 1961)
B.J.E.P.	British Journal of Educational Psychology
P.Q.	Political Quarterly
A.P.S.R.	American Political Science Review
J.D.U.	Journal of the Institute of Education of Durham University
B.J.S.	British Journal of Sociology
W.a.	indicates "Written Answer" section in H.C. Debates. These pages are numbered in italics at the back of each volume.
J.E.L.	'Journal of Educational Administration and History' of Leeds University All references are to the article 'The Politics of Secondary School Reorganisation: Some Reflections' by Edward Boyle in vol. IV no. 2 June 1972
N.U.T.	National Union of Teachers

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

29

- 1: S.B. Beer 'Modern British Politics' P: 5
- 2: L.J. Halle 'The Ideological Imagination' pp.5 -6
- 3: Ibid. P.6
- 4: Quintin Hogg 'The Case for Conservatism'
- 5: W.H. Greenleaf 'The Character of Modern British Conservatism'
in R. Benewick, R. N. Berki, B Parekh ed. Knowledge and
Belief in Politics' P. 178
- 6: Maurice Kogan 'The Politics of Education' P. 74
- 7: W.H. Greenleaf op. cit. P. 179
- 8: T.E.S. 31st Oct. 1958 P. 1594
- 9: N.U.T. 'Comprehensive Schools' P. 2
- 10: W. H. Greenleaf op. cit. P. 178
- 11: C.E.B. vol. 2 P. 57 To Charles O'Hara, 28th Aug. 1769
- 12: C.E.B. vol. 1 P. 59 To Richard Shackleton, 28th Dec. 1745
- 13: C.E.B. vol. 6 P. 47 To Jean -Francis Depont Nov. 1789.
- 14: Ibid. P. 42
- 15: Michael Oakeshott 'Rationalism in Politics' P. 170
- 16: Lord Hugh Cecil 'Conservatism' P. 10
- 17: Michael Oakeshott op. cit. P. 169
- 18: R.J. White 'The Conservative Tradition' P. 2
- 19: Ibid. P. 2
- 20: Peter Goldman 'Some Principles of Conservatism' P.6
- 21: C.E.B. vol. 6 P. 42 To Jean-Francais Depont Nov. 1789
- 22: Ibid. P. 43
- 23: Peter Goldman op. cit. P. 11
- 24: R.J. White op. cit. P.3
- 25: Lord Hugh Cecil op. cit. P.14
- 26: C.E.B. vol. 3 P. 438 To Edmund Sexton Percy 16th June 1778
- 27: Russell Kirk 'The Conservative Mind' P. 14

28. Samuel Beer 'Modern British Politics. P.91

29. Lord Hugh Cecil 'Conservatism' P.226

CHAPTER TWO

1. G.R. Searle "The Quest for National Efficiency P.54
2. Ibid P.49
3. 105 H.C. Deb. 45 (24th.Mar. 1902) c 846-7
4. Ibid c 867
5. Board of Education "The Hadow Report" Introduction P.XXI
6. Rodney Barker "Education and Politics" p. 43
7. J. Vaizey "The Economics of Education PP. 58-9
8. Brian Simon "The Politics of Educational Reform" p.132
9. Ibid. p. 48
10. Ibid. p. 172
11. Henry Hope "The Education Act of 1936" p. 5
12. 105 H.C. Deb. 4s. (24th Mar. 1902) c. 865.
13. Ibid. c. 900.
14. Henry Hope "The Education Act of 1936" p. 7.
15. 308 H.C. Deb. 5s. (13th Feb. 1936) c.1201.
16. The Education Act 1944 P.4
17. Ibid PP5.
18. Ibid P.9
19. Ibid P.1
20. R. A. Butler "The Art of the Possible P.94
21. 'The Times' January 19th 1944
22. 398 H.C. Deb.5s (4th April 1944) c.1961
23. Ibid (21st March 1944) c.702
24. The Education Act 1944 P.40
25. G.A.N. Lowndes "The Silent Social Revolution" P. 125

26. 398 H.C. Deb. 5s (28th March.1944) c1303
27. Simon Haxey 'Tory M.P.' P.57
28. Ibid P.29
29. Harold Macmillan "The Middle Way" P.11
30. Max Eastman "The End of Socialism in Russia" P.32
31. Lord Hugh Cecil "Conservatism" P.141
32. Ibid P.150
33. Ibid P.166
34. Lord Woolton "The Adventure of Reconstruction" P.35
35. Ibid P.55
36. 105 H.C. Deb. 4s (24th Mar. 1902) c. 882.
37. Lord Woolton 'The Adventure of Reconstruction' P.35
38. A. Pinsent "Psychological and Sociological Principles for the Reorganisation of Secondary Education" in B.J.E.P. June 1944 P.57
39. Board of Education "The Norwood Report" Introduction P.VIII
40. Ibid P. 1X
41. R.A. Butler "The Art of the Possible" P.94
42. 396 H.C. Deb. 5s (19th Jan. 1944) c. 234
43. Board of Education "Educational Reconstruction" P.10
44. 399 H.C. Deb. 5s (11th May 1944) c.2139
45. F.C. Happold "Towards a New Aristocracy" P.83
46. Bertrand Russel "Education and the Social Order" P.171
47. "The Times" 17th February 1944
48. Board of Education "The Norwood Report" PP.6-7
49. Ibid P.3
50. Ibid P.2
51. Ibid P.3
52. Ibid P.3
53. Ibid P.3
54. Cyril Burt "The Education of the Young Adolescent":

The Psychological Implication of the 'Norwood Report'	
in B.J.E.P. Vol. XIII Nov 1943.	P. 131.
55. 'Educational Rec.	P. 6.
56. Ibid.	P. 9.
57. Cyril Burt in B.J.E.P.	P. 131.
58. D. M. McIntosh, 'The Effect of Practice in Intelligence Test Results' in B.J.E.P. Vol. XIII Nov. 1943	P. 45.
59. 398 H.C. Deb. 5s (5th April 1944)	c. 2046
60. R.A. Butler 'The Art of the Possible'	P. 91.
61. Harold Macmillan 'The Blast of War' Preface	P. XII.
62. 397 H.C. Deb. 5s (25th Feb. 1944)	c. 1187.
63. 398 H.C. Deb. 5s (23rd Mar. 1944)	c. 1082.
64. Harold Macmillan 'The Blast of War' Preface	P. XIV.
65. Educational Rec.	P. 3.
66. 132 H.L. Deb. 5s (June 6th 1944)	c. 8.
67. R.A. Butler 'The Art of the Possible'	P. 92.
68. 398 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st Mar. 1944.)	c. 728.
69. Ibid.	c. 720.
70 Ibid.	c. 1085.
71. 399 H.C. Deb. 5s (11th May 1944)	c. 2138.
72. Eustace Percy 'Some Memoirs'	P. 94.
73. G.A.N. Lowndes 'The Silent Social Revolution'	P. 121.
74. 397 H.C. Deb. 5s (17th Feb. 1944)	c. 112.
75. 398 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st Mar. 1944)	c. 710.
76. Ibid.	c. 1289.
77. H.C. Dent 'Education in Transition'	P. 8
78. Ibid.	P. 10.
79. Ibid.	P. 10.
80. 396 H.C. Deb. 5s (19th Feb. 1944)	c. 212
81. Ibid.	c. 433.
82. Ibid.	c. 412.

83.	132 H.L. Deb. 5s (6th June 1944)	c.7
84.	396 H.C. Deb. 5s (8th Feb.1944)	c.1682
85.	132 H.L. Deb. 5s (6th June 1944)	c.59
86.	396 H.C. Deb.5s (19th Feb. 1944)	c.215
87.	R. M. Hutchins "The Learning Society"	PP.36.37
88.	The Earl of Woolton 'Memoirs'	P.162
89.	Ibid	P.XI
90.	Ibid	PP.24-25
91.	Lord Chandos 'Memoirs'	PP.35-6
92.	Ibid	P.36
93.	Harold Macmillan 'Reconstruction: A Plea for a National Policy'	P.1
94.	"The Times" Feb. 23rd 1944	
95.	398 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st Mar.1944)	c.731
96.	399 H.C. Deb. 5s (11th May 1944)	c.2157
97.	Lord Woolton 'Memoirs'	P.276
98.	396 H. C. Deb 5s (8th Feb.1944)	c. 1647
99.	F. C. Happold "Towards a New Aristocracy"	P.17
100.	396 H.C. Deb. 5s (19th Feb.1944)	c.249
101.	H. C. Dent "Education in Transition"	P.26
102.	396 H.C. Deb. 5s (19th Feb.1944)	c.271
103.	398 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st Mar.1944)	c.691-2
104.	R.A. Butler "The Art of the Possible"	P.94-5
105.	Ibid	P.95
106.	397 H.C. Deb. 5s (25th Feb.1944)	c.1079
107.	R.A. Butler "The Art of the Possible"	P. 92
108.	396 H.C. Deb. 5s (19th Feb.1944)	c.311
109.	399 H.C. Deb. 5s (11th May 1944)	c.2140
110.	R. A. Butler "The Art of the Possible"	P.99
111.	Board of Education "Educational Rec .	P.9
112.	396 H.C. Deb. 5s (19th Feb.1944)	c.222
113.	R.A. Butler "The Art of the Possible"	P.92

114. Philip Goodhart 'The 1922'	P. 124
115. Ibid.	P. 124.
116. Ibid.	P. 125.
117. R.A. Butler 'The Art of the Possible'	P. 108.
118. 'The Times' Jan. 19th 1944	
119. 'Robert Blake 'The Conservative Party from Peel to Churchill'	P. 250
120. Ibid.	P. 250.
121. Quintin Hogg 'The Case for Conservatism'	P. 161.
122. Lord Woolton 'Memoirs'	P. 328.
123. Ibid.	P. 301.
124. Lord Chandos 'Memoirs'	P. 327.
125. Lord Woolton 'The Adventure of Reconstruction'	P. 50.
126. R.A. Butler 'The Art of the Possible'	P. 92.
127. Ibid.	P. 117.
128. Ibid.	P. 116.
129. Ibid.	P. 117.
130. Ibid.	P. 117.
131. Lord Woolton 'Memoirs'	P. 327.
132. Lord Beveridge 'Power and Influence'	P. 323.
133. 397 H.C. Deb. 5s (15th Feb. 1944)	c. 74.
134. Ibid.	c. 47.
135. Ibid.	c. 198.
136. 398 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st Mar. 1944)	c. 801.
137. Ibid.	c. 735.
138. Ibid.	c. 735.
139. 132 H.L. Deb. 5s (6th June 1944)	c. 124_5

CHAPTER THREE

1. Harold Macmillan 'Tides of Fortune'	P. 303.
2. Graccus 'Your M.P.'	P. 27.
3. C. Woodhouse Post War Britain'	P. 11.
4. R. A. Butler 'The Art of the Possible'	P. 128.
5. Ibid.	P. 132.

6. See Randolph S. Churchill ed. "The Sinews of Peace: Post War Speeches by Winston Churchill" P.213
7. C. M. Woodhouse "Post War Britain" P.17
8. R. A. Butler "The Art of the Possible" PP.129-30
9. R.A. Butler Ibid P.134
10. R. A. Butler "The Responsibilities of Education" P.3
11. See Rodney Barker "Education and Politics 1900-1951" especially P.78
12. Roy Lewis and Angus Maude "The Middle Class" P.231
13. H.C. Deb 5s (31st July 1947) c.655-6
14. Ibid c.1208
15. 461 H.C. Deb. 5s (10th February 1948) W.A. c.95
16. 418 H.C. Deb.5s (1st Feb. 1946) c.1315
17. 441 H.C. Deb. 5s (31st July 1947) c.650
18. Ibid c.737
19. Ibid c.650
20. 453 H.C. Deb. 5s (15th July 1948) c.1376
21. 466 H.C. Deb 5s (5th July 1949) c.2028
22. 463 H. C. Deb. 5s (31st March 1949) c.1452
23. Ibid c.1452
24. 441 H.C. Deb 5s (31st July 1947) c.730
25. T.E.S. 4th January 1947 P.3

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Donald Johnson "A Cassandra at Westminster" P.48
2. R. F. Harrod "The Prof" A Personal Memoir. P.52
3. Philip Goodhart "The 1922" P.160
4. John Partridge 'Life in a Secondary Modern School' P.17
5. R. A. Butler "The Art of the Possible" P.157
6. 493 H.C. Deb 5s (8th November 1951) c.388
7. 504 H. C. Deb. 5s (21st JULY 1952) W.A, c.58

8. T.E.S. 10th Oct. 1952 P.827
9. 495 H. C. Deb. 5s (30th Jan.1952) c.273
10. Ibid (29th Jan.1952) c.53
11. 503 H. C. Deb. 5s (14th July 1952) c.1948
12. Lord Woolton 'Memoirs' P.373
13. 496 H.C. Deb 5s (28th Feb. 1952) c.1556
14. Ibid (22nd Jan. 1952) c.396
15. 175 H. L. Deb. 5s (19th March 1952) c.797-8
16. Angus Maude "The Conservative Party and the Changing Class Structure" in P.Q. April-June 1953 vol.24 P.146
17. T.E.S. 16th October 1953 P.883
18. T.E.S. 15th October 1954 P.968
19. T.E.S. 7th October 1955 P.1031
20. Sir Ernest Benn "The State the Enemy" P.13
21. Ibid PP.27-8
22. Harold Macmillan "The Tides of Fortune" P.363
23. 175 H. L. Deb. 5s (19th March 1952) c.810-11
24. Leon Epstein 'Politics of British Conservatism' in A.P.S.R. vol.48 March 1954 P.48
25. Ibid P.41
26. 531 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st Oct.1954) W.A. c.199-200
27. 510 H.C. Deb. 5s (22nd Jan.1953) c.396
28. 531 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st October 1954) W.A. c.199-200
29. 533 H.C. Deb. 5s. (25th Nov. 1954) W.A. c.163
30. 549 H.C. Deb. 5s (1st March 1956) W.A. c.143
31. 535 H.C. Deb. 5s (16th Dec. 1954) c.1952
32. 543 H.C. Deb. 5s (7th July 1955) W.A. c.115
33. 518 H.C. Deb. 5s (30th July 1953) c.1529
34. Ibid c.1529
35. 520 H.C. Deb 5s (10th November 1953) c.777-8
36. T.E.S. 13th March 1959 P.440
37. T.E.S. 24th October 1952 p.867

38. Ibid. P. 867.
39. T.E.S. 13 th Nov. 1953 P. 964.
40. T.E.S. 28th Nov. 1952 P.968.
41. T.E.S. 1st AUG. 1952 P.652.
42. T.E.S. 28th Nov. 1952 P. 1004
43. T.E.S. 31st Oct. 1952 P. 886.
44. Conservative manifesto 'Britain Strong and Free' 1951 P28'
45. Conservative manifesto 'United for Peace and Progress' 1955 p.
46. H.C. Deb. 535 5s (16th Dec. 1954) c. 1952.
47. 547 H.C. Deb. 5s (15th Dec. 1955) c. 1371.
48. 72nd Annual Conference Report P. 96.
49. 73rd Annual Conference Report P.42.
50. T.E.S. 8th Feb. 1952 P. 112
51. R.A. Butler 'Education: The View of a Conservative'
in 'The Year Book of Education' 1952. P.34.
52. 554 H.C. Deb. 5s (12th June 1956) c. 542.
53. N.W. Carter in Brian Simon ed. 'New Trends in
English Education' P.37
54. Interview
55. 190 H.L. Deb. 5s 9th Feb. 1955 c.1119
56. T.E.S. 18th Feb. 1955 P.177
57. 548 H.C. Deb. 5s (26th Jan. 1956) w.a. c 53
58. 175 H.L. Deb. 5s (19th Mar. 1952)
59. T.E.S. 25th Mar. 1953 P. 332
60. Brian Simon 'Intelligence Testing and the Comprehensive
School' P. 107.
61. T.E.S. 8th May 1953 P. 419
62. T.E.S. 1st Jan. 1954 P. 4.
63. T.E.S. 15th May 1953 P.447.
64. T.E.S. 23rd Oct. 1953 P. 902.
65. T.E.S. 27th Jan. 1956 P. 101.
66. 507 H.C. Deb. 5s (17th Nov. 1952) w.a. c. 125-6
67. 73rd Annual Conference Report P.37.
68. 190 H.L. Deb. (9th Feb. 1955) c. 1071

69.	T.E.S. 12th Nov. 1954	P. 1062
70.	T.E.S. 12th Oct. 1956	P. 1226
71.	T.E.S. 16th April 1954	P. 377
72.	527 H.C. Deb. 5s (13th May 1954)	c. 1618
73.	Ibid.	c. 1609
74.	Ibid	c. 1620
75.	Ibid	c. 1631
76.	Ibid	c. 1609
77.	T.E.S. 13th May 1955	P. 481
78.	see G.D.N. Worswick and P.H. Ady "The British Economy in the 1950's Introduction.	
79.	Nigel Fisher 'Iain Macleod'	P. 60
80.	Ibid	P. 78
81.	Sir William Teeling "Corridors of Frustration"	P. 123
82.	Lord Woolton "Memoirs"	P. 379
83.	David Butler "The British General Election of 1955"	P. 9
84.	Ibid	P. 17

CHAPTER FIVE

1.	Leon Epstein "British Politics in the Suez Crisis"	P. 30
2.	Maurice Kogan "The Politics of Education"	P. 110
3.	Tech Ed.	P. 4
4.	A.F. Shalin "Technical Education in the U.S.S.R. in L.U.I.E. ed "The Year Book of Education"	P. 110
5.	Tech. Ed.	P. 1
6.	594 H.C. Deb 5s (28th October 1958)	c. 33
7.	Tech Ed.	P. 7
8.	Nigel Fisher 'Iain Macleod'	P. 131
9.	Michael Young "The Rise of the Meritocracy"	P. 87
10.	"Education" vol. 109 June 18th 1957	P. 1192

11. Ibid P.1184
12. George Hutchinson "Edward Heath" P.85
13. See Chapter '4' P.191
14. 582 H.C. Deb. 5s (14th Feb.1958) W.A. c.97
15. 598 H.C. Deb. 5s (22nd June. 1959) c.538
16. 603 H.C. deb. 5s (9th April 1959) W.A. c.41
17. 627 H.C. Deb. 5s (28th July 1960) c.1852
18. 615 H.C. Deb. 5s (9th Dec. 1959) W. A. c.54
19. 607 H.C. Deb.5s (26th June 1959) c.166
20. 568 H.C. Deb. 5s (5th April 1957) c.774-5
21. T.E.S. Feb.7th 1958 P.184
22. T.E.S. May 23rd 1958 P.864
23. Philip E. Vernon "Secondary School Selection" P.8
24. Ibid P.169
25. T.E.S. March 13th 1959 P.440
26. T.E.S. Nov. 21st 1958 P.1689
27. E. Blushen "The Potentialities of Secondary Modern School Pupils" in Brian Simon ed. "New Trends in English Education" P.74
28. Ibid: B.J. Howell Eaton. O.B.E. "Examinations in a Secondary Modern School" P.64
29. Ibid: M. Cooke "A New Purpose in the Secondary Modern School" P.61
30. "Education" vol113 Jan.23rd 1959 P.154
31. T.E.S. May 24th 1957 P.742
32. 563 H.C. Deb. 5s (24th Jan. 1957) c.377
33. Ibid c.377
34. T.E.S. Oct.17th 1958 P.1523
35. J.E. Floud, A.H. Halsey, F.M. Martin "Social Class and Educational Opportunity" P.49
36. Ibid P.44
37. Ibid P.58
38. Maurice Kogan "The Politics of Education" P.91

39. J.E.Floud, A.M. Halsey, F.M.Martin 'Social Class and Educational Opportunity' P.38
40. B.J.S. vol.9 1958 Basil Bernstein P.165
41. Ibid P.172
42. B.J.S. vol.10 1959 Eva Bene P.150
43. Ibid P.150
44. 568 H.C. Deb. 5s (5th April 1957) c.698-9
45. Alfred Yates and D.A. Pidgeon "Admission to Grammar Schools" P.24
46. T.E.S. Aug.21st 1959 c.182
47. T.E.S. Sept.25th 1959 P.324
48. 592 H.C. Deb. 5s (31st July 1958) c.1572
49. 568 H.C. Deb. 5s (5th April 1957) c.760
50. J. D. Hobkinson "A Bilateral School in the Countryside" in B. Simon P.142
51. A.D.C. Peterson "Educating our Rulers" P.49
52. T.E.S. Oct.17th 1958 P.153
53. ⁵⁹⁸ H.C. Deb, 5s, (Jan.22nd 1959) c.420
54. T.E.S. March 7th 1958 P.357
55. T.E.S. March 7th 1958 P.357
56. T.E.S. March 14th 1958 P.396
57. T.E.S. October 31st 1958 P.1594
58. T.E.S. Sept.26th 1958 P.1417
59. T.E.S. March 20th 1959 P.500
60. J.D.U. 1956 F. J. Cresswell "Examinations in the Secondary Modern School. P.93
61. T.E.S. Oct.17th 1958 P.153
62. P.E. Vernon "Secondary School Selection" P.77
63. J.D.U. 1956 W.A. Davies "Bright Children in the Modern School" P.147
64. 568 H.C. Deb. 5s (24th Jan.1957) c.374
65. Correspondence Lord Boyle to S. Shaw July 1979
66. Maurice Kogan "The Politics of Education" FP 83-4
67. T.E.S. Jan.12th 1959 P.12

68. 568 H.C. Deb. 5s (5th April 1957) c.374
69. Ibid c.761
70. P.E. Vernon "Secondary School Selection" P.49
71. 598 H.C. Deb. 5s (22nd Jan. 1959) c.534
72. Cheshire Education Committee "The Secondary Modern School" P.8
73. Ibid P.8
74. 598 H.C. Deb. 5s (22nd Jan. 1959) c.536
75. B.J.S. vol 10 1959 R. Lynn "The Relation Between Educational Achievement and School Size" P.136
76. A.D.C. Peterson "Educating our Rulers" P.9
77. C.A.R. Crosland "The Future of Socialism" P.275
78. 568 H.C. Deb. 5s (5th April 1957) c.762-3
79. 598 H.C. Deb. 5s (22nd Jan. 1959) c.470
80. 77th Annual Conference Report P. 114
81. T.E.S. April 24th 1959 P.715
82. T.E.S. April 3rd 1959 P.574
83. 568 H.C. Deb. 5s (5th April 1957) c.762
84. T.E.S. Jan. 12th 1959 P.12
85. 598 H.C. Deb. 5s (22nd Jan. 1959) c.449
86. Ibid c.458
87. Ibid c.498
88. ⁵⁸¹H.C. Deb. 5s. (Feb. 6th 1958) W.A. c.195-6
89. Ed. vol.113 Jan. 23rd 1959 P.159
90. C.A.R. Crosland "The Future of Socialism" P.275
91. Ed. vol.113 April 24th 1959 P.868
92. R. Batley, O'O'Brian, H. Parris "Going Comprehensive" P.23
93. Ibid P.68
94. Education vol.113 Jan. 23rd 1959 P.154
95. Robin Pedley "The Comprehensive School" P.51
96. Ibid P.52
97. T.E.S. March 6th 1959 P.400

98.	T.E.S. May 23rd 1958	P.859
99.	598 H.C. Deb.5s (22nd Jan.1959)	c.540
100.	Ibid	c.459
101	G.D.N. Worswick, P.H. Ady, "The British Economy in the Nineteen-Fifties"	P.66
102.	Lord Swinton "Sixty Years of Power"	P.172
103.	214 H.L. Deb. 5s (26th Feb.1959)	c.576
104.	Sec. Ed.	P.5
105.	214 H.L. Deb. 5s (26th Feb. 1959)	c.569
106.	Ibid	c.570
107.	Ibid	c.570
108.	Ibid	c.569
109.	Ibid	c.570
110.	Sec. Ed.	P.6
111.	214 H.L. Deb. 5s (26th Feb.1959)	c.574
112.	Ibid	c.563
113.	Sec. Ed.	P.7
114.	H.L. Deb.5s, vol.214 Feb.26th 1959	c.578
115.	The Bow Group "Willingly to School"	P.32

CHAPTER SIX

1.	684 H.C. Deb. 5s (12th Nov. 1963)	W.A, c.48
2.	Mark Abrams and Richard Rose "Must Labour Lose"	P.17
3.	Ibid	P.17
4.	see Nigel Fisher 'Iain Macleod'	P.214
5.	629 H.C. Deb. 5s (7th Nov.1960)	c.655
6.	T.E.S. 1st July 1960	P.21
7.	Richard Batley, Oswald O'Brien, Henry Parris "Going Comprehensive".	P.40
8.	Crowther Report 1	P.419
9.	Ibid	P.449
10.	Ibid	P.55
11.	See Tech. Ed. 1961	
12.	Crowther Report II 384	P.124

13. Ibid P.124
14. Crowther Report 1 P.52
15. Ibid P.74
16. 634 H.C. Deb. 5s (16th Feb. 1961) W.A. C. 169
17. Ibid.
18. 637 H.C. Deb. 5s (30th March 1961) c.1523-4
19. T.E.S. 16th Sept. 1960 P.325
20. 644 H.C. Deb. 5s (17th July 1961) c.908
21. Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden. "Education and the Working Class" P.76
22. John Barron Mays "Education and the Urban Child". P.152
23. Ibid P.156
24. T.E.S. 12th October 1962 P.435
25. see T.W.G. Miller "Values in the Comprehensive School" PP 89-92
26. L.W. Payling "London Comprehensive Schools" P.20
27. Ibid P.20
28. Ibid P.51
29. Ibid P.71
30. C.J. Hetherington "The Progress of the Leicestershire Plan in "The Parent Teacher" in Spring 1964 P.12
31. Crowther Report 1 P.419
32. A. H. Halsey ed. "Ability and Educational Opportunity" P.23
33. Crowther Report 1 P.118
34. Ibid P.74
35. Crowther Report II P.54
36. H.M.S.O. Cmd. 604 "Secondary Education for All: A New Drive 1958 P.9
37. 620 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st May 1960) c.43
38. T.E.S. 25th March 1960 P.611
39. see Below Report
40. 637 H. C. Deb. 5s (30 March 1961) c.1523
41. Crowther Report II P.54

42.	Ibid	P.54
43.	638 H.C. Deb. 5s (20 th April 1961)	c.
44.	627 H C Deb 5s (21 st JULY 1960)	W.A. C.59
45.	638 H.C. Deb. 5s (20 th April 1961)	c.1381
46.	644 H.C. Deb. 5s (17 th July 1961)	c.907
47.	Ibid	c.907
48.	Ibid	c.907
49.	Ibid	c.907
50.	Ibid	c.908
51.	T.E.S. 20 th Oct. 1961	P.523
52.	T.E.S. Feb.9 th 1962	P.248
53.	T.E.S. Oct. 14 th 1960	P.486
54.	642 H.C, Deb. 5s (16 th June 1961)	c.875
55.	Ibid	c.814-5
56.	648 H.C. Deb 5s (3 rd Nov. 1961)	c.517
57.	see A.H. Halsey ed. "Ability and Educational Opportunity"	
58.	Sir Charles Morris "Investment for National Survival"	P.1
59.	Ibid	P.6

CHAPTER SEVEN

1.	Richard Rose "Influencing Voters"	P.48
2.	Margaret Laing "Edward Heath: Prime Minister	P.126
3.	Lord Kilmuir "Political Adventure"	PP 320-1
4.	Newsom Report	P6
5.	Ibid	P. IV
6.	Ibid	P.3
7.	Ibid	P.14
8.	Ibid	P.5
9.	Ibid	P XIV
10.	Ibid	P XIII
11.	Ibid	P.7

12.	674 H.C. Deb. 5s (26th. March 1963)	c.1154
13.	Ibid	c.1204
14.	Robin Davies "The Grammar School"	P.94
15.	Maurice Kogan "The Politics of Education"	P.78
16.	Baltery, O'Brien and Parris "Going Comprehensive"	P.40
17.	Edward Boyle in J.E.L. vol. 4 no. 2, June 1972	P. 33
18.	T.E.S. Aug. 2nd. 1963	P.153
19.	680 H.C. Deb. 5s (11th. July 1963)	c.1400 - 1.
20.	T.E.S. Jan. 18th. 1963	P.93
21.	684 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st. Nov 1963)	c.133
22.	T.E. Utley "Your Money or Your Life"	P.95
23.	Angus Maude "Good Learning"	P.58
24.	Maurice Kogan "The Politics of Education"	P.91
25.	688 H.C. Deb. 5s (27th Jan. 1964)	c.95
26.	T.E.S. 1st. March 1963	P.417
27.	Interview	
28.	T.E.S. June 5th. 1964	P.1566
29.	T.E.S. Jan. 18th. 1963	P.63
30.	Batley, O'Brien and Parris "Going Comprehensive"	P 46
31.	Edward Boyle op. cit.	P. 32
32.	Edward Boyle op. cit.	P. 33
33.	Correspondence Lord Boyle to S. Shaw July 1979	
34.	"Education" vol.122 12th. July 1963	P.95
35.	680 H.C. Deb. 5s (11th. July 1963)	c.161
36.	Ibid	c.161
37.	692 H.C. Deb. 5s (26th. March 1964)	c.140
38.	T.E.S. Feb. 26th. 1963	P.416
39.	680 H.C. Deb. 5s (11th. July 1963)	c.1401
40.	Angus Maude "Good Learning"	P.60
41.	697 H.C. Deb. 5s (1st. July 1964)	c.1452
42.	690 H.C. Deb. 5s (2nd March 1964)	c.169

43.	699 H.C. Deb. 5s. (July 30th 1964)	W.A. c.367
44.	693 H.C. Deb. (April 21st 1964)	c.1103
45.	Ibid	c.1105
46.	Correspondence Lord Boyle to S. Shaw July 1979	
47.	693 H.C. Deb. (April 21st 1964)	c.1104
48.	697 H.C. Deb. (July 1st 1964)	c.1460
49.	697 H.C. Deb. (July 1st 1964)	c.1450
50.	Anthony Lejeune 'Freedom and the Politicians'	P.73-4
51.	Angus Maude 'Good Learning'	P.50
52.	Correspondence Lord Boyle to S. Shaw July 1979	
53.	697 H.C. Deb. 5s (July 1st 1964)	c.1461-2
54.	E.G. West in Institute of Economic Affairs "Rebirth of Britain"	P.173
55.	Angus Maude 'Good Learning'	P.71
56.	693 H.C. Deb. (April 21st 1964)	c.1103
57.	697 H.C. Deb. (March 26th 1963)	c.1180
58.	Ibid	c.1452
59.	674 H.C. Deb. (March 26th 1963)	c.1180
60.	Robin Pedley 'The Comprehensive School'	P.43
61.	R.A. Butler "The Responsibilities of Education"	P.55
62.	Timothy Raison "Why Conservative"?	P.25
63.	Ibid	PP.25-6
64.	Enoch Powell "A Nation Not Afraid"	PP.2-3
65.	Ibid	P.4
66.	Anthony Lejeune "Freedom and the Politicians"	PP.74-3
67.	Maurice Kogan "The Politics of Education"	PP.77-8
68.	Timothy Raison 'Why Conservative?'	P.102
69.	Robin Davis "The Grammar School"	PP.238-9
70.	T.E.S. Oct.2nd 1964	P.530

CHAPTER EIGHT

1.	705 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st Jan.1965)	c.391
2.	T.E.S. 8th October 1965	P.704

3.	T.E.S. 2nd July 1965	P. 28
4.	701 H.C. Deb 5s (3rd Nov. 1964)	C111
5.	See Leila Berg "Risinghill: Death of a Comprehensive School"	
6.	C.P.C. "Putting Britain Right Ahead"	P.17
7.	705 H.C. Deb. (21st Jan. 1965)	c.422-3
8.	Christopher Chataway "Education and the Parent" in Bow Group The Conservative Opportunity.	P.61
9.	263 H.L. Deb. 5s (10th Feb. 1965)	c.158
10.	Ibid	c.157
11.	705 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st Jan. 1965)	c.424
12.	Ibid	c.415
13.	Christopher Chataway "Education and the Parent" in Bow Group "The Conservative Opportunity"	P.58
14.	Ibid. Geoffrey Howe "The Waiting List Society"	P.24
15.	705 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st Jan. 1965)	c.502
16.	Ibid	c.413
17.	Ibid	c.416
18.	Ibid	c.416
19.	263 H.L. Deb. 5s (10th Feb. 1965)	c.132
20.	705 H.C. Deb. 5s (21st Jan. 1965)	c.431
21.	Ibid	c.434
22.	263 H.L. Deb. 5s (10th Feb. 1965)	c.158
23.	T.E.S. 25th March, 1966	P.903
24.	"The Bow Group 'Strategy for Schools"	P.29
25.	Ibid	P.15

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Any clear distinction between primary and secondary sources concerning many contemporary published works is a tenuous one, since many of these have influenced educational thought. The classification of primary sources is therefore restricted to Burke's correspondence, and official papers.

Correspondence of Edmund Burke (9 vols) published by Cambridge University Press and the University of Chicago Press 1958-1970.

- | | | |
|--------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Vol. 1 | Ap.1744-June 1768 | Ed. Thomas W. Copeland |
| Vol. 2 | July 1768-June 1774 | Ed. Lucy S. Sutherland |
| Vol. 3 | July 1774-June 1778 | Ed. George Gutteridge |
| Vol. 4 | July 1778-June 1782 | Ed. John Woods |
| Vol. 5 | June 1782-June 1789 | Ed. Holden Furber with P.J. Marshall |
| Vol. 6 | June 1789-Dec. 1791 | Ed. Alfred Cobban and Robert A. Smith |
| Vol. 7 | Jan.1792 -Aug.1794 | Ed.P.J. Marshall and John Woods |
| Vol. 8 | Sept.1794-Ap.1796 | Ed. R.B. McDowell |
| Vol. 9 | May 1796-July1797 | Ed. R.B. McDowell |

The Education Act of 1944 H.M.S.O.

Board of Education and Ministry of Education Reports published by Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

"The Education of the Adolescent" The Hadow Report 1926.

Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools" The Norwood Report
1943

'15-18' The Crowther Report 1959

Secondary School Examinations other than the G.C.E. 'The Beloe Report
1960 'Half Our Future' The Newsom Report 1963.

Command Papers

Educational Reconstruction Cmd. 6458 1943

"Technical Education" Cmd.907 1956

Secondary Education For All: A New Drive. Cmd.604...1958...

Better Opportunities in Technical Education Cmd. 1254 1961

CORRESPONDENCE LORD BOYLE TO S. SHAW JULY 1979

CONSERVATIVE PARTY ELECTION MANIFESTOS

CONSERVATIVE PARTY ANNUAL CONFERENCE REPORTS

SECONDARY SOURCES CITED IN THIS WORK

- Mark Abrams and Richard Rose "Must Labour Lose"
Penguin London 1960
- Rodney Barker "The Politics of Education"
Clarendon Press Oxford 1972
- John Barron Mays "Education and the Urban Child"
Liverpool University Press Liverpool 1962
- R. Batley, O.O'Brien, H. Parris "Going Comprehensive"
Routledge & Kegan Paul London 1970
- R. Benewick, R.N. Berki, B. Parekh ed. 'Knowledge and Belief in Politics'
George Allen & Unwin London 1973
- Sir Ernest Benn 'The State the Enemy'
Theodore Brun London 1953
- Lord Beveridge 'Power and Influence'
Hodder & Stroughton London 1953
- Bow Group 'The Conservative Opportunity'
B.T. Batsford (for C.P.C) London 1965
- Bow Group "Strategy for Schools"
London 1964
- Lord Butler 'The Art of the Possible'
Hamish Hamilton London 1971
- Lord Butler "The Responsibilities of Education"
Longmans London 1968
- Lord Hugh Cecil 'Conservatism'
Williams and Norgate London 1912
- Lord Chandos "Memoirs"
Readers Union, The Bodley Head London 1964
- Cheshire Education Committee "The Secondary Modern School"
University of London Press London 1958

- H.R. Chetwynd "Comprehensive School: The Story of Woodberry Down"
Routledge & Kegan Paul London 1960
- Randolph S. Churchill ed. "The Sinews of Peace: Post War Speeches
by Winston Churchill
Cassell London 1948
- Roger Cole 'Comprehensive Schools in Action'
Oldbourne London 1964
-
- C.P.C. 'Putting Britain Right'
London 1965
- C.A.R. Crosland 'The Future of Socialism'
Jonathan Cape London 1965
- Robin Davis 'The Grammar School'
Pelican London 1956
- H.C. Dent "Education in Transition"
Routledge & Kegan Paul London 1944
- Leon Epstein 'British Politics in the Suez Crisis'
Pall Mall London 1964
- J.E. Floud A.H. Halsey, F.M. Martin "Social Class and Educational
Opportunity"
William Heinemann London 1957
- Nigel Fisher 'Iain Macleod'
Andre Deutsch London 1973
- Peter Goldman "Some Principles of Conservatism"
C.P.C. London 1961
- Philip Goodhart (with Ursula Branston) "The 1922"
Macmillan London 1973
- Graccus "Your M.P."
Victor Gallanz London 1944
- Louis J. Halle "The Ideological Imagination"
Chatto and Windus London 1972

A.H. <u>Halsey</u> ed. "Ability and Educational Opportunity"	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development	London	1961	
F.C. <u>Happold</u>	'Towards a New Aristocracy'	Faber	London	1945
R.F. <u>Harrod</u>	'The Prof: A Personal Memoir of Lord Cherwell'	Macmillan	London	1959
Simon <u>Haxey</u>	Tory M.P.	Left Book Club: Victor Gallancz	London	1940
Quinton <u>Hogg</u>	'The Case for Conservatism'	Penguin	London	1947
Henry <u>Hope</u>	'The Education Act 1936'	Eyre and Spottiswoode	London	1936
George <u>Hutchinson</u>	"Edward Heath"	Longmans	London	1967
Robert M. <u>Hutchins</u>	'The Learning Society'	Pall Mall	London	1968
Brian <u>Jackson</u> and Dennis Marsden	'Education and the Working Class'	Routledge and Kegan Paul	London	1962
Donald M. <u>Johnson</u>	'A Cassandra at Westminster'	Johnson	London	1967
Earl of <u>Kilmuir</u>	'Political Adventure'	Weidenfeld and Nicolson	London	1964
Russell <u>Kirk</u>	'The Conservative Mind'	Faber and Faber	London	1954
Maurice <u>Kogan</u>	'The Politics of Education'	Penguin	London	1971
Margaret <u>Laing</u>	'Edward Heath: Prime Minister'	Sidgwick and Jackson	London	1972
Anthony <u>Lejeune</u>	'Freedom and the Politicians'	Right Angle Books, Michael Joseph	London	1964

- Roy Lewis and Angus Maude 'The English Middle Classes'
Phoenix House London 1949
- London County Council 'London Comprehensive Schools: A Survey
of Sixteen Schools' London 1961
- The Year Book of Education
Published in association with the University of London Institute
of Education by Evans Brothers Russell Square London
Especially 1952 and 1956 editions
- Harold Macmillan 'Memoirs' published by Macmillan
- The Blast of War 1939-45 (1967)
'Tides of Fortune' 1945-55 (1969)
'Riding the Storm' 1956-59 (1971)
'Pointing the Way' 1959-61 (1972)
'At The End of the Day' (1973)
- Harold Macmillan 'The Middle Way'
Macmillan London 1938
- Harold Macmillan 'Reconstruction; A Plea for a National Policy'
Macmillan London 1933
- Angus Maude 'Good Learning'
Michael Joseph London 1964
- T.W.G. Miller 'Values in the Comprehensive School'
Oliver and Boyd, for University of Birmingham Institute of Education.
London 1961
- Sir Charles Morris 'Investment for National Survival'
N.U.T. London 1961
- N.U.T. 'Comprehensive Schools' 1979
Nuffield British General Election Studies
- The British General Election of 1945 by R.B. McCallum and Alton
Readman Oxford University Press 1947
- of 1950 by H.G. Nicholas (1951)
of 1951 by D.E. Butler (1952)
of 1955 by D.E. Butler (1955)
of 1959 by D.E. Butler with Richard Rose (1960)
of 1964 by D.E. Butler with Anthony King (1965)
of 1966 by D.E. Butler with Anthony King (1966)
- 1950, 1966 inclusive published by Macmillan, London

Michael <u>Oakeshott</u> 'Rationalism in Politics'		
Methuen	London	1968
John <u>Partridge</u> (Life in a Secondary Modern School)		
Pelican (Collanz 1966)	London	1968
Eustace <u>Percy</u> 'Some Memoirs'		
Eyre and Spottiswoode	London	1958
A.D.C. <u>Peterson</u> 'Educating our Rulers'		
Gerald Duckworth	London	1957
Enoch <u>Powell</u> 'A Nation Not Afraid' ed, John Wood		
Hodder and Stroughton	London	1965
Robin <u>Pedley</u> 'The Comprehensive School'		
Penguin	London	1963 (revised 1969)
Timothy <u>Raison</u> "Why Conservative"		
Penguin	London	1964
Richard <u>Rose</u> 'Influencing Voters'		
Faber and Faber	London	1967
Bertrand <u>Russell</u> "Education and the Social Order"		
George Allen and Unwin	London	1932
G.R. <u>Searle</u> "The Quest for National Efficiency"		
Basil Blackwell	Oxford	1971
Brian <u>Simon</u> 'Intelligence Testing and the Comprehensive School'		
Lawrence and Wilshart	London	1953
Brian <u>Simon</u> ed 'New Trends in English Education'		
Macgibbon and Key	London	1957
Gerald <u>Sparrow</u> 'R.A.B. Study of a Statesman'		
Odhams	London	1965
The Earl of <u>Swinton</u> 'Sixty Years of Power'		
Hutchinson	London	1966

Sir William <u>Teeling</u> Johnson	'Corridors of Frustration' London	1970
T.E. <u>Utley</u> Michael Joseph	'Wour Money or Your Life' London	1964
John <u>Vaizey</u> Faber and Faber	'The Economics of Education' London	1962
P.E. <u>Vernon</u> Methuen	'Secondary School Selection' London	1957
<hr/>		
E.G. <u>West</u> Institute of Economic Affairs	'Education and the State' London	1965
R.J. <u>White</u> ed. Nicholas Kaye	'The Conservative Tradition' London	1950
Earl <u>Winterton</u> Hutchinson	'Fifty Tumultuous Years' London	1955
C.M. <u>Woodhouse</u> The Bodley Head	'Post War Britain' London	1966
The Earl of <u>Woolton</u> Cassell	'Memoirs' London	1959
The Earl of <u>Woolton</u> Cassell	'The Adventure of Reconstruction' London	1945
G.D.N. <u>Worswick</u> and P.H. <u>Ady</u> Clarendon Press	'The British Economy in the Nineteen-Fifties' Oxford	1962
Alfred <u>Yates</u> and D.A. <u>Pidgeon</u> Newnes Educational Publishing	'Admission to Grammar Schools' London	1957
Michael <u>Young</u> Thames and Hudson	'The Rise of the Meritocracy' London	1958

OTHER WORKS CONSULTED

Peter <u>Bander</u> ed. Colin <u>Smythe</u>	'Looking Forward to the Seventies' London	1968
--	--	------

- G.H. Bantock 'Culture, Industrialisation and Education'
Routledge and Kegan Paul London 1968
- G.H. Bantock 'Education in an Industrial Society'
Faber and Faber London 1963
- G.H. Bantock 'Education and Values'
Faber and Faber London 1965
- Alan Beattie ed. 'English Party Politics' (2 vols)
Weidenfeld and Nicolson London 1970
- Samuel H. Beer 'Modern British Politics'
Faber and Faber London 1965
- Gerald Bernbaum 'Social Change and the Schools 1918-1944'
Routledge and Kegan Paul London 1967
- Reginald Bevins 'The Greasy Pole'
Hodder and Stroughton London 1965
- Nigel Birch 'The Conservative Party'
Collins London 1949
- A.H. Birch 'Representative and Responsible Government'
George Allen and Unwin London 1964
- Robert Blake 'The Conservative Party from Peel to Churchill'
Eyre and Spottiswoode London 1970
- Robert Blake 'Disraeli'
Eyre and Spottiswoode London 1966
- Jean Blondel 'Voters, Parties and Leaders'
Pelican London 1963
- J. Bonham 'The Middle Class Vote'
Faber and Faber London 1954
- Francis Boyd 'British Politics in Transition'
Pall Mall London 1964
- David Butler and Donald Stokes 'Political Change in Britain'
Macmillan, St. Martins Press London 1969

J.J.B. <u>Demster</u>	'Purpose in the Modern School'		
Methuen		London	1956
Lord <u>Eccles</u>	'Life and Politics'		
Longmans		London	1966
Anthony <u>Eden</u>	'Freedom and Order'		
Faber and Faber		London	1947
H.L. <u>Elvin</u>	'Education and Contemporary Society'		
C.A. Watts		London	1965
Julienne <u>Ford</u>	'Social Class and the Comprehensive School'		
Routledge and Kegan Paul		London	1969
Andrew <u>Gamble</u>	'The Conservative Nation'		
Routledge and Kegan Paul		London	1974
F.W. <u>Garforth</u>	'Education and Social Purpose'		
Oldbourne		London	1962
Dante <u>Germino</u>	'Beyond Ideology'		
Harper and Row		New York	1967
A.H. <u>Halsey</u> , Jean <u>Floud</u> , C.A. <u>Anderson</u> , ed	'Education, Economy and Society'		
The Free Press		New York	1961
Nigel <u>Harris</u>	'Competition and the Corporate Society'		
Methuen		London	1972
J.D. <u>Hoffman</u>	'The Conservative Party in Opposition' 1945-51'		
MacGibbon and Key		London	1964
Robert Rhodes <u>James</u>	'Churchill: A Study in Failure'		
Weidenfeld and Nicolson		London	1970
Daniel <u>Jenkins</u>	'The Educated Society'		
Faber and Faber		London	1966
Donald M. <u>Johnson</u>	'A Doctor in Parliament'		
Johnson		London	1958
James D. <u>Koerner</u>	'Reform in Education'		
Weidenfeld and Nicolson		London	1968
John <u>MacGunn</u>	'The Political Philosophy of Burke'		
Russell and Russell		New York	1965

Floyd W. <u>Matson</u>	'The Broken Image'		
George Braziller		New York	1964
Douglas M. <u>McIntosh</u>	'Educational Guidance and the Pool of Ability'		
University of London Press		London	1959
R.T. <u>McKenzie</u>	'British Political Parties'		
Mercury Books		London	1965
Iain <u>Macleod</u>	'Neville Chamberlain'		
Frederick Muller		London	1961
Keith <u>Middemas</u> and John Barnes	'Baldwin'		
Weidenfeld and Nicolson		London	1969
Joan <u>Mitchell</u>	'Crisis in Britain 1951'		
Secker and Warburg		London	1963
Lord Herbert <u>Morrison</u>	'Government and Parliament'		
Oxford University Press		London	1954
Eric A. <u>Nordlinger</u>	'The Working Class Tories'		
MacGibbon and Key		London	1967
C. <u>Parkin</u>	'The Moral Basis of Burke's Political Thought'		
Cambridge University Press		Cambridge	1956
Lord <u>Percy</u> of Newcastle	'The Hersey of Democracy'		
Eyre and Spottiswoode		London	1954
David <u>Peschek</u> and J. Brand	'Politics and Policies in Secondary Education'		
L.S.E. Geater	London Politics no.11		1966
R.S. <u>Peters</u>	'Ethics and Education'		
George Allen and Unwin		London	1966
A.D.C. <u>Peterson</u>	'The Future of Education'		
The Cresset Press		London	1968
Sir Charles <u>Petrie</u>	'The Carlton Club'		
Eyre and Spottiswoode		London	1955
Ideology	'John <u>Flamenatz</u> '		
Pall Mall		London	1970

- J.A. Ponsioen 'The Analysis of Social Change Reconsidered'
Mouton The Hague 1962
- Enoch Powell 'Freedom and Reality' (ed. John Wood)
B.T. Batsford London 1969
- Andrew Roth 'Enoch Powell: Tory Tribune'
Macdonald London 1970
- Frank Riesman 'The Culturally Deprived Child'
Harper and Row New York 1962
- Anthony Sampson 'Macmillan: A Study in Ambiguity'
Allen Lane The Penguin Press London 1967
- Donald A. Schon 'Beyond the Stable State'
Temple Smith London 1971
- D.V. Skeet 'The Child of Eleven'
University of London Press London 1957
- Paul Smith 'Disraelian Conservatism and Social Reform'
Routledge and Kegan Paul London 1967
- P.J. Stanlis ed. 'Edmund Burke, The Enlightenment and the Modern
World'
University of Detroit Press Detroit 1967
- Leo Strauss 'Natural Right and History'
University of Chicago Press Chicago 1953
- Henry Tudor 'Political Myth'
Pall Mall London 1972
- T.E. Utley 'Enoch Powell: The Man and his Thinking'
William Kimber London 1968
- Eric Voegelin 'The New Science of Politics'
University of Chicago Press Chicago 1952
- Burleigh Taylor Wilkins 'The Problem of Burke's Political Philosophy'
Clarendon Press Oxford 1967

Harold <u>Wilson</u> 'The Labour Government'		
Weidenfeld and Nicolson	London	1971
H. Victor <u>Wiseman</u> 'Politics, The Master Science'		
Routledge and Kegan Paul	London	1969
Peregrine <u>Worsthorne</u> 'The Socialist Myth'		
Cassell	London	1971
Kenneth <u>Young</u> 'Arthur James Balfour'		
G. Bell	London	1963
Kenneth <u>Young</u> 'Sir Alec Douglas Home'		
J.M. Dent and Sons	London	1970

ARTICLES IN JOURNALS CITED IN THIS WORK

Since the Times Educational Supplement 1945-1966 has been used extensively, no reference is made here to particular reports and articles.

A Pinsent 'The Psychological and Sociological Principles for the Reorganisation of Secondary Education' in B.J.E.P. June 1944.

Cyril Burt 'The Education of the Young Adolescent: The Psychological Implications of the Norwood Report' in B.J.E.P. Nov. 1943

Angus Maude 'The Conservative Party and the Changing Class Structure', in P.Q. April-June 1953 vol. 24

Leon Epstein 'Politics of British Conservatism' in A.P.S.R. vol. 48 Mar. 1954

Report on speech by Lord Hailsham at the Conference of the Association of Education Committees at Brighton, June 1957 in 'Education' vol. 109 June 18th 1957

Report of speech by Sir Edward Boyle at the public meeting at Gillingham, Dorset in Education vol. 113 June 23rd 1959

W.A. Davies 'Bright Children in the Modern School' in J.D.U. 1956

R.L. Lynn 'The Relation between Educational Achievement and School Size' in B.J.S. vol. 10 1954

Report of the Conference of National Federation of Parent Teacher Associations and the Council for Children's Welfare in 'Education' vol. 113 Jan. 23rd 1959

Report on meeting of Manchester Education Committee. 'Education' vol. 113 April 24th 1959

D. Macintosh 'The Effect of Practice in Intelligence Test Results' in B.J.E.P. vol. XIV Feb. 1944

Eva Bene 'Some Differences Between Middle Class and Working Class Grammar School Boys in their Attitudes Towards Education' in B.J.S. vol. IX 1959

Basil Bernstein 'Some Sociological Determinants of Perception' in B.J.S. vol. IX 1958

Edward Boyle 'The Politics of Secondary School Reorganisation: Some Reflections' in vol. IV no. 2 June 1972 J.E.L.

